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# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



The former Foreign Affairs Minister of Denmark, Ole Bjorn Kraft, celebrated his 85th birthday December 17, 1978. ABN expresses its gratitude to this great anticommunist fighter, and extends its wishes for his continued active role in the cause for freedom of the subjugated nations in the Soviet Russian empire.

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## ***ABN CORRESPONDENCE***

*Freiheit für Nationen! Freiheit für Individualität!*

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# On the 35th Anniversary of ABN

## A STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

At the height of Ukraine's war against Nazi Germany and Communist Russia, and on the initiative of the High Command of the embattled Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), a conference of nations subjugated by the two totalitarian states was called in order to establish the general guidelines for a common struggle directed at the overthrow of both empires.

The conference took place on November 21-22, 1943, in the region of Zhytomyr, Ukraine. The representatives of the insurgent armed forces of Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Turkestan (Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Turkmen), Northern Caucasus, Armenia and other peoples, established a committee of subjugated nations for the co-ordination of their national liberation struggle against Russian and German imperialism, and for the re-establishment of their independent states. The committee was headed by a leading Ukrainian nationalist and revolutionary.

Military units of the subjugated nations were formed within the framework of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). They fought on Ukrainian territory against the common enemy, although the strategic reason for their formation was their eventual transfer to their own home territories. The strategy developed by all concerned called for a revolutionary armed struggle by their respective national insurgent armies in their own countries. The political strategy and goals of the liberation struggle were also agreed upon. As a result, the anti-imperialist front of the revolutionary liberation forces began to unfold.

The committee of subjugated nations, conscious of its historical duties and responsibilities, issued an appeal to the other

nations subjugated by Nazi Germany, encouraging them to join forces with the newly-established anti-imperialist front of growing universal significance. It further appealed to the western democracies to provide the nations subjugated by *both* imperialistic states with all necessary assistance and support, rather than give it mostly to the Russian imperialists — for only an alliance with the subjugated nations could lead to a victory over BOTH imperialist aggressors, assure their overthrow and guarantee a just and lasting peace through the establishment of national independent states.

After 35 years, it is clear how realistic and farsighted the main strategic policy of the First Conference of the Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Russian dominated parts of Asia was. The concept of all-national revolutions of the subjugated peoples as the sole road to liberation, is the only realistic solution, and also an alternative to a nuclear holocaust.

The creation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was an event of historical and universal importance. Its ideas, activities and proposed forms of action are the only means of liberation of the subjugated nation, and of delivering the still free world from the communist Russian onslaught.

Today, patriots in Ukraine constantly emphasize the importance of such a common front in their appeals. They value a common front of the subjugated nations in their struggle for liberation incomparably more than that segment of the emigration which places its hopes on the intervention of outside forces. In 35 years, ABN, with its ideas and scope of activities, gained world-wide importance. The World Anti-

Communist League (WACL) — with a membership of 75 nations and 25 international organizations — even included the basic ideas of ABN in its constitution:

1) the idea of struggle for the disintegration of the Communist Russian empire;

2) a demand for the re-establishment of state independence of the nations subjugated within the said empire; and

3) the WACL Charter guarantees the national liberation organizations of the peoples subjugated within the USSR and the "satellite" countries a permanent representation on the WACL Executive Board.

All this testifies to the fact that the revolutionary representations abroad of the subjugated nations duly fulfill their tasks. The European Freedom Council also included the principles of ABN in its charter. The subjugated nations have joined, particularly through ABN and WACL, the battle of ideas and concepts about solutions to the world crisis, laying in its foundation the national principle as opposed to the imperial one, national statehood as opposed to empire-building, the supremacy of spiritual values over materialism and the heroic outlook on life over egoism.

In the subjugated countries, the ABN concept — nation versus empire — is paramount in their struggle against the attempts of the Russian imperialists and their henchmen to create a so-called "Soviet people" — a nationally and culturally amorphous society. In reality, however, their intention is to enlarge the Russian nation at the expense of all others, who must be either Russified or exterminated. Not only the bolsheviks consider Russia a super-nation, but also the NTS. According to the programme of the NTS "The Russian nation is a unique phenomenon in its formation — it is a closely-knit family of peoples and nations, self-conscious and historically united over

centuries of common historical fate; it is a community of mutual state, cultural and economic interests." And in the preamble to the new constitution of the USSR the "Soviet people" has been described as a "society of socialist community relationships, in which, on the basis of drawing near of all classes and social strata, judicial and actual equality and brotherhood of all nations and peoples, a new historical community came into being." In view of the above, a question must be raised — who borrowed from whom: the CC USSR from the NTS or vice-versa? The imperialistic souls always find one another.

The position of ABN is clear and invariable. ABN is the champion of the subjugated nations, whose ancient cultures have enriched humanity and its world culture — which, in turn, cannot exist without the national geniuses. In the face of ruthless Russification, ABN raises the issue of cultural creativity and freedom, because, should nations die, culture shall also die, and the dehumanization of life shall set in. Should nations disappear, the heroic conception of life shall also disappear, and with it, man as a spiritual being.

ABN is not an émigré formation of national communities in exile, because these are only a part of their respective spiritual organisms-nations. ABN is a community of nations with deeply rooted state and cultural traditions, which fearlessly defends their national essence.

ABN continues the struggle behind the Iron Curtain. Common fate, a common goal and common interests consolidated those nations into a single front. Numerous joint actions in and outside the concentration camps repeatedly justify the idea of ABN, as the *only realistic road to liberation*. ABN is not only an international organizational structure, but above all, it is a beacon, a concept and a strategy of a common liberation front that alone will lead to the final goal: the liberation of the

nations subjugated by Russia and Communism.

The merits of ABN are unique. Thirty-five years of struggle is a unique contemporary phenomenon among the various international organizations of peoples subjugated by Soviet Russia and bolshevism in general. The reason for such longevity is that ABN has always relied on the inherent strength of its member-nations, has never been either financially nor politically dependent on extraneous sources of assistance. Financial independence is the sole guarantor for an independent liberation policy. Even now, there is no international organization of states that has had a longer active existence than ABN. Those international organizations of captive nations which were assisted financially by extraneous sources disappeared from the political horizon when their donors did not need them any longer for their political aims.

ABN is a singular sovereign force in the world arena, which shall never be subdued by terrorism or led astray by any extraneous material pressures. ABN serves only and exclusively the liberation cause of the nations subjugated by Communist

Russia and bolshevism, and shall never forsake its liberation ideal: the national revolutions leading up to the overthrow of the current Russian empire and the re-establishment of the national independent states within the confines of their historical and ethnographic boundaries.

It is an undeniable fact that ABN, through its varied work, became the symbol and a coordinating factor in the revolutionary activities of the subjugated nations at home. On the universal level, ABN became a symbol and champion of the anti-Russian and anti-communist front struggling for the overthrow of the current Russian empire and the reconquest of state independence of the subjugated nations according to the principle of "Freedom for Nations — Freedom for the Individual!"

Thirty-five years on the forefront of the struggle against the most barbaric power on earth! There is no other such international formation in the freedom-loving world!

ABN now begins a new phase in its struggle with the unfaltering faith in the victory of the nation over the empire, in the victory of freedom and independence over oppression and totalitarianism!

# Defend the Church

## Patriarch's Open Letter to Government Leaders in the Free World

Your Excellency,

May I be permitted to present to Your Excellency the difficult situation of our Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Soviet Union.

On the 7th of October 1977, in Belgrade, during the Conference on European security and cooperation, Msgr. Achille Silvestrini, Under-secretary of the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church and the representative of the Apostolic See pronounced the following declaration: "There are also some serious open wounds that we would like, with a hope that we cannot abandon, to see put right and healed. It is the case, for the Catholic Church, of certain communities of faithful of the Eastern rite which in the past, had a flourishing religious life rich in centuries-old traditions and which, in the new juridico-political post-war regimes have lost the civil right to exist. This is all the more painful because it concerns specifically a central point of religious freedom, which is to profess a faith 'according to the dictates of one's own conscience'." (*L'Observatore Romano*, English edition, N. 45 (502), November 10, 1977, p. 4).

It was the general opinion of the observers that the statement of the representative of the Holy See referred primarily to the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In it he stressed that: 1. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has an ancient history and until recently was flourishing. 2. Today in the Soviet Union it is outlawed and as such does not have the right even to exist. 3. Its state is that of an open wound, which must be healed.

For eighteen years, between 1945 to 1963, I lived under and up to date "carry the marks on my body" of this regime. At the Third Papal Synod on October 23, 1971, before the bishops of the entire world, in the name of the Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, I stated: "The Soviet government liquidated our entire episcopate in Ukraine. The profession of our Catholic faith is forbidden. Celebration of the Divine Liturgy or the administering of Holy Sacraments can be done only in secret. Tens of thousands of faithful, priests and bishops were arrested and deported to Siberia... For our faith and for our loyalty to the Apostolic See, we, Ukrainian Catholics, have suffered great losses — mountains of bodies and rivers of blood".

Despite the "Iron Curtain" which separated the Soviet Union from the rest of the world, Pope Pius XII received information about the fierce persecution of this largest Church of the Eastern Rite with 4.300.000 faithful, and on December 15, 1952, for the second time, issued an encyclical "Orientales Ecclesias".

"For the present, however, We sadly turn Our thoughts and affections to another people, truly dear to Us, namely, to the people of Ukraine..."

In a special way We would recall the memory of those bishops of the Oriental Rite, who were among the first in the defence of their religion to endure hardship, affliction and outrage; who transported to the city of Kyiv. — We say Kyiv whence once shone forth throughout all those regions the light of Christian doctrine and whence Christian worship was propagated. Some of these have already met a glorious death, and so, as one may hope, from the abode of heavenly blessedness, which they enjoy, lovingly look down upon their sons and their companions in their unarmed struggle, and implore for them the all-powerful protection of God". (AAS, vol. XLV, Nr. 1, p. 5—14).

Today again there are protests against the persecution in the Soviet Union, which uplift in spirit those persecuted, and call out to the conscience of the entire Catholic world — to pray, to do penance, to plead to God for comfort and strength for those persecuted.

On the basis of personal experience and of later verified reports, at the Fourth Papal Synod (October 3, 1974), during the debate on evangelisation in the world, I repeatedly declared before the Fathers of the Synod that our Church does not have the right to exist in the Soviet Union and consequently is not able to spread the Word of God. "A decent person is astounded — I said — when he learns that, today, a priest, who celebrates the Divine Liturgy in secret is sentenced to three or more years of forced labour in Siberia or in the Polar North; or, if someone sends petitions of faithful to the government asking for the right to celebrate the Divine Liturgy, he is locked up in a psychiatric ward, surely not for medical reasons, but to drive him insane. Faithful, priests, monks are terrorised by persecutions, inquisitions, searches, beatings. Most of them die after a few days. If such is the reality, what is the possibility of preaching the Gospel? Should not the Synod take a stand in this matter? There, the faith does not die. Doctors, artists and other educated persons take vows and heroically hold onto the faith and defend her".

A year ago, on March 6, 1977, a letter from Ukraine, from one of our faithful — Josyf Terelya — was sent to Pope Paul VI asking for help for himself and his family to emigrate from the Soviet Union, because for him, there is no other way out.

Following are some excerpts from the letter describing the situation of our Greek-Catholic Church (the traditional title that the author uses): "Bitter times have come upon the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine. We, the faithful of the Church, are forced to christen, marry, confess and bury in secret. Our priests are in camps, psychiatric hospitals, physically destroyed... I live in a state where to be a Christian is a crime. Never before have the faithful of the Church of Christ been subjected to such persecution as today and as here. Ukrainian Catholics have been deprived of everything — normal family life, freedom of speech, celebration of the Liturgy of our Church — we are in catacombs! For the Word of God they

crucify the living spirit! Out of my 34 years of life, I spent 14 in jails, concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals..."

Further on in the letter, he writes:

"The end to the crimes in the godless world cannot be expected without a counteraction of all the Christian forces of the world... The only road for my family and me is the illegal crossing of the border. For the USSR, the Helsinki Agreement is pure fiction, under which the Stalinists have hidden themselves... My only hope is that the Holy Apostolic Catholic Church and Your Holiness will help us to leave this terrible state.

We beg our Catholic brothers and sisters and all Christians of the world to stand up in our defence; to stand up in behalf of the tormented Greek-Catholic Ukrainian Church".

This plea, by a believing Greek-Catholic Ukrainian is made today on behalf of millions of faithful; on behalf of the persecuted, but still living Ukrainian Catholic Church.

We, the Ukrainian hierarchy in the free world, together with our faithful are deeply distressed and sympathise with our brethren. We pray unceasingly to God for them. Remembering the words of St. Paul: "That each part be equally concerned for all the others. If one part is hurt, all parts are hurt with it." (I Cor. 12, 25), we turn also to you.

We call to you: present this injustice and persecution in your press, on radio and in television, stir the public opinion, and warn your faithful of atheistic communism, because on the basis of our 60 years of painful experience, we say to you that it is a very terrible evil. In anguish we also call on you: help us! Implore God and intervene before men on behalf of our persecuted Ukrainian Catholic Church.

*† Josyf Cardinal Slipyj  
Patriarch*

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**TELEGRAM SENT TO FORMER FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER  
OF DENMARK, OLE BJORN KRAFT ON THE OCCASION  
OF HIS 85th BIRTHDAY**

*His Excellency  
Ole Bjorn Kraft  
Radmand Steins Alle 22  
Copenhagen, Denmark*

*On behalf of fighting Ukraine, ABN, and from us personally, on your 85-th birthday, sending most cordial wishes of good health. Many years of creative life to you, great statesman and leader of anticomunist fight for liberation of subjugated nations.*

*Yaroslav Stestko, ABN President  
Last Prime Minister of Independent Ukraine*

## **Peace Through Strength**

In my remarks today I will discuss three basic issues: first, the capabilities of US Armed Forces to meet their worldwide responsibilities; second, what can and must be done by the nation to improve the capabilities of our Armed Forces; and, third, what we as individuals can do to help bring about the changes that are necessary in the military and foreign policies of the United States.

I would like to stress at the outset that I do not consider my position on national security to be unique. To the contrary, I am confident that my views are consistent with the consensus of the senior officers in the Armed Forces.

I would like at this point to address the question of the capabilities of the Armed Forces to carry out their assigned missions and to meet the responsibilities they might face in the event of certain contingencies.

The basic fact which is only dimly appreciated by the American public — because it has been partially hidden from them by the decision makers in this Administration and the three prior Administrations — is that the United States has been engaged in gradual unilateral disarmament for roughly fifteen years. This policy has been followed in the hope that Soviet-Russian leaders would emulate our course of action. The theoretical goal of this policy has been to establish rapport with the Soviet Union and thereby to reduce the threat of nuclear Armageddon. The American people, however, have never been officially told that we are following a policy of unilateral disarmament. Most assuredly, they have never had the policy justified to them by any President or any spokesman for the President. Gradual or phased unilateral disarmament has been carried out behind a diplomatic disguise labeled Detente.

When the US has engaged in unilateral restraint — such as cancelling the B-1 or delaying production of the neutron warhead — Administration spokesmen have taken to the public platform to declare that such actions are essential to demonstrate to the Soviet Union and to the rest of the worried world the good intentions of the United States and our genuine interest in peace. These spokesmen have chanted the line from the anti-defense catechism that the cause of peace requires that we take risks. Coupled to this line has been the argument that the common objective of both the US and the Soviet Union is military equality or parity, and that neither side seeks military superiority nor can either side possibly convert superiority into a practical political advantage.

The fact is that parity or equality was reached at least five to eight years ago. But these spokesmen have generously explained the continuing Soviet-Russian military buildup by a package of arguments, the chief one being that the Soviet-Russians have to defend themselves against the threat posed by the Red Chinese on their eastern border. Until someone starts publishing the "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung" in a blue cover instead of a red one, I think we should operate on the principle that both Soviet-Russian and Red Chinese weapons may some day be used against us. I have little faith that US diplomatic efforts could ever be successful in converting the People's Republic of China into a bona fide ally, regardless of the nature of the Soviet-Russian challenge to the PRC. Be that as it may, I always have an unpleasant reaction when I hear American officials serving as apologists for Soviet-Russian behavior.

The result of our policy of gradual uni-

lateral disarmament is that we are now in a position of military inferiority. The degree or extent of that inferiority is subject to honest differences of opinion, but not the fact itself. If one looks at the charts in official Department of Defense documents which show the relative numbers of US and Soviet-Russian air, sea, and ground weapons and forces projected over the past ten years, one will see a series of "X" diagrams. That is, the lines roughly from a letter "X." And the lines representing US inventories go down while the lines representing Soviet-Russian inventories go up. There is only one exception: *Helicopters*. At the rate of Soviet-Russian expansion in that area the lines will cross in a few years.

Now, I am aware that there are qualitative factors as well as quantitative factors that must be considered in assessing the relative strengths of US and Soviet-Russian military forces. But the qualitative superiority we used to enjoy pretty well across the board in both conventional and strategic weapons is largely a thing of the past. The fact is that the Soviet-Russians have qualitative superiority in many of their weapons systems.

I am also fully aware that military personnel vary greatly in "quality." Here, we are dealing with such factors as levels of training, physical fitness, intellectual capacity, morale, esprit de corps, and patriotic motivation. I cannot speak for Soviet-Russian forces on all these scores. But I do feel that we can take considerable pride in the quality of the US Fighting man — and what I believe should be the US non-fighting woman. But the latter is a subject I would prefer to address at some other time. I think we have good people in uniform, and I believe that they would rise to any challenge so long as that challenge was genuine and the leaders of the nation took the steps necessary to harness the vast power of this country in support of the war effort.

Be that as it may, the USSR outnumbers us roughly two to one in military personnel on active duty. And that is not an inconsequential fact.

I would like to add that if you want to know what kills morale in the military, it is for a President to announce a policy of "both bullets and butter," to demand no sacrifices of the civilian sector while ordering men in uniform to go off to some distant land and risk their necks, and at the same time to deny to them the incentive of victory.

The only justification for war is the prospect that after victory there can be devised a more favorable political status quo that will be more conducive to peace, justice, and the well being of the people. There can be no justification for asking men to risk their lives for a cause which does not warrant — indeed, demand victory.

One fine point deserves to be made on the readiness and ability of our Armed Forces to meet a military challenge to US interests. When we enjoyed a monopoly in atomic weapons in 1948, we were able to meet the Soviet-Russian challenge in Berlin by a resort to the lowest level of military power, namely, and unarmed airlift. Later in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, our strategic superiority was sufficient to allow us to meet that challenge by a resort to a display of military power and readiness involving all three Services. But we did not have to fire a shot in anger. Today we do not have strategic superiority. Indeed, we suffer from a degree of strategic inferiority. The question that should immediately come to mind is; how would we meet a Soviet-Russian challenge in the future from a position of military disadvantage?

I do not mean to suggest by my comments about our inferior military posture that I think the Soviet-Russians will soon order a nuclear attack against the US mainland or launch a major assault by

Warsaw Pact forces against the NATO western front. We still have tremendous military power. And the Soviet-Russians are realists. The risk for them associated with a major confrontation would be very great indeed. But I remind you again that the Soviet-Russians have dared twice to confront us in the last thirty years when we enjoyed a significant military advantage. We are engaging in self-deceit if we assume that the Soviet-Russians will never challenge us again or that they do not fully appreciate the advantages their current superiority grants to them.

Recently Congressman John Breckinridge of Kentucky visited the Soviet Union and later attended the SALT II talks in Geneva. And he was told by a top Soviet-Russian official at Geneva that the USSR is militarily superior to the US, and the US was going to have to get used to the feeling of inferiority and of being threatened, because the USSR intended to stay superior.

It is a sporting course for anyone to try to predict Soviet-Russian behavior. But I tend to hold the view that the Soviet-Russians will choose in the next few years to continue to use military power, along with their allies and surrogates, in the more remote "soft" spots of the world, where the people of this country will not sense an immediate threat. These aggressions, such as the ones now being conducted in several places in Africa, are, I believe, merely a phase in the Soviet long-range plan. I see no reason for believing that the Soviet-Russians will not elect at some time and place of their choosing to confront us again. Logically, that confrontation would be in a limited way and in the territory of one of our least popular allies. The time and place would be such that the risks to us, because of our relative military inferiority, will be so high that we would not respond.

If that takes place, our allies might very well abandon us and begin the rapid pro-

cess of accommodation with that political force which appears to them to be riding the tide of the future. We would then find ourselves alone, economically crippled, and in a nearly hopeless position to respond to a Soviet-Russian ultimatum.

In general, Americans do not like to hear that kind of talk. They do not want to face up to unpleasant reality. And, therefore, politicians who tell them that military superiority cannot be translated into political advantage are welcomed, applauded and reelected. I'd like to suggest that one of the symptoms of schizophrenia is unwillingness to face up to unpleasant reality.

The bleak scenario I have just outlined is not something that I believe to be inevitable. I foresee it only IF WE CONTINUE OUR PRESENT POLICY OF GRADUAL UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT UNDER THE GUISE OF DETENTE. That policy could and should end today, at the latest tomorrow.

Now, what can we as a Nation do? First we must rectify the awesome fact that in the event of a nuclear war, the Soviet-Russians would lose fewer people than they did in World War II, while 110 million United States citizens would perish. We cannot allow this gross inequality of threat to form the backdrop for all our dealings with the USSR. The retreat of the West is dramatically illustrated by this gross imbalance. This imbalance has been justified by the quasi-military doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), the most appropriate acronym even devised — while the Soviet-Russians have pursued a war-winning strategy. We have deliberately left our people and industry undefended while the Soviet-Russians have poured billions into active and civil defenses.

In part, this dangerous imbalance is also due to neglect of our strategic offensive capabilities. We must shake off the incredible notion that we can deter Soviet-Russian aggression and blackmail by threat-

ening to commit suicide. Only then can we see to our own vital strategic needs, defensive and offensive. Only thus can we repair our badly weakened deterrent to Soviet-Russian aggression. A high priority should go to reconstitution of our strategic defenses.

With regard to our conventional forces we must insure the quantity and quality of men and equipment so that we can deter the growing threat to NATO and our Far Eastern allies. This does not mean a massive increase in numbers of forces, but it certainly means that our superior technology must be brought to bear in terms of real hardware. Today we are moving in the opposite direction. Important advances in weaponry, such as the "neutron Warhead" are denied our fighting forces.

In naval matters, we must face the fact that the US and its allies are dependent on the free use of the sea lanes in peace and war. We cannot permit the expansion of the Soviet-Russian naval capabilities to go unchallenged. Technically, our Navy faces a serious threat from anti-ship cruise missiles and this problem requires a heavy input from our R&D community. Further, naval power must be increased in terms of ships available — certainly not slashed, as the President has recently ordered.

I don't claim expertise on all weapon systems and programs of all Services. Further, I do not believe that the answer to our military decline is to be found in support of every program emanating from the Pentagon. The prime requirement is for our national leadership to follow the lead of the American people whose common sense tells them that the surest road to peace is unchallengeable strength — and that history proves that weakness is the road to war. Our superior economic and technical strength can provide the equipment and weapons we need, once the national will is harnessed. We must not be deflected from our duty to our own nation and to free people everywhere by

hysterical references to "cold war" and "arms race."

The time has come for our national policy makers to face up to the undeniable reality that the Soviet-Russians are not interested in detente and cooperative relations with the United States. They are dedicated to a revolution, whose goal is the elimination by whatever means necessary of the "capitalist nations" and the establishment of a world communist society. Their leaders have said this over and over again. And they have never said anything to the contrary. If you will permit me to repeat a phrase I have used before — the men in the Kremlin are born-again Bolsheviks, not born-again Baptists.

I believe that it is vital that our leaders rededicate themselves to the principles which have made this country great and which earned for us the respect and admiration of nations all around the globe. For many complex reasons, we have as a nation lost faith in our principles. We seem no longer willing to maintain the strength to protect our free political and economic system. We cannot counter the force of communism unless we offer the world something better. We've got it. All we have to do is advocate it, sell it, work for it — and, if necessary, be prepared to fight those who would replace our system with totalitarianism.

Now, what can we do as individuals to bring about some of the changes that I have been recommending? The political profile of the US Congress must be changed if we are to change national policy.

But over and above that, I would like to recommend that you commit more of your personal resources to support those organizations that are working toward the strengthening of our defense posture. One that I am working with is called: A Coalition for Peace through Strength. The American Security Council Education Foundation serves as its Secretariat. I have joined its staff as Educational Field

Director. There are hundreds of such worthwhile organizations. The Coalition is made up of a rapidly growing number of national organizations and concerned individuals. Some 55 national organizations are already aboard, and the list of nationally prominent individuals (Lemnitzer, Moorer, Stilwell, Wedemeyer) now identified with it has topped 200, which includes former ambassadors, senior military officers, college presidents, and distinguished scholars. Over and above those, I am happy to report, over 175 members of the Congress from both parties have already affiliated with the Coalition.

The goals of this Coalition are (you will recognize that I have been discussing some of the points that they stress) one — inspiring, focusing, and projecting the national will and determination to achieve this goal of peace with freedom. Two — defend US citizens from Soviet-Russian missiles by a combination of missile defense and civil defense systems, at least as effective as the systems Soviet-Russians have to protect their citizens. Three — attain overall military technological superiority over the Soviet Union. Four — sign no arms control agreement which is in conflict with the above or is not fully verifiable through on-site inspection. Five — rebuild our security and intelligence capabilities. Six — use positive non-military means to roll back the growth of communism. The emphasis here is on the word "positive". Seven — help our allies and non-communist countries defend themselves against internal or external communist takeover. That does not mean that we should try to buy friends. It does mean that we should abide by agreements with our allies and meet our obligations to them. It also means that we insist that they do the same. In addition it means that we should not turn our back on those non-communist countries who ask for our help and are willing to make sacrifices of their own in the name of their freedom. Eight

— encourage all peoples under communist rule to reassert their right of self-determination and national independence. That is vastly different, I hasten to add, from announcing a campaign for human rights, and then using that campaign as a club to attack our friends for taking the measures they must resort to in order to defend themselves from terrorists and subversives.

The sad fact is that not one of these principles is currently US policy.

The reason I recommend the support of such organizations as the Coalition for Peace through Strength is that we must first win the fight over national policy here at home. We lost the Vietnam war in Washington, not in the rice paddies of Southeast Asia. To win the fight over national policy here at home, we must have a more coordinated effort by those individuals and organizations who realize that Peace cannot be attained without Strength.

Let me close by saying that I am convinced the policies I have discussed and those that have been spelled out by the Coalition for Peace through Strength are the ones which the majority of Americans believe in and want to see energetically pursued by this nation. Further, I believe that the national will, which seems to have been lost in recent years, would revive rapidly if we had national leaders who advocated and worked for these policies.

Since my somewhat premature retirement from the United States Army, I have dedicated myself to the cause of seeing that those policies become the policies of this land. I am going to do everything I can to see that they are adopted. I hope that through this organization, or the Coalition for Peace through Strength, or other similar organizations that you have faith in, you too will work toward the adoption of such policies for the United States.

*Maj. Singlaub was the former chief of staff of the United Nations Command (UNC) in Korea.*

# Final Communiqué

12th Pre-Conference Executive Board Meeting World Anti-Communist League  
Honolulu, Hawaii November 28, 1978

The Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) met in Honolulu, USA for two days on November 27-28. Members of the Board from Asia, the Middle East, Europe, Africa, Latin America, North America and organizations representing the captive nations in the Soviet Union and her satellite states and anti-Communist youth made an exhaustive study of the international situation, worked out important details in preparation for the 12th WACL Conference, and made exhortations for the extensive pooling of freedom forces with the objective of dealing ever more powerful blows against Communist aggression and expansion.

Confused and complicated as world developments have been, three major features are to be noted. One is that because of the multilateral expansion and war preparation by the Communists, free nations have stood up for the preservation of peace and security. Another feature is the growing common effort of those who are for freedom, because they are aware that the Communists, through united front operations, are trying to divide free nations, generate strife, cause confusion and attain by devious methods their goals. The third is the vigorous rise of those behind the Iron Curtain who are determined to win freedom and national independence from the unsteady Communist regimes.

Taking stock of the above mentioned situation, the WACL Executive Board has adopted for the League's 12th Conference the theme "United We Shall Prevail, Freedom Is Not Negotiable", and issued the following calls:

1. Free nations must be warned against the mistaken strategy of entering into alliance with one Communist bloc to oppose another.

The Russian and Chinese Communists are both striving to defeat the United States and to communize the world. Any free nation working to win Peiping ("Peking") as an ally is mistaking enemy as friend. Instead of attaining check and balance vis-a-vis Moscow, such moves will aid Peiping as an aggressor, impair the forces of freedom, break up the democratic camp, stimulate Soviet Russian expansion, and escalate the danger of an all-out US-Russian war. We therefore request the United States to uphold her "peace with strength" principle and follow a global policy that promotes free world unity, cooperation for the advancement of common interest and the preservation of mutual security.

2. The security of the Asian-Pacific region must be safeguarded.

Faced with Russian and Chinese Communist advances in the Asian-Pacific region, the free nations concerned should strengthen their unity to counteract growing Red activities. We hope that the United States will augment the common defense capability of the Republic of Korea, the Republic of China, Japan and other free nations of Southeast Asia and Oceania. It is urged that the withdrawal of US ground forces in Korea be halted until the threat of invasion of North Korea is definitely removed; To be mentioned is the recent discovery of a new, and third infiltration tunnel reaching across the DMZ.

3. An equitable peace in the Middle East must be secured through joint endeavor.

It is hoped that the Middle East will be successful in resolving its current problems and in securing the area against all forms of Communist infiltration.

4. Communist advances for hegemony over Africa must be decisively checked.

We urge all the African nations to guard against the Russian and Chinese Communist forces for hegemony on the continent, to condemn Moscow for its invasion by proxy using troops from Cuba, to recognize all the Red tricks to infiltrate and subvert African states under the guise of economic and military assistance, and to intensify cultural and technological exchange with the free nations elsewhere, for their development and prosperity.

5. The Latin American fight against Communist forces must be strongly supported.

Free nations should see how Communist elements are taking indirect measures for expansion in Latin America, and assist the heroic fight waged by the people there against Communist and leftist forces. The Cuban effort to overthrow the tyrannical Castro regime must be strongly supported. The Executive Board unanimously decided to express its support to the government in Nicaragua in her fight against international Communism trying to destroy her and to support her resistance against all form of foreign intervention.

6. Developments of Peiping's internal power struggle must be closely watched.

The power struggle between Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping continues. There is a rising angry tide among the people of the Chinese mainland who audibly demand fundamental human rights and social justice. We call for the free world's encouragement to the anti-Communist revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people for freedom and human rights.

7. Human rights must be actively promoted behind the Iron Curtain as well as in the free world everywhere.

Communists in Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and other countries should be strongly condemned. The government of Hong Kong is requested to change its po-

licy, to allow refugees from Communist China who desire to migrate to the Republic of China, or to any other country that agrees to accept them, to pass through the Hong Kong territories without molestations. *Moscow must be condemned for its trampling of national and human rights. Active support must be given to the staunch anti-Communist struggle in Indo-China and active assistance must be given to the fights for liberation, national independence and freedom continued by the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Croatians and other captive peoples under Soviet Russian imperialist subjugation inside the Soviet Union and its satellite states.* We call upon the entire free world to actively promote national and human rights deep behind the Iron Curtain and give political, material and moral support to the anti-Communist endeavors of all the captive nations.

To expand the world wide anti-Communist movement, the WACL Executive Board has decided to hold the 12th WACL Conference in Asuncion, capital of the Republic of Paraguay, on April 23-28, 1979, in order to work for an ultimate victory over Communism.

#### ABN Members also Participated

The meeting took place in the Ala Moana Hotel. Present were the members of the Presidium and Honorary Chairman, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang (National China); Dr. Roger Pearson, WACL Chairman (USA); Secretary-General, Dr. Woo Jae-Seung (Korea) and the representatives of the regions and of the nations that previously hosted the WACL Conferences. The Delegates participating were: Mr. L. Landing (Austria), Col. Georges A. Rombouts (Belgium), Dr. Carlo Barbieri Filho (Brazil), Dr. Yao Chi-ching, Gen. Tan Ying, Prof. Wu Ping-Chung, Prof. Hsu Fu-teh (National China), Mr. Don Martin (Great

Britain), Dr. Osami Kuboki (Japan), Gen. Honkon Lee, Prof. Song Moon Soo (Korea), Dr. Nathan C. Ross, Hon. Beauford A. Mensah (Liberia), Prof. Raimundo Guerrero, Prof. Deustua Ramirez Arturo, Miss Maryann Olivares (Mexico), Gen. Alejo S. Santos, Mrs. Juantia G. Santos, Col. Ernesto P. Golez (Philippines), Prof. A. Larson (Sweden), Gen. Praphan Kulapichitr, Mr. Pramote Kulapichitr, Mr. Viwat Visanuvinol (Thailand).

The Executive Board member of the subjugated nations is ABN President, Dr. Yaroslav Stetsko. Mrs. Slava Stetsko (ABN), Dr. Han Lih-wu (APACL), Dr. Rafael Rodriguez Lopez, Miss Rosa Maria Corona (CAL), Dr. Ahmed Salah Jamjoom, Mrs. A. S. Jamjoom, Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu (MESC), Mr. Javier Aguilar, Mr. Janad Abassi (WYACL) also attended. The delegation from Paraguay consisted of: Dr.

Juan Manuel Frutos, Mr. J. M. Frutos, Lic. Carlos Podesta.

The guest speaker was H. E. Minister, Orlando Montenegro from Nicaragua. Dr. Woo Jae-Seung gave a report of the activities of the Secretary-General and presented the budget for 1979. The regional representatives gave short, informative speeches on the situation in the countries of their regions and on their activities. Mrs. Slava Stetsko gave the information on the ABN activities. Mrs. Stetsko also participated on the Committee preparing the Final Communiqué.

The meeting dedicated much attention to the preparation of the next WACL Conference. The representative from Paraguay gave detailed plans for this event, from which it was clear to see that the Paraguayan Government is giving full support to the WACL Conference.

## **AMERICAN DAILY RECALLS STALIN KILLED 7 MILLION UKRAINIANS**

The Sunday, October 22, 1978 issue of *The News World* carried a lengthy report on the commemoration, by Ukrainians in New York and elsewhere, of the man-made famine in Ukraine. The article, written by staff writer Harry Stathos, reads as follows:

The City's Ukrainians will hold services at noon at St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church to commemorate the 45th anniversary of the famine which took the lives of 7 to 10 million Ukrainians.

Joseph Stalin decided in 1929 to transform the Soviet Union into an "industrial state" in the shortest possible time. He started by collectivizing agriculture through harsh, coercive means.

This enforced collectivization provoked resistance from Ukrainians as well as the people of the Don and Kuban areas. A literal struggle to the death followed. The Soviet regime decided to break the resistance of the Ukrainian peasantry through force — confiscation of their food.

As early as the fall of 1931, the first

shadows of famine fell upon Ukrainian villages. The diet of the Ukrainian people soon was reduced to potatoes, beets and pumpkins. Hungry people began traveling in ever-increasing groups to neighboring areas, especially Russia proper.

In the spring of 1932, people began to die by the thousands. When the time of spring sowing and planting came around, the peasants hid seeds in their pockets to take home to their hungry children. Others, famished beyond self-control, chewed the seeds. When the little grain that was planted ripened, starving people ate the heads of the wheat.

Stalin and the Politburo were well aware of the situation in Ukraine. Some of the Communist leaders warned Stalin of the impending catastrophe in Ukraine. They told him that "the form of collectivization which is now being implemented may be considered to be a military feudal form of exploitation of the peasants".

## The Selling-out of a Trusted Friend & Ally

President Carter's announcement on December 15, 1978 that the United States is recognizing communist China and abrogating a 30 year defense treaty with our "true" friends on Taiwan comes as no surprise to those who have followed the "sellout" of Free China during and following World War Two.

The United States, through liberal and communist sympathizers within its' State Department, assured the communist take-over of China by the "bloodthirsty" Mao Tse-tung, in 1949 by withdrawing US aid to strong anti-communist Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. That this occurred is documented in the "little" publicized investigation by the US Senate's Committee on the Judiciary... called the AMERASIA PAPERS: A CLUE TO THE CATASTROPHE OF CHINA.

The report covers more than 17 hundred pages and catalogues the internal struggle between communist Mao Tse-tung and Chiang and the struggle for supremacy in China during the 1930's and '40s. The two volumes outline how so-called experts who were sent to China to assess the situation painted glowing and false reports about Mao and his gang. This same group, led by one, Dr. Owen Lattimore, and others was instrumental in turning the leaders and the people of this country against Chiang and his Koumingtang. The American public was told that Mao and his communist cut-throats were simply "Agrarian Reformers".

The withholding of American aid to Chiang came at a very sensitive time. Chiang had Mao and his communists on the "ropes" and was ready to deliver the final blow of destruction. But, our State Department, infested as it was with communist sympathizers and "fellow travelers" recommended the cut-off of American aid to

Chiang. History tells us that from that day on, Chiang Kai-shek's forces were doomed. They were driven to the sea and escaped to set up the government in Taiwan.

It is a matter of documented fact that this country abandoned a friend and ally and left millions of freedom-loving Chinese to the mercies of the ruthless communists in China in the 1940's. So, President Carter's announcement December 15th that we are breaking our defense treaty with Free China on Taiwan and resuming diplomatic relations with the communists on Mainland China, comes as no great surprise to this reporter. It is the FINAL chapter in a sordid scenario orchestrated by ultra-liberal, communist sympathizers, and fellow-travelers in the 1930's and 1940's that saw us hand over China to Godless communism as preached by Mao Tse-tung.

The final break with Chiang Kai-shek came after years of friendship and was accepted by the American public because of the "brainwashing" it had undergone by the so-called "China experts". These were the people who knowingly and unknowingly lied about Mao and his so-called "agrarian reformers". In short, they had sold the people in this country a "bill of goods".

It was a steady line of anti-nationalist propaganda which began trickling into the American mainstream as early as 1937 and 1938 with the publication of such tracts as Edgar Snow's "Red Star over China". In 1945, by the end of World War Two, the floodgates had been opened: such treatises as: "China's Crisis" by Lawrence Rosinger; "Report from Red China" by Harrison Forman, and Owen Lattimore's "Solution in Asia" helped shape American opinion against the Nationalist govern-

ment. There were others and they carried the same message which was so familiar by the time the communists took over the Asian mainland that the book review pages of America's major newspapers and magazines seldom noticed a pro-Nationalist title. Few, in fact, had been published.

From the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war and Chiang's downfall in 1949, more than 20 books from leading American publishers had furthered the cause of Communism in China. Less than ten pro-Chiang books had appeared.

One of the prime architects of the abandoning of Free China to the communists, according to the "AMERASIA PAPERS" was John Paton Davies, Jr., born in China of protestant missionary parents. Knowingly or unknowingly, it was Davies who recommended that all aid be denied nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek, unless Chiang ceased his relentless annihilation of Mao Tse-tung and his communists. Davies did, however, recommend that Chiang should be upheld while still fighting the Japanese invaders.

It is another point of history that Chiang's forces "bled themselves white" defending Mainland China while Mao and his communist bandits sought refuge in the northern provinces along the "GREAT WALL" and lent nothing but "lip service" to the fight... hoping that Chiang would be too weak after World War Two to withstand the re-built communist forces. Well, it happened and the United States government permitted it to occur.

Davies had said... "If we openly declare ourselves for the Communists, the Chiang government will promptly be reduced to the position of a local regime... and, we shall have aligned ourselves behind the most coherent, progressive, and powerful forces in China."

Living in South America years later, John Paton Davies answered whimsically

when asked a question about current US foreign policy. "What do I know about that? I've been out of circulation ever since I lost China." He later admitted to a newsman... "My mistake in 1944 was in saying that the Chinese Communists were democratic. I confused the popularity of the Communists with democracy. In the war with the Japanese, the Chinese Communists were a popular regime. They had a democratic facade. As in many revolutions, the leadership betrayed the people."

Since the first Phase of our sell-out of Free China, Chiang and his son, developed on Taiwan a "model" government composed of hardworking, free people. This was contrasted with the totalitarian conditions on Mainland China where Mao and his bloodthirsty comrades systematically annihilated, by conservative figures, more than 60-million innocent Chinese... and, the purges continued until Mao's dying day.

It is well to note also that Free China has always been a "thorn in the side" of the communist dictators on Mainland China. It has been expertly said that if Free China ever invaded communist China, the people would welcome the Free Chinese with "open arms."

So, as I said in the very beginning, President Carter's betrayal of our friends on Taiwan comes as no surprise. He is simply writing the final chapter in one of the most shameful episodes in American History.

But, the last shot has not been fired in this "hot debate". Free China has many friends in this country and especially in Congress. So, the battle just may be starting.

For years this country had been known to keep its word. Indeed, a lot of our daily transactions are done on the strength of our word. *It is our bond.* Apparently that means nothing to the "communist

## NARWACL AND US CHAPTER OF WACL REASSERT SUPPORT FOR REPUBLIC OF CHINA

During the past few weeks, lovers of freedom have been dismayed by the decision of the United States Administration (without approval of Congress) to recognize the dictatorial government of Red China, to terminate diplomatic relations with our ally, the free Republic of China, and to terminate the mutual defense agreement between the Republic of China and the USA in response to the demands of Red China.

The Council on American Affairs has strongly protested this move, and has also cabled its support to the Republic of China WACL Chapter. However, I would like to take this opportunity of quoting to you the warning of General Douglas MacArthur, given in a personal address to a joint meeting of the US Senate and the US House of Representatives on April 15, 1951:

"The Communist threat is a global one. Its successful advance in one sector threatens the destruction of every other sector. You cannot appease or otherwise surrender to communism in Asia without simultaneously undermining our efforts to halt its advance in Europe. [Applause.]...

"I have strongly recommended in the past as a matter of military urgency that under no circumstances must Formosa fall under Communist control. [Applause.]

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accommodators" in Washington. We do not argue that there is a need to recognize communist China, but why do we always have to give something up in return... something so cherished as NOT GOING BACK ON OUR WORD... a treaty in this instance.

We can only hope and pray that Senator Barry Goldwater and other clear-thinking congressmen can turn this thing around... only time will tell.

Such an eventuality would at once threaten the freedom of the Philippines and the loss of Japan, and might well force our western frontier back to the coasts of California, Oregon, and Washington...

"There are some who for varying reasons would appease Red China. They are blind to history's clear lesson. For history teaches with unmistakable emphasis that appeasement but begets new and bloodier war. It points to no single instance where the end has justified that means — where appeasement has led to more than a sham peace. Like blackmail, it lays the basis for new and successively greater demands, until, as in blackmail, violence becomes the only other alternative."

(Congressional Record, April 19, 1951, pages 4123-25.)

On behalf of NARWACL and the US Chapter of the World Anti-Communist League, I wish members of WACL to know that both organizations reassert their support for the Republic of China in its continued resolve to fight Communism, and to state that both organizations will continue to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Republic of China Chapter of WACL, in our undiminished resolve to resist further Communist expansion in the future. Our ultimate objective is to free mankind from the illogical and fallacious system of thought known as "communist ideology," which while successfully beguiling so many innocent minds, is not only repulsive to more clear-minded thinkers but is also totally unworkable and can lead only to tyranny and dictatorship.

January 2, 1979

*Roger Pearson  
Chairman, US  
Chapter of WACL  
Chairman, NARWACL*

# Nadia Svitlychna Allowed to Emigrate

## Arrives in New York via Rome

On October 12, 1978 Nadia Svitlychna, sister of the Ukrainian literary critic, Ivan Svitlychny, arrived in Rome from Moscow. She herself is an outstanding Ukrainian woman, fighter for national and human rights, who spent four years in Soviet concentration camps on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

Ms. Svitlychna, 42, arrived in Rome with two sons, Yarema, 9 years old, and Ivan, (now nine months old, Ed.). She spent the first few days in one of Rome's hotels, but later was moved to the Ukrainian hostel of Sts. Serhiy and Bacchus which functions under the auspices of His Eminence Josyf Cardinal-Patriarch Slipyj.

### Background and Activities

Nadia Svitlychna was born on November 8, 1936 in the Donbas, Eastern Ukraine into a Ukrainian peasant family. She was a member of the Comsomol organization and later attended Kyiv University.

After the arrest of her brother Ivan, in 1965, Nadia took actions in his defense. Sometime between March 12 and April 30, 1966, she wrote a letter to the legal aid office of the Shevchenko district in Kyiv and to the Procurator of the Ukrainian SSR, Fedir Kyrylovych: she refused the services of one, V. Pavlyuk, as attorney for her jailed brother because of Pavlyuk's connection with the Procurator.

Then, on April 1, 1966, she sent a telegram to the Presidium of the XXII<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the CPSU in Moscow: she defended her brother and asked why the members of the Congress were silent on the matter of his arrest. "I nervously and impatiently awaited the Congress to explain the events in Ukraine, but my hopes are dying," she wrote.

Also in 1966 she was interrogated by

police in Donetsk about her brother, but she refused, however, to sign the transcript which was falsified. On November 15, 1967, she attended the trial of Vyacheslav Chornovil in Lviv.

In late 1967, or early 1968, along with Ivan Svitlychny, Ivan Dzyuba and Lina Kostenko, Nadia signed an appeal to the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR, Petro Shelest, protesting the procedural violations and the discrepancy between the verdict and the evidence at the Chornovil trial. Copies of the appeal were also sent to V. F. Nikitchenko, O. T. Honchar, V. I. Kasiyan, D. S. Korotchenko, A. Zlenko, S. V. Stefanyk and M. Kikh.

Before June, 1968, she was dismissed from her job at a Kyiv radio station, perhaps for signing the letter to Shelest or for disobeying an official order by attending a rally on May 22, 1968, at the Shevchenko Monument in Kyiv on the anniversary of the transfer of Taras Shevchenko's body to Ukraine a century ago. Also, throughout 1968, Nadia visited political prisoners held captive in the Mordovian ASSR.

During the same year she married Danylo Shumuk, who had been released from prison in 1967 but was rearrested in 1972. Several months after their marriage, however, they separated. They had a son, Yarema.

On March 28, 1969, her place of work at a library was searched: a part of A. Avtorkhanov's book, *The Technology of Power*, was found and confiscated. Later, she was dismissed from her post as librarian for signing documents protesting the curtailment of freedom.

On November 28, 1970, Nadia's close friend, Alla Horska, was murdered in Vasylkiv. Because of her friend's lengthy and

unexplained absence, Nadia goaded the reluctant police into searching the house where Alla was found.

At the time of the January 1972 arrests, Nadia was ordered to report daily to the KGB. Finally, in April 1972 she herself was arrested, tried and sentenced to four years imprisonment. After her release, she lived some time in Tarus near Moscow and then moved to Kyiv, where she married Pavlo Stokotylny; they have a son, Ivan. Her husband for the time being, lives in Kyiv.

#### Arrival in United States

Nadia Svitlychna began a new life of freedom on her birthday, Wednesday, November 8, 1978, when she arrived with her

two sons at Kennedy Airport literally into the arms of some 100 emotional Ukrainian Americans.

Svitlychna is the first woman Ukrainian political prisoner to be allowed to emigrate to the West. She arrived in New York aboard an Alitalia flight from Rome, Italy, where she had been since emigrating from the Soviet Union.

Fighting back tears, Svitlychna told the crowd greeting her that through her, they are greeting a "part of Ukraine." "I want to believe that you are not greeting me, but through me a part of Ukraine and those who have suffered more and continue to suffer until this very day," she said.

The former Ukrainian political prisoner



*Nadia Svitlychna, Ivan and Yarema, upon arrival at Kennedy Airport*

said that it was "symbolic and significant" that she arrived in the United States with her sons, Yarema and Ivan, to begin a new life on her birthday.

A modest woman of 42, Svitlychna described the sorrow that she felt when she was forced to leave her homeland. "Those of you who had to leave the native land understand what I am saying, moreover, I left not of my own free will," she said at the press conference arranged by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in the International Arrivals Building.

Svitlychna expressed her gratitude to the Ukrainian community in the free world for their "strong efforts" on behalf of all Ukrainian political prisoners. She said that the list of political prisoner who want to emigrate is "endless". The few that she mentioned included: Stefania Shabatura, with whom she was incarcerated; Vitaliy Kalynychenko and Ivan Kandyba, members of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group; and Yosyp Terelya, who she said, was incarcerated in a psychiatric asylum for seeking emigration.

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The Soviet Union is becoming a regular purchaser of meat products from New Zealand and Australia. During 1977 the meat purchases in Australia and New Zealand have been increased further. New Zealand expects to sell 70,000 tons of meat to the Soviet Union (1967: 50,000 tons, 1970: only 12,000 tons). The Government of Australia is preparing a transaction to sell 130,000 tons of meat in exchange for petroleum, whereby the Australian meat supplies to countries of the Soviet Bloc are to be doubled.

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In the reception room of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in Moscow, there is a special room, called "room No. 10". Very persistent plaintiffs, as well

Svitlychna said that she spoke by telephone with her brother Ivan Svitlychny, who is serving his exile sentence in Altai. She said that he is physically weak, but spiritually "as always, strong". Svitlychna said that she has not abandoned hope of seeing her brother in the West, but added that "no one is allowed to emigrate while in exile, especially Ukrainians".

As she entered the pressroom after clearing customs, Svitlychna was officially welcomed to the United States by Mrs. Slava Rubel, UCCA Vice-President for Youth Affairs. She was also greeted by Gen. Petro Hryhorenko, who extended to her felicitations on behalf of the Kyiv group, of which he is a member and its Western spokesman.

Also fighting back tears, Gen. Hryhorenko said that he never met Svitlychna in the Soviet Union. "When Nadia was free, I was in prison, and when I was released, she was imprisoned," said Gen. Hryhorenko. "Since we are here, we will continue to work for our native land."

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as those who refuse to be satisfied with the formal answer "your complaint will be considered", those who come to demand exit permits from the USSR or to reject their Soviet citizenship, are all sent to room No. 10. In this room there is a second door through which such "uncomfortable" and "violent" plaintiffs are taken out to special closed vans waiting in the yard, and are transferred to reception rooms of mental hospitals.

According to witnesses, from 10 to 12 persons are transferred daily in this manner from the reception room of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to psychprisons.

*Research Centre for Prisons  
Psychprisons and Forced-Labor  
Concentration Camps of the USSR*

## Russia or Soviet Union?

### A QUESTION OF TERMINOLOGY

For two generations the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have faced each other as superpowers. Along with the increasing importance of the Soviet Union in world affairs, we might expect an increase in knowledge and understanding of the peoples of the Soviet Union among the American public and particularly among American educators. Only an informed citizenry and political leadership will be capable of making decisions on policies toward the Soviet Union. Yet, one is often struck by Americans' lack of knowledge of basic facts about geography, history, political structure, and culture of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the widespread assumption that all Soviet citizens are Russians and that the Soviet Union is Russia.

Examples of this popular use of the term "Russia" as a synonym for the Soviet Union are to be met constantly on television, radio, in popular publications, in the press, and even in university lectures. Although many people are aware that the Soviet Union contains numerous nationalities other than Russians, the short-hand use of "Russia" continues to confuse even well-educated Americans. It often leads to absurd situations. American sportscasters look dumb-founded when after congratulating a Soviet athlete for his victory as a Russian Olympic Champion, the athlete hostilely asserts that he is a Georgian. American delegations proclaim their love to Russia and Russian culture to their hosts in Vilnius, only to find their hosts respond with hurt Lithuanian pride. Teachers inform their Armenian-American and Ukrainian-American students that they cannot select Armenia and Ukraine for their school projects, since they are not

"countries" but regions of Russia. Even the National Geographic Society, which valiantly struggles against Americans' widespread ignorance of the world beyond their borders has recently issued a book entitled, "Journey Through the Russias".

The most surprising aspect of the problem is that Americans cling to the concept of the Soviet Union as Russia, while Soviets, including Russians, insist that their state is a federation of "equal" national republics. Despite the fact that the republics have little autonomy and the regime follows a policy of Russification, the Soviet leadership carefully adheres to a terminology which reflects the multi-national nature of the federation of sixteen union republics. (Ed. note: The equality of the 16 republics is of course a fiction. The press and leadership of the republics are constantly bowing to the benevolent and "older" Russian brother. Even the hymn of the Ukrainian SSR contains a reference to the "great Russian people".)

Why then does the American education system, press, and public, stubbornly continue to view all Soviet citizens as Russians and the country as Russia? Partially the problem is one of historical terminology. The Russian empire of the nineteenth century included most of the areas now in the Soviet Union — therefore the USSR is viewed merely as a transformed Russia. Since the Tsarist state was created from a Russian core and espoused a Russian nationalist ideology, Americans overlooked the existence of non-Russians. With little historical perspective, Americans view Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the Baltic area and Ukraine as always naturally having been a part of Russia. They forgot that most of these areas were annexed to

the Russian state only in the eighteenth century. For example, to the Armenians, whose ancient kingdom accepted Christianity in 301 and who spent centuries under Turkish and Persian rule, their connection with Russia is merely one episode in a long and complicated history. For that matter, Western Ukrainians were never part of the Russian Empire, and were only incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1939—44. Yet the wide-spread view that “Russia” in the borders of the present-day Soviet Union is a nation-state, and not an imperial conglomerate similar to Austria-Hungary, remains dominant even among American foreign policy circles.

Strong biases against “fragmentation” exist among Americans, who derive their attitudes about the Soviet Union from the experience of the United States. Instead of sympathizing with groups in the Soviet Republics who seek to transform the Lithuanian SSR or Georgian SSR into independent nation states, they consider them as comparable to the American states. They believe that just as the ethnic groups of the United States have adopted English and merged into one American people, so the “ethnic” groups of the USSR should adopt Russian. The excesses of twentieth-century nationalism deafen them to the cries of Latvians and Byelorussians that they, like the Poles, Bulgarians, and Dutch, should have their own independent states.

Finally, the enchantment of many Americans with the great Russian literature and music of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries makes the American wonder what strange forces possesses the Estonian to reject this world-renowned culture and identity. The success of Russian cultural and educational figures in academic and cultural communities provide an influence often unsympathetic to non-Russian demands. The exotic myth of powerful Holy Russia and the Russian soul overshadows any interest that Ameri-

cans would have about the Azerbaijani or Moldavian-Rumanian culture. Even the dramatic and acrobatic Georgian and Ukrainian dance groups are labeled Russian by impressarios who wish to capitalize on the popularity of all things Russian.

The result of labeling the people as different as the Western-oriented Finnic-speaking, Protestant Estonians, the Turkic-speaking, Muslim Uzbeks, and the Romance-language-speaking Moldavian-Rumanians as “Russians” has impoverished Americans’ appreciation of the cultures and histories of the non-Russian peoples and has rendered Americans incapable of understanding social and political developments in the USSR. Since the last Soviet census indicated that by now the Russians are a minority in the Soviet Union, Americans are out of touch with the majority of the population of the other superpower. The danger of ignorance about other parts of the world which occurred in Indo-China may be repeated again for the Soviet Union. With demographic trends increasing the percentage of non-Russians, the balance of power may shift in the USSR or Russian attempts to retain dominance may lead to an explosive situation. As the Turkic-speaking population of the USSR increases dramatically, how many foreign policy advisors understand Uzbek political and cultural traditions and how many American academics study Kirghiz? As with the reaction to *Sputnik*, the US may be caught unaware because of lack of knowledge about events in the USSR.

Non-recognition of the non-Russians in the USSR also blinds Americans to the human and national rights issues in the USSR. No one would maintain that the life or freedom of a Russian dissident in Moscow is worth more than that of a Ukrainian dissident in Kyiv or a Lithuanian Catholic in Vilnius. Yet lack of understanding of Ukrainian or Lithuanian affairs results in the Western press downplaying these “provincial” movements and

allows the Soviet Russian regime a much greater opportunity for repression.

American insensitivity to national differences in the USSR also offends the dignity of a substantial number of Americans of Armenian, Byelorussian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Rumanian-Moldavian, and Ukrainian descent. Many editors of reference works have dismissed the indignant and emotional letters of Lithuanian-Americans or Ukrainian-Americans as the ravings of a nationalist lunatic fringe. Lack of articulateness allows editors and educators to continue referring to "Kyiv, Russia" or "Russian dancers from Vilnius" without admitting that the hysterical letters that they receive lodge justifiable complaints. With over three million Americans descending from the non-Russian nationalities (over six million if Jews are included), the problem takes on considerable personal importance for the psychological well-being of numerous American citizens. How much tension has been created for Armenian-American school children in Watertown, Massachusetts, for Lithuanian-American workers in Chicago, and for Ukrainian housewives in Pittsburgh by the insensitivity of educators, reporters and editors.

The situation can be improved by a

#### **GAJAU SKAS JOINS LITHUANIAN**

Balys Gajauskas, a Lithuanian political prisoner, has joined the Lithuanian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, one of five such groups in the Soviet Union, reported the Elta Information Service of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania.

Quoting Tomas Venclova, a member of the Lithuanian group and its western representative, Elta said that Gajauskas joined the group and would participate in its activity.

"With sincere congratulations to this heroic individual, I wish to express my certainty that the entire Lithuanian Hel-

careful campaign to create a new atmosphere of understanding. Educators should emphasize the cultural and national diversity of the Soviet Union in their geography and history lessons. Audio-visual materials should be pioneered to impress on the pupils the heterogeneity in art, architecture, religion, and social patterns of the nations of the Soviet Union. Local ethnic groups should be utilized as resources on Ukrainian icons, Armenian architecture, Lithuanian literature, and Jewish religious traditions. All too often ethnic communities are reduced to the level of quaint suppliers of ethnic food and folk dancing alone.

Editors, reporters and television personnel should receive careful instructions from their employers explaining the need for exactness when describing the Soviet Union. Rather than just writing angry letters, the ethnic groups should conduct an organized program of supplying information and resources about their nation. The process will be a long one, since bad habits are difficult to uproot. Only by tolerance and understanding can both sides resolve the problem without confrontations.

*Frank E. Sysyn is an Assistant Professor of History at Harvard University's Ukrainian Research Institute.*

#### **HELSINKI MONITORING GROUP**

sinki group takes joy and pride in his decision," wrote Venclova.

In making the announcement about Gajauskas, Venclova also mentioned that many Helsinki watchers in the USSR have already been arrested.

Among them he listed Yuri Orlov and Aleksandr Ginsburg of the Moscow group, and Oleksa Tykhy and Lev Lukyanenko of the Ukrainian group.

Venclova said that they have "declared that they are determined to continue the work of the Helsinki groups in prison, as well."

## "Spark Will Not Die"

*Below is the text of the statement delivered by Edward Mezvinsky, United States representative to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, at the World Congress of Free Ukrainians banquet, on November 25, 1978.*

It is a pleasure to be with you this evening. Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians and all peoples of the Soviet Union have the right to feel proud of their national heritage.

And you — representing organizations from many countries — have preserved your national values — all the while holding high the torch of liberty and freedom in the endless struggle for human rights.

Tonight, I come to join with you in the fight for the realization of the rights of people everywhere in the world in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In that Declaration, we find written:

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."

We must work to insure that those ideals so expressed do not become simply hollow and empty promises. Rather, we must strive for their fulfillment and adherence by every nation.

This administration, the Congress and the American people are all of one voice in this universal humanitarian quest, and let there be no mistake about the unity and steadfastness of the United States to these fundamental principles — our commitment is real.

Our government, while far from perfect in its commitment to the protection of human rights, will not remain silent when the rights of other peoples are violated.

In his inaugural address, President

Carter set the tone for a policy based firmly on these values. "Because we are free," he said, "we can never be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere."

We, who are involved in the defense of human rights, must also remember the defenders of human rights. We will not, and cannot, forget the men and women who risk imprisonment because they believe in protecting their culture, language and the human rights of their fellow citizens.

We will not, and cannot, forget such individuals as Mykola Rudenko, Lev Lukyanenko, Myroslav Marynovych, Valentyn Moroz, Viktoras Petkus, Svyatoslav Karavansky, who suffer because they chose to secure their rights and the rights of others.

Let the world know tonight that those people who live in their homelands in the Soviet Union are not forgotten.

It is important for all peoples to protect their languages, cultures and national identity. It is a violation of human rights for a state to stifle the progress of a people's language. It is against the solemn principles of the United Nations for a nation's heritage and history to be lost by design or even by neglect on the part of a government.

The United States does not seek to moralize. We seek to assure the principles of reunion of families, freedom of religion and belief, and realization of individual search for identity and personal fulfillment. Our duty is to those people who cry out for our help.

With this administration pledged to make human rights one of the major pillars of its foreign policy, the prominence of the Helsinki Accords has come to the forefront. Indeed, few documents are quoted or referred to more often today than the Helsinki Final Act.

The formation of Helsinki monitoring groups in Moscow, in Ukraine, and else-

where, including the United States, is an important step towards insuring that the rights of people in every country are guaranteed. The United States commends the formation of these groups and their work to see that their governments fully implement the pledges they make. We applaud the courageous individuals who are exercising their rights.

The right of organizations or persons to assist their governments in the task of insuring the full implementation of the

Helsinki Accords, including where necessary to point out instances of non-implementation, should be universally respected. We deeply regret that the Soviet Union has not viewed implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the same manner.

The aspirations and hopes of millions of people are contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the Helsinki Accords.

That spark will not die.

Our voices will not be silenced.

## Decolonialization Rally in New York

The culminating point of the four-day World Congress of Free Ukrainians, held in New York City, was a demonstration in protest of repression in Ukraine and demanding the decolonialization of the Soviet Union, on Sunday, November 26, 1978, near the Soviet Mission to the United Nations.

Despite frigid temperatures, participants numbering over 6,000 including Ukrainians from the US, Canada, Europe, South America and Australia, youth organizations, and representatives of the Byelorussian, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian communities marched in a parade column, which at one point stretched for at least 10 city blocks.

Four former political prisoners in the Soviet Union were on hand to personally substantiate the protesters' accusations of gross human, national and religious rights violations behind the Iron Curtain perpetrated by the Kremlin.

"We came to this building of murderers to begin a new era in the fight for freedom for the captive nations of Moscow and for the destruction of the Communo-Muscovite empire," said Simas Kudirka, a Lithuanian and former Soviet political prisoner who unsuccessfully attempted to jump ship in US territorial waters

only to be returned to Soviet officials. Mr. Kudirka was among four non-Ukrainian speakers to address the rally at East 67th Street. Others included Dr. Vitaut Kipel of the Byelorussian community, Janis Riekstins, Latvian and Paul Saar, Estonian.

From the time the first marchers began trickling into 67th Street, some 30 minutes elapsed before the final rows arrived at the site of the rally, located about 500 feet from the doors of the Soviet Mission. The street was cordoned off at its Lexington Avenue side by four rows of police barricades and an unusually large number of policemen, together with mounted detachments.

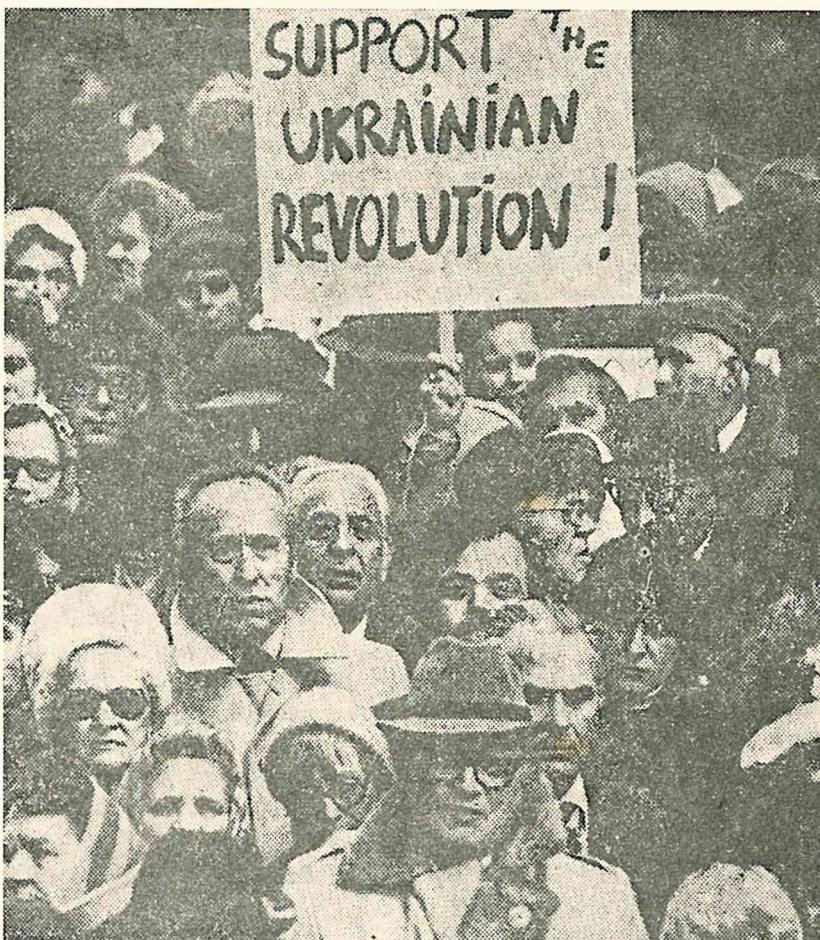
Leonid Plyushch, another former political prisoner, speaking from atop a mobile sound unit, warned against the policy of appeasement, giving as an example Hitler's trickery. He said that those "who wanted to trap the West with the Helsinki Accords, merely trapped themselves". Plyushch declared his belief that the Soviet empire will vanish, just as other empires have vanished.

Nadia Svitlychna urged the crowd to join together not only for one demonstration but for a continuous struggle. She said then "will the strongest concentration camp in the world be destroyed."

"A smart person once said that there will be no more wars, only a struggle for peace, and not one stone will be left unturned," she said alluding to the human rights movement in the Soviet Union.

After the official conclusion of the rally, and after most of the participants had departed peacefully, without warning a phalanx of New York City police officers

took down the barricade and charged into a group of youths who had remained, singing the Ukrainian national anthem and symbolically holding their arms crossed over their heads. Three persons were arrested and one policeman slightly injured. All three who had been arrested had to be taken to a hospital for emergency treatment of injuries received during the scuffle.



*Photograph of only a small number of those participating in the New York City rally. Many posters were carried during the march, including such, calling for "Freedom from Russian Oppression" and "Release for all Political Prisoners in the USSR".*

## For Russia Without Colonies

In announcing the creation of the organization "For Russia Without Colonies", we wish to draw to the attention of the general public that this announcement takes place before various national organizations that have assumed the positions of an anti-Communist and anti-imperialist struggle.

We see a fundamental difference between our organization and all the other Russian political and social organizations in exile. All of them, even those claiming to speak on behalf of the entire population of the Soviet Union, carry on their activities in isolation from the non-Russian national organizations of emigrés from former Russia and present-day Soviet Union.

It is no secret to anyone what the reason for this mutual alienation has been. All Russian organizations, both those that have existed in the past and vanished, those that continue their activities today, as well as those that announcements about have appeared only very recently in the press — all of them, under whatever lofty and universal ideas and flags they might not appear — all of them refuse to recognize the fact of the existence of the Soviet, formerly Russian, empire, and having recognized that fact, to proclaim among their fundamental principles the necessity of liberation of the Russian people from their colonial burden and the right of each nation without exception to set its own national sovereign State.

Why is it then that, in starting our work on the construction of a new Russian organization, we set out from the nationalities' problem? Why do we not pay primary attention to other aspects of our future activities and to other principles by which our organization will be guided?

I can assure you that this is not because

other questions are unclear to us or that we do not possess an integrated systemic concept. Nor is it because our present-day forum makes it obligatory on us. Nor because our entire group's specialty is the nationalities' problem in the Soviet Union. Nor is it because we are narrow, fanatical nationalists.

We proceed from the nationalities' problem because the Russian social consciousness has only presently come to understand the most important truth: the strategy of the struggle against communism lies through the anti-imperialist struggle.

Let us take an overall look at the struggle against the totalitarian Marxist regime within the Russian nation.

Immediately after the Bolshevik putsch in Petrograd, the struggle against this regime began. Old Russia fought the new form of the Empire that was being organized on new ideological and social foundations. However noble the struggle of the White Movement might have been it was destined to failure, even if the leaders of the movement had not committed tactical mistakes.

The White Movement, the White Army set as their task the preservation of the unity of the Empire. It started to go to pieces. The tsarist system, with its obsolete ideology and corrupt ossified administrative apparatus, could not save its offspring. The iceberg started to roll over, and it showed itself to have been an impossible task to try to halt its collapse in mid-roll. Therefore, despite all the liberalism of the White Idea, the entire White Movement was permeated by a feeling of tragic doom. The new, predatory regime of the Bolsheviks preserved and renovated the Empire. For it, this regime corresponded better to its essence.

After the new power strengthened itself, the opposition went underground. While among the non-Russian nations, the opposition invariably appeared and continues to come forward under the slogan of national independence, among the Russians living under the Bolshevik heel, the opposition acted according to its own logic which until very recently did not make it possible to place the nationalities' problem in to the focus of attention. The Russian opposition has gone through several stages: "Left Communism", "True Marxists", "Revisionists", and others, and finally an openly constitutional-democratic movement. And all these groups and movements have not and do not raise the question of an uncompromising defeat of totalitarian Marxism. They all attack only some of its manifestations.

There has existed and there exists an opposition, however, that is an exception to this series. This has been the spiritual-religious opposition in all its various manifestations. Beginning with the underground Orthodox Church, different Christian and other religious sects, and ending with the religiosity-serching intelligentsia, all these spiritual heros refused and continue to refuse to recognize and cooperate with the theomachist regime. However, they never tried to form an organization for real social and political struggle against the power that is not from God. Their resistance was implemented only on the personal level.

However, after the constitutional movement gave an integrated critical picture of the present-day Soviet reality and, at the same time, by all their activities and their existence showed the illusory character of their main precepts, a new stage arrived. It became clear that however one might criticise that system, however one might try to improve it, it would not be possible to save it from the evil inherent in it from the very beginning due to its very essence. No renewals, no evolution of the regime,

no consistent implementation of the Soviet Constitutions and behests of the Communist founding leaders will save it from evil because the Soviet system and evil are identical. And the Russian nation, having gone through untold sufferings, having suffered countless losses, has begun to understand in its mass, the entire depth of the diabolic lie of the so-called Communism. And at the same time it began to realize that the task of liberation from the Communist pestilence, like a cancer tumor creeping all over the globe, has not a regional, but a worldwide character.

What is then the strategy of the struggle to be followed? Where is the force by relying on which it would be possible to cope with the Goliath?

Independent Russian, and not only Russian, social consciousness finds an answer to this clear and unambiguous question: it is necessary to merge two genuine oppositions to the regime: the spiritual-religious one and the national-anti-imperialist one.

In the persons of some of its representatives, the Russian nation has come close to the realization of the necessity of giving up the colonial burden the necessity of turning its energy not to the outside but within in order to create a genuinely national culture, to save the Russian people from degeneracy, to obtain a possibility for constructive activity.

Russians are beginning to realize that the struggle of nations for their national independence is that decisive force which will free mankind not only from imperialism but also from its newest ideology — totalitarian Marxism — because national freedom and independence is as incompatible with any form of messianic world totalitarianism as is human freedom with slavery. The striving of nations towards freedom and acquisition of its own face is a factor whose force has to be measured in terms of centuries and millennia. This factor which is by several orders stronger than the factor of the class

## Boycott the Olympics!

The movement to boycott the 1980 Olympiad in Moscow in protest against Soviet violations of human rights has made relatively little progress in the United States, but it's gaining widespread support in Britain.

In the United States, President Carter, who has made the pursuit of human rights an integral part of his foreign policy, recently ducked the issue. Asked whether or not he approved of the boycott movement, he merely replied that he would let the US Olympic Committee decide whether this nation should participate in the games.

The USOC, for its part, bristles when the suggestion to boycott the games is made. This, says F. Don Miller, executive director of the USOC, would be "infusing politics into the Olympic movement."

Contrast this with the attitude in Britain.

There, Foreign Minister David Owen has said: "The Soviet Union should not be taking it for granted that the 1980 Olympics will take place in Moscow." Noting that sentiment against holding the games there is growing in Britain, he added: "The Soviet Union will have to recognize that we (meaning the British government) are sensitive to what people think in this country."

The British Sports Council is considering a resolution asking the government to approach all NATO and Common Market governments for a concerted boycott of the games if they are held in Moscow.

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struggle is being hypocritically utilized in its own interests by Communism.

Therefore, we who are spokesmen of that part of the free Russian social consciousness unenslaved by the Communists, that has come to realize the inevitability and uniqueness of this path of liberation of our Motherland, announce the creation of the organization, "For Russia Without

The resolution, introduced by Laddie Lucas, chairman of the council's finance committee, cites "the Soviet Union's flagrant, brutal, and continuing disregard of human rights, of the principles of the Helsinki agreement, and of the spirit of the Olympic ideal."

There is one reasonable argument, and one alone, for participating in the Moscow-Olympiad. And this is that withdrawing from the games would be a sore blow to hundreds of young American men and women, who for years have dreamed of competing in them, and who have trained for them day and night.

Miller's contention that it would mean politicizing the games is utter nonsense. The Soviets are politicizing them already.

As Mrs. Anatoly Scharansky, wife of the jailed Soviet dissident, recently pointed out, they are laying plans to make the games a gigantic propaganda extravaganza, just as Hitler did when the Olympiad was held in Berlin in 1936.

Boycotting the Moscow Olympiad would thwart the Soviet plans. And it would be the most dramatic way the United States and the Free World generally could express their disapproval of communist tyranny.

If the president means what he says about human rights, he should at least echo Owen's warning to the Soviets.

*The Arizona Republic,*  
September 21, 1978

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Colonies". We consider our cooperation with other national organizations as the foremost necessary condition in building a future, national, free Russia which will come into existence alongside other sovereign national States out of the Soviet Empire that has already outlived its life.

*New York, 1978.*

## KGB Killers On the Loose Again!

This past fall, 21 and 19 years elapsed since the assassination in Munich of Dr. Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera, respectively. After their sudden and mysterious demise, reputable medical specialists who diagnosed their deaths reported that these two outstanding Ukrainian leaders had died of heart attacks.

It was only in the fall of 1961, that an obscure KGB agent, Bohdan Stashynsky, defected with his German-born wife to West Berlin and confessed to committing both hideous crimes. It took some time for West German and US security to verify his fantastic story and put trust in his confession. Eventually, Bohdan Stashynsky was tried by the German Supreme Court in Karlsruhe and sentenced to 8 years. He was released after serving his full term and disappeared, with his whereabouts being kept secret.

But now a Stashynsky-like KGB killer is operating in London, where at least two victims were murdered under mysterious circumstances. The victims were not shady characters connected with organized crime — they were intelligent, even brilliant members of the media who had defected from Communist-ruled Bulgaria and were active by speaking out against Communist oppression over the British radio network.

First, Georgi Markov died of a mysterious ailment on September 11, 1978 after saying he had been stabbed with a poison-tipped umbrella. Doctors found a tiny metal pellet, smaller than a pinhead in his thigh. The pellet, made of rare metals, was drilled with two microscopic holes which contained some sophisticated untraceable poison that is still unidentified. Markov worked for "Radio Free Europe" and the BBC's foreign broadcast service.

A few days after Markov's death, Vladimir Simeonov, a friend of Markov, was found dead at the bottom of the stairs

of his London home. Simeonov also worked for BBC and was also a defector from Bulgaria. Police are still investigating the cause of death.

Another Bulgarian political emigre, Paris-based newspaperman, Vladimir Kostov, had a pellet removed from his back identical to the one found in Markov, although Kostov lived to tell about it.

All signs point to either the KGB or its Bulgarian puppet police as the instigators and perpetrators of these politically-inspired murders.

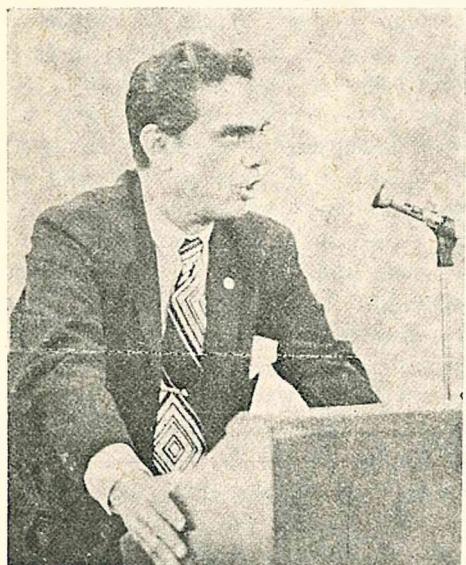
The Soviet-Russian KGB's use of assassination is well-documented in the books, *KGB*, by John Barron, and *Murder to Order*, by Karl Anders. The latter book deals specifically with the assassination of Dr. Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera, Presidium Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Author Anders writes: "The reason why the Soviet-Russian government had decided upon the murder of Stepan Bandera was because he was a leader of a world-embracing resistance movement against the Russian Communist occupation of Ukraine. Bandera was the symbol of the struggle for a free and independent Ukraine, a non-Russian nation of 42 million people, with their own traditions, culture, language and civilization..."

He further says that the Soviet-Russian secret service which carried out the murder of Bandera in 1959 and that of Rebet in 1957, had also carried out the murder of Symon Petlura in 1926 in Paris and Evhen Konovalets in Rotterdam in 1938, and also planned the murder of Yaroslav Stetsko, last Prime Minister of Free Ukraine and ABN President.

If the USSR and its satellites can go into any free country and murder whomever they please, using the most sophisticated methods that modern science can devise, then who is safe?

# Dr. Francisco Buitrago Martinez

## A Posthumous Homage to a Great Anti-Communist Fighter



The violent death of Dr. Francisco Buitrago Martinez at the hands of the bloodthirsty communists of the Sandinist Front for Internationalist Libertinism (sic) was the dignified end of a Nicaraguan anticommunist fighter.

A representative in Nicaragua of the Latinamerican Anticommunist Confederation (CAL) and of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), Dr. Buitrago distinguished himself for his great knowledge and understanding of communist aggression inside and out of his country, and for his unfaltering valor proven in the circumstances of his death.

He was on the Executive Committee of the WACL for the past three years and he participated brilliantly in five of the aforementioned League's conferences and in two

CAL conferences. He participated outstandingly when the latter League was founded in Mexico.

Dr. Buitrago was a great friend of the peoples of the subjugated countries. He supported the demand for the liberation of the subjugated nations in the USSR and in the satellite states at all international conferences in which he participated.

May this great anticommunist fighter from Nicaragua rest in peace in the Lord.

## ARMENIAN DISSIDENT SENTENCED

A court in Soviet Armenia has convicted dissident leader Robert Nazaryan on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and sentenced him to five years in a forced labor camp and two years of internal exile.

According to other members of the Armenian Helsinki monitor group which Nazaryan headed, the court handed down its verdict and sentence on Saturday, December 2, 1978.

Nazaryan could have faced a maximum sentence of seven years imprisonment and five years in exile under the law. The prosecutor has asked for six years prison and two years of exile.

Part of the indictment accused the Armenian human rights leader of passing material to "bourgeois" Western journalists for purposes hostile to the USSR — with the evidence being presented including the business cards of several Western reporters.

## Second Kyiv Bulletin Reaches United States

The second Informational Bulletin of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords has just made its way to the West.

The 74-page issue contains the following articles, informational materials or appeals: Introduction, "Freedom for Levko Lukyanenko", "Inquiry into the Case of Lukyanenko", "Trial of Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matusevych", "Trial of Petro Vins", "Politically Motivated Convictions — in Political Camps and Special Hospitals", "In Exile", "Status of Former Political Prisoners", "Ideologically Motivated Persecution", "Death of the Artist Rostyslav Paletsky", "About Heli Snezhiriov".

In addition, the issue contains appeals of the following Ukrainian human rights activists: Levko Lukyanenko, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ihor Kalynets, Oksana Meshko, Valeriy Marchenko, D. Demydov, Stefania Shabatura, Nina Strokata, Vasyl Stus, Nadia Svitlychna, and the Vins family.

The Information Bulletin names the following members of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group: Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Petro Vins, Levko Lukyanenko, Petro Hryhorenko, Oles Berdnyk, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Ivan Kandyba, Oksana Meshko, Vasyl Sichko, Vasyl Striltsiv and Nina Strokata.

### *Ukrainian tells of Russification ban on Shevchenko ceremonies*

An appeal by Mykhaylo Melnyk, a historian from the Kyiv oblast, in which the author cites Russian chauvinism, Russification and the suppression of Ukrainian cultural expression, was also published.

Excerpts from Melnyk's appeal, dated May 11, are translated from the original Ukrainian below.

"Since the time (and this was 12 to

13 years ago) that I realized what the date of May 22 meant, I have celebrated this day. The culminating point of this solemn occasion was the placing of flowers at the pedestal of the monument to Taras Shevchenko in Kyiv. But, for some time now, the celebration of this holiday has been accompanied — in subtle terms — by the most varied tricks on those who observe this day. For example, for me, May 22 is tied to my dismissal from post-graduate studies in 1972, firing from my job in school No. 109 in Kyiv in 1973 and the dissemination of rumors of all sorts by officials among the inhabitants of the village where I was born and where my family resided. In connection with the celebration of May 22, I earned the constant attention of the militia, the KGB and the like. For example, before May 22 of 1977, the officials of the regional department of education summoned my wife, who works in a school, and the principal of the school. There she was reminded that she is studying at the university (some students were suspended from the university because they went to the Shevchenko monument on May 22), that she works in the school, that she is my wife and, therefore, should influence me not to go to the monument of Shevchenko on May 22. Local militiaman Mayorko, in turn, summoned me on the morning of May 22, 1977, and (after much delay) forbade me to place flowers before the Shevchenko monument that day.

This year on May 22, I will go to the Shevchenko monument even if similar pressure is again applied. That is why I feel I should explain why I celebrate May 22...

May 22 is the day of the burial of the poet-revolutionary — in accordance with his testament — "in dear Ukraine" after his last remains were transferred from

St. Petersburg. From that time on, the grave of Shevchenko has been holy for every Ukrainian and not only for Ukrainians," wrote Melnyk.

"The prohibition against observing this day amounts to robbery of the cultural-historical heritage of the Ukrainian nation, an outrage against Shevchenko's name. The prohibition against observing May 22 is not the only instance in the system of restrictions to which Ukrainian culture and the Ukrainian nation are subject," Melnyk stated in the appeal.

He went on to cite the following examples of the suppression of Ukrainian culture.

A highly placed education authority attacked the famous Ukrainian poet Oleksander Oles only because the poet had at one time been a representative of the Ukrainian National Republic in Austria.

The works of Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Mykhaylo Hrushevsky are suppressed and not published because they were leaders of the Ukrainian National Republic.

The subject of the history of Ukraine is almost completely ignored in schools and universities — and Ukraine's historical past is misrepresented.

The Ukrainian language is secondary in the Ukrainian republic.

The newspapers of the Ukrainian republic are provincial stereotyped organs which do not even have their own correspondents outside the borders of the republic.

The contemporary Ukrainian film is at best only material for "Perets".\*

Systematic and widespread Russification exists. For example, in Brovary there are eight kindergartens — only two of them are Ukrainian-language institutions.

The reference to "the new historic community of people" contained in the

new Soviet Constitution is the screen behind which further denials of national rights and repressions of the cultures of the nations of the Soviet Union (with the exception of the Russian) take place.

A typical example of the state of Ukrainian culture is the circulation of the newspaper "Literaturna Ukraina" (Literary Ukraine), the mass organ which brings contemporary Ukrainian literature to the reader. The circulation of the paper is almost the same as that of the newspaper for the deaf and mute, "Nashe Slovo" (Our Word).

Among the Ukrainian intelligentsia, there is an unusually high degree of unemployment. And a marked percentage of the intelligentsia (among them author Mykola Rudenko) is, in one way or another, confined in Soviet prisons or camps.

Petro Shelest was not the only person dismissed from his position and publicly disgraced for merely the fact that he had — like the Communists of Russia, Italy, France — recognized his national identity and his responsibility before his nation.

"No militias or servants of 'humanism and progress' in civilian clothes, no prohibitions or the most barbarous slaughter of human dignity, no judicial sentences will stop the celebrations of May 22. The barbarous prohibition itself makes this day special, and raises it to a high level of importance as a means of testing the strength of the spirit of the Ukrainian nation in the battle for its existence, for the strengthening and continuation of its kin — emerging from those achievements of today's socialist Ukraine. This prohibition forces even the most typical man in the street to think, and, sooner or later, will provoke thought even in the person who believes that to think without a command from above is harmful and dangerous. Criteria of truth (including the truth of the new constitution) — is practice. And brutal coercion may appropriate for itself the role of defender of

\* "Perets" is a satirical humor magazine published in Kyiv, Ukraine, with a circulation of over 3 million.

humanism and progress," concluded Melnyk.

In the postscript to the appeal, Melnyk added that on May 22, the day after the letter was written he was called to the headquarters of the first division of the regional military commission, and despite the fact that he had been exempted by the commission, he was informed that he was being taken to a military camp for

several weeks (beginning May 15). "The main reason for this — May 22. I refused to follow this order since it did not conform with my military card. They threatened me, saying that they would come after me with the militia. And this may happen... My nation does not have the following saying for nothing: the law is like a harnessed horse — it is directed by a pull of the reigns."

## Lithuanian Prisoners of Conscience in the Soviet Union

A partial list as of August 30, 1978

(Continued from previous issue.)

SURNAME, FIRST NAME	BORN	SENTENCED	TERM	PRISON/CAMP (years)
SADŪNAITE, Nijolė	1938	1974	6	Krasnojarska
SAKALAUSKAS, Antanas	1938	1974	5	No. 36
SIDORIS, Vyta	1928	1957	25	No. 35
SIMOKAITIS, Jonas	1936	1970	15	No. 10
SKIAUTIS, Liudvikas	1935	1955	25	No. 19
SLUČKA, Antanas			15	No. 35
SLUŠNIS, Jonas		1973	5	
STAŠAITIS, Vitas		1965	15	No. 19
STATKEVIČIUS, Algis		1970		Psychiatric hospital
STONKUS, Povilas	1906	1967	15	No. 19
ŠERELIS, Tadas		1973	5	
ŠERKŠNYS, Jonas	1917	1968	10	No. 36
TAMULEVIČIUS, Povilas	1902	1954	25	Mordovia 385/3
TAUTKEVIČIUS, Juozas	1902	1954	25	No. 3
TUČAS, Robertas		1954	25	No. 35
URNIEŽIUS, Zigmas		1967	15	No. 35
VAIVADA, Antanas	1900	1968	15	No. 19
VILUTIS, Jonas	1914	1970	15	No. 19
ZAKŠAUSKAS, Pranas			15	No. 35
ZELENKEVIČIUS, Juozas	1916	1968	15	No. 17a confined to Serpsk Psych. Institut.
ŽYPRĖ, Algirdas	1930	1958	25	Tatarskaja AS-SR, 902 Kazam-82, P-ja-UUE, 148-st-6, Ind. 420082 Soviet Union
ŽUKAUSKAS, Šarūnas	1950	1974	6	No. 36
ŽVYNIS, Bronius	1915	1966	15	No. 36

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.

## State Department Explains Stand on Dissidents in Soviet Union

*Below are copies of letters exchanged between Prof. Askold Skalsky of Hagerstown Junior College and Hodding Carter III, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs and State Department spokesman, regarding the US government's stand on dissidents in the USSR.*

The Hon. Cyrus Vance  
Secretary of State  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Secretary Vance:

I commend you for your strong and principled reaction to the persecution of Soviet dissidents as exemplified by the current Shcharansky case. At the same time may I also ask you on what basis the United States government decides to bring the plight of individual Soviet dissidents into its foreign policy decisions and to the attention of world public opinion? Specifically, why has the State Department not voiced its concern over the fate of Ukrainian dissidents in the USSR whose activities, arrests, and trials are no different from those of the Jewish emigration group in Moscow? To cite an example, Mykola Rudenko, head of the Kyiv Helsinki watch group, was arrested and sentenced last year. Three other members, Tykhy, Marynovych and Matusevych, have also received harsh sentences, and one, Lev Lukyanenko, is in the process of being tried at this moment. Yet I recall no public declaration by the State Department on this group's behalf. On the other hand, according to "Newsweek" magazine (July 3, 1978) the State Department issued a protest at the end of June on behalf of Jewish activists Slepak and Rudel who had been sentenced to exile for their desire to emigrate to Israel. Surely the action of the State Department was a correct and welcome one; nevertheless, I and other Ukrainians cannot help but wonder why

such action does not also extend to Ukrainians, especially since Ukrainians are, and have been for the last decade now, ruthlessly persecuted by the Soviet government.

May I therefore appeal to you, Mr. Secretary, to speak out on behalf of Ukrainians who, like Lev Lukyanenko, are now being tried or who, like hundreds of others, are serving sentences in Soviet labor camps. You must be aware that public State Department intervention on behalf of Soviet dissidents is a mover of public opinion and that public opinion has a great moral, sometimes even physical, effect on the dissidents in the USSR. The State Department should accord the benefits of its concern to Ukrainians as much as to anyone else in the Soviet Union. It seems to me that such a policy is the only one that can be followed in light of President Carter's human rights declarations as well as traditional American ideals.

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Professor Askold Skalsky  
Hagerstown Junior College  
751 Robinwood Drive  
Hagerstown, Maryland 21740

Dear Professor Skalsky:

Secretary Vance has asked me to reply to your comments on the plight of Ukrainian dissidents in the Soviet Union. All of us in the Department share the Secretary's interest in knowing the views of the American people.

The US Government views with deep concern the actions the Soviet authorities have taken against those who have sought to assert fundamental human rights in the Soviet Union, including freedom of expression and freedom of emigration. To direct these actions against persons such as Lev Lukyanenko, Mykola Rudenko and others is particularly deplorable. The Final

Act of the Helsinki Conference commits its signatories, including the Soviet Union, to act in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We regard the Helsinki Accord as having a moral and political force; by their actions, the Soviet Union has not only contradicted the Accord itself, but has also contravened accepted international standards of human rights.

Over the past months, the Administration has expressed its views to the Soviet authorities at every level of our relationship, both diplomatically and publicly, about official acts directed against the Helsinki monitors and others. We joined other Western nations at Belgrade to engage the Soviet Government in a review of compliance with the Helsinki Final Act, including the human rights provisions. We have made clear to the Soviet authorities that the pattern of increased harassment, arrests and trials will inevitably affect the climate of our relations.

In light of the recent dissident trials, Secretary Vance announced on July 8 that he had asked Barbara Blum, Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and Dr. Frank Press, the President's Science Adviser, to cancel their trips to the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Secretary also announced that he was proceeding with his meetings with Foreign Minister Gromyko in Geneva on July 12. The Secretary explained that we will persist in our efforts to negotiate a sound SALT TWO agreement because these negotiations deal with the security of our nation and affect the peace of the world. It should also be noted that during his meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko the Secretary made clear the Administration's concern over the treatment of their human rights advocates.

We will continue to speak out on the need to respect human rights in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

#### **FIVE WORLD ORGANIZATIONS DEMAND FREEDOM FOR THEIR NATIONS**

On Monday, October 20, 1978, five world co-ordinating bodies — the Estonian World Council, the Conference of Free Byelorussians, the Lithuanian World Community, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, and the World Federation of Free Latvians, submitted a memorandum and resolution concerning national independence and human rights in the USSR to the United Nations in New York.

The documents were presented to a high-ranking representative of UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim by the presidents of the five organizations. The submission of the memorandum was to be followed by a press conference at the Church Centre for the United Nations on Wednesday, November 22, 1978, at which three guest speakers, former Soviet political prisoners — Simas Kudirka (Lithua-

nian), Victor Kalnis (Latvian) and Gen. Petro Hryhorenko (Ukrainian) were to discuss the human and national rights situation of their respective nations, relate their personal experiences at the hands of Soviet Russian authorities, explain the reasons of the existence of over 100,000 political prisoners in the Soviet Russian GULAG — the vast majority of which are non-Russians, and the significance of a concerted effort to dismantle the Soviet Russian Empire. The press conference was chaired by the Secretary General of WCFU, Yuri Shymko, who was recently elected to the Canadian House of Commons.

The joint action by the five world bodies marks a new stage in the efforts at bringing the plight of their oppressed nations before the world community.

## Why Is Ukraine Blacked Out in the United States?

*There is an area of research in opinion-making in which it is exceedingly hard to work: that in which views are formed by leaving things unsaid. Agreements to suppress embarrassing or compromising facts are uncommonly hard to uncover... In matters involving the Soviets during the Second World War there was for instance, the studious avoidance by all sources and publicists of the issue of Communist concentration camps...*

James J. Martin: "American Media and Stalinism" in *Revisionist Viewpoints*, Colorado Springs, 1971.

In the United States, Ukraine and things Ukrainian are under blackout. It is true that the media in the United States do not like to discuss the *nationality problem* in the Soviet Union, though few more explosive issues exist in the whole domain of Soviet affairs. On the contrary, the media in the United States are the best defenders of the Russian Communist colonial empire. The use of the term "Russia" as a synonym for the Soviet Union has been a chronic disease; the sacrosanct term "Russia" is constantly used in the media and in scholarly works. The prestigious *National Geographic Magazine* titled its recent travelogue: *Journey through Russia: the Soviet Union Today* which unmistakably equates Russia with the Soviet Union despite the fact that Russia, the homeland of the Russian people, is no more coincident with the Soviet Union than the United States is coincident with North America.

As a result of deliberate and continual sins of commission and omission concerning the Soviet Union and committed by the media and scholarship in the United States, few Americans realize that the Soviet Union is a multinational society and

that fifty percent of the Soviet people is non-Russian. Moreover, non-Russian groups will soon outnumber the Russians because the rate of the natural increase of the non-Russian peoples is greater than the rate of the natural increase of the Russians. Among the non-Russians, the Ukrainians are the most numerous (1978: 50 million people) and potentially the most powerful. At the present time, Ukraine has been in the forefront of political and religious dissent in the Soviet Union, but this fact, which should be at least newsworthy for the media, has largely been concealed by them from the American people.

Ukraine is a trouble-spot for the Kremlin. No people in Europe have a better fighting anti-communist record than the Ukrainians. And no area within the vast terrorized Soviet-Russian empire is more inflammable than Ukraine. Few more explosive issues exist in the whole domain of Soviet affairs than the question of Ukrainian independence. The problem of Ukrainian independence has caused convulsion after convulsion beginning with the Ukrainian Liberation War (1917—1920); the powerful post-war Ukrainian Insurgent movement of 1920—1923, when Lenin had to admit that Ukraine was Soviet only in form, while in fact the insurgents were the real masters there (Lenin, *Works*, vol. XXXI, p. 310); the resistance to collectivization; and finally, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) of 1942—1953, which according to John A. Armstrong, the American student of Ukrainian nationalism, was "the strongest anti-Soviet guerilla force which has ever developed." The UPA struggle had its dramatic echo in the strikes and revolts in the Soviet concentration camps in 1953—1956 after Stalin's death. There, according

to Roland Gaucher, "the Ukrainian nationalists showed an exemplary will to fight." (*Opposition in the USSR 1917—1967*, New York 1969, p. 406). Thus, the present Ukrainian national dissident movement in Ukraine has its precedent in the uninterrupted Ukrainian movement for liberation since 1917. Soviet power in Ukraine has held its ground up to now (and it has not held it well sometimes) chiefly by the authority of Moscow, by the Russian Communists and by the Russian Red Soviet Army.

These simple but important facts are largely unknown in the United States. Where could they be known from? There is not a single book by an American scholar treating history of Ukraine. In popular almanacs and yearbooks which serve as a chief source of information for the wide masses of the people, you can find information on Andorra, Botswana, Fiji, Guinea-Bissau, and even on such "independent" countries as Afars and Issas (24 lines of information in *Reader's Digest Almanac* for 1978), but not on the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic which constitutionally is a sovereign state in the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, having its anthem, its coat-of-arms, its flag. Information on such a sovereign state as Comoros (a page of information in the *Reader's Digest Almanac* for 1978) is more important in the opinion of *Reader's Digest editors* than the information on Ukraine with her 50 million population, important agriculture, industry, science, culture, etc. If such an editorial policy is not tendentious, then we really don't understand what intentional tendency is.

However, we cannot blame the editors of the popular almanacs. They have their instructions too, and must follow them. It seems that some instructions demand that the terms "Ukraine", "Ukrainians", "Ukrainian dissidents" be passed over in silence by public information channels, and the "Ukrainian liberation movement"

be definitely proscribed in the United States. Thanks to the clever Soviet propaganda in the United States, the term "nationalist" became odious to Americans and if "the Ukrainian nationalists" are mentioned, it means to Americans that the Ukrainians are "fascists" and, therefore, dangerous people which must be kept under a rigid control and isolated. Ukrainian independence is also meant as a dangerous concept, and mostly passed over in silence by the media, but the Canadian "supermen" are more open in their "great power chauvinistic" attitude towards the Ukrainian struggle for independence. Toronto's *Globe and Mail* (Oct. 29, 1973) had this to say on the occasion of the Second World Congress of Free Ukrainians.

"The ideology of this Congress belongs to the Ice Age of the past. It has no place in the world of today and tomorrow... It seeks to exploit ethnic culture for all the wrong reasons, and to subvert those values that promote peace and friendship. This is not a Congress that speaks for all Ukrainians."

In the Canadian press, Toronto's *Globe and Mail* plays the role of *The New York Times* and of *Washington Post*. *Globe and Mail* expresses openly only what two others think. For confirmed "one worlders", no independent Ukraine could ever be an acceptable concept. However, their concept of the liberation struggle as something that belongs to the Ice Age of the past, is not only idiotic but also despicable. According to all existing international treaties, agreements, and declarations, an enslaved nation has a right to carry on a liberation struggle and to establish its independence. It is only the stupidity of the West that allowed the Soviet Union to exploit the "liberation wars" of the enslaved peoples and make them a Soviet monopoly. According to the Helsinki Accords, the rights of a people for independence, belongs among the most precious human rights.

However, for the Canadian "supermen" there is no reason for an "ethnic culture" to "liberate" itself. The gentlemen prefer peace and friendship through ethnocide.

In case of "nationalism", "liberation struggle and movement", "liberation wars", public opinion in the United States is utterly confused. The media are not interested in the alleviation of this situation. Instead a massive brainwashing is carried on by all major newspapers and news services. It seems as if the media were dominated by another form of book burning and thought control. It must be recalled that at the time of World War II, the media conducted another brainwashing campaign, directed at the American people, which used millions of words of fulsome flattery of Stalin and Stalinism and the bawling acclaim of Stalinist Communism as a form of "economic and social democracy" to promote propaganda for this system. At that time, there was a steady suppression and censorship of anything critical of the Soviet Union, as well as the systematic attack upon all who dared to challenge Stalinism as no better if not actually worse than the system of Hitlerism. A form of self-deception and credulity and the belief in superiority of everything Russian was grounded so firmly and entrenched so deeply that it survived a quarter century of Cold War and now is the foundation of Red propaganda in the country.

*Most of us here were at one time or another, active in either the O.S.S., the State Department or the European Economic Administration. During those times, and without exception, we operated under directives issued by the White House, the substance of which was to the effect that we should make every effort to so alter life in the United States as to make possible a comfortable merger with the Soviet Union... We are continuing to be guided by just such directives.*

Ford Foundation President Rowan Gai-  
ther to Reece Committee investigator

Norman Dodd quoted by William H. McIlhany II, *The ACLU on Trial*, Arlington House, 1976 p. 149.

The leaders of the Soviet-Russian colonial empire are very sensitive to anything touching on the problem of its unity and indivisibility, for it and it alone is the most vital problem of their expansive drive. This expansive drive of Russia has been a phenomenon of five centuries, not decades. In the disintegration of defeat and revolution, the tsarist empire fell apart. The separate nations declared their independence and fought for it for several years, but, finally, the Red army emerged victorious and brought the other nations (except for the Baltic countries and Poland) back into an imperial structure — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The new imperial structure, universalistic by origin and total ideology, but Russian by historical tradition, could not have existed without Ukraine and other colonies. It could not have been a colonial empire without them. Without a Soviet-Russian colonial empire, there could not have been Soviet-Russian imperialism; an outward and visible sign of the leaders' will to carry on the centuries old drive of the Russians toward warm water ports and finally, world hegemony.

Soviet-Russian leaders, ruling as Tsars from the holy Kremlin, pursue the traditional goals of Russian imperial policy. Their drive toward warm water ports is marked by the present push toward the Indian Ocean (Afghanistan) and the continuous push toward the Mideast (Yemen). The second case shows that Soviet-Russian leaders, basing on a powerful navy and air-force, are already able to get full control over nations or regions that are geographically separated from their land base (Yemen, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola). This latter operation, frequent in the expansion of sea empires, aims at subjugating the "backyards" of Europe and America.

Yet, despite all their successes in their imperialist drive, the Soviet-Russian leaders cannot wholeheartedly rejoice. They know that potential disaffection shakes up their empire very roughly and that nationalist aspirations are ready now, as in the past, to swell into action at any real opportunity. They know that everywhere in their empire, the peasants hate collectivization and continue their passive resistance against the regime; that the workers are wondering at who is ruling the country in their name, and demand free trade unions from the usurpers of their power; and that the dissent of the intellectuals is growing from day to day. The Americans who write about the decline of the dissident movement in the USSR prove that they know about the dissident movement precisely nothing. In the course of the last ten years (1968—1978), the number of tried and sentenced dissidents in Ukraine has increased by 30 times. The time has arrived in the USSR that the harsh treatment of the dissidents by Soviet-Russian courts, especially in Ukraine, has ceased being a deterrent of the people from the participation in the struggle for national and human rights.

On the premise of the present US policy toward the USSR, there is no way for the US to support the dividing forces in the USSR, despite the fact that the Soviet-Russians themselves have created an all-sided form of political warfare against the USA and its European allies, that unites the methods of subversion, infiltration, demoralization, terror brigades, guerilla operations, etc. The USA does not retaliate and allows Moscow to disintegrate the West without even trying to initiate the process of disintegrating the USSR. It is not true that the struggle between superpowers is going to be decided by missiles or space platforms or by integration of both super-powers under a world government. The struggle between superpowers will be decided by the power which will succeed in disintegrating its opponent. If

Moscow will succeed, the Soviet-Russian leaders will create a World Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics without participation of American super-capitalists and monopolists in creating a World Soviet Socialist Government.

The information on Soviet-Russian internal weaknesses and especially, the information on the liberation movements in the entire Soviet bloc, has been taboo in the United States. In all the verbose deluge of information on Soviet affairs from established "experts" in and out of government, in the Big Media and in the Academe, nothing, quite literally nothing is being said about 230 million Poles and Ukrainians, Balts and Byelorussians, Armenians and Georgians, Czechs and Germans, Hungarians and Rumanians, Turks of the Central Asia and the Caucasus. Yet from their actual resistance to Russification, from their conduct in both world wars, from the evidence of the guerrilla operations, e.g. of the Ukrainian insurgent and Lithuanian partisan armies, from their riots and revolts in the Soviet-Russian concentration camps, in Vorkuta, Norilsk, Tayshet, Kinghir, etc., from their dissidents and defectors, the "experts" should know, how the non-Russians hate the imposed tyranny of the Russian Bolsheviks and how they are trying to liberate themselves from it. And they should know that the majority of the Russians share their hatred and acclaim their liberation struggle. The most prominent Russian dissidents: Andrei Sakharov, Alexandre Solzhenitsyn, Vladimir Bukovskii, Ludmila Alekseieva, Natalia Gorbanevskaia and others, publicly supported the non-Russians' struggle for freedom. Here is a quote from a declaration signed by Bukovskii, Alekseieva, Gorbanevskaia and others: "The aim of the Russian democratic movement is not the domination of other people, or the occupation by force of their national territories, but the establishment of an enduring peace on the people's right to na-

tional self-determination. Free democratic Russia has no desire either to subjugate or to humiliate anyone".

The liberation movements of the non-Russians in the Soviet bloc combined with the Russian democratic movement in the USSR have attested to Soviet-Russian internal weakness. It is evident that if it comes to fighting, the non-Russians will not fight because they have nothing to fight for. However, I'll try to disclose a secret. Moscow will never go to fighting as long as non-Russian liberation movements exist in the USSR. From this point of view, the non-Russian liberation movements are a deterrent from the war and, therefore, should be cultivated and supported in the interest of world peace. They don't want support other than the understanding of the situation in the "prison-house of nations" and publicity for the liberation efforts of the non-Russian peoples. The non-Russian liberation movements do not need any direct or indirect intervention of the West in their affairs, but ask the leaders of the West: avoid doing nothing because you are afraid to risk nuclear war. The Soviet-Russian leaders are realists and they won't start nuclear war.

The USA is not supporting non-Russian liberation movements because the powerful and world-global-government ideologies, who have immense importance in formulation of US foreign policy, are against the non-Russian liberation movements, considering them a great obstacle to the plans of US-USSR integration and creation of a world government. Therefore, instead of support for the liberation movements, Americans have a *Sonnenfeldt Doctrine* which forbids American diplomats from encouraging the liberation movements even in the satellite countries of the USSR. As far as Ukrainians are concerned, under the influence of Soviet-Russian propaganda, there exists a tendency in the USA to make Americans targets of a massive brainwashing campaign directed against Ukrainians and skillfully contrived to make Ukrainians odious to the American people. It is evident that any anti-Ukrainian propaganda must succeed because of the blackout of Ukraine. For many Americans, Ukraine simply does not exist as a separate Slavic nationality with roots of historical development deep in the past. To them, Ukraine is merely southeast Russia and her population is Russian. Well, the truth is open to eyes that are willing to look...

#### **FOUR UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS GIVEN HONORARY MEMBERSHIP OF PEN**

The executive of the Canadian Centre of International PEN, the world association of writers, voted on September 13, 1978 to adopt four Ukrainian political prisoners as honorary members. The four are Ihor Kalynets, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Sviatoslav Karavansky and Ivan Svitlychny.

This brings the number of imprisoned or exiled Ukrainian writers accepted as honorary members of International PEN

chapter around the world to 10.

In 1974, poet Vasyl Stus became honorary member of the English PEN, and in the following year, Valentyn Moroz was granted membership by the chapter, based in London. Last year Mykola Rudenko became a member of the French PEN, Vyacheslav Chornovil — the Dutch PEN, Mychaylo Osadchy — the Swiss PEN, and Danylo Shumuk — the Australian PEN.

# Society of Political, Economical and Social Studies

## Dr. Barbieri, Chairman, Describes Activities

Dear friends:

When one more year of work is nearly over, we consider it our duty, as members of WACL's body, to inform you, although only in general, of what our latest principal activities have been. This, being consistent with what our policies have been since occupying the Chairmanship of WACL during the 75/76 term: the organization must be an active body of dedicated persons and group which, above all, dedicate themselves to anti-communist struggle.

Due to powerful reasons, many of which you probably know already, we have had to dedicate most of our energies during this year, to work in the national front. Presidential and Parliamentary elections, among other important national decisions, obliged us to give our contribution for the defense of anti-communist principles, today menaced by the growing influence of the left. In this sense, we are glad to announce now that during the last month of October, SEPES' Chairman, Dr. Carlo Barbieri Filho, was invited to a long and private dialogue with the Elected President of Brazil, General Joao Batista de Figueiredo.

During this meeting, SEPES' Chairman received from the future President, a testimony of anti-communist convictions and solidarity with our organization. The meeting lasted for nearly an hour, and was publicized by most national newspapers.

Also, within this national context, SEPES has granted great attention to the Parliamentary elections which took place this last November 15th. It is the organization's conviction that a greater amount of success is accomplished when members of the group, or trustworthy persons are in

or near power. SEPES itself wishes to maintain its full independence from traditional political schemes in order to feel free to criticize or defend policies only according to its principles. Nevertheless, as it has been in the past, SEPES was successful in forming and helping for the victory in the elections, of a group of congressmen. Each of these individuals will be, in a certain way, SEPES' spokesman.

After strengthening its contacts with the Executive and Legislative Powers, SEPES is now working in a great extent with members of the Judicial Power. This, with the aim of making SEPES' participation in all levels of activity grow.

Besides these, which were SEPES' principal goals for the 1978 period, a continuous maintenance of its permanent works has been kept.

The OSLA (Priest's Latin American Organization), whose General Secretariat is occupied by SEPES, has worked during the whole year in the preparation of the bishop's meeting to take place in Puebla, Mexico. The religious from different countries have been contacted, in order to prepare the participants for the defense of the true Catholic Church during this meeting.

WACL friends and other members of international societies and groups who defend similar ideas have been permanently received, assisted and guided during their stays in the Latin American continent.

Also, trips have been made during the year, to visit and study new possibilities of anti-communist work.

*Carlo Barbieri Filho      Sao Paulo, Brazil  
SEPES Chairman            November, 1978.*

## Cambodia, Ukraine and Moscow's Policy of Hunger

After months of silence, many have begun to speak out against the genocide in communist-ruled Cambodia where, in addition to hundreds of thousands of political executions, an estimated 1 million have died as a result of Pol Pot's "policy of hunger".

### *Seven Million Deaths*

The massacre by man-made famine in Cambodia was traced by Moscow to Chinese support for Pol Pot's brand of anti-Soviet communism.

But, in fact, what Pol Pot has done to Cambodia is a carbon copy of Joseph Stalin's deliberate genocide in 1932-33 in Ukraine, where at least seven million died.

The independent republic of Ukraine, which has now 50 million inhabitants, was seized by the Russians in 1920. Ukrainian peasants slowed down their productive effort in protest against Russian-imposed collective farming, exorbitant taxes and arbitrary requisitions of grain and other foodstuffs. The Kremlin reacted with a well-prepared "policy of hunger", plunging millions into starvation.

Moscow's practice of condemning others' crimes while covering up its own was recently exposed by two million Americans of Ukrainian descent. In September 1978, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America hosted a demonstration in New Jersey to commemorate the victims of the "Great Artificial Famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine".

### *Congress Denounces Soviet Genocide*

Forty-four years ago, no foreign correspondent was allowed into Ukraine. At

the time, there was no such marvel as near-simultaneous US television coverage via satellite from every corner of the world.

On May 28, 1934, though, a House resolution unequivocally stigmatized Moscow's "use of famine as a means of reducing Ukraine's population and destroying Ukraine's political, cultural and national rights".

On August 22, 1978, a similar statement was made before the Senate by a "special mission" which recently visited Vietnam at the behest of Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), decrying "the use of hunger as a weapon of terror and coercion". A member of the mission, Tufts University President Dr. Jean Mayer, called for "an international convention outlawing the use of starvation as a weapon of war and means of pressure or punishment against individuals..."

That was encouraging although Dr. Mayer did not name either Cambodia or Ukraine specifically.

Three days later, Sen. George McGovern (D-S. D.) urged US military intervention against Pol Pot's Cambodia.

Blasting the UN and "our own government" for "doing nothing", he stated, "The world turns its face, and stills its voice... Cambodia challenges the conscience and decency of the world..."

Meanwhile, Lukyanenko, Moroz, Tykhy, Karavansky, Stus, Marynovych, Father Romaniuk, Pastor Vins, and countless other Ukrainian nationalists now in Russian jails challenge the conscience and decency of the American establishment.

(*Lev Dobriansky is a professor at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.*)

## The Teaching of "Holocaust"

*A hypocrite with his mouth  
destroyeth his neighbour:  
but through knowledge should  
the just be delivered.*

The Proverbs, 11:9

In the first half of April, 1978, 120 million Americans were riveted to their television sets watching NBC's four part docu-drama, "Holocaust". The impact of this series about the historic Nazi crime against the Jewish people was great; the film had unprecedented ratings. However, this film struck an emotional nerve and started a controversy that's still raging today.

The story of this film is this: in 1978 Paul Klein, executive vice-president of programming at NBC, and Irwin Segelstein, executive vice-president of planning decided to make a film on "Holocaust". They passed this concept to Sy Fisher, an agent, who made deals with Titus Productions, with Herbert Brodkin as executive producer and with Gerald Green as script writer. Months before the production, there was a top-level meeting at NBC, which accepted all arrangements. The NBC circulated the script to people who write study guides and to religious leaders of all faiths; people like Rev. Fred Brussat of the Cultural Information Service, David Surek of the Anti-Defamation League "Bnai Brith", The National Council of Churches, Barry Shrake of the Jewish Welfare Board, and many more. And NBC put out a "Holocaust" viewers' guide for use by schools and teachers. These, some two million in all, were distributed by NBC throughout the country. In addition, the Anti-Defamation League "Bnai Brith" distributed ten and a half million copies of two stories on the program; the Cultural Information Service study guide went to 18,000 religious leaders; chap-

lains, opinion leaders and educators. The National Council of Churches printed 112,000 copies of its Film Feedback on "Holocaust" which was sent to ministers, priests, rabbis, and community leaders. Teachers' Guide to Television on "Holocaust" was distributed to 18,000 teachers and opinion leaders and used as a study guide in the Audio-Visual Instruction Magazine. The American Educator Magazine ran a two-page study guide which was distributed to 500,000 subscribers. The NEA Reporter newspaper carried a two-page guide in its April edition which was distributed to over 1,700,000 teachers. Finally, some 15 Jewish organizations joined together to put out study guides for Jewish viewers. There were separate guides for grade school children, teachers, college and adult viewers, and a family home viewing guide. Several hundred thousand were distributed.

So, there was a real ballyhoo about NBC's film, and its promotion reached really gigantic scales. Yet, despite all this noisy propaganda, the film proved to be a failure. It was criticized even by the Jews. Rabbi Marc S. Golub wrote a letter to the *New York Times* (April 21) that he was bitterly offended by the mini-series "Holocaust" and called its distortions another desecration of Six Million (victims of the Nazi "Holocaust"). Abraham Brumberg in a letter to the same paper (May 5) called the film a "fraudulent history" and ridiculed standard Hollywood models applied in the film — idiotic dialogues, simplistic characterizations, implausible situations and fraudulent history. The non-Jews were still more bitter, as, e.g. John J. O'Conner who in a letter to the *New York Times* charged "misrepresentation" and blamed the producers with introducing pornography into

the film. Many writers complained that an incomplete story on the Nazi "Holocaust" of the Jews would not prevent the current "Holocaust" in Cambodia, Ethiopia, or Uganda. Lubor Zink of the *Toronto Sun* (May 6) stressed in his comment on "Holocaust" that "the biggest offenders were the superpowers of red fascism — the Soviet Union and Communist China", and asked "why TV companies or Hollywood had not produced Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* as a docu-drama — the monumental report on the slaughter of the millions in Soviet-Russian slave camps?" It must be emphasized, too, that in Great Britain and mostly in Canada, criticism of the film "Holocaust" was almost unanimous.

At the time of the film showing, the Ukrainian daily "America" printed many comments on "Holocaust". All these comments were almost unanimous, too, in estimating that the film was a failure because of presenting a case of a) "selected indignation". The regime responsible for the Holocaust of the Jews was crushed and wiped out, but other totalitarian regimes exist and in the name of particular hate doctrines, torture and murder millions of innocent people.

b) Distortion of historical facts. The film is soft on the Nazis and does not present the essence of the Hitlerian racist totalitarianism which planned the destruction of all "inferior people" in the East, and not only of the Jews. Hitler started with the killing of not only Jews, but of all other "inferior" peoples in the East; the Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, and Russians were also marked for destruction because Hitler planned the creation of the "living space" of their territories for the German *Herrenvolk* (master race). At the time of the Nazi occupation of the territories in the East, millions of "inferior" Poles, Ukrainians, Balts, Byelorussians and Russians were already destroyed.

c) Outright discrimination of the Catholics, Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and presenting them as Nazi collaborators in the destruction of the Jews. It seemed from the viewing that in fact, not the Nazis, but the Poles, Ukrainians and Lithuanians brought about the "Holocaust" and the "final solution of Jewish problems" in the East.

d) Extolling of the Red Partisans as the saviors of the Jews and as the best representatives of humanity in the East.

e) Lack of seriousness in the presentation of the tragedy of the Jews because neither the totalitarian origin of the "Holocaust" nor its real nightmare were shown. The film turned into a typical Hollywood soap opera with injected episodes to please the sex-crazy viewers and we agree with Rabbi Golub that all this was just a desecration of Six Million people.

All what the film was able to inspire, was the translation of Rassinier's book into English and its publication in the USA. To those who don't know who Rassinier was, I explain that Paul Rassinier was a French socialist and onetime inmate of the Nazi concentration camp in Buchenwald. A book in French *Le drame des juifs européens* (Drama of the European Jews) was published in 1964, and 14 years later has been published in the USA. Why? It is the answer to the producers of "Holocaust", by a "modern" historical "school" which minimizes "Holocaust", denies the existence of gas chambers, maintains that in camps the Jews were murdered mostly by other Jews and charges that the death camp story was deliberately and grossly exaggerated by Jews to secure reparations from Germany and obtain moral and military support for Israel. This is exactly the nonsense which Paul Rassinier is spreading with the help of his books. The film "Holocaust" helped this nonsense to spread in the USA.

Ukrainian Catholics bitterly accepted the discrimination of their national name

in the film as well as its allusions that Christianity was practically responsible for "Holocaust" or that Catholic hierarchs, priests and nuns looked the other way when the Jews were murdered. It is a brazen lie which could please only Moscow. Prof. Philip Friedman of YIVO in New York, in his book: *Their Brother's Keepers* (New York, 1957) mentions many Catholic heroes and heroines who helped the oppressed Jews escape from the Nazi terror. Among them were Catholic prelates: Ukrainian Archbishop of Lviv, Andriy Sheptytsky, who not only sent a letter of protest to Himmler and wrote a pastoral letter to his Ukrainian faithful threatening with excommunication for killing the Jews, but also in his personal action saved Jewish adults and children in his fortress-like see on St. George's Hill or in monasteries of his Church. Furthermore, Prof. Friedman mentions Cardinal Mindszenty; Archbishop Stepanae of Croatia; French Cardinals Jules Saliege and Gerlier; Belgian Cardinal van Roey, and many other Catholic keepers of their Jewish brothers: bishops, priests and nuns who organized actions to save the Jews, risking the death penalty on the spot if they were caught. On the other side, the exultation of the Red partisans is entirely unfounded in the light of the memoirs of the Jews who served with the Red Partisans (Moshe Kaganovich). The presentation of the Red Partisans as saviors and defenders of the Jews can be refuted by one sentence of *Yizker-bukh ratne*, i.e., the compilation of the memoirs of the Jews from the town of Ratne in Volynia

(Ukraine) which survived the "Holocaust". On page 563 of *Yizker-bukh ratne*, an unknown memoirist inscribed a report that in September of 1943 (the date is given according to the Jewish calendar and I am unable to cite the exact date — LS) "a group of Red partisans came to the forest near that town, drove the Jews from their hiding places and killed them all." Thus, the "dreaded" Ukrainians helped them to survive for three years in the forest near their town, (which also, logically, suggests that they were supplied with food) but then some Uncle Sasha appeared with his hand and killed them all in the Nazi fashion. From the existing Jewish and Hebrew literature written by the Jews — former Red Partisans or by the survivors, one could compile a book about similar incidents. NBC agreed with this falsification hoping to please the powerful Soviet-Russian masters. Anyway, the Olympic Games will be held in Moscow in 1980, and for filming them one is able to make a dollar or two, and even more.

"Holocaust" was thought to be an anti-Catholic, anti-Polish, anti-Ukrainian, and anti-Lithuanian soap-opera which, unfortunately, does not analyze all aspects of the "final solution" of the Jewish problems by Hitler. However, please don't think of the anti-Ukraine hate propaganda as a thing of the past, since the film has already been shown and that's all. No, now we have the teaching of "Holocaust" in public schools and we continue being discriminated against and slandered.

*(To be continued in next issue.)*

## NATION oder KLASSE by

WOLFGANG STRAUSS

60 Years of Struggle Against the October Revolution  
A History of the Resistance Movement in the USSR

## An Amnesty Job For A Communist

Can a Communist find happiness trying to free political prisoners from the Soviet Gulag?

Apparently Amnesty International thinks such an unlikely combination is possible, for the 168,000-member organization which monitors the plight and seeks the release of "prisoners of conscience" everywhere, has just appointed a leading Australian Communist, Professor Derek Roebuck, to head its research division.

How did he get the job and what makes AI think he will not put the aims of Soviet Marxism ahead of the good intentions of the freedom-promoting group which last year reported on conditions of political prisoners in 117 countries? A little naivete may be involved.

As to how Prof. Roebuck got his job, he applied for it in a letter to the editor of *Human Events*, the conservative Washington weekly. Martin Ennals, secretary general of AI, said that Roebuck "was among a large number of qualified individuals who submitted applications following advertisement of this post. The appointment was made by the full international executive committee of our organization following exhaustive interviews and discussions and in full cognizance of all relevant facts including Prof. Roebuck's political affiliation."

Ennals goes on to defend the selection

and to contend that Roebuck could not slant research or divert attention from, say Soviet repression. In fact, according to Ennals, the research director at AI isn't a very important fellow.

Amnesty International has received the Nobel Peace Prize and has frequently drawn attention to the lack of human rights in the USSR. Roebuck, when asked by *Human Events* in a telephone interview if he had ever criticized the Soviet Union, said he had, but added, "I haven't written articles attacking the Soviet Union." No, but he has authored plenty of Moscow-line articles denouncing the United States. In fact, he co-authored a book, *Whores of War*, with Wilfred Burchett, the "journalist" who for years has parroted Soviet propaganda and during the Korean War interrogated Allied prisoners for the North Koreans.

The Roebuck appointment has caused controversy within AI. The appointment is a critical one because AI's comments on a country often affect the way US policy toward that country is shaped. Reported human rights violations may result in cuts in aid or trade. Conversely, reduced criticism of the Soviet Union would allow Moscow to come off the defensive in one of the areas where world opinion seems united against it.

*The Phoenix Gazette*  
November 8, 1978

The USSR Ministry of Communications has raised the postage for a standard foreign letter from 16 to 32 copecks and for a foreign post card from 14 to 27 copecks. Compared thereto the average normal wages (without deductions) of a qualified

worker amount to 65 copecks per hour. This considerable increase in postage just for foreign correspondence shows the serious concern of the authorities about the increase in foreign correspondence.

## Shumuk Is Near Death

Danylo Shumuk, a Ukrainian political prisoner incarcerated in a strict regime concentration camp in Mordovia, is near death, reported the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, New York, New York.

The committee said that two weeks ago at a press conference in Moscow, Dr. Andrei Sakharov told Western reporters that Shumuk is suffering from intestinal cancer and is near death.

The Russian human rights leader called for a major campaign to save the life of Shumuk.

Shumuk, 64 years old, has already spent 34 years in prison. He was arrested five times during the Polish occupation of western Ukraine. During World War II, he was a prisoner in a German concentration camp.

In 1943, he joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and became a political instructor. Two years later, he was

arrested by the NKVD. In 1946, Shumuk was sentenced to 10 years incarceration.

One year after his release, Shumuk was again arrested in Dnipropetrovsk and subsequently sentenced to 20 years in prison.

On July 5, 1972, Shumuk received another 10-year sentence, this time with an additional five years in exile.

The committee reports that in recent months, the health of several political prisoners has deteriorated.

V. Pidhorodetsky, a former UPA officer who has already spent 27 years in imprisonment, has been denied the status of invalid. The committee says that he is extremely ill. Pidhorodetsky is being forced to do heavy work and is not being allowed to seek medical treatment.

In January, Myroslav Symchych, also a former UPA officer, completed his 25 year sentence but is still being kept confined without any explanation.

## Ukrainian Artist Murdered

The second issue of the "Information Bulletin" of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords gives the following details on the tragic death of the artist Rostyslav Paletskyi:

"The artist Rostyslav Paletskyi was murdered in his own home in the village of Trotskyi, Odessa oblast, on March 10, 1978.

On the basis of existing information, (it appears that) some suspicious-looking person, came to him to his home that day. Paletskyi's neighbors stated that he brought vodka with him and had forced Paletskyi to drink it. When he refused, the unknown visitor began beating him. When Maria Lazorivna, Paletskyi's wife returned home from work she found her husband already dead. He lay in a puddle of blood, his skull broken; his ribs had also been broken.

The authorities are spreading rumours that R. Paletskyi died of a stroke which occurred when he, while drunk, fell and injured himself. Lately, rumours have been circulating in the village that the Paletskyi couple were hopeless drunks. The Militia has been conducting an investigation, during which M.L. Paletska was forbidden to leave the village.

Rostyslav Paletskyi was 47 years old. He was at the peak of his creative power; his paintings captivated the viewer by their deep meaning. His works are well known in Ukraine and abroad and he also had official recognition. Nevertheless, not one newspaper, not even on the oblast or district level published an obituary.

It is known that he had the intention to submit an application for permission to leave the Soviet Union.

# SYMONENKO — a study in Semantics

## DEDICATION BY THE AUTHOR

SYMONENKO — *a study in semantics*,  
by Igor Shankowsky. Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London, c. 1977. 212 pp.

Symonenko was a dissident. He lived and worked in the Soviet Ukraine, and, like any young man anywhere else in the world, felt deeply and suffered from facing the issues of the day. He died young, in the midst of his best creative period, about one year before Nikita Khrushchev was condemned to obscurity by "the most humane and democratic system" on this earth.

Symonenko was unique. Like no other man alive he felt earth's gravity with his own keen sense of justice. Nowadays, these kind of people seldom make it in life, they mostly make it after they've gone. One of his posthumous volumes was named *Earth's Gravity*, and published by those, who during his lifetime managed to disturb and humiliate him most. He lived in the age of opportunism never known before, and he put up against it everything he had, above all — his talent and his sense of awareness.

Having said that in a simple dedication, one might imagine that some kind of a "giant" is involved. No that kind of a

"giant", not in the contemporary value judgement. In life Symonenko was a quiet, deep thinking man, leaning heavily towards modesty. Let this study be a tribute to his short, insignificant in his opinion, life of a true and dedicated man.

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Mrs. Stetsko:

Thank you very much for the ABN Correspondence which reaches me regularly every issue.

I appreciate deeply the contents of each issue, which have revealed to the Free World the true situation behind the Iron Curtain. It is indeed a great force directed against the brutal communism.

I am sure that your publication has become an authentic inspiration to all the world people who have dedicated themselves for the cause of democracy, equality and freedom.

Sincerely yours,



The-Chuan Kuo  
Member, Legislative Yuan  
of the Republic of China

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# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



ABN conference in Miami, Florida on the occasion of its 35th anniversary.

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## ABN On Its 35th Anniversary

In the course of 35 years (1943—1978) the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations has been conducting very dynamic and fearless activities.

In many countries of Europe, in many cities of the USA and Canada, in Latin America, as well as in such distant countries as National China, Japan, India and Australia, ABN has successfully disseminated vital information about the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and in the so-called satellite states. Thus, ABN has endeavoured in the noble task of awakening the Free World's awareness to the dangers of the expansion of ruthless Russian domination over the rest of the still free countries. By applying diverse methods ABN has penetrated the Iron Curtain.

Not only has ABN been sending memoranda and petitions to governments of Western countries and to conferences of major powers, establishing international contacts, participating in international forums, organizing ABN campaigns and rallies, but it has also ideologically and otherwise influenced the methods of struggle of the subjugated nations within the "prison of nations".

The work done by ABN throughout the years is tremendous, because ABN, along with its branches and dedicated membership, has accomplished many important activities. Thus, the President of the Central Committee of ABN, Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, very rightly stated that ABN does not write history, but makes history itself.

The fundamental idea of ABN i.e. of a united struggle of all the nations under the Russian yoke for the regaining of their national independent statehood was conceived in 1943 on the battlefield of Ukraine during the war against both Russia and Germany. On November 21 and 22, 1943 a Conference of Subjugated Nations took place under the protection of the military detachments of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) led by General Taras Chuprynska, and of such national groups as Azerbaijanzhanis, Georgians, Byelorussians, Turkestanis (Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Kazakhs, Turkmen, Kirghizians), North Caucasians, Armenians and others who solemnly swore to close their ranks in the great struggle against their common enemy, i.e. Russia, which in modern times is disguised under the name of the USSR. These fighters and comrades-in-arms appealed to Western democracies not to supply the Russian communists with military hardware, logistics, oil, clothing etc. because our nations have known the true nature of the Soviet Russian imperialists for many decades. Instead, the Western countries should have provided moral and material support to the above mentioned freedom fighters.

ABN's 35-year experience proves that our position was correct. Had these appeals of the UPA, of the Byelorussian and Lithuanian insurgent armies not fallen on deaf ears, and had England, the USA, and their allies given effective support to the struggle for the political independence of Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan and other subjugated nations — this much we can say today, on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of ABN — we definitely would not have to live through this unfortunate turmoil in Iran, nor would the USA have lost tens of thousands of brave soldiers during the Korean and Vietnam wars. We would not feel paralysed from fear, in view of the imminent danger of a nuclear holocaust, nor would we have witnessed tens and hundreds of lengthy, humiliating, fruitless and ineffectual meetings with Russia in reference to SALT. Furthermore, the illegal child of Moscow, this Maoist colossus, Red China, probably would not grow. Instead of the red dragon, it is very likely that a peaceful, more or less democratic nation would have developed. It goes without saying that the fate of the Cuban people would also be completely different. Who can deny that true freedom and independence would have prevailed? There would not be any dictatorial regime of Castro, since anyone of sound mind could ask this simple question: why should young Cubans become puppets and mercenaries, to be sent by the "older brother" to Angola, in Africa, to conduct a war by proxy for this Russian colonial empire called the USSR?

We have good reason to believe that the strategy developed by ABN; the concept of national revolutions against the imperialistic Soviet Russian "prison of nations", which has to be finalized by an armed uprising, according to Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, really does constitute the true alternative to nuclear war. On several occasions this has been stated as one of the major tenets of ABN strategy (see "Our Alternative", Munich 1972, published in English and French).

Ideas are stronger than atomic bombs — stated one of the greatest military minds of modern times, General J. F. C. Fuller, whose concept of modern warfare is, in essence, very close to our strategic revolutionary liberation concept and which should be applied in the military plans of NATO, stating that atomic bombs cannot be dropped on revolutionary groups and insurgents inside the subjugated countries, because concurrently, the rain of radio-active fallout would destroy the Russian overlords together with millions of civilians.

We may recall the hard lesson that Americans learned during the Vietnam war, namely that it is not at all easy to gain an upper hand (or victory) over guerrillas and insurgent armies, even for a super-power. In short, according to ABN, the national liberation processes, revolutions and armed uprisings constitute the best alternative to the thermo-nuclear war. By lending support to the revolutionary liberation movements the West would be safe from the thermo-nuclear holocaust.

Contrary to suggestions, US foreign policy moved through several phases, such as: 1) the policy of "containment"; 2) the policy of liberation; 3) the policy of peaceful co-existence, and; 4) the policy of cooperation instead of confrontation, as represented by the present administration or the policy of "detente" which to Russia, means actually leading wars by proxy as in Angola, or as in Vietnam overrunning Cambodia in South-East Asia.

We may remind ourselves and the still free countries also, that ABN warned the West many times by means of many memoranda, such as: to Dean Acheson and General Eisenhower in August 1949; to Ambassador J. Grew in October 1949; to the UN in January 1952; to the Bermuda Conference in 1954; to the Berlin Conference in March 1945; to the Geneva Conference in July 1955; through a Memorandum to the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, May 1955; an ABN Memorandum to US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, in October 1955; a declaration on the Summit Conference, in May 1960; a declaration of solidarity with the Cuban people, in April 1961. Also in April 1961, a memorandum was sent to the governments of the Asian and African countries on the Russian imperialist colonial policy and methods of the policy of deception. This memorandum was also sent to all UN delegations of non-communist countries, and to the governments of the free world. In December 1961 a memorandum on captive nations was sent to the UN along with a request to exclude the Communist delegations from the UN, and to apply the principles regarding human and national rights to the nations subjugated by Russia. Furthermore, memoranda such as one on colonialism, and one in September 1962, in protest of the murder of Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), were also written.

As mentioned already, ABN not only wrote and sent its memoranda, petitions and declarations to international bodies and foreign departments, but also organized international conferences, such as those in London, Edinburgh, Manchester, Malta, New York, Brussels and Munich, and participated in international gatherings of freedom loving peoples and freedom fighters against communist tyrannies all over the world. In the course of time, ABN has become the largest international organization of the subjugated peoples. It gained sympathy and support of many fighters and adherents to the idea of national independence, but on the other hand was attacked by Russian or Russophile circles, Moscow's fifth columnists and various denominations of so-called "co-existentialists" in the Western countries.

Frankly speaking, the Western world did not dare to challenge the so-called "friendship" with cruel Moscow bolsheviks, with whom allies fought Hitler's armies. How sad that the Western world was day-dreaming at that time — and there are a great many day-dreamers nowadays — about co-existence and peace with that imperial power of Russia. Thus,

our major thesis, that the nations can be free only after the dissolution of the empire and dismemberment of the "prison of nations", was viewed by the official echelons of Washington, Bonn and London, as being rather "aggressive" and, by the same token, hardly acceptable.

I should like to briefly mention a few ABN congresses: after World War II, the very first that referred back to the conference on the battle-fields in 1943 took place on April 16, 1946 in Munich. A second one in May, 1948 which took place in one of the Western European cities, assembled the representatives of national liberation movements, the organizations of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, North Caucasus (Osetyns, Kabardins, Chechens, Cherkes, Balkars), Turkestan, Idel-Ural (Tartars, Chuvash, Comizerians, Mordwins, Bashkirs, Marians), Azerbaijan, Cossackia, Slovakia, Bohemia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Hungary and others.

One of the most successful ABN press conferences was in the year 1950 in Frankfurt, West Germany, in which the press agencies of the USA, Great Britain, France, and Denmark took part. Once more ABN repeated its appeal to the Free World, stressing the fact that behind the Iron Curtain, underground armies and national liberation movements continue their fight without any support from the outside world. The moral and technical support shall not only lift their battle spirit but shall also bring the victory over the communist menace and repel the danger of a Third World War.

Similar press conferences, mass rallies and demonstrations took place in many cities of the USA, Canada, Great Britain and France for the purpose of enlightening the population of those countries and to turn their consciousness over to the right cause of freedom and national state independence for all nations, and freedom for the individual — which is the slogan and battle cry of ABN.

There were many other congresses sponsored or directly organized by ABN, in New York and in Toronto, Canada in 1953; on March 6, 1953 an ABN conference was held in Melbourne, Australia and ABN branches were founded in other Australian towns. In addition, on July 30, 1958 President Y. Stetsko participated in a hearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee and before the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington, D.C.

On the occasion of the "Summit" conference in Paris, ABN arranged a political discussion on May 19, 1960. Large demonstrations took place on the streets of New York against Khrushchev and Mikoyan, and in London at Trafalgar Square, with over 5000 participants.

We may, at this point, mention the Conference of ABN and the European Freedom Council in Brussels, the seat of NATO headquarters, which took place on November 12 to November 16, 1970. Presentations were given in both English and French. Speeches, lectures and papers which

were presented, were later published in book form, entitled "Our Alternative". Here, e.g. Ole Bjorn Kraft, former Foreign Minister of Denmark stated among other ideas the following:

"Let us not deceive ourselves. Following the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 at the Bavarian frontier, which is also a frontier of NATO, some 250,000 Russian military forces were located in East Germany. The troops were pushed 300 to 500 miles from previous positions in Byelorussia and Ukraine in order to scare Germans, and to put and increase psychological pressure on Germany, Western Europe and in the final analysis on the USA also."

Prof. Austin J. App from Washington, who delivered a paper "What has been done by the USA to contain Russian imperialism", and Prof. S. Halamay were representing the American Branch of ABN. The American Friends of ABN (AFABN) organized among other things a mass rally in New York in May 1952, which was attended by a number of prominent American politicians and representatives of various peoples. It was followed by a press conference for the American press. Three weeks earlier, on April 13, 1952, a mass rally had taken place in Toronto, Canada, at which President Stetsko held a lecture (see "MacLeans Magazine", May 1, 1952 issue, which published a lengthy report on ABN and the fight of the subjugated peoples). Rallies were subsequently held in Ottawa, Winnipeg, Montreal and in other cities of Canada.

For the purpose of establishing and maintaining useful contacts with prominent persons of political groups and with statesmen, President Y. Stetsko and other members of the Central Committee of ABN, like Prince Niko Nakashidze (Georgian), Prof. F. Dorchansky (Slovakian), Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestani), Gen. Hinko Alabanda (Croatian) and others, frequently visited not only the USA, Canada and European countries, such as Great Britain, Spain, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Germany, France, Scandinavian Countries, Turkey, Middle East Countries, but also Latin America and Australia.

Behind the Iron Curtain, the ideas of ABN are still alive. It only suffices to point out the fact that not so long ago a military secret organization was discovered among clandestine officers of the Red Army, whose contacts were extended from the Baltic Sea to the Caucasus mountains.

Also, we can judge the extent of the cooperation among the nations of ABN behind the Iron Curtain by the frequency and the intensity of the Russian attacks in their press and radio transmissions which often times tried to besmear ABN as a whole, as well as individual leaders and in particular its President, Yaroslav Stetsko and Central Committee members like Prince N. Nakashidze, Dr. Pokorny, Dr. B. Hayit and Col. D. Kosmovic. Many of these attacks were published not only in the Russian or Ukrainian language, but also in the Czech Communist ideological journal entitled

"The Problems of Peace and Socialism". There were also several radio-programs devoted especially to criticizing ABN's symbols and actions.

We wish to draw your attention to the adverse effects of such propaganda, because instead of information to hate ABN, the persecuted people of the "prison of nations", i.e. Russia, receive news of the activities of our liberation movements throughout the free world.

We are in possession of documentary evidence that cultural workers in concentration camps periodically arrange special evenings devoted to the strengthening of common ties among the freedom fighters of nations of ABN. Several literary works, poems, novels and short stories positively develop the ideas of a common fight against the common enemy i.e. Russian imperialists. "ABN Correspondence" of Nov. 1950 reprinted the leaflets and appeals issued by the Ukrainian underground movements behind the Iron Curtain.

In March 1956 there was a revolt of the youth in Georgia, during which 300 young persons were killed and several hundred deported to Siberia, in the uprising in Novocherkask hundreds were killed. Members of ABN have established contacts with the fighters of the Hungarian revolution of 1956.

We would like to quote one representative of the young generation of cultural workers, a historian, Valentyn Moroz, who was incarcerated to 14 years behind bars:

"The present events in Ukraine are also a turning point: the glacier of terror which had firmly bound the spiritual life of the nation for many years is breaking up. As always they (meaning Russian imperialists) put people behind bars and as always deport them to the East (Siberia). But this time these people did not sink to obscurity. To the great surprise of the KGB, for the first time in the last decade (1966) public opinion has risen, for the first time, the KGB felt powerless to stifle all this."

This modern development in Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania and other subjugated nations deserves much more attention than we usually assign to it. Here we need to generally state, that this neo-Stalinist tyranny in the Soviet Union may take many victims, but it is foredoomed to ultimate defeat, because our nations are strong believers in individual freedom and national state independence above all, and they are ready to fight for them.

Given proper time we would be in a position to quote several authors from behind the Iron Curtain, such as Vasyl Symonenko who wrote a poem: "O brother Kurd, keep your guns and powder dry", or Mychaylo Osadchy, who wrote about other nations and ABN ideas in his work, "Cataract", or authors such as Karavansky — but instead we should like only to stress one single important generalization; we should not forget that all of these freedom fighters are the children of parents who themselves were born under the Soviet system and therefore were supposed

to defend the Soviet Union and love the communist system, supposedly the best system.

Svyatoslav Karavansky, a journalist, poet and translator who had already been sentenced in 1944 to 25 years in the camps for his membership in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), called for action to do away with various forms of discrimination which prevented Ukrainians, Jews, Tartars, Estonians, Latvians, Volga Germans and others from declaring their free culture or from living in their native homelands.

We have to admire the outstanding members of the young generation and also Vyacheslav Chornovil, who protested against persecution by the Soviet Russian regime in this way:

"You are indifferent to human tragedies, to the demoralizing action of fear which creeps like a cold serpent into many a Ukrainian home... I submit my opinion not because I have any hope of alleviating the plight of the individuals who were sentenced and imprisoned... failure to express one's view about what is happening — would indicate silent participation in the willful abuse of socialist legality".

We have to admire the outstanding members of the young generation in the subjugated countries of the entire USSR, such as mentioned already.

Valentyn Moroz called in a strong voice: "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 grand in its significance — the march of a nation through history".

Naturally all these young writers, historians and philosophers grew up on the cultural and patriotic foundation built up by the freedom struggle of UPA-OUN and members of the Conference of 1943 from which ABN later developed.

From this topic we have touched upon internal ferment among young people of Ukraine who having behind them, so to speak, deeply secret underground fighters, they learned to overcome fear of "omnipotency" as they used to say of KGB — we may throw a little light upon the internal struggle of the so-called triangular dictatorship (Party, Army, and Police). There is some dose of truth in that unlike Stalin, or Khrushchev — Gen.-Secretary Brezhnev is a sort of conductor of the orchestral course of the triangle (Party, Police, and Ministry-Marshal). In other words he is the man who decides little, but through whom all decisions are voiced. In the West, so-called sovietologists (Kremlinologists) have been for many years speculating as to *who* will become his successor (some have already died under strange circumstances and now a new star on the horizon, Konstantin Chernenko, 67 years old, seems to be next in line). But these speculations as to the successor are of little consequence.

In the West not enough attention has been paid to the neglected super-power — i.e. subjugated nations. President Carter stresses human rights,

but we representing liberation movements of subjugated nations know, and would like to remind Washington politicians of this basic truth: there cannot be human rights without national political independence!!! And national independent rights have to be won before one can dream of human rights!!! That is where ABN must put more effort, continue the line which we pursued during many of World Anti-Communist League (WACL) conferences: in Saigon 1957, Tokyo 1962, Mexico in 1972, Washington, D.C. in 1974, in Seoul, Korea in 1975, in 1977 in Taiwan and in 1978 again in Washington, and many others throughout the world.

We as ABN still have much work to do, we must double or triple our efforts and attract many more young people and many more American politicians to our cause, which is great and holy.

What we have recently noticed is that some people in the State Department and more Congressmen and Senators listen more attentively to what we as representatives of national liberation movements have to say, more and more generals such as Gen. Singlaub or Gen. Haig call upon Americans not to unilaterally disarm the American nation at this historical moment when Russia spends more and more money, a higher percentage of its GNP on the preparation to risk-taking, to possibly overrun Western Europe and thus to endanger the security of the USA itself.

Let me conclude on an optimistic note. With devoted people such as the previously mentioned principal actors of the Central Committee of ABN, with many national representatives and branches in many countries of the world, — with patriotic membership, and above all with dedicated fighters behind the Iron Curtain, we see that the hour of our victory is not too far ahead.

Dr. S. Halamay



*Ukrainian Women's Association in Great Britain protesting in front of the Soviet Embassy against persecution of Ukrainian women.*

# Russification and National Genocide

## A Statement of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

The new constitution of the USSR is a constitution of an empire which is a prison of nations and people — not a constitution of a multinational society. It guarantees only the rights of the imperial, ruling people (the Russians); the rights of the totalitarian communist party; the rights of the General Procurator of the USSR. The new constitution legalizes the sovereign rights of the fictitious "Soviet people" to avoid mentioning by name the Russian people as the backbone of the empire. It officially sanctions terror as a governing system, investing the General Procurator of the USSR (i.e. the KGB) with uncontested rights to appoint, or approve the appointments, of the procurators on the so-called "republican" level who are also KGB candidates. The Politburo in Moscow has absolute control over all the communist party branches in the so-called "republics". Not even one of the "sovereign republics" has its own communist party. The governments of the "republics" have, on the basis of their paper-constitutions, less rights than a county administration in any free nation of the world. The USSR is not even constitutionally a multinational state, but a state of a "super-nation" — the Russians — under the name of the "Soviet people." Not a single "republic" has even a paper right to secede from the USSR, because the fictional article about "voluntary secession" is neutralized by the unlimited sovereign rights given to the "Soviet people" (i.e. the Russians), the communist party centralized in the Politburo, the centralized KGB, the office of the General Procurator, the centralized Soviet armed forces commanded by the Politburo, the totally centralized state bureaucracy by the all-Union government. The aspects and functions of the state, leaving

latter holds in its hands all the vitals to the so-called "republican" governments third-rate assignments of colonial nature. There are no safeguards whatsoever for the rights of a nation (even in theory). That, however, is an impossibility in an empire, and, therefore, the human rights of a person who belongs to a subjugated nation are not guaranteed at all. The general preamble and the preambles to the relevant articles of the constitution reject in principle all national and human rights when they state that those rights are subordinate to the interests of the "Soviet people", the communist party, the "working class" and the USSR.

Moreover, the constitution is interpreted by the General Procurator of the USSR — i.e. the KGB! As a logical outcome of the "new" imperial constitution is the strengthening of the russification processes of the subjugated nations. The introduction into the constitution of a new element — the "Soviet people" as a euphemism for a Russian super-nation — has resulted in a bold and pressing russification policy on the part of Moscow. The Russian language has been given the status of a privileged language — "the language of Lenin, indispensable in the relations among peoples, and as a means of access to the achievements of world culture." In reality this makes the Russian language a tool of denationalization and assimilation of the non-Russian nations. In a situation of complete bankruptcy of the false ideas of communism as a system of life (which embodied the modern form of Russian imperialism), Moscow has now totally disclosed its imperialistic policies both in theory and practice.

If any of the subjugated nations wished to practice communism, then, logically, it

could best be preached in the mother tongue of a given people. But since Moscow can no longer rely on an ideology that is dead in the occupied countries, it openly stirs the chauvinistic instincts of the Russian masses in order to mobilize them for the campaign of russification of the subjugated nations.

In Georgia and Armenia Moscow tried to eliminate from the "republican" constitutions the native tongue as the official language of the "republic", but the people surged to the streets, and Moscow had to retreat. The offensive on Byelorussia has been extremely strengthened, where russification is already celebrating its pogroms. Because of Russian colonialism in Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, ethnocide and genocide continue. Russification is not only a forced implementation of the Russian language, but it is simultaneously a type of colonization by the Russians of the occupied territories — a cultural, ethnic and physical destruction of entire nations. The forced deportation of North Caucasians, Crimean Tartars, Volga Germans, Kalmyks and Don Cossacks, and the simultaneous mass importation of Russians into those territories to replace the native populations, is a contemptible form of russification. The mass importation of Russians into the Ukrainian regions of Donbas, Kharkiv, etc. — that is russification! The mixing of peoples is also a road towards russification. The privileged status of the Russian language in the educational system of the occupied countries, the compulsory nature of teaching Russian culture, history and literature, the promotion of the cult of the Russian tsars, military leaders, writers, etc. — all this is still another road towards russification.

The struggle for national culture, national environment in the schools, national spirituality in literature and the arts, and, finally, the struggle for the preservation of the mother tongue is a task of prime importance in our respective homelands and

which demands our full support from abroad.

The newspapers "Soviet Education" (11 Nov. 1978) published a decree of the Russian colonial government in Ukraine which paves the way for further russification of the entire Ukrainian educational system on all levels. The decree calls for: the teaching of the Russian language to Ukrainian children *en masse* from the first grade; the raising of the teaching methods of the Russian language to the privileged status enjoyed by foreign languages, which means teaching in smaller groups with the exclusive use of Russian in all subjects of study; increasing the numbers of Russian teachers in the Ukrainian educational systems; the creation in Ukraine of more centres of specialization in the field of Russian language and literature; the holding of "language olympiads" in Russian language and literature on all levels of the public school system — from the regional to the "republican".

This is only one aspect of the onslaught of russification, because simultaneously to the above, other measures are in full force as well: forced deportation of the native populations from their homelands, and the importation of ethnic Russians to take their place; systematic mixing of nationalities; the destruction of the last vestiges of national educational systems (as in Ukraine); the persecution of the national churches and faiths of the subjugated nations (the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Protestant churches, the Lithuanian Catholic Church, the Georgian and Armenian Orthodox churches, and the Islamic faith in Turkestan and North Caucasus). As stated above, the cultural, ethnic and physical genocide is systematically carried out in an attempt to achieve the ultimate goal of total russification.

The struggle for the national (by content and language) cultures, and the battle against the policies of total russification,

became an issue of prime concern in the countries occupied by the Russian imperialists. We, as spokesmen for the subjugated nations, and our entire diaspora, must join in this struggle with all the means at our disposal. Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, North-Caucasians, Turkestanis, Azerbaijdzhans, Georgians, Armenians, Tartars, Cossacks, and others, and the peoples subjugated in the so-called "satellite" countries — Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, East Germans, Hungarians, Bulgarians and others — must strengthen their unity and efforts even further to meet the ever increasing pressures of Russian imperialists and their communist cronies in all the subjugated countries of Europe and Asia.

Against the current onslaught of Russian imperialism and chauvinism it is necessary to rise in massive protest actions emphasizing in particular the Russian occupation (national, political, economic and cultural in nature) of numerous countries. The main objective of such occupation is russification, which constitutes a whole array of methods and means of annihilation of the ethno-national, cultural and religious, ideological and philosophical, folkloric and traditional, linguistic, and biological substance of the subjugated nations. The mother tongue is a particularly important factor for the preservation of the intrinsic national cultural spirituality. **THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MOTHER TONGUE IS AN ELEMENTARY FACTOR IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SOUL OF A NATION!**

It is the duty of the political leadership of the diaspora of the subjugated nations to call and organize joint massive actions of all types against russification, and in this manner strengthen the battle for the national culture and language in their respective homelands. Community, academic, cultural, youth, women's, veterans' and other organizations must also join the growing anti-russification front. It is also

imperative to mobilize analogous organizations of the nations among which lives the diaspora of the subjugated nations. This struggle in defense of the national language and culture of the subjugated nations is, in its essence, a struggle against the barbarization of life, against the cultural impoverishment of mankind. World geniuses thrive and create while nourished by their own national spiritual, cultural and linguistic environment. **HE WHO KILLS THE LANGUAGE OF A NATION, KILLS THE SOUL OF THAT NATION**, which, in turn, leads to the de-spiritualization of the life of mankind because world culture is, in its essence, a mosaic of national cultures.

It is imperative in the free world to document the russification policies and practices before government, parliamentary, academic and cultural forums, as well as the mass media, and urge their intervention in order to force Moscow to stop its ethnic, cultural, linguistic and biological destruction of the subjugated nations. The current wave of Russian chauvinism must be turned into a subject of concern and action at all international political conferences, academic and professional meetings of local, national and international nature, etc. Those Russian nationals WHO OPPOSE Moscow's policies of imperialism and chauvinism have now still another opportunity to declare their anti-imperialistic stand in concrete actions, which would be useful for the establishment of good relations between them and the subjugated nations.

The representatives in the free world of the subjugated nations must supply by all possible means their respective countries with information about the actions taken against russification and in support of the re-establishment of independent national states in place of the Russian empire. Such information is vital in order to strengthen the embattled nations morally, spiritually and ideologically in their struggle against the Russian invader.

Special efforts must be channelled into a continued defense of cultural activists of the subjugated nations, who were the first to join in the battle against russification — a gallant stand for which they paid with long terms of confinement in prisons and concentration camps, and some of them even with their lives.

The defense of the nationalists-revolutionaries currently incarcerated in the "Gulag" is our constant duty, because they embody the ideal of national sovereignty and independence, which is the key to the realization of all the national and human rights in our homeland. Our actions cannot be limited to mere "armchair protests". We must bring out into the streets masses

of people to protest before and put pressure on Soviet Russian embassies, consulates and other representatives of the invader in the free world, and, at the same time, urge and demand intervention on part of the free world to assist our nations battling now for their very survival. And, finally, our stand in the free world against russification at home would be sheer hypocrisy, if in the diaspora we fail to halt the process of VOLUNTARY assimilation and denationalization of our youth. This can be done by systematically promoting patriotism, idealism, our national culture, language, tradition and customs, an education in the national spirit, and our traditional religious faith.

## Moscow Russifies Ukraine

*Below is the transcript of Dr. Martin Abend's commentary on Ukraine which was broadcast over WNEW-TV, channel 5, in New York City on November 26, 1978. Newscaster John Roland introduced Dr. Abend after his report on the Ukrainian demonstration held during the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, November 23-26, 1978, by saying: "Ukrainians are just one of 15 peoples that make up the Soviet Union. Features that make Ukrainians special are the subject of tonight's commentary by Dr. Martin Abend."*

DR. MARTIN ABEND: In Communist Soviet Union, all nationalism, except the Russian type of nationalism, is taboo, it's criminal. But the Ukrainian form of nationalism is especially taboo to the Communists ruling in Moscow. Why? Because Ukraine has a population of 50 million, second only to the Russian population. It has a very well developed and active industrial base. It has an exceedingly rich source of resources. It has a very well developed agricultural output, and it also

has a number of Ukrainian nationalists who know very well their identity, their culture, their language, their very history is being threatened by the Moscow brand of communism in the form of Russification. Russification simply means that the Moscow Communists understand that the only way that they're going to secure the vital area called Ukraine once and for all inside the Communist empire is by Russianizing those people. And this is done by infiltrating every single aspect, every facet of Ukrainian national life, its culture, particularly in the form of education.

Russianizing the Ukrainians is a foremost policy of Communist Moscow. But to do this they have to get rid of Ukrainian intellectuals who are the bearers of Ukrainianism. And this is what the Russians have been at, the Communist Russians, for a long, long while, practically unbeknownst to the American public. The hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian patriots languishing in Far Eastern Siberian prisons are unknown to us.

# The Lithuanian Resistance, 1944-1952

## Motives and Scope of the Partisan Movement

After more than three years of Nazi occupation, the exhausted Lithuanian people looked forward to an Allied victory and the restoration of their independent state. Unfortunately, the Lithuanians were fated to fall under a second, harsher and crueler Soviet Russian occupation. Those people who remained in Lithuania suffered the vengeance of the returning Soviet occupants.

Invasive the territory for a second time in the summer of 1944, the Russians did not consider Lithuania an independent country, and treated her as Soviet territory. Furthermore, encouraged by their victory over the Germans, the Soviet Russians began to rule without caring about any international responsibility for their actions. They began to probe in a most cruel manner every Lithuanian inhabitant's behavior with respect to the Soviet rule and their behavior during the German occupation. The pretext for all sorts of charges were found under convenient labels of a "Peoples' enemy" or "war criminal."

The result was an undeclared war between the Lithuanian people and the USSR. The scope of the resistance movement may be determined from the number of partisans killed and the size of the Soviet armed and security forces employed to maintain control over the country. There is some disagreement as to the exact number of casualties among the partisans. In all probability, during a decade of fighting the number of partisans killed or later executed is between 30,000 and 50,000. The number of active partisans at any time varied between 25,000 and 40,000. In 1948, eight divisions of the Red

army and units of the Soviet Air Force, at least 30,000 MVD troops and 40,000 MGB forces, were stationed in Lithuania. In addition, the MVD was supported by "Peoples' Militia" and the MGB by the "destroyers" or *istrebiteli*. The armed forces were seldom used against the partisans; nevertheless, they did constitute a potential aid to the security forces and provided a wide margin of safety for the Communist regime. The security forces, totaling up to about 100,000 men, motorized and with air support, alone suggest the grave threat to the Soviet regime; this is especially evident if we remember that Lithuania was a country of about three million people.

What motivated this extensive resistance movement? Although motivation is individual, several factors may be discerned which caused so many Lithuanians to flock to the ranks of the partisans. First of all, since the Lithuanian nation had experienced Soviet rule and terror in 1940-41, no one had any illusions as to the nature of Soviet totalitarianism. To many, it was a matter of self-preservation to join the partisans. Among such people may be considered all former officials of the Lithuanian republic, leaders and activists of the former political parties, owners of large farms and businesses, and outspoken individuals of known patriotic and nationalistic disposition.

Another factor which swelled the ranks of the partisans was the mobilization of men born in 1909 to 1926 into the Soviet army, which was declared immediately after the re-occupation of Lithuania. To those who evaded the press gangs, the

forests provided the only alternative to the hazards and misery of serving in the Soviet ranks. In a word, many preferred the partisans to becoming Soviet cannon fodder. Furthermore, Soviet terror instituted immediately after occupation contributed to the reaction against the regime. Families and relatives of known partisans had no alternative but to join the underground. Similarly, those who were discovered to be aiding the underground, joined the partisans as the only way of escaping total annihilation. Many soldiers and officers of Lithuanian units, armed by the Germans, refused to follow the orders of German generals and took to the woods, providing the nucleus for an armed resistance.

The most important factor for the mass resistance movement was the mood of the nation, the evaluation of the world situation, and accepted illusions. Many, including the new leaders of the underground, believed that armed resistance was necessary and meaningful since the occupation could last only a limited period. The expectation that the Western allies would make an early peace with Germany and turn against the Soviet Union was wishful thinking accepted by many. Thus, the conclusion was drawn that the nation had to resist Sovietization at all costs, and preserve a national movement and an armed force for the limited time until the Soviet Union would be defeated and the independence of Lithuania restored.

Finally, the Roman Catholic Church in Lithuania, experiencing extreme persecution, was forced to support actively the resistance movement. Many priests served as leaders and chaplains of partisan units and supported the resistance in many ways. Involvement of the Church in the freedom struggle brought people from all social and political sectors into the ranks of the partisans. The defense of national values became identified with the defense of one's faith.

Organizationally, the partisan membership was structured like most underground groups. There were three layers. Its visible part constituted the real underground of active fighters. Their weapons were of German and Soviet manufacture. They also had machine guns, heavy machine guns of the Soviet "maxim" type. The German machine guns were manufactured in the Skoda works in Czecho-Slovakia. Some of the partisan units were also armed with light artillery. These were the front-line soldiers and lived in forests or farm shelters. Their ranks were continually changing — the average life span of an active fighter was only two years. Passive fighters were armed but stayed at home, on their jobs, or at school; they were called upon only occasionally, for a variety of tasks. The supporters also lived "legally." Although they did not bear arms, their contribution to the cause was important; they provided supplies and shelters, and they gathered intelligence.

Unlike the West European anti-Nazi movements of the second World War, the Lithuanian partisans sustained themselves without support or supplies from abroad, that is, from the Western powers, although they did maintain some contacts with Swedish, American and British intelligence. Liaison men sent from Western Europe penetrated the Lithuanian Iron Curtain in 1945 and 1946 and established contact with the partisan leadership. The Western intelligence agencies were only interested in culling information about Soviet military installations and troop dispositions. They did not really contribute to the movement materially. The actual extent of American and British involvement was, therefore, limited.

The Soviet charge of German sponsorship and inspiration for the resistance movement is false, because such a link did not exist. The Soviet Union fabricated the charge for political purposes, as a part of an extremely intensified Communist pro-

paganda campaign in Lithuania, designed to create a pro-Nazi image of the partisans and to destroy existing nationalist influences by indiscriminately identifying all nationalists with the German occupational regime. The few cases of collaboration among the partisans produced by the Soviets usually involved Lithuanian rebels against the Soviet regime in 1941 and former soldiers in German uniform. Interestingly enough, the Soviet have not produced specific collaborationist or war-crime charges against any of the better known partisan leaders. It would be unreal to assume, however, that among the more than 30,000 active partisans that there was none who compromised personal or political integrity. However, even on the basis of Soviet information, such cases were minimal.

Organized as conspiratorial groups, the partisans were dedicated to the restoration of Lithuanian independence. True to the traditions of the previous nationalist underground groups, the partisans maintained that, according to international law, their country had not lost its sovereignty. They set up their own courts, issued credit script, passed decrees and enforced their regulations. Until 1952, they maintained an underground leadership.

Shades of political opinion and, at first, ethnic background were not important so long as a member's loyalty belonged exclusively to the partisan organization. A good number of freedom fighters and most of their leaders had borne arms against the Soviets in the revolt of 1941, and later had worked against the Germans in the anti-Nazi underground. A handful were persons originally parachuted into the country as German intelligence agents; their joining the ranks of the Lithuanian resistance had given the partisans access to valuable German caches of ammunition, weapons and other needed supplies. Moreover, escaped German POWS and Soviet army deserters were also found in the ranks. The

partisans from the beginning had disqualified those German agents who refused to subordinate themselves completely to the partisan command. Furthermore, beginning in early 1945, membership was confined exclusively to ethnic Lithuanians, with occasional exception made for Latvians and East Prussian Germans.

Most partisans came from the working and small-farmer classes. Many were of varied backgrounds: officers, civil servants, students, high-school students, sons of peasants, laborers. There were also a sprinkling of priests and veterans of the independence wars of 1918-20. Youth was most sympathetic to the partisan cause — in some places, entire classes of high-school students flocked to the partisans. Women partisans were not only medics and couriers but also numbered in the ranks of the fights.

A number of partisan leaders subscribed to the principles of Christian ethics and Western democracy, to charity, social reform and thought. Law based on the principles of Christian morality was declared to be the norm of personal and group behavior. The use of force was held to be a necessary evil.

The statute of the Tauras Region of Partisans enumerated the moral qualifications for partisan candidates: The freedom fighters are to be Lithuanian men and women, regardless of age; they are to be of high moral principle, brave, determined, without any past blemishes against the nation in the past, and they are to be totally committed to the liberation of Lithuania. Those joining the partisan organization had to take the following oath:

I (name) swear before God Almighty, in the name of the brothers fallen for Lithuania's freedom and independence, to work with fortitude for the reconstruction of independent Lithuania, committing all my strength and life, to follow strictly the orders of the leadership, to keep my activities

in the greatest secrecy, to avoid contact with the enemy and to report everything to my superiors. I understand that if I break this oath I will be punished by death. All this that I swear let God help me do.

The partisan could not leave the organization until Lithuanian independence was regained. Even then, he could not leave until permission from the leadership was obtained. The partisan leadership tried to create an organization with high qualifications from the gray mass of men who had fled to the forests or who were willing to collaborate with the partisans.

To identify themselves with Lithuanian nationalism and its military traditions, the partisans wore uniforms of the Lithuanian army, with insignias of rank and merit. This, along with the wearing of decorations for valour or service that were occasionally bestowed on individual fighters or supporters, emphasized the military nature of the movement and helped maintain discipline. In most cases, commanding officers were elected. Leaders of the primary units were elected from the ranks; other commanders were elected by officers of subordinate groups. Only staff officers were appointed. Thus, there was a close relationship between the leaders and the ranks; the quality of the ranks and leadership tended to correspond.

The concrete objectives of the partisans were obstruction of the Soviet regime in all its aspects, emphasis being laid on preventing the reestablishment of local soviets and on impeding the work of other Soviet institutions, notably the NKVD. Other partisan activities included punishment of suspected collaborators with the Communists; dissemination of information; documentation of Soviet crimes and practices; protection of the lives and property of the civilian population. Sentences were passed and publicly announced by partisan courts, with the accused usually

absent from the proceeding. One of the partisan leaders, The Green Devil (Jonas Misiunas), personally executed a number of traitors in eastern Lithuania, and indicated the fact that he had carried out the sentence by attaching a calling card to the bodies of the executed persons.

### Early Groupings, 1944-45

Toward the end of the Nazi occupation the forests of Lithuania were full of nationalist partisans whose objectives were to stop the demolition of buildings, factories and railroads by the retreating Germans, to protect the inhabitants from German looting, and to fight German press gangs attempting to deport Lithuanians to the Reich. The Swedish newspaper *Baltiska Nyheter* reported on September 26, 1944, that the partisans attacked a one hundred-man SA unit and forced it to retire from Plateliai. This SA unit's objective had been to requisition horses and cattle. The partisans also attacked another large SA unit, seized its arms and food supplies, and forced it to retire from Darbenai, thus frustrating German attempts to recruit Lithuanian laborers for Germany.

During the first partisan-war phase, roughly from the summer of 1944 to the summer of 1945, the best organized freedom fighters were the Samogitians (*Žemaičiai*). They first grouped while the Germans were still in Samogitia in order to protect the populace from looting. A large number of former army officers, including General Motiejus Pečiulionis, had been part of the Lithuanian Freedom Army during the Nazi rule. From the first, when the Soviets returned, they began to organize and coordinate the partisan movement. Almost all of the Samogitian guerrilla bands were united into "Vanagai" or Hawks; they numbered several thousands. The Soviet Russians did not try to reckon with the formidable Vanagai in open combat. They resorted instead to provocations.

By the beginning of 1945, partisan units of varying sizes were operating in Lithuania. The movement continued to grow until it covered all of Lithuania, except for those areas where large Red army units were stationed, i.e., near the Prussian frontier and the Baltic Sea. Forested areas like Rudninkai, Prienėlis, Kazlu Ruda, Žaliosios Girios, Labanoras, and Taurage hid large combat forces of guerrillas, ranging from several dozen to several hundred men. At this time, there was no centralized partisan command. Units operated in small areas. Before undertaking larger operations, the leaders of one unit would invite another for assistance. After the operation, the units would split up again and return to their bases. Each command understood organization, operations and objectives in its own manner. Nonetheless, even in this first phase of the war the basic objectives were clearly understood: paralyze the activities of local Communists, obstruct their plans, and destroy the NKVD forces in the provinces.

These spontaneous groupings of freedom fighters (*laisvės kovotojai*), *miško broliai* (forest brothers), *Žaliukai* ("greenies") or partisans ("partizanai") — as these guerrillas were called — earned the respect of the inhabitants through their legendary exploits against the native traitors and the NKVD. Many local Communist leaders and officials were executed. In the vicinity of Karmelava, for example seventeen Party cell bosses were exterminated in one year. The Russification of the Lithuanian countryside was thwarted. Since the local Communist administration often simply ceased to exist for months at a stretch, the countryside and villages were actually governed by the partisans. In some areas, the Communists ruled by day, the partisans by night. By April, 1945, the partisans numbered about 30,000. The Communists were secure only in the large cities and in areas which had strong Red army or NKVD units close by. Even then, they

did not dare appear in the countryside, except in company and battalion strength. What hindered the consolidation of partisan gains was the absence of a centralized or coordinated leadership.

### The Spread of Armed Resistance, 1945

To recapitulate in any detail the exploits of the Lithuanian freedom fighters would call for much more space than the present study could provide. It was a valiant and brutal struggle. In the spring of 1945 the guerrillas came out of winter hiding and began a multitude of attacks against the NKVD and local Communist authorities. Being familiar with the local terrain and being armed with automatic weapons and machine guns, the partisans tackled Soviet Russian forces three, five and even ten times their size. Using ambuscades and night raids, the partisans inflicted huge casualties on the occupants.

In southern and western Lithuania, the partisans operated in small units of twenty to fifty men. They struck hard, inflicted losses and quickly broke off actions before the Soviet Russians could rally or bring up reserves. In the east and north, where large tracts of forestland and natural cover could be found, the partisans operated in groups of several hundred. For instance, Žalgiris led a force of 800 fighting men. Bands of 500 men were not uncommon. Since it was hard for large formations to avoid detection, the eastern partisans were prone to fighting pitched battles with regiments and even divisions of NKVD troops. Of course, such large-scale battle tactics led to huge expenditures of ammunition and frightful losses.

The list of engagements is extensive. What is characteristic is the fact that the partisans, using assault tactics or ambushes, usually inflicted losses on the enemy that were several times larger than their own. For obvious reasons, the freedom fighters hid their cause under assumed names often borrowed from nature (plants, animals, the

elements) and from Lithuanian history or folklore.

During the first year the partisans fought mostly against the so-called *istrebiteli* (Russian for "destroyers"), who had been organized in the fall of 1944 by the local Communist authorities for the defense of the Communist party apparatus and for the collection of requisitions. The *istrebiteli* were a Communist defense force, in the main comprised of criminals, vagrants local dregs, who volunteered for service in order to avoid conscription in the Soviet army or to obtain ration cards. Each township was to form a unit of thirty *istrebiteli*, commanded by NKVD officers. Since they received no allowance, except a uniform and rations, they took to pillage. They were also used in operations against the partisans in order to create the impression that the anti-partisan struggle was a "civil war between bourgeois nationalists and the working people."

The partisans used flexible tactics against the *istrebiteli*. First, the native *istrebiteli* were contacted personally and warned. In some cases partisans infiltrated their ranks and discouraged service. They were forced to work for the partisans. If they did not heed the partisan warnings, force was used. The partisan clashes with the *istrebiteli* and NKVD became legendary. The partisans used machine guns, mortars and bazookas (German *Panzerfausts*) to demoralize the *istrebiteli* who were poorly equipped. The annihilation of the *istrebiteli* at Gižai, Kačergine and Žalioji completely demoralized the remainder. They deserted wholesale or even sought asylum with the partisans. Only the criminal element and Lumpenproletariat remained. (This group too was soon distrusted by the Communists.) With the liquidation of the *istrebiteli*, it was easy to disrupt the local administration, stop deportations, the cutting of forests and the collecting of grain requisitions.

What is more significant is the fact that the elimination of the native Lithuanian element from the *istrebiteli* was a blow to the Soviet myth about the "civil war" in Lithuania. The destruction of the *istrebiteli* showed the lack of support that the native Communists had among the local people. "The peoples' democracy" was forced to rely entirely on its true sponsor, the NKVD and the Red army.

#### Desperate Resistance, 1945—46

The years 1945-46 saw the rising storm of partisan engagements and NKVD-MVD counter-operations. In July, 1945, more than 10,000 fresh NKVD troops arrived in Lithuania. The following month, NKVD provocateurs were sent into the forests of Kazlu Ruda in southern Lithuania. In September, NKVD-NKGB units occupied all the cities and *raion* towns. Nevertheless, Lithuanian guerrillas dared to attack Communist headquarters and installations in the cities. In October, street fighting at night still occurred in Kaunas and Vilnius between partisans and NKVD forces. In October and November the Soviets sent were concentrating around Kaunas for a mass assault on the city. As a result, in October and November the Soviets sent three infantry divisions, reinforced by tanks and airplanes, to scour western Lithuania.

During the first six months of 1946, more than 800 cases of serious sabotage were reported by the occupation authorities. The NKVD offered rewards up to 10,000 rubles for information leading to the arrest of the saboteurs.

The guerrillas were now almost exclusively comprised of Lithuanians of all ages and walks of life, with an occasional German or Dutch prisoner of war, Latvian, Polish or Byelorussian freedom fighter. In one Samogitian unit there was a sixty-year old farmer with his three sons; this family "squad" constantly volunteered for the most dangerous assignments. The old

guerrilla was a good shot and he accounted for a number of NKVD men. In a Sudavian unit was a twelve-year old boy whose father was executed by the Communists and whose family was deported to Siberia. The guerrillas adopted the boy and employed him as a messenger. One night he was wounded by Soviet sentinels. When the wounded boy refused to betray his friends in the forests, the Soviet troopers crushed the boy's frail body by running a tank over him.

In the spring of 1946, the NKVD began to press and persecute the partisans with more intensity than in the previous year. The long winter and late snows kept the partisan units penned up in their old bases and lairs, thus exposing them to grave danger. Following NKVD General Bartasiunas' order of February 15, 1946, the NKVD sought out the bogged-down partisans. Every day, NKVD units clashed with uncovered or fleeing partisan bands.

During the summer of 1946, the Russians attempted to "purge" Lithuania three times. In the first operation, between June 28 and July 16, 4,000 NKVD troopers scoured western Lithuania, and 3,000 NKVD men searched the forests of Alytus and Seinai in southern Lithuania. Two hundred Soviet troopers were killed and thirty-one partisans perished in the skirmishes. The corpses of the "white bandits" were publicly displayed in the Prienai, Marijampole and Veiveriai market places.

The second operation was effected between August 12 and 16. The task force included 15,000 NKVD troops and auxiliary units. Major General Juozas Bartasiunas took personal command of the operations. This time, the guerrillas suffered

heavier casualties — about 200 men perished, including several staff officers. The Soviets, however, suffered considerably heavier losses. The third operation was carried out during September 12-16 in Samogitia.

The extent of this warfare on the local level may be gleaned by studying the "War Communiques of the Lithuanian Guerrilla Radio," broadcast almost daily by clandestine transmitters to listening posts in Sweden and West Germany. While the sources cannot be verified, very often the facts recorded corresponded with data received from other more reliable sources.

Throughout 1946, in spite of large-scale search operations, the partisans were still able to inflict heavy losses in men and material on the enemy, as can be seen from the above-mentioned clashes. According to *Pergale*. No. 7 (Vilnius, 1961), one partisan platoon leader, Vytautas Gavenas, personally liquidated 1,000 enemies in his various engagements. According to other Soviet sources, between June, 1944 and June, 1946, 9,000 Lithuanian partisans perished.

As the winter of 1946-47 approached, the partisans were again faced with the serious problem of finding quarters and stocking provisions. They began to loot Communist warehouses and *kolkhozes*. A typical operation was undertaken by the Iron Wolf Regiment. Fifty men of the Dešinys and Šarunas companies, led by "Uosis," cleaned out the *sovkhозе* at Pagermonys, a former estate, and carried off enough food to supply the formations for the winter.

*(To be continued in next issue.)*

## Resolution Asks for Support for Lithuania

Adopted by the Lithuanian Americans of Cicero, Illinois on this 11th day of February, 1979, at the assembly which commemorated the restoration of Lithuanian Independence in 1918.

*Whereas*, the assembled are guided by the Human Rights principle which can not exclude the right of the nations to govern themselves freely, and

*Whereas*, with pursuing the policy of detente, no significant results were obtained and tens of thousands of Lithuanians are still imprisoned and sent to Siberia or held in psychiatric wards for trying to publicly express their thoughts and religious beliefs,

*Now, therefore, be it resolved*

*To thank* President Carter for trying to apply the Human Rights principle to all the countries,

*To thank* Congress for conducting committee hearings on Lithuania's occupation and declaring it an act of force and fraud,

*To request* President Carter and Congress to use every opportunity in international forums and in direct negotiations with Russia to uphold, without compromise, the Human Rights principle and support the Lithuanian nation's aims for independence,

*To ask* the President, the Congress and

the United States' Helsinki Monitor Commission to act in behalf of the Lithuanian dissidents — members of the Lithuanian Helsinki Monitor Group and others — that they be released from detention immediately.

*To ask* President Carter and Congress to resist the pressure exerted to discontinue the observance of the Captive Nations Week and to establish a Russian Consulate in Chicago,

*To ask* the Department of State to observe the presidential instruction which says that the aid to foreign countries and the relations with them will depend on how the Human Rights are honored in these countries,

*To forward* copies of this Resolution to the President of the United States of America, to the Secretary of State, to the United States Senators and Congressman of the 6th district from Illinois and Congressman Dante B. Fascell, Chairman of the Helsinki Monitor Committee in Washington, to the National Captive Nations Committee, to the Mayor of Chicago, and to the news media.

*Peter Atkociunas, DDS*

*Chairman of the assembly*

*Victor Motusis*

*Secretary of the assembly*

Slava Stetsko

## Salutation to the Lithuanian Community of Miami

Your Excellency, Reverend Fathers, Mr. President, dear Lithuanian Friends, distinguished representatives of Estonia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Poland, and other subjugated nations!

It is a great honor for me to bring these greetings to you from the headquarters of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations located in Munich. It is a great pleasure for me to

greet you especially on behalf of our Ukrainian compatriots. We are proud to be Ukrainians, as you are proud to be Lithuanians. We are all conscious of our glorious past, our heroic present and we strongly believe in the great future of our nations.

Not the mighty free nations but the conscience of our past gave us the strength

and courage to wage a two-front war against Nazi Germany and the equally harsh oppression of Soviet Russia.

And now in spite of religious, cultural and national persecution, Russification, and economic exploitation, the young people in our countries remain as Lithuanian, as Ukrainian, as Estonian, as Byelorussian, and as Georgian, as they were a thousand years ago.

They prefer to go to jails and concentration camps rather than to betray their nations. They are ready to live, to struggle, and, if necessary, to die for their countries. Even to burn themselves alive as Romas Kalantas did. It is a pity that Ukrainian and Byelorussian students came too late to attend his funeral because the KGB put up all kind of obstacles to delay their arrival.

When Ukrainian freedom fighter, Lev Lukyanenko, sentenced to 25 years, was

asked in a concentration camp, "Do you really believe that your Ukraine will ever be free?" His answer was, "Of one thing I am certain. If I were the last Ukrainian on earth, I would still continue to fight for Ukraine."

There is not one, not two, nor even more heroes in our native fatherlands. As the foreign authors say — the whole nation is the hero. The graves of dead heroes are the mobilizing force of our young generation in their struggle for national independence.

We do not believe that human rights can be realized in our countries as long as Russian tanks stand on the streets of our capitals. Therefore ABN — Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — is for the complete dissolution of the Russian empire into national independent states.

Tegyvuojā Lietuva!



*Ukrainians in Miami, Florida, along with the Lithuanian patriot and former political prisoner, Simas Kudirka protest against persecution in Ukraine and for the release of Ukrainian political prisoners.*

## The Liberation Struggle in Poland

The liberation struggle of the Polish people against their Soviet Russian imposed Communist regime has by now gone on for a generation. The latest workers' strikes in 1976 occurred almost 20 years to the date after the "Black Thursday" in Poznan on June 28, 1956. There were popular upheavals in Poland in 1968 and again in 1970, and in all these cases, the Communists backed down before popular pressure. Yet on June 24, 1976, when new food prices were announced, the workers in Gdansk once again went on strike. This time they were joined by workers in various other parts of Poland. The workers from the Ursus tractor factory south of Warsaw blocked the railroad tracks, stopping trains to the capital, and in Radom there was widespread rioting. To avoid a bloody confrontation, perhaps more serious than that in Poznan in 1956 or in Gdansk in 1970, the Communists again backed down. Instead, the Communist regime in Poland launched an "ideological offensive" which tried to "present Poland as an integral part of the socialist commonwealth, inseparably linked by ideology, alliance, and many-sided cooperation with the USSR", and at the same time, to "unmask the intellectuals and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church". This "ideological offensive" by the Communist regime in Poland misfired because it could not have been otherwise in a country proud of its history, violently anti-Russian, passionately idealistic, devoutly Catholic and strongly anti-Communist. The intellectuals not only refused to be intimidated but more and more often resorted to open defiance of the Communist authorities. Moreover, the intellectuals started to support the workers' struggle, i.e. the "June events of 1976" as the Poles call them, and when the Com-

munist authorities resorted to widespread persecutions of the workers involved, the intellectuals promptly rallied to the workers' defense. In July 1976, a prominent Polish novelist, Jerzy Andrzejewski, praised the persecuted workers as "fighters for true socialist democracy" and pledged to persevere on their behalf. With this aim, on September 27, 1976, a Committee for Defense of the Workers (KOR) was established.

It must be said that the intellectuals had not supported the workers' strikes prior to 1976. Indeed, when faced with the workers' revolts in Gdansk and Szczecin in 1970, in Gdynia in 1974, the intellectuals were taken by surprise and played no role in the revolts whatsoever. So when the intellectuals came out openly against Gomulka in March 1968 and mass demonstrations and violent clashes with the police took place in Warsaw and in every provincial university town — Cracow and Poznan, Lodz and Lublin, Wroclaw and Gdansk, the Communist authorities put the blame on "Zionist" ringleaders and the workers remained passive. Thus, the "June events" produced a chain reaction which led to the emergence of a fundamentally new political situation in the country, i.e., to the emergence of an open resistance movement, which in the past had been scattered, clandestine (as, e.g., the group of "Alpinists" — young people who smuggled political literature from the West through the Tatra Mountains, who were discovered and tried in 1971), and largely passive (e.g. passive resistance of the peasants). Now the resistance movement has taken an organized, vocal, and increasingly influential political form.

The Catholic Church of Poland was also never silent during the struggle. In his

sermons and epistles, Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, the Primate of Poland as well as other hierarchs of the Church, castigated various aspects of the Communists regime. They did not restrict themselves to religious matters only, but also demanded respect from the Communist government for several basic democratic freedoms (the right to free association, to freedom of press, to unrestrained scientific research, especially in the study of history of modern Poland). Cardinal Wyszyński also challenged Communist claims of the identity of Poland's interests with those of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet-Polish amity, etc. In a passionately patriotic sermon, he declared:

For us, next to God, our first love is Poland. After God one must above all remain faithful to our Homeland, to the Polish national culture. We will love all the peoples in the world, but only in such an order of priorities. And if we see everywhere slogans advocating love for all the peoples and all the nations, we do not oppose them; yet above all we demand the right to live in accordance with the spirit, history, culture, and language of our own Polish land — the same which has been used by our ancestors for centuries.

Polish Communism is now in deep trouble. It's bankruptcy is evident. Confronted with the burning issues of the day, and, especially, with the desperate deterioration of the national economy, with eventual increases of food prices which are likely to lead to new strikes and conceivably even to a large-scale workers' rebellion, the Communist regime was left in fact without ideology and without intellectuals. The Polish people, however, which is forced to be an ally of the Soviet Union and compelled to have a Communist system, is in a more assertive mood than ever before. The resistance movement was emboldened by the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation

in Europe which according to the leaders of the Polish Resistance Movement reduced the chances of an open Soviet intervention in Poland. More important in the increase of the Resistance Movement was the post-war generation in Poland which now entered the Resistance Movement, and which was always impatient with their fathers' passive resistance to communism. There is now a proliferation in Poland of resistance groups with, at least, 20 illegal papers published regularly, with a total monthly circulation of no less than 100,000. To write, edit, publish, and distribute them must take at least several thousand persons. All these publications have mercilessly attacked the censorship of official press. They were provided with a golden opportunity in the spring of 1977 by the defection to the West of Tomasz Strzyziewski, an employee of the censorship office in Krakow, who took with himself substantial confidential evidence about the workings of the censorship.

We complete our discussion of Poland's liberation struggle with the enumeration of the most important resistance groups:

1. KOR (now KSS-KOR — Committee for Social Self-Defense), mostly student activists of 1968 (Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik (of Jewish descent), former "Alpinists". Among them also prominent social-democrats as Professor Edward Lipinski, author of the petition of 59 against the official project of the new Constitution which changed the name of the Polish People's Republic to Polish Socialist Republic. Publishes: *Bulletyn Informacyjny*.

2. ROPCIO (Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights). The present leader: pre-war General Mieczysław Boruta-Spiechowicz; members: Leszek Moczulski, journalist and historian of WWII; and a leader of the former Christian Democratic Party, Stefan Kaczkowski. The younger members are mostly former members of the clandestine group with its leader Andrzej Czuma. The Mo-

vement has established its offices in Polish cities, publishes monthly *Opinia* and the members, at the official functions, as, e.g., the funeral of Gen. Roman Abraham, appear in the pre-war Polish uniforms.

3. SKS (Students Solidarity Committee) has branches at virtually every university and publishes two papers: *Bratniak* and *Indeks*.

4. PPS (Polish Socialist Party) publishes *Robotnik*.

5. Polish Chapter of *Amnesty International*.

6. Polish Committee for the Defense of Life and Family fights to abolish the existing, extremely liberal abortion laws.

7. Samoobrona Polska (The Polish Self-Defense) publishes monthly *Droga*.

8. Polska Walczonca (Fighting Poland) — a military organization, publishes a bimonthly under the same name.

9. PPN — Polish Coalition for Independence.

10. Polish Democratic Movement for the struggle for Poland's democracy and sovereignty. Issued manifesto (cf. *Kultura*, December 1977), Publishes: *Glos*.

11. NOWA (Independent Publishing House) publishes literary periodicals *Zapis* and *Puls*. Will publish books.

12. UL (Flying University) with "flying" libraries of books banned from regular collections, supplements education at regular universities. In June 1978, UL completed its first "academic year".

It is impossible to anticipate when the crisis will come into the open. Poland's present situation rests on a delicate equilibrium among many competing forces. However, the present situation is even more dangerous and more explosive than the revolutionary atmosphere of October and November 1956, when the Hungarian uprising was threatening to spread to Poland. The Poles face heavy odds and our wishes are with them that they manage to meet the challenge.

## Is the American Religious Faith in Jeopardy

Madeline O'Hara is at it again. This time she is on the move to censure the religious messages being carried on radio and television. She has acknowledged that she is out to wipe out all that pertains to God.

Don't take this lightly. You may remember that she succeeded in making it illegal to read the Bible or pray in public schools and she protested the decision of the astronauts to read the Bible broadcast from the spacecraft.

Good governments are lost because good people do NOTHING. Freedoms are lost because good people do NOTHING.

Here is my letter to Federal Communications Commission, 1919 M St. Washington, D.C. 20054 — "I am an American

and proud of my heritage. I am also very much aware of the place religious faith has played in the freedom we, as Americans, now enjoy. Therefore, I protest any human effort to remove from Radio or Television any programs designed to show faith in Almighty God or a Supreme Being."

Let us be reminded that, prior to the American Revolution, few people of the world had ever enjoyed real freedom — the freedom to pursue happiness. From its beginning in Plymouth and Jamestown, America became the land of hope and freedom. The early Puritans were a people who had made the Holy Bible their chief authority and guide for conduct. One approach to the problem of patriotism is the spiritual one. We read and hear a great

deal today about our alleged moral decline and our materialistic attitude toward world affairs. But we must never forget, nor allow our children to forget, that this land was settled originally by people who had a profoundly spiritual outlook.

Can you believe that there is a new American atheist magazine, a monthly journal of atheist news and thought published here in the United States? An ad in a local paper said that the *American Atheist* is a highly sought after publica-

tion by serious students of the materialistic view.

A growing number of authorities say our crime problem is symptomatic of a deeper malaise, a failure of the materialistic approach to life which our society has elevated to the ideal. In this context, crime may perhaps be best understood as a spiritual problem. There MUST be a turnaround in a social sickness which is coming closer to the personal experience of each of us.

Doris Besenty

## Letter to Pope John Paul II

*Below we are reprinting the text of a letter written and sent by thousands of Ukrainian Catholics in the US to Pope John Paul II.*

To His Holiness  
Pope John Paul II  
The Vatican  
Holy Father:

We, the faithful of the Eastern Rite, who belong to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, appeal to Your Holiness that by filling the vacancy on the throne of the Metropolitan See of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, You impart Your blessings upon the selection made by our Patriarch Yosyf Cardinal Slipyj.

As You, Holy Father, are undoubtedly aware, the faithful of our Ukrainian Catholic Church, those millions in our Fatherland, and those not always respectfully treated in the West, have placed all of their trust and hopes in our Patriarch

Yosyf and are now looking up to You, Holy Father, to Your inspired leadership with expectation of compassion, understanding and help.

Holy Father! Your total devotion to the teachings of Christ, Your salient comprehension of genuine ecumenism, Your salutary commitment to human rights, and Your courage in propounding them, give us added assurances and hope that Your Holy pontificate will usher in a new era, not only in the life of our Ukrainian Catholic Church, but also in the life of all humanity.

We sincerely hope, that a favorable consideration of our appeal and the approval of Yours, Holy Father, will meet the needs of our Church here in the United States of America and will be the sign that indeed You are the man sent to us by Divine Providence.

With expressions of our filial devotion, we are Yours in Christ.

## WACL Bulletin on Ukraine

In a special edition of the "WACL Bulletin" from the XIth WACL conference in Washington, D.C., the official organ of the World Anti-Communist League inserted an extensive article about Ukraine's freedom fight and about other nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and communism. The main seminar by Dr. Y. Stetsko entitled *The road to ideological victory over Marxism and Bolshevism* observes the ideological and political complex of Ukraine's and other enslaved nations' struggle over Russian imperialism and communism. Dr. Stetsko points out the spiritual renaissance of mankind's ideas and analyzes the inefficiency of communism as the greatest reactionary system in the development of mankind. The speaker dwells upon the question of the decline of the Occident: its withdrawal of values and ideals which made it strong. He presents the problem of eternal values, of the heroic concept of life, and of the national-patriotic and nationalistic revolutionary ideal. Having analyzed the American politics on human rights, the speaker realizes the demands of the freedom fight in Ukraine and of the imperative conditions for the realization of freedom for people of enslaved nations: namely, the national independent self-governing nation. The speaker dedicates a separate mention in a major section of his seminar to the global ideological war of the Occident against Russia and the many variants of its Bolshevism.

In the report about ABN's work, Slava Stetsko M.A., dedicates a mention not only to the activities of ABN as a co-ordinative nucleus, but also to the individual members of the national freedom organizations of enslaved nations e.g. Ukraine, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia, Latvia, Cuba, etc.

The ABN youth group in Great Britain

received special mention thanks to their all-round activity. They were also given mention in the seminar presentation by ABN in Ellenville, USA.

This special edition of the "WACL Bulletin" includes other seminars, addresses and speeches which deserve an extra mention: USA Senator Jake Garn's speech entitled *Soviet military build up and US security*; USA Senator James McClure's speech entitled *Morality in foreign policy* (particular attention was paid to the human rights campaign of President Carter); Governor A. S. Jamjoom's entitled *Stop communist expansion by action*; Dr. Ku Cheng-Kang, Honorary WACL chairman, and his speech entitled *Strive in unity to bring about early victory over communism*.

Other studies, which were read at the conference, from a separate chapter of the WACL Bulletin: e.g. *Islam and Communism* by Hisham Sahki; *Withdrawal of US armed forces from Korea* by Gen. Honkon Lee, WACL Korea Chapter; *The current situation on Chinese Mainland*.

Among the items of mentions of individual complexes, apart from ABN, are also Asia (APACL), Latin America (CAL), Middle East, Africa, Western Europe, Youth WACL (WYACL). There are also separate mentions of the works and struggle of individual members and nations. Professor Dr. Roger Pearson, USA chairman of WACL, writes about the *Maintenance of unity in the struggle for national freedom against communist aggression*.

Gen. John K. Singlaub, the former chief of headquarters of the United forces in Korea, was recently relieved of this post by President Carter because he did not agree with the withdrawal of forces politics from Korea. General Singlaub writes about *GI pullout worst decision*. He brings into consideration the White House politics vis à vis Korea.

General John W. Vessey (USA) examines the United States' vital support for a safe Korea. In an interview, Leopold Sedor Senghor, president of Senegal, indicates the following danger in his speech entitled: *The communists can take Africa.*

In the publicized "Final communique of the XIth WACL General Conference" there is a separate section dealing with the support of the freedom fight for the independence of Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania

Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Croatia and other enslaved nations. Among the many photos of the delegates is a picture of the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus and of the dance group from the Ukrainian Youth Association. Both groups entertained during the WACL reception in Washington.

The WACL Bulletin is distributed in 75 countries and among a chain of international member organizations.

## I am a Ukrainian, not a Russian

### An open letter of a Ukrainian student to the Western press

Russia is the greatest and most cruel enemy of Ukraine. Ukraine, although occupied and enslaved now by Communist Russia, is a proud nation of 55 million, with a history, culture, literature and language different from Russian.

Ukraine accepted Christianity 1,000 years ago and was then a mighty and highly civilized independent country, while Russia was still a barbaric and backward Muscovite principality.

Ukrainians have been fighting for centuries against Russia for Ukraine's freedom and independence. In the eighteenth century, Ukraine, under Hetman Ivan Mazepa allied itself with Sweden under Charles XII in the war against Russia under Peter I. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian and Swedish armies lost the decisive battle at Poltava in 1709 and Ukraine was enslaved by Russia. In 1918, Ukraine again declared her independence, but Russia attacked the independent state. The heroic war in defence of Ukraine against Russia lasted four years, from 1917 to 1921. If the free world would then have given some help in arms and ammunitions to the heroic Ukrainian armies, there would be no Communist problem in the world at all today. However, the free world did not answer the desperate Ukrainian plea

for help. Ukraine was again defeated, occupied, enslaved and drenched with the blood of her best sons and daughters.

In order to break Ukraine's resistance, the Russian occupants organized an artificial famine in 1932—1933 during which some seven million Ukrainians were starved to death in their most fertile land in Europe.

During and after World War II, Ukrainians organized a strong underground nationalist movement and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which is still active against Russian occupants at this time.

In the event of a war between the free world and Russia, the Ukrainian nation, if given adequate support and encouragement, would be our ally, inside the monstrous Soviet Russian slave empire.

When you call me a Russian, you unwillingly and unknowingly act as a tool of the Russian propaganda machine by which the Russians try to convince the world that their slave empire, in which they virtually are a minority, is inhabited by a monolithic Russian nation.

Please do not hurt my feelings and do not refer to me as a Russian, because I am a Ukrainian. *Ukrainian Student*

*Los Angeles, California, USA*

## Armenian Solidarity with Ukrainian Prisoners

*We are publishing in translation the statement of a political prisoner of Moscow, Porurj Ajrikjan, secretary of the National United Party (NUP) of Armenia.*

For some years now, January 12th has been traditionally honoured in certain regions of the USSR and in the political world in general as "The day of solidarity with Ukrainian political prisoners". Historically, this day is connected with the recent massive arrests in Ukraine. In one day, January 12, 1972 scores of people were arrested. Moreover, due to the contemporary circumstances, the significance of this new date spread. January 12th — is the day of Fighting Ukrainians; it is the day sympathizers hope for the rebirth of Ukraine; it is the day of Ukrainian dissidents.

Ukrainians occupy a major part in the register of Soviet political prisoners. Today there are more than 70 persons condemned to camps, prisons, mental institutions, or exile. As proof of this statement I will give a list of names: Karavanskyj, Shumuk, V. Moroz, I. Hel, Rebryk, Osadchy, Huzul, Homula, Konchavskyj, Murzenko, Yuskevych, Sverstiuk, Popadiuk, Lisovyj, Zdorovyj, Kvetsko, Mykyta, Serhijenko, Svitlychny, Kalynets, Dolishnyj, Romaniuk, Proniuk, Hajduk, Iryna Kalynets, Oksana Popovych, Iryna Senyk, Antoniuk; committed to mental institutions are: Plakhotiuk, Krasivsky, Ruban; imprisoned in the USSR's KGB are: Lukyanenko, Marynovych, Matusevych; in exile are: Stefania Shabatura, Wasyl Stus and many others. Naturally, I do not know all of the names.

The Armenians have been members of the National United Party since 1975. This party attempts to realize the independence of Armenia by means of a referendum. We understand our Ukrainian brothers and sisters totally. We share their aspirations

and expectations. We honour January 12th with them. Our solidarity was demonstrated and will continue to be demonstrated in the political camps and prisons: by means of protest hunger strikes (cf. the statements written for the occasion of January 12th in the years 1975, 1976, 1977 by Ajrikjan, Arshakjan, Shcherdjan, Navasargjan, Markosjan, Zahrabjan and others).

In 1976 the NUP's leadership decided that all members be obliged to honour January 12th as NUP's — Day of Solidarity with fighting Ukraine. This solidarity has its history. Among the Ukrainian political prisoners (as well as among Russian, Jewish, Lithuanian, Latvian, and other nations) we found not only brothers and sisters, but also friends adherent to the fight for the right of nation according to the self-determination and respect of human rights. The following Ukrainians became member-sympathizers of the National United Party: Vjacheslav Chornovil, Stefania Shabatura, M. Buduljak-Sharyhin, Ivan Hel, Wasyl Ovsijenko, Zorjan Popadiuk.

They all took part in the actions executed by the NUP on August 11, 1975-1977, December 5, 1976, April 24, 1975-1977 and February 12, 1977. Again, I mentioned and noted this fact in order to emphasize the depth of mutual understanding and spiritual community among us — the representatives of many different nations. Under specific circumstances this contemporary alliance may have historical significance; on the other hand it is a small, but strong link in the history of co-operating nations.

As secretary of the NUP, I again assure the solidarity of our party with the true sons and daughters of Ukraine in times of need, not only by means of protest hunger strikes and declarations...

## **Freedom Day**

The North Korean invasion of the South started on June 25, 1950 and the first few months of the war saw brilliant Free World victories. The US 7th Division pushed the Reds as far back as the Yalu River on November 20. But the half year thereafter brought an entirely new war and then a stalemate, because of the counter-attack by 200,000 Chinese Communist "volunteers".

Negotiations for a truce started on July 10, 1951, and the Armistice was signed 20 months later, on July 27, 1953 at the 159th and final plenary session of the conference. Deadlock over the POW repatriation issue had prolonged the war by 15 months.

That POWs might choose freedom was a consistent principle of the United Nations that had earlier named the Peiping (Peking) regime as aggressor in Korea. Despite Red enticement and intimidation, 21,809 prisoners — 14,227 Chinese and 7,582 Koreans — marched out of the demilitarized zone and across "Freedom Bridge" over the Imjin River at Panmunjom on January 20, 1954. At one minute after zero hour on January 23 the non-repatriates became free civilians. The Chinese prepared to sail to Taiwan from Inchon and the Koreans reported to the Republic of Korea authorities.

More than 100,000 persons gathered at a "Freedom Day" rally in Taipei on January 23. On the same day, 111 sick and wounded Chinese ex-POWs arrived in Taiwan to receive a rousing welcome.

Today's hunger strike is a declaration of protest against the existing conditions in the USSR and against the repression of freedom of speech, particularly in Ukraine. I demand an end to all court trials and persecutions, as well as the release of all political prisoners, political "mentally-ill" prisoners, political prisoners in exile and

Operation "Come Home" was completed on January 27 and an announcement by the Government of the Republic of China said 14,556 Chinese had been set free.

The "Freedom Day" Movement to enhance human dignity and encourage captive people's struggle for freedom — first marked by member units of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL; founded in June 1954) — countered attempts at enslavement and won widespread support among free democratic nations. Consequently, the World Anti-Communist League (WACL; founded in 1967) decided in 1968 to observe January 23 as "World Freedom Day."

The Korean War was no ordinary war. It was one in which the stake was a way of life. The cost was heavy but a new principle was written in history. The more than 14,000 Chinese exPOWs who of their own free will elected to be received by the ROC Government in Taiwan rather than return to Communism represented a cross-section of the hundreds of million people on the Chinese mainland. A quarter century ago, this meant that the mainland was not irretrievably lost to Communism as some people were already imagining. This is even more true today, after all the Communist misrule and mainland misery.

Those who cherish the spirit of freedom and seek the right to determine their own destiny should remember the 22,000 Chinese and Korean ex-POWs who could not be bought with the most lavish promises of the Communists.

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I demand a guarantee for their right of free public activity.

My address follows:

Mordovia

P. O. Lesnoj

KZ-Camp no. 19 (Zch — 385)

January 12, 1978.

## Memorandum No. 2 — on Security in Europe

*Following is the text of Memorandum No. 2 of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. The document was included in the third edition of the "Reports of the Helsinki Accord Monitors in the Soviet Union", released by the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Memorandum No. 2 is dated January 20, 1977, and was signed by Oles Berdnyk, Ivan Kandyba, Levko Lukyanenko, Oksana Meshko, Mykola Rudenko, Nina Strokata-Karavanska and Oleksa Tykhy.*

In several months, leading statesmen from the 35 countries which participated in the historic conference in Helsinki will gather in Belgrade.

At the Belgrade conference, countries will be represented who have populations two to three times less than were Ukraine's losses in the last world war and even those whom the war had passed by. Such wide representation, of course, can only be heartening. But, will long-suffering Ukraine, which has made innumerable sacrifices in the name of peace among nations, be represented?

The Helsinki conference was dedicated precisely to this problem, the problem of peace and security in Europe. How could it have happened that a highly developed European country, with a population of 50 million and territory which surpasses that of any Western European state, was not invited to the forum of nations in Helsinki?

Why didn't any of the participants of the Helsinki conference notice its absence? Is not Ukraine a member of the United Nations with all the rights due it as such? Was it not over its land, from the upper Dnister to the lower reaches of the Donets, that Fascist tanks rolled?

It would be easy to ask many more rhetorical questions. But to us, members of

the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, it is obvious why this happened. We will attempt to clarify this misunderstanding with complete frankness. And, of necessity, not without a feeling of bitterness.

Western diplomats, if not from podiums then in lobbies during international conferences, continue to call the Soviet Union by the ancient term Russia. This is not happenstance. The historical fact that the Russian Empire disintegrated long ago and in its place was created a voluntary union of sovereign states was neither mentally assimilated nor psychologically fixed either in the West or in the Soviet Union itself. Tradition took precedence over law.

From an administrative-juristic standpoint, the Soviet Union should be compared not to the United States, as is sometimes done, but to a united Europe. It is precisely here that equal, allied states strive to unite their efforts. Precisely here is created an all-European parliament which, through its prerogatives, reminds one of the all-union government in its original form. But, a united Europe was never a single empire, while the Soviet Union was created in place of the Russian Empire which existed for several centuries. This is why that which was formed after October 1917 was burdened with all the horrors of the past.

Each of the union republics, in accordance with the Constitution of the USSR, is as sovereign as any state that belongs to the European commonwealth, which one can indeed call a union.

However, the imperialistic past of Russia hangs like a dark shadow over the allied peoples, not allowing them to speak of their constitutional rights. That is why the personality cult, which in its worst form reproduced tsarist authoritarianism, is substituted with another

cult; from podia the word "union" goes forth, but it is understood as "Russia". And that this has continued for six full decades is in no small measure the responsibility of Western leaders, for whom it was just as difficult to break away from age-old traditions as it was for the peoples of the Russian Empire.

In the meantime, the real sovereignty of the allied states, for the sake of which rivers of blood have been spilled, is being steadily transformed into a convention of protocol. And in recent years, chauvinistically inclined officials of the Russian federation, whom no one ever punished for their limitant chauvinism, contemptuously disregard even this pitiful convention. Today, for example, while these lines are being written, a senior investigator of the procuracy of the city of Moscow, someone named Tikhonov, is digging among papers confiscated on his orders from five members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. It had not even dawned on him to turn to the procurator for the city of Kyiv. He arbitrarily signed the orders for searches of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, just as this was done in the tsarist empire, where no republics existed. Also, Sergei Kovalev was convicted in Lithuania on the basis of the Procedural Code of the RSFSR. The uncontrolled KGB still sends hundreds of Ukrainian political prisoners to Mordovia and the Urals (that is, onto the territory of neighboring states). And this is considered normal. This is how it is with the laws of the republics — they are simply ignored.

It should be noted that Marxism as the official ideology of the Soviet Union loses some of its allure with each passing year. What should take its place? Over here, they never stop repeating: patriotism, love of the homeland. As a result, today, just as during the years of the Great Patriotic War, that which in Russian is con-

stantly being pushed to the forefront, though under the label "of the homeland". However, a citizen of the USSR has the right to say: an Armenian has his homeland and a Russian his. Do union obligations really demand the renunciation of republic citizenship? Does a Ukrainian really not have the right to consider Ukraine his homeland? Which laws deny him this natural right?

Such laws did exist in tsarist Russia; there are none such in the USSR. Instead, the USSR has the KGB, a military organization which counters sacred human rights with brute strength. According to the norms of the KGB, patriotism can only be Russian or "all-Soviet", which in practice also means Russian. The vice-president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, P. N. Fedoreyev, even created an "all-Soviet" language, one which, of course, is not a new form of Esperanto, but the same old Russian.

Russian is glorified in hundreds of poems and songs, something which, as Russian culture in general, we of course treat with respect. But if you try to express your love for Ukraine in the same images, Mordovian camps or special psychiatric hospitals await you. Do the popular masses of Russia know this? Of course they do not.

Thus for example, in the ardent, deeply patriotic work of V. Moroz, "A Chronicle of Resistance", for which he was arrested, there is not a single reference to armed resistance. The theme deals with the inhabitants of the village of Kosmach who, in preserving their native traditions, oppose spiritual standardization and the standardization of their everyday lives, i.e. pseudoculture. Nothing more! Nevertheless, this proved enough to have V. Moroz thrown into the worst of prisons — Vladimir — for six years. After prison, eight years of concentration camps and Siberian exile remain. But he has sung the praises of things of the homeland, some-

thing that Soviet writers call for these days. But these things of the homeland he saw not just anywhere, but in Ukraine. This alone is the essence of his "crime".

Another example is that of native craftsman, artist-intarsist, Petro Ruban, who created a highly artistic work — an inlaid cover of a book out of wood — as a gift to the American people on the occasion of the Bicentennial of the USA. On the cover was the Statue of Liberty and the caption "200 Years". The work was stolen out of the workshop and the artist sentenced on the basis of artificially fabricated charges to eight years in strict regime camps and five years exile with confiscation of property. The charges, however, were constructed cynically and without evidence. And all this happened just a half year before the Belgrade meeting. This inhuman verdict clearly shows what the unbridled chauvinists seek from the Helsinki Accords. Their tactics are simple: it is fine to sign any international document whatsoever, but at home as they say, "we will put things in order ourselves".

Dozens, if not hundreds, of such examples can be cited. In truth, there is no more bitter fate than to be born a Ukrainian.

There is no doubt about this: in a civilized state such things cannot continue for too long. Such experiments can be conducted only with confused, illiterate people, and there are less and less of them in the USSR. This is why we are convinced that in the end law will triumph over an

imperialistic tradition. For in its legal foundations, the USSR is, after all, still an empire.

Yes, we are aware that Western government officials have a basis for treating with scepticism the issue that has been raised by the Ukrainian group: will Ukraine be represented at the conference in Belgrade or will it not? And yet we still turn to countries which participated in the Helsinki conference with this appeal: demand the participation of Ukraine at all conferences on security in Europe! Security in Europe cannot become a reality if a nation of 50 million, which has suffered through countless misfortunes during two world wars, is artificially barred from participating in European affairs.

The forms of union relationships are not eternal: they alter with time. New generations will come, generations which will read in the agreement of December 27, 1922, on the basis of which the USSR was created, that which is written there, and not that which is being dictated by the KGB. Then the conditional will become the unconditional, that which has been declared in form will be changed into state and national reality.

The citizenry of the world can do very much to hasten this day. Only then will the nations of Eastern Europe achieve full independence, only then will Western Europe sigh in relief; the threat of a new world war will have disappeared forever. If only this would come to be understood!

## NATION oder KLASSE by

**WOLFGANG STRAUSS**

**60 Years of Struggle Against the October Revolution  
A History of the Resistance Movements in the USSR**

## Establishment of ABN Branch in California

The Ukrainian branch of the American friends of ABN in Los Angeles was formed on January 25, 1979 due to the initiative taken by the representatives of the Ukrainian delegation of the Central Committee of ABN. After Yaroslav Stetsko's speech, president of the Central Committee of ABN, who discussed international politics and Ukraine's contemporary situation, the invited representatives of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the Organization in Defense of the Four Freedoms for Ukraine, and the Ukrainian Youth Association proposed nominees for the AF-ABN board. Engineer Y. Blyszak from San Francisco was elected president. The following nominees were elected to the committee: N. Wasyllyn, M. A. — deputy president; N. Medvid — external affairs; O. Gatz — organizational affairs; O. Chepil and Eng. B. Buchynsky secretaries; Y. Yakymiv — treasurer; P. Balej, M. A. — liaison officer for scientific and cultural institutes; L. Wasyllyn — youth group liaison officer.

Other individuals elected to the committee were: Bojan Bolekhivsky, M. A.; A. Dolyniuk; Eng. O. Chajkovskyy.

Slava Stetsko, M. A., informed the participants about ABN's activities in different countries of the free world. The representative from the Ukrainian AF-ABN Chicago branch reported about its activities, namely, the ABN conference in Chicago in 1978 and the honouring of ABN's 35th anniversary in December 1978. Ms. L. Wasyllyn reported about the participation of the Ukrainian youth during the WACL conferences and Eng. Y. Blyszak discussed the external-political activities in San Francisco.

The activity program for 1979 include the honouring of the 30th anniversary of *ABN Correspondence* and increasing actions to honour the 35th anniversary of the establishment of ABN in November 1943 in the Ukrainian province Zhytomirshchyna. The established Ukrainian branch of AF-ABN is the central branch for California.

## The Bulgarian Initiative

A relatively strong Bulgarian group is active in Los Angeles, California. The main active member is editor Dora Gabensky. After Slava Stetsko's arrival in Los Angeles, Mrs. Gabensky immediately started to think of a way to make full use of her presence there.

The monthly meeting of the conservative American organization *Pro America* took place on January 25, 1979. This organization is critically aimed towards American's contemporary external and internal politics; it supports the freedom fight of enslaved nations and its members are Republicans and Democrats.

During these monthly meetings, the

leadership of *Pro America* invited Slava Stetsko to speak on the enslaved nations. This invitation was the result of a motion made by the Bulgarian member, Mrs. Gabensky. The second speaker, Bruce Hershenson, gave an analysis of contemporary international politics. The speeches were presented to an audience of over 300 participants. The speeches took place before and after the reception. Other invited representatives of enslaved nations also came to meet Slava Stetsko. Among them were representatives from Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Hungary and Poland.

Slava Stetsko's speech was often interrupted by applause and at the end she was

honored with a standing ovation. Representatives of the press made individual interviews. The guests from the enslaved nations and the praesidium took individual photos with the speaker.

In her speech, Slava Stetsko examined not only Moscow's politics vis à vis Ukraine and other enslaved nations, but also discussed the renaissance of the young generation, the adamant struggle for freedom and the battle against the exploitation of one's own government. She examined not only the religious persecutions, but also the existing immortal religious convictions behind the Iron Curtain. She directed her criticism to the American government, which, apart from theoretical statements, does not support the efforts of the enslaved nations (cf. Law by USA Congress re Enslaved Nations Week and statement by President Carter on Human Rights), but on the contrary strengthens Moscow's imperialism with its economical and technological aid and detente politics. This action is not only damaging

for the enslaved nations, but for America itself.

The Bulgarian participants presented the speaker with flowers and asked to greet the president of ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko, with whom they became acquainted during the ABN conference in Toronto, Canada.

Bruce Hershenson, director of the television station Channel 7 in Los Angeles, author of many books concerning America's external politics and former personal assistant to President R. Nixon, gave a critical analysis of America's foreign policy in which he sees America losing ground. In conversation with Slava Stetsko, he promised, in the future, to do a program on Ukraine from the material presented him.

In closing, President Richie Brown reminded the participating audience that Ukraine and Byelorussia are members of the United Nations, but that Moscow appoints the representatives and controls the right of vote. She warmly asked the guest not to by-pass Los Angeles in the future.

## Letter to ABN

Mr. President:

Following our meeting of various international conservative groups on September 9, 1978, we have the pleasure of sending you press clippings and other various documents in order to better your understanding of our cause.

— Our government was organized by Lao patriots with the objective of freeing the Kingdom of Laos from North Vietnamese occupation and to fight against Russian hegemony and communist expansionism.

— With great anticipation we appeal to the conscience of free peoples to understand our cause; for is it not also the cause of all people to defend our freedom? Your moral and material support is neces-

sary so that our fight can progress towards victory.

— The people of Laos have awoken and put forth a cry of distress, yet one full of hope. Thus, your support for our cause is the best precaution.

— Most importantly, we require funds for operating our liaison offices in: Barcelona, Spain; Paris and Perpignan, France; Geneva, Switzerland; London, Great Britain; and Thailand.

We hope that in the future, you will give us your support. I await your reply, and wish you, Mr. President, my most sincere regards.

for the Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
General Giuliano M. Miotti-Königsberg  
Kingdom of Laos  
Royal Lao Air-Force Headquarters.

## Opposition in USSR is growing

A former Ukrainian political prisoner said, after arriving in London from Moscow that the dissident movement in the Soviet Union is growing.

Mykola Baduliak-Sharyhin, 52, a Ukrainian-born former employee of a British company who was arrested in the Soviet Union in 1968, said that "more and more people are joining the dissidents, who say aloud what millions of people whisper".

Sharyhin, who arrived in London on November 19, 1978, is the fourth Ukrainian political prisoner to be allowed to leave the Soviet Union after the completion of his incarceration.

Sharyhin was born on April 22, 1926, in Kharkiv, Ukraine. When he was three months old, his family moved to Kirovohrad where he later began his technological studies.

During World War II, he was taken by the Germans as a laborer to Germany. At the end of the war the Americans returned him to the custody of Soviet officials. In time, he made his way to the English sector.

In 1946, Sharyhin moved to England, where he completed his engineering studies and was employed by a firm which exported electronic equipment to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. On the basis of his technical experience, he was invited to come to the Soviet Union. He was assured by the Soviet Embassy in London that his travel documents would suffice and that he had nothing to fear because the days of Stalinist terror had ended.

Sharyhin went to Moscow in 1968 as a representative of the firm Empexion. On the day before he was to leave for home, — after the completion of his assignment, Sharyhin was arrested by the KGB.

"They just burst into my hotel room and took me to the KGB headquarters", said Sharyhin.

He was first held in the Lubianka prison and afterwards in the Lefortovo pri-

son. The Soviet officials at first attempted to convict him of espionage and desertion. Seeing that they did not have a case, the Soviet officials hoped to persuade him to work as their spy in England. Sharyhin categorically refused.

Sharyhin said that he was placed in a "condemned cell where they read the death sentence to me, saying I had been found guilty in my absence".

Sharyhin realized that the sentence was merely a scare tactic on the part of the Soviet officials and poked fun at them. Eventually, the sentence was commuted and the officials began searching for a new charge. They began fabricating material which they would use to convict him of desertion and anti-Soviet agitation.

At a closed one-day trial on September 20, 1968, Sharyhin was convicted and sentenced to 10 years incarceration. No attorneys or witnesses for the defense were present at the trial, just secret police informers.

One of them, a Soviet citizen who was allowed to visit relatives in the West under the condition that he would collect incriminating evidence against Sharyhin testified that for 22 years Sharyhin was involved in anti-Soviet agitation. The witness said that at one time Sharyhin had disseminated the Ukrainian newspaper "Ukrayinska Dumka" (The Ukrainian Thought) in England and had left an anti-Communist magazine in a person's home.

Sharyhin was confined for the most part of his sentence in the Vladimir prison and finally in a concentration camp in the Mordovian ASSR. In the course of his 10-year imprisonment, Sharyhin spent 237 days in solitary confinement for signing prisoners' petitions in defense of human rights. After eight years of imprisonment he was finally allowed a visit by his daugh-

ter, Anna. That was the only time he had seen her while in prison.

While in the Vladimir prison, Sharyhin was confined with such noted Ukrainian human and national rights advocates as Lev Lukyanenko, Valentyn Moroz, S. Yatsyshyn, Z. Popadiuk, Yosyf Terelya, Diak and Prykhodo. During that time, Yuriy Shukhevych was also incarcerated in the Vladimir prison, but the two never met because Shukhevych was considered a recidivist and was kept apart from the other political prisoners.

In the Mordovian camp, Sharyhin became acquainted with Vyacheslav Chornovil, S. Yankevych, Mykola Rudenko, Ivan Rebryk and Karpenko.

Speaking with the Ukrainian Central Information Service (UCIS) in London, Sharyhin expressed praise for the Ukrainian political prisoners, with whom he was confined. He said that he learned a great deal about the human and national rights struggle in Ukraine and was proud to have made their acquaintance.

In the Mordovian camps, prisoners

worked at glass polishing, making clock casings, constructing small automobile parts and other minor materials for export. Sharyhin said that Western consumers should be aware that some of the Soviet-made trinkets they purchase may have been produced by political prisoners.

Sharyhin told the UCIS that many of the prisoners in the camps are not only members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists who were arrested and sentenced in the post-World War II years, but many persons who were arrested in the 1970s for their affiliation with the OUN. He said that some 60 percent of the political prisoners are Ukrainians, and that among them he did not come across one person who was a Marxist. All of them, he said, supported the idea of Ukraine's secession from the Soviet Union and the creation of an independent Ukrainian state.

Sharyhin said that all of the Ukrainian political prisoners believe that human rights can only be guaranteed in an independent Ukrainian state.

#### SVERSTIUK DEMANDS REVIEW OF MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ukrainian literary critic Evhen Sverstiuk, who is serving a seven year term in the Perm concentration camp, recently wrote a letter to the International Red Cross with a plea, that the Red Cross authorities conduct a thorough review of medical treatment given by camp doctors and members of the administration to sick inmates in the camps.

"I appeal to the International Red Cross (the style of replies from the Russian Red Cross and the Red Half-moon society, are well known to me) to conduct a thorough review of medical treatment in concentration camps Nos. 35 and 36. Here are the facts for 1977. At the beginning of February 1977, S. Kovalov met with members of his family because it was thought that he was suffering from cancer, and an opera-

tion was necessary. When the meeting was brutally terminated, he declared a hunger strike, demanding further visits, and to be taken to a Leningrad hospital for the operation. He was then thrown into an isolation cell, where he was kept under surveillance for over a month, and on March 1 he was sent to work. The reply to my letter, to the Supreme Soviet Council of the USSR, in which I accused the administration of not complying with humane treatment of sick people, was as follows:

No law was violated in the case of Kovalov.

On January 3, 1977, in the central infirmary, similar to a cell without ventilation, or any medical care, K. Lusch, a political prisoner died from heart failure.

The infirmary is only five steps away from camp, but he was only sent there a few days before his death.

On March 14, in the camp infirmary, A. Pleysh passed away, while waiting for a stomach operation; a middle-aged man, he died after enduring a 70 kilometer trip in a sealed cabin of a train from Kucino to Vsesviatsky. D. Diomidov and O. Serhienko, who were with him in the same cell, observed the pain and agony of the dying man, and though both suffered from tuberculosis, refused further medical attention and treatment in the infirmary. Regardless of the confirmation that they suffered from tuberculosis, they were taken to camp No. 36 from the infirmary, and sent to solitary confinement for 15 days. After my intervention to the regional medical institution UVD, that it was a crime to imprison extremely sick people in

solitary confinement, I received a reply from the head of department BC-389, Col. Mykova, that they were justly imprisoned.

On January 3, W. Pidhorodecky underwent a hernia operation. In April he was released from the hospital with the wound not totally healed. The administrator of the hospital, for some unknown reason evicted the patient from the hospital, although he needed to convalesce. Consequently, Pidhorodecky suffered a heart attack..."

In conclusion Sverstiuk describes the brutal treatment of prisoners by Major Fyodorov and members of his administration in camp No. 36. Therefore, Sverstiuk feels obliged to inform the International Red Cross about the situation, and asks them to examine the treatment of political prisoners in prison camps.

### DZIUBA AGAIN SEEKS EMIGRATION FROM SOVIET UNION

Yuriy Dziuba, a Ukrainian political prisoner who recently completed his five-year term of imprisonment for alleged "anti-Soviet agitation", has once again announced his intention to renounce his Soviet citizenship and to emigrate from the country.

Dziuba, who was born in 1950 and was a resident of Kharkiv, first applied for emigration in 1971. For this he was sentenced to five years imprisonment in the Perm concentration camp.

In his appeal, Dziuba had described the national, social and religious enslavement of the Ukrainian nation and concluded that such a state of affairs leads him to apply for emigration. The appeal was circulated in the "samvydav".

Dziuba completed his term of imprisonment in August 1978. He authored a statement to Leonid Brezhnev while still incarcerated.

In the statement, Dziuba wrote that in 1971—1973, he had tried to renounce his

Soviet citizenship and obtain permission for emigration to the United States, but his appeal was turned down and no reasons were given. The government duty of 500 karbovantsi which he had paid was never returned. After appealing a second time he was arrested and sentenced on the basis of fabricated evidence for "anti-Soviet activity".

"In the corrective labor colony, I was re-educated by means of solitary confinement, severe punishments. Nevertheless, the KGB was unable to change my beliefs. On March 30, 1975, I renounced my USSR citizenship," he wrote to Brezhnev.

"I ask you, in accordance with the agreement on citizenship and political rights (ratified in 1976), that I be freed from Soviet citizenship and allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union to any Christian country of the West which would agree to accept a former prisoner," Dziuba concluded.

## Snehirev Killed by Secret Police

Three recent emigres from Ukraine, who were in the forefront of the human rights movement in Ukraine, expressed grief over the death of Heli Snehirev, a Ukrainian political prisoner.

Nadia Svitlychna, and Gen. Petro and Zinaida Hryhorenko also said in their statements that they believed the 51-year old Ukrainian writer was tortured to death by the KGB.

Snehirev died in KGB custody on December 28, 1978. KGB officials told his wife Halyna, several days later that he had died of cancer.

In their separate statements, which read as if they would have been eulogies at Snehirev's funeral, Ms. Svitlychna and the Hryhorenkos praised him as one of the leading activists in the Ukrainian human rights defense movement.

"I cannot accept it any other way except death in bondage," said Ms. Svitlychna, comparing her reaction to the news of the death of Snehirev to her learning of the death of Ukrainian political prisoner Mykhailo Soroka in 1971.

Ms. Svitlychna wrote that she remembered when Snehirev once tried to foresee how he would die at the hands of the KGB, but disbelief forced him to discount any of the possibilities he thought of.

"What they did to you in such a short time was even incomprehensible to your writer's imagination," she said.

She also recollects that in September 1977 she had requested a meeting with him to give him Viktor Nekrasov's address, but Snehirev never showed up. Ms. Svitlychna later learned that he was arrested.

"But that does not worry me now as I stand here above your coffin. Your conscience is clear before God and before the people, just as my conscience is clear before you. I am bothered by something else. How inhuman must a person be to

trample in mud a person who already has one foot in the grave," said Ms. Svitlychna.

She said it is difficult to learn of the death of a friend while in exile and being thousands of miles away she said makes it impossible to place "symbolic flowers" on his grave. Expressing sympathy to his wife, Svitlychna remarked that she already has "spiritually united" with Snehirev's 92-year-old mother, through whom she will always remember her husband, and "in thoughts and, obviously, in the cemetery — somewhere not far from Alla Horska."

The Hryhorenkos' eulogy was replete with praise for Snehirev and anger for what the secret police had done.

"It only took one year, three months and six days for the KGB to torture to death this beautiful, courageous, talented and deeply honest person," they wrote.

They said that he was filled with "intellect, literary talent, efficiency".

The Hryhorenkos said that at one time he enjoyed official recognition and had all of his works published in the Soviet Union. But, they said, Snehirev was not a person to shield his eyes from what he saw.

"He began to establish friendships with persons who shared his beliefs, Viktor Nekrasov, members of the Helsinki groups, academician Andrei Sakharov," the Hryhorenkos wrote, adding that he was often a guest at their home and in a short span of time they became close friends.

These new acquaintances of Snehirev were disliked by the officials and he was first banned from the publishing market and subsequently from his job in the cinema, they said.

Snehirev's dissident activity came to a climax with the publication in the West of his book *Mamo, moya Mamo* (*Mother, my Mother*), which dealt with his theory

that the trials of the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine in the mid-1920's was a KGB provocation in order to imprison the Ukrainian national intelligentsia. Soon after that, Snehirev began to work together with the Ukrainian and Moscow Helsinki monitoring groups.

The Hryhorenkos labeled Snehirev's arrest in the fall of 1977 as a preventative measure "to rid the defense movement of a person, who after M. Rudenko, L. Lukyanenko, O. Tykhy, M. Matusevych and M. Marynovych, was one of the greatest political figures of our movement."

"Thinking that it has liquidated the Ukrainian Helsinki group, the KGB attempted to solidify its victory by forcing a recantation by a renowned rights defender and noted writer. It took into account the fact that Snehirev was extremely ill — an invalid of the second degree. Not a real concern for his sickness, but merely taking advantage of it to force the person into recanting — such is the humanism of the KGB," wrote the Hryhorenkos.

They said that the invalid Snehirev became a victim of torture, first moral and finally physical torture was used until Snehirev suffered paralysis in the lower portion of his body.

The Hryhorenkos revealed in their statement several interesting facts surrounding the fabricated recantation of Snehirev.

. They wrote that the KGB doctors had determined that Snehirev was on the verge of death. On the basis of this diagnosis, the KGB had published in the April 1, 1978 edition of "Radianska Ukraina" (Soviet Ukraine) an article which they had labeled as Snehirev's recantation. Much to the dissatisfaction of the secret police, wrote the Hryhorenkos, Snehirev did not die as soon as the doctors had predicted.

Soon after the publication of the state-

ment in the Soviet press, Snehirev had met his wife and she told him about the article. Snehirev then categorically denied signing any such statement and declared a hunger strike in protest. This they said further deteriorated his health.

To downplay Snehirev's denial, the KGB first further isolated Snehirev from the outside world, and then circulated two different versions about the recantation. The first one, they said, was signed by an anonymous, but noted writer, who said that Snehirev had indeed recanted, but that the KGB edited it by adding their own words. The second one was claimed to have been written by Snehirev in which he told his friends that he withdraws his recantation.

"In reality, that was a person who, having stood on the verge of death, did not blemish his human dignity," wrote the Hryhorenkos.

The Hryhorenkos further substantiated Snehirev's innocence by explaining that in one statement he thanks the government for forgiving him his crimes and releasing him from prison. Secondly, a political prisoner, they said, who has been determined to be terminally sick should be, by law, released from prison and, in Snehirev's case, the doctors did not diagnose him to be terminally sick until the end of May.

"In fact, he was not released. Why? That is obvious — they feared the revelation of their torture and fabrication," wrote the Hryhorenkos. "The true meaning of Snehirev's work is in his suffering and firm commitment of spirit in the face of obvious hopelessness."

"Snehirev was killed, more accurately he was tortured to death, and the world does not have the right to passively view this fact. We request that everyone who reads this to protest this underhanded killing in any way possible," they said.

## Nothing Can Break the Ukrainian Spirit

The daughter of a Ukrainian political prisoner wrote in a letter to her father that nothing is able to break the Ukrainian spirit.

"Neither Yakuta, nor Mordovia can break our Ukrainian spirit," wrote Oksana Hel to her father, Ivan Hel, who is incarcerated in one of the Mordovian region concentration camps.

Hel's daughter, a high school student, wrote the letter following a visit to the camp by herself, her mother and her grandmother. The visit, held last March, was abruptly terminated when the camp officials found that one of them had part of a pen in her possession.

The Hel family, which resides in Lviv, has recently become victim of KGB harassment.

In August 1978, Hel's wife, Maria, was summoned to the Lviv oblast prosecutor's office where she was questioned by the assistant oblast prosecutor, Rudenko, the brother of Roman Rudenko, the prosecutor general of the Soviet Union, and three KGB officers. They asked her to tell them about her visit with her husband in March.

When she finished telling them, they said that her account is exactly like the one broadcast by Radio Liberty. They asked her how she managed to tell them about her visit.

Hel denied passing the information to Radio Liberty directly or through a go-between. She did admit to telling a number of persons about the aborted visit with her husband.

"That is all true. You do something and then you are insulted when people learn about it," she said.

The interrogators also questioned Hel about certain statements by political prisoners in Mordovia which were allegedly transcribed by her. Hel was asked who gave her the statements. She was also re-

minded that they had forgiven her those wrongdoings and they merely wanted to have some answers.

Hel again denied any knowledge about the statements by political prisoners. She was then reminded that her husband was imprisoned for disseminating that kind of information.

Rudenko and the KGB officers told Hel that if they hear that she is continuing to violate the law, they will arrest her and charge her under article 62 of the Soviet Ukrainian Criminal Code — anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. They told her to sign a statement to that effect.

During the interrogation, Hel was also warned that the authorities are considering taking her daughter away from her because they feel that she is not raising her properly.

They cited the girl's letter to her father, which was confiscated and filed in the Lviv KGB office. The girl's teachers were notified about the letters, and several teachers visited Hel. The teachers also told the mother that she is not properly raising her daughter. They also suggested that she never take her daughter to visit her father again.

Hel explained that she feels that she is doing a proper job of raising her daughter and that it is important to teach her to love and respect her father, who is a good and decent person.

They warned Hel that Oksana could have been expelled from school for writing such a letter had they read the letter in school.

"We do not want Oksana to meet the same fate as Shabatura and Kalynets met", said Rudenko, suggesting that she never take the girl to see her father. They also suggested that she change her friends, offering themselves in place.

## Trial of Marynovych and Matusevych

Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matusevych were the third and fourth members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords to be arrested by the KGB after Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhyy. They were arrested on April 23, 1977, and sentenced on March 27, 1978 to seven years incarceration and three years exile, each. The two are currently confined in one of the Perm region concentration camps.

Ms. Svitlychna, who has since been allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union to the United States, said that she was present at the proceedings for about a day-and-a-half.

She said Matusevych's parents learned of their son's trial on March 22, 1978. She left her son with friends and together with her husband she travelled to Vasylkiv.

Ms. Svitlychna said that "just as we expected", they were searched outside the entrance to the building where the trial was held. The building, she said, was a three-story structure in the center of town, near the square and adjacent to a movie theater. The building was guarded on all sides by the militia and plainclothes officers with red lapels.

Her husband was not allowed into the courtroom despite their explanations that she needed him because she was at the time eight months pregnant.

Ms. Svitlychna said that there were some 20-30 persons in the room, including the guards and court officials. She immediately spotted the presiding judge, Dyshel, whom she described as "thin and old-looking". Dyshel had presided over her trial in 1973, as well as over the trials of Yevhen Sverstiuk, Vasyl Stus, Semen Gluzman, Mykola Plakhotniuk, Georgi Vins and others.

Among the public she spotted Oles Berdnyk and Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska.

Marynovych, she said, was "thin and pale". He was seated on a simple chair against the wall and on both sides were armed guards. Ms. Svitlychna said that they greeted each other by smiling and when he noticed that she was looking for Matusevych, he gestured to her that he was not present.

Ms. Svitlychna said that by that time she had been placed on the witness stand and Dyshel was instructing her that she must testify the truth or be held in contempt of court.

The following is a brief dialogue between Svitlychna and Dyshel as she recounted it in her article:

Dyshel: "Are you aware of a so-called Ukrainian group?"

Ms. Svitlychna: "I am not aware of such a group. However, I am aware of a Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords".

Dyshel: "How long have you known about it?"

Ms. Svitlychna: "Since its beginning."

Dyshel: "Which anti-Soviet documents are the group aware of?"

Ms. Svitlychna: "None. Besides, they won't be presented for the Nobel Prize... (at this time the prosecutor interrupted with a loud protest and even I could not hear myself)."

Dyshel: "Are you familiar with a document titled Memorandum No. 2?"

Ms. Svitlychna: "I do not remember the numbers, but I am familiar with one of the first."

Dyshel: "Is this your handwriting? Carefully inspect each page."

Ms. Svitlychna: "The text was written by me. The editing and additions are not mine, this page was not written by me."

Prosecutor: "Then by whom?"

Ms. Svitlychna: "I don't know."

Copies of the Vasylkiv Communist Party's newspaper "Shliakh Illicha" (The Path of

Illich), in which its editor, P. Barzinsky wrote two articles about Marynovych and Matusevych are received here.

In one article, titled "Black Ungratefulness," which appeared in the March 15, 1978, edition of the newspaper, Barzinsky wrote that Marynovych and Matusevych "aligned themselves with a good-for-nothing group of loafers just like themselves."

He charged that the group disseminated anti-Soviet propaganda, slandered the Soviet system, was in possession of contraband and distributed "enemy literature."

Barzinsky wrote in his article about an incident during which Matusevych reprimanded a group of tourists in the Ivano-Frankivske region for using the Russian language. He said that Matusevych provoked a fight in which, wrote Barzinsky,

Matusevych was "rightfully rebuffed".

Barzinsky continued that such young persons as Matusevych, who are "ideologically wounded", often look for support from foreign groups and then became their puppets in anti-Soviet activity.

On April 15, 1978, Barzinsky again wrote about the case, saying that after the appearance of his first article, many workers, pedagogues, Communists, Comsomol members and non-Party members wrote to him denouncing the activity of Marynovych and Matusevych.

Barzinsky said that the public at the trial was appalled by the activity of the two Helsinki group members, and, after a careful review of the facts, Barzinsky said that the court handed down a "fair verdict", which was approved by those present.

#### **KGB TORTURED SEDLETSKY, A UKRAINIAN BAPTIST, TO DEATH**

The Sedletsky family in Chernivtsi, (Bukovyna) Ukraine, were informed by authorities that their son, a Baptist and a soldier in the Soviet Army, died. His body was transferred to his family in a sealed zinc coffin by soldiers and officers of his unit on July 28, 1978, who demanded that the coffin be buried immediately.

However, the mother of the deceased insisted that the coffin be opened, as she wished to see her son for the last time.

The opening of the coffin took place in the presence of many members of the Baptist community of Chernivtsi. All were terrified to see the body of Sedletsky, who had been tortured to death: his eyes had been gouged out, his tongue torn out and his fingers had been cut off.

Without a doubt, Sedletsky was tortured to death for his refusal to renounce his Christian faith.

This deadly mayhem is similar to a whole succession of similar murders, such as the murder perpetrated in 1972 upon another soldier, Ivan Moiseiev, who had

also been tortured to death for his defence of the Christian faith. As is known, the KGB has been threatening other Christians with "Moiseiev's fate".

Also, late in 1976, Mykola Kravchenko, from Sumy (Eastern Ukraine), a Baptist, refused to take the military oath in view of his religious convictions. The KGB became a party to the proceedings.

The KGB Lieutenant-Colonel, Tokmakov, and Captain Leshchenko demanded that Kravchenko renounce his Christian convictions and proposed to him that he become an informer for the KGB. Kravchenko refused.

The officers threatened Kravchenko with beatings many times. In March 1977, two sergeants broke both of Kravchenko's jaws and knocked out teeth.

The names of several young Baptists sentenced by military tribunals are known also. They were sentenced to three years of concentration camps for their refusal to take the military oath to the Communist Russian empire.

## The Teaching of „Holocaust”

### PART II.

(Continued from previous issue.)

*Dynamic interpretation is ineffective unless it carries feelings which concern both reality situation and transference which means that practical problems must be discussed objectively by analyst and the subjective feeling of the patient in relation to his problems must be tested.*

Sandor Lorand, Clinical Studies in Psychoanalysis (New York, 1950, p. 222).

In the preceding article on "Teaching Holocaust" I mentioned different study guides to the NBC film "Holocaust", which were distributed in millions of copies among the viewers of the film, teachers, religious leaders, community leaders and parents of the children. I mentioned study guides prepared by 15 Jewish organizations, the effort which was coordinated by the Jewish Welfare Board. Now I shall discuss their Booklet Five: *Family Home Viewing Guide* which was prepared by Ms. Edya Artz, Women's League for Conservative Judaism, Prof. Bea Stadtler of Cleveland College of Jewish Studies, and Mr. Alan Bennett, Fairmont Temple, Cleveland, Ohio. It is one of the study guides prepared by the mentioned Jewish organizations and it recommends viewing the film "Holocaust" as a family, with children, all in the same room. As to the children, the authors of the guide do not recommend viewing for youngsters under ten years of age, but quote the opinion of educators that eleven or twelve years of age might be an appropriate "minimum" viewing age. I don't agree with this opinion because the authors of the guide do not abstain from Christian-hating, Ukraine-hating, Poland-hating and Lithuania-hating innuendos which the

authors recommend for the discussion with children. It must be stressed that already the viewing of the film "Holocaust" caused incidents among the Jewish, Ukrainian, Polish and Lithuanian children in school. Up to this time, the children of different ethnic backgrounds lived as friends and nothing was heard about any misunderstandings or hostility among them. Was it the intention of the NBC film to show enmity among children? And this was done by the film which the British critics called "abysmal", "banal", "absurd", and "schmaltz", in addition to some American commentators who felt the film failed to capture the horror of "Holocaust" it attempted to portray. It seems that the chief purpose of the NBC film was to show that in Eastern Europe the chief perpetrators of the "Holocaust" were the Poles, Ukrainians, and Lithuanians, and the only defenders of the Jews were the Red Partisans, both much to the pleasure of Moscow which, similarly to the scripter of the film, immensely hates the mentioned nationalities for their determined efforts to liberate themselves from Moscow's overlordship and colonial exploitation.

Now, in the mentioned study guide all this hate-propaganda has been continued. The children and their parents are recommended to read three books on "Holocaust" and, among them, the book by Prof. Lucy Dawidowicz: *The War Against the Jews* (New York 1975, also in Bantam paperback). The authors of the guide consider the mentioned book most helpful to children, and I again do not agree. This highly controversial book incorporated all anti-Ukrainian, anti-Polish, and anti-Lithuanian prejudices. So, e. g. in her book she incorporated the legend of the "Petlura pogrom" in Lviv, the capital of Gal-

cia, in the first days of July, 1941 to her (and she is a professor!) Petlura was a "notorious anti-Semite and Ukrainian national hero". One may wonder that the professor never heard that Petlura had been a close friend of Vladimir Zhabotynsky, Zionist leader in Russia, who collaborated with him by writing articles in the *Ukrainskaya zhizn*, a magazine edited by Petlura in Moscow and that he had translated Chirikov's play *Yevrei* (The Jews) into Ukrainian. This play was a vehement protest against the Russian pogroms of the Jews. To his translation of the play, Petlura added his study on the Jewish problem in Russia on which he had consulted Zhabotynsky and which asked for full citizen's rights for the Jews in Russia. Because the book had passed the Tsarist censorship, the play *Yevrei*, in Petlura's translation, was played repeatedly by the Ukrainian theaters both in the Russian Empire and in Austro-Hungary. It seems that professors of Dr. Lucy Dawidowicz's type do not need to know the pertinent facts, but she knows of "avenging the assassination of Petlura by a Jew back in 1926" and "staging by Ukrainians of a mammoth pogrom in Lviv (for her the city is Lwow), of "slaughtering thousands and carrying off of other thousands to *Einsatz gruppen* headquarters which had never happened". It is not true what Prof. Dawidowicz writes in her book that "the Germans and Ukrainians, in house to house hunts for Jews shot them randomly on the spot" because the only occupation of the officers and soldiers of the German 1st Mountain Rifle Division which took Lviv and rested for a few days in Lviv, was going from prison to prison and taking pictures of murdered Ukrainians and Poles whom the retreating Soviet Russian security troops tortured and slaughtered in prisons. The act of this Soviet Russian brutality was witnessed by many American correspondents with the German Army. Alvin J. Steinkopf, Associated Press Cor-

respondent reported on July 7: "Lwow was a city of funerals yesterday in the wake of mass killings accompanying the Russian withdrawal from the region occupied by the Red army for a year and a half. The rain of funerals was a parade of death such as a few great cities have seen in modern times. The spirit of the population of 225,000 appeared utterly crushed as the sombre processions moved towards the cemeteries... Hundreds, possibly several thousands of persons were killed before the region was occupied by the German army. I saw scores of bodies..." The Swiss paper *Die Tat* (Zurich) of July 8 under the title "The Hell of Lviv" published a story in which the total number of murdered Ukrainians in Lviv was estimated at 2000—2500, but, in fact, the number of victims was greater because numerous Poles and even some Jews were murdered too, by the retreating Russians. The yards of the prisons were covered with rows of corpses. Some of the dead had been bound and fettered, others visibly tortured, the German airmen had put out their eyes. Weeping women and grim-faced men moved past the rows of bodies trying to identify the corpses, but by shooting in the neck the faces became so disfigured that it was extremely difficult to identify the corpses.

At that time, there was no *Einsatzkommando* in Lviv; it came only on July 10 to arrest the members of the temporary Ukrainian government which was built in connection with the proclamation of the Ukrainian State on June 30, 1941 by the Ukrainian nationalists under the leadership of Yaroslav Stetsko who became the Prime Minister. The proclamation of a Ukrainian State was made against Hitler's plans and it induced a violent reaction by the Nazis who set *Einsatzkommando* to Lviv to disperse the Ukrainian government and to arrest its members. However, up to the time of its arrival in Lviv, all power in Lviv belonged to the Ukrainian

government which formed a Ukrainian militia to keep order in the city.

In his book *Ukrainian Nationalism* (2nd Ed. 1963, p. 77), Professor John A. Armstrong has not been able to find any evidence indicating involvement of Ukrainians in anti-Semitic atrocities which erupted in the wake of discoveries of thousands of corpses of men and women butchered in the NKVD cellars in Lviv. In the midst of disorganization caused by these discoveries, mobs began attacking the Jews on the streets, attracting them to washing the corpses, beating them severely. The mobs regarded the Jews as willing collaborators of the Soviet regime during one-and-a-half years of the Soviet occupation of Lviv and as informers of the Soviet security organs and thus, as people indirectly connected with the murders. It must be stressed that the mobs consisted not only of Ukrainians, but also of Poles who numbered some 50 percent of the city's population and also were persecuted by the Soviet regime (e. g. all Polish prisoners-of-war who were located in a POW camp at Sknyliv near Lviv, were shot after the Germans invaded the Soviet Union). When the mobs started attacking the Jews not only on the streets, but also started attacking them from house-to-house, pillaging their apartments, and killing the Jews who tried to resist, the Ukrainian government ordered the Ukrainian militia to stop the pogrom. After three days of the pogrom, it was stopped by the Ukrainian militia under command of Evhen Vretsiona. Order in the city was re-established. There was no machine-gunning en masse, as Prof. Dawidowicz reports in her book, because the mobs rarely had weapons, and in no case machine guns. Prof. Dawidowicz incorporated easily a Ukraine-hating legend in her book, not even trying to check the facts from many available sources. If this is not a case of "anti-Semitism" in reverse, but if it is a prejudiced, biased Ukraine-hating, why

is her book recommended to children for the study of the "Holocaust"?

*All that one gains by falsehood  
is not to be believed when he speaks  
the truth.*

Aristotle

In addition to the recommendation of Prof. Lucy Dawidowicz's controversial book the mentioned study guide issued by 15 Jewish organizations in the USA has recommended many issues for discussion with children. Out of these, I select some "issues" to show how biased and prejudiced the authors of the study guide could be. I simply do not understand, how it could happen in the United States that some authors of the study guide could use the greatest tragedy of the Jewish people — the Nazi "Holocaust" of the Jews to spread hate propaganda against the Christian and some Eastern European peoples (Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians) who for many years have been experiencing "holocausts" of their own by the Russian totalitarian rulers and who themselves were marked for destruction by the Nazi invaders as "inferior" peoples and their territories deprived of authochtonous population, marked for incorporation into Thousand Years German *Reich* as a living space for the German Nation. The eagerness with which the producers of the film and its commentators concealed the plight of the Eastern European peoples under the Nazi occupation and made them Nazi collaborators in the destruction of Jews, may be a just cause for great resentment. However, falsehoods not only disagree with truths, but usually quarrel among themselves.

Before I return to quotations from the mentioned study guide, I must call the attention of the readers to the term *anti-Semitism* used by its author. This term is outright nonsense which should not be taught to children. Semites are the peoples of Semitic family of language which is a

subdivision of the Hamito-Semitic family. It is derived into three groups: East Semitic (Akkadian), Northwest Semitic (Phoenician), Hebrew (Aramaic) and Southwest Semitic (Arabic, Ethiopic, Amharic). However, anti-Semitism in its present usage means only prejudice, discrimination against, or intolerance of Jews and Jewish culture. Intolerance of Jews is not likewise intolerance of Arabs or Ethiopians who are also Semites, and, therefore, this illogical and controversial term should be replaced by others like "Jew-hating" or "anti-Jewish". Many who dislike Jews, like Arabs, and vice-versa. What has the Semitic linguistic family in common with liking or disliking of different Semitic peoples by other peoples?

Now I come to quotations from the study guide, which recommends the following issues for discussion with children:

1. Heydrich's saying that Christian anti-Semitism had for centuries laid the groundworks for Nazi acts. What did he mean?
  2. Church officials went along with Nazi policies or tried to keep out of politics altogether. To what extent do religious leaders have a responsibility to speak out?
  3. How did the anti-Semitism of non-Jewish East Europeans (Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Poles) affect the Jews' chances for survival and resistance?
  4. Were the Jewish partisans killed as often by the Poles and Ukrainians as by the Germans?
  5. When the Jews did fight with the Polish resistance, they did not say they were Jews.
  6. What about heroes? What makes a hero? Was... Uncle Sasha a hero?
- At the time when devil worship is made to appear more and more fascinating and intriguing in America, and anti-Christians go to any length to make fun of Christianity, anti-Christian potshots by the authors of the study guide are nothing unusual. Yet, they can't be easily shrugged off.
- After all, the study guide reached and affected millions, and it did harm to millions because the authors of the study guide managed to make Christianity and Nazism to seem like two sides of the same coin. Said Samuel Butler (1835—1902): "I do not mind lying, but I hate inaccuracy".
- What is accurate is simply this: In real life Christianity has had its rotten apples too, beginning with Judas Iscariot and ending with many dignitaries of the Church. Yet, under the leadership of the Popes, priests, monks, friars, nuns, and Fathers of the Church who were the spiritual elite of medieval society, labored steadily to instill faith in the illiterate masses, to give them at least a glimpse of truth and goodness beyond the grim facts of their narrowly circumscribed lives. But how successful were they? Did the Gospel penetrate beyond the surface of medieval life? Was it distorted in its transmission to the masses? There is no doubt that the Church made great compromises in adapting the message of Jesus Christ to the exigencies of a feudal society. There were barbaric holy wars, crude Jew-baiting, the sanguinary Inquisition, and witch-hunts. But at the same time, the urge to reform was never absent either. There was always a prophetic current critical of the establishment and anxious to lead Church and society to greater fidelity to the demands of the Gospel. In the subsequent evolution of the Christian Church, it was Christianity which created the Western Civilization in which fondness for personal freedom, for individual rights and liberties, for the legal system including trial by jury, for high status of women, developed. All these milestones of social evolution were a result of almost instinctive recognition that the teaching of Jesus Christ was a basis for a political and economic stability unparalleled in history. This comparatively stable social order produced by Christianity embraced govern-

ment, art, science, industry, agriculture and almost every other sector of human endeavor, and there was no place for any "anti-Semitism" within this system.

The authors of the study guide know very well that Nazism was anti-Christian to the extreme, and that Hitler was a consistent follower of the Darwinian principle, according to which one would expect and approve the unrelenting subjugation of the weaker by the stronger. He was also the follower of Friedrich Nietzsche who called Christianity a slave morality, a kind of conspiracy among the weak members of society to exalt love, mercy, kindness, and pity in order to protect themselves from the strong. The concept of the survival of the fittest led Hitler to think of a "preferred race" (Darwin's term) and he found it in a Nordic race, allegedly superior to all others. In the name of his "preferred race", Hitler started a racial war against the Jews. The imagination of the authors of the study guide would have, indeed, been strange if they were able to connect Hitler's Darwinism, Nietzscheanism, and racism with Christianity. However, the authors of the study guide are consistently anti-Christian. Like a syncopated beat their anti-Christian notes repeat themselves with regularity throughout the study guide. So the doctor who took over Dr. Joseph Weisse's clinic

was "a Christian doctor". How could the authors of the study guide know that? He could have been an atheist, as the majority of the Nazis were. Of course, their assertion that the church officials went along with Hitler's final solution of the Jewish problem is entirely false, as can be proved by Prof. Philip Friedman's book: *Their Brother's Keepers* (New York, 1957) which lists many Christian heroes and heroines who helped the oppressed Jews escape the Nazi terror, and among them high dignitaries of the Church, as e.g. Metropolitan and Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Lviv, Andrij Sheptytsky who hid 15 adults in his palace and 150 children in a monastery of his Church where his brother Clement was a Superior. Of course, the authors of the study guide who extoll "Uncle Sacha" as a Savior of the Jews, could not recognize any Christian hero who helped the Jews. Instead, they included the old taunt into their study guide asking, "Where was God? How could God let this happen?" It is a suggestion which totally rejects traditional Christianity. In the recommended discussion, children should be taught that God does not exist at all. It is contrary to the Jewish-Christian tradition...

(To be continued in next issue.)

#### REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE

the protest writings of

**VALENTYN MOROZ**

edited and translated  
by John Kolasky

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# Book Review

## A GERMAN EYEWITNESS'S REPORT ABOUT THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION POTENTIAL

Friedrich Breiss: *Haß und Liebe* (*Hate and Love*), 215 pages, photos, 1 chart. Published by the author (Bismarckstr. 24, D - 7208 Spaichingen), 1978.

"Hate towards Russia — love to Germany": it is in this way that the author defines the main theme of his life. He spent more than 30 years behind barbed-wire under the rule of Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev. Breiss was born in 1908 in Southern Ukraine in the village Sarrybulka, then known as Tavricheskaja Gubernia. He was the son of a German farmer family. He recalls that, "One half were Ukrainians, a third were Russians and the remainder was composed of Poles and Germans."

In 1919 he experienced his first trauma: Budjonny's Red cavalry plunder and murder march through Ukraine. At the age of 11 he was an eyewitness to the horrid death of his beloved parents: shot dead by the Bolsheviks. "For the first time a tremendous hate against Russian communism awoke in me." The orphan attached himself to Ukrainians. He reports: "I spent my early youth and my student years among the enslaved Ukrainian people, whom I had learned to treasure and love. Above all I treasured Uncle Stephan, Aunt Matrjona, Halya, Professor Arkhip Sekunda, the student leader Kusma Ripko and many others. I respected and treasured them because they pointed me in the right direction."

Still another non-Russian nation demonstrated its solidarity in sufferance: "At the same time I had also made contact with many Ukrainian Jews. Many of them, the

family Etkin as well as Director Semechkin captivated my heart with their straightforward honesty... Yet in my heart I hated the Jews which the Cheka had assigned." (p. 213)

Friedrich Breiss had many occupations: teacher at the Pedinstitute in Kharkiv; golddigger; lumber-jack; collective farmer and soldier. However, most of the time he was a Gulag-slave. As a political prisoner he sat in the prison in Zymna Hora (Cold Mountain) in Kharkiv from 1930 to 1932. He became acquainted with the infernal regions of Neshin (Chernyiv region), Irkutsk, Angarsk, Taishet, Bratsk, Sovjetskaja Gawan (Far East), Magadan, Yagodnye, Susuman (Kolyma), and moreover the transit camps in Khabarovsk, Chita, Novosibirsk and Barnaul.

As a prisoner he started to write his book in 1949. Very often he had to burn the manuscript. He finally worked on his book when in exile in Kirghizia. His brave wife Veronika, also deported to Siberia, helped him on his book. Then in 1975, Friedrich Breiss returned to the land of his forefathers: to West Germany.

*Hate and Love* is a book with great content. First, it is a biography as well as an autobiography. Secondly, it is a description of the Russian concentration camp infernos, therefore a book with "Solzhenitsyn" leaning, a German Gulag-Archipelago. Thirdly, it is the historical work of a non-professional historian. Finally, it is the political documentation of an embittered, heroic resistance of a non-Russian nation against Russian foreign dominancy. It is a documentation of great topical

value — probably the most topical on the German book market.

During his camp imprisonment and in exile he became acquainted with representatives of many nations. Breiss reports in detail about Kirghizians, Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Jews, Georgians, Chechens, Mongolians, Yakuts, and Buryats. He learned their traditions, customs, ideas, ideals, motives, cultures and their hopes. However, above all he learned this: their hate towards Russia: unfathomable, boundless, constantly present and very vital!

Breiss labels the USSR as the "Prison of nations" and characterizes the Russian colonial imperialism as the "Colossus on feet of clay".

The peoples' prison is governed only with pure force and with the aid of shortsighted treacherous Western politics, the preacher of appeasement and detente, according to Breiss.

"Once the people were constrained by sabers and whips, today it is with tanks and rockets", for which the Russians can thank the Western scientists. "It is an open

secret that the Soviet nuclear weapons were built according to American patents, stolen from the Americans. The same appears to be true of the "fathers" of Soviet spacecraft and other cosmic apparatus, kidnaped by the Soviet spy agency and smuggled into the hinterland of the USSR". (p. 197)

Breiss believes that his cited examples of the resistance of the non-Russian nations indicate how overwhelming the burden of Russian dominancy over the enslaved nations in the Soviet Union is. However, Breiss the eyewitness, is nevertheless optimistic; he adamantly believes in the self-liberation power of the enslaved peoples and in the victory of the people's revolution — in spite of "Eastern politics" and detente.

Breiss prophesizes: "Should the Soviet Union become involved in a war, then it is thoroughly possible, that the hate of the people will cause them to take up arms against the Russians!" (p. 196)

It is to be desired that this book come into the hands of all UN ambassadors.

Wolfgang Strauss

**Cover photo clarifications from left to right:**

1. *Estonian quartet entertaining at the concert.*
2. *Dr. Josef Kaskelis, ABN chairman of Canada, addressing the conference.*
3. *Ukrainian choir from Miami and ABN Miami chairman, Mr. Karpiak, opening the concert.*
4. *Mrs. Stetsko with Cuban participants.*
5. *Mrs. Longina Briljavská (Byelorussia) addresses the conference.*
6. *General view of audience.*

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# NEWS FROM UKRAINE

Information About the Current Struggle For National Independence and Human Rights

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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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# UKRAINIAN HERALD

Underground Magazine from Ukraine  
Issue IV

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

# ABVN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

THE IMPRISONED AND PERSECUTED IN UKRAINE NEED YOUR HELP

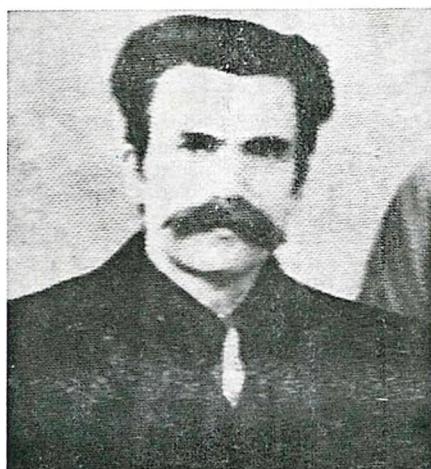


*Yuriy Shukhevych (42) was arrested in 1948 at the age of 15. His guilt: being the son of Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynska, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who fought against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia (1942—1950).*

*Lev Lukyanenko (52), a lawyer, sentenced in 1961 to death, later the sentence was commuted to 15 years of imprisonment. He was released and sentenced again to 15 years for membership in the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.*



*Ivan Hel (42), a ukrainian historian was arrested for the second time in 1972 and sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".*



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## **ABN CORRESPONDENCE**

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# Demand for Independence of Ukraine

*Slightly shortened statement of Valentin Moroz at the National Presse Club luncheon, held on Friday, May 18, 1979 at the National Press Building in Washington, D.C.*

Ladies and gentlemen, I'd like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to all those in the free world who aided in my release.

First of all, I wish to thank President Carter, Dr. Brzezinski, the American government, and the US Congress for their efforts on my behalf. Their firm and principled stand was responsible for my being able to be here today.

I come to you as yesterday's prisoner, who in the span of 48 hours was transported here from a labor camp in the Mordovian Forests.

I stand before you as an author and university lecturer who after 14 long years will soon have the opportunity to sit behind a desk at Harvard University and once again pursue that which gives me greatest pleasure — writing.

But above all, I come to you as a Ukrainian.

Ethnology teaches us that when a nation loses its independence, it loses its VOICE. Foreigners then speak for that nation; it no longer speaks for itself.

Unlike Eastern Europe, where for example, the Polish nation is able to speak for itself to the West, things are different for the Ukrainian nation. When Ukraine lost its independence, it lost its VOICE, and Moscow began speaking for Ukraine, spreading misconceptions.

Today you have given me the opportunity to tell you the truth about Ukraine, and perhaps in these times no other Ukrainian has such an opportunity. But with this goes a great responsibility. Circumstances have made me the VOICE of Ukraine and my first words may startle some of you. The tragedy of Ukraine lies in the fact that the world's attention is focused on the struggle of Blacks for the decolonization of Africa. If Ukraine were a part of Black Africa, it would be by this time independent.

No one in the world today questions the right of Black African nations to independence. The United Nations continues to routinely take up the question of discrimination against Black Africa. But isn't it time to put the question of repression of non-Blacks on an equal footing? How easy it is to pass a resolution in the United Nations calling for the decolonization of Southern Africa; yet how difficult it is even to speak about the decolonization of the Soviet Union. The Third World should realize that by ignoring the nationalist movements in the USSR they are throwing

away their greatest opportunity. The Third World arose from national liberation struggles whose ideals will long provide spiritual and psychological nourishment. The banner of the Third World will continue to bear the motto of „anti-colonialism”. But, if we take the term „anti-colonialism” seriously, and not in jest, then we must concede that the decolonization of Africa is nearly complete. There are but a few remaining territories still to be decolonized in Africa. The arena for decolonization should shift to Eastern Europe and the USSR where we have dozens of subjugated nations as well as the largest colony in the world — Ukraine — a nation of 50 million people. It is specifically the decolonization of these nations which may provide the impetus and resources upon which the Third World relies. And when in the UN, the African states in unison with the USSR, block the demands of the subjugated nations for decolonization they extinguish those very fires that they must rely upon for their own existence.

The United Nations has granted official recognition to the PLO and SWAPO. This is a precedent; a power which finds itself in exile is nevertheless represented in the United Nations. Ukrainians have no true VOICE in the United Nations despite the fact that there are more than three million of them in the Free World.

Everyone is aware that the so-called „government” of the Ukrainian SSR is not a true government but merely an administrative body. At present there as no real possibility of presenting this matter before the United Nations.

The world's geopolitical makeup has changed greatly over the past century. During that period two powers confronted each other: England vs. France and Germany vs. the Entente powers. At that time Russia was still a marginal factor in the power struggles. This has long since changed. Russia is no longer marginal. Today it has the force to seek out its own conquests. And using that power it has transformed the European powers into pawns which it manipulates on its chessboard. The view that Russia can be used opportunistically or as an ally is outdated and dangerous. To consider Russia as an ally is as foolish as to force an alliance between a wolf and a tiger. Russia's most useful allies in the West are not Communists but short-sighted and naive people.

One should recall the testament of Czar Peter I which spoke of his desire to annex Eastern Prussia. Short-sighted, naive people long considered this testament a forgery. I cannot say if it was a forgery. All I know is that today Eastern Prussia is a part of the Russian Empire. These same people labeled as pure fantasy the notion that Russia intended to conquer Europe to the Elbe River. Today, Russian forces stand along the Elbe. Even now, there is talk of a „peace loving” Russia.

Russia has conquered Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan. It controls one-sixth of the world. It has been the foremost aggressor of the 20th Century

and short-sighted and naive people still say that Russia poses no threat. And when the same people are told that unless the status quo is changed Russian tanks will roll to the banks of the English channel, they reply that these are the words of lunatics.

It is time that short-sighted and naive people cease formulating Western policy. It's time for the West to finally realize that Moscow is not one of the world's powers but a threat to the world. Moscow is not an element in the search for world stability, it is a power which seeks to disrupt.

Before it can win the war with Communism in the East, the West must first overcome its own short-sightedness.

The release of Grigorenko, Svitlychna and other Soviet political prisoners is a battle won.

But there is yet another political prisoner who, though never in a Russian camp, nevertheless died a captive of Moscow. His name was De Gaulle. Yes, he was a prisoner, as the entire West is today a prisoner of the illusions that Moscow weaves.

Illusion No. 1 — One must concede to Moscow otherwise there will be a World War. The opposite is true. Concessions only lead to new demands, as the Munich treaty enticed Hitler to new aggressions. The more you give in, the more they expect. There is a Russian saying, „one acquires an appetite at feeding time.” The West should look for a new Churchill, not for a Chamberlain.

Illusion No. 2 — it's up to us to make concessions because Moscow won't. Interestingly enough, a Ukrainian woman here in America wrote me upon my release a very sincere letter. She said, „My husband believed Moroz would never be released.” This is a very powerful myth, that the wall erected by Moscow is impregnable. But as we can see, the release of political prisoners testifies to the fact that the times have changed. Moscow's walls are cracking.

Illusion No. 3 — less known, but just as real — is the belief of many Western leaders that Moscow creates stability within its domain and that this is good for maintaining the status quo. They fail to see that internal „stability” in the USSR enables the Kremlin to instigate instability in the rest of the world.

It is in the interest of the West to unfreeze these forces so that they may engulf themselves and thereby create a genuine and not an illusory world order. It is to the great merit of such statesmen as President Carter and Dr. Brzezinski to have been among the first to dispel these illusions. They took a principled position in this matter. They were not afraid to be unpopular. But this is only a beginning. We must go further.

There is a great deal of talk about the threat of nuclear war, but we do not draw the necessary conclusions. Who is capable of instigating such a war?

China is too weak, the West is too civilized. Only the Russian Empire would be disposed to initiate a nuclear war. What is most important for the West to understand is that the decolonization of Eastern Europe, i. e. dismantling of the Russian Empire, is as important for the West as it is for us. It is not solely the concern of the subjugated nations. The West is under the illusion that the democratization of Russia will remove the Sword of Damocles which is attached in the Kremlin and hangs over the Elbe. The fact is that post-communist Russia will be even more Russian than it is now and will be an even greater threat to the West. I know the Russian mind well and I can state that, given the choice between democracy with no empire or empire without democracy, Russia will opt for an empire. Realistically, the only force which can dismember the Russian empire, and thereby remove the threat of nuclear war, is that of the nationalist movements in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. Only they can dismantle the empire and in so doing automatically remove the threat facing the Western world.

Ukraine presents a great potential which the West has not utilized and in fact is not yet aware of. The West still sees Ukraine through Russian lenses and speaks of Ukraine according to Russian standards.

There is a wealth of knowledge about the so-called „Nazism” of Ukrainian patriots, about their purported collaboration with the Germans. The truth tells us otherwise. From 1941—1944, Stepan Bandera, leader of the national liberation struggle, was in a Nazi concentration camp. His two brothers, Vasyl and Oleksander, perished in Auschwitz. Thousands upon thousands of Ukrainian nationalists died at the hands of the Gestapo. Let them look for Nazis in Moscow and not among Ukrainian freedom fighters. The first concentration camps were built by Moscow in 1919; Hitler’s camps were built according to the Russian models. When Nazi bombs were falling on Coventry, Moscow applauded. As allies, Russia and Nazi Germany shared the spoils of conquered Poland. As all other resistance movements during the Second World War, the Ukrainian underground fought the Nazis. An outstanding example of this struggle was the heroic battle at the monastery on Zahoriv, where a small contingent of the OUN-UPA (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Ukrainian Insurgent Army), outnumbered 10 to 1, engaged the German army — a heroic act in the spirit of the battle at Thermopylae. Despite such facts, Moscow has succeeded in propagating the myth of Ukrainian collaboration with the Nazis to the extent that to this day the West remains ignorant of the truth. The West must dispel this myth and come to the realization that nationalism is not Nazism, that nationalism is patriotism.

Geopolitically, Ukraine has served as a natural counter-force for the protection of Europe’s eastern flank, thereby altering the balance of power from the times of Attila and Genghis-Khan. Just as the great Barrier Reef protects the eastern shore of Australia from the ocean, Ukraine has pro-

tected Europe against invasions from the East. The Germans and the English seemed to have understood this, though with no apparent consistency. They regarded Ukraine as a pawn when the situation called for a partnership. This played into the hands of Moscow's politics. Moscow, to this day, strives to prevent the West from realizing what Ukraine represents.

Everyone is aware of the energy crisis. Our resources are being depleted. But the geopolitical crisis, although less visible, is equally important. The concept that the United States can deal with any problems, that it will always maintain its supremacy, is no longer valid. Vietnam has shown this to be true. In the 19th century, the United States knew no boundary in its expansion to the West and enjoyed the luxury of unlimited resources. Having reached the Pacific coast, the period of expansion came to an end. Today, the United States faces a new barrier to further growth with the depletion of the world's geopolitical resources. The United States can no longer afford the luxury of ignoring the potential of a country as large as Ukraine. Much has been said of utilizing solar energy, of the great reserves of the West and the oil in the Northern Sea. Ukraine is more important than the oil reserves of the North Sea.

I do not wish to appear ungrateful. I have no right to be ungrateful. I have my freedom thanks to the efforts of many people in the West. But I want to state that in view of the importance of the Ukrainian contribution to the dissident movement, and in light of the fact that half of the prisoners in the labor camps are Ukrainian, the release of only one Ukrainian, out of the 9 recently freed, is obviously insufficient. The West should insist on the release of a larger number of Ukrainian prisoners. The West can and should do more for Ukraine. All efforts expended toward obtaining the freedom of more Ukrainians would serve to strengthen the Ukrainian dissident movement. The West should pay particular attention to protecting the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, which is a relatively new phenomenon in Ukraine. *For the first time in fifty years a „legal” opposition has formed*, an opposition based on the provisions of the Helsinki Accord. The West should do everything in its power to secure the safety of this group and insure the further development of the „legal” opposition in Ukraine.

The West should understand that Moscow faces increasing isolation. In a five-polar world in which four of the powers — the United States, Europe, China and Japan — are consolidating their mutual relations, Moscow is faced with the prospect of standing alone in opposition to the other four.

The successes of Chinese diplomacy in the world arena in the last few years is a disturbing factor for Moscow, which it will attempt to offset by proving that it is equally capable of establishing good relations with the

West. It is essential to bear this in mind during negotiations with Moscow. Moscow must be required to make definite, not ephemeral, concessions.

I call upon the Free World to demand a general amnesty for all political prisoners held by Moscow as a precondition for participation in the 1980 Olympics. I urge you to boycott the Olympics in the event Moscow does not proclaim a general amnesty. I would propose that *in protest the Olympic Games be held in Munich*, should Moscow not make adequate concessions.

The human rights issue is an outstanding product of Western political ideals. For the first time in over a decade psychological warfare is being conducted on grounds that the West cannot possibly lose. For the first time in over a decade the West has taken the initiative in the psychological struggle. Since Moscow cannot compete in the realm of human rights, it has been placed in an indefensible position. But the concept of human rights must be expanded to include *national rights*. We set up the equation: *national rights equal human rights*. The concept of national rights is far more important and is even more apt to result in success for the West: the human rights issue for Moscow is a sensitive one, but realization of national rights would deal a *death blow* to Moscow.

When people speak to me of human rights, I declare, „Above all, I wish to realize my right to be Ukrainian. For me, this is the most sacred and greatest of all human rights.”

I am frequently asked about the Ukrainian movement, its prospects and chances for success. I need only to give illustration. When writing „Moses and Dathan”, I had not as yet read „Two Patriotisms”, a work by Dmytro Dontsov, a noted Ukrainian ideologist and polemist. I subsequently read „Two Patriotisms” and I was astonished that not only the general concept of, but even the development of the detailed postulates, in these two works were identical. It was then that I came to the following realization: you may destroy the entire Ukrainian national elite, and you can create a great famine in which millions perish, but despite this, a new generation will follow to regenerate the concept of Ukrainian national independence. The demand for Ukrainian independence rises like a Phoenix out of the ashes. Such is the vibrancy of Ukrainian nationalism and of the prospects for the independence of Ukraine.

And when I am asked as to the outlook for the liberation movement in Ukraine, I answer with a quote from my most recent work, soon to be published:

„*The walls are still standing, but the trumpet is ready and a voice has been born.*”

# WACL Support for Subjugated Nations

of the 12th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League at Asuncion,  
Paraguay — April 27, 1979

Being aware of Communist aggression and subversion in developing countries and regions, the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), dedicated to the cause of freedom and security, held its 12th Conference from April 23-27, 1979 in Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, a bulwark against Communism in Latin America. Over 400 representatives from WACL's 103 member units in 80 countries, joined by political, military, religious and civic leaders, assembled with the theme to guide their joint endeavor: "United We Shall Prevail! Freedom Is Not Negotiable!".

The policies of appeasement and detente on the part of Free Countries have been responsible for Communist aggression and the confrontation between the free world and the Red bloc, thereby contributing to the present world chaos. The attempt to ally with Red China against Soviet Russia has already damaged the Free World instead of weakening the Red forces. This strategy of Free Nations is being manipulated by international Communists to spread Communism further, short of open warfare.

The extremely complicated international situation is basically a confrontation between the natural desire for freedom and the tyranny of Communism.

The solution lies in satisfying the universal urge for freedom, national independence and sovereignty, social justice and economic progress. These aspirations must ultimately lead to the decline and fall of Communism.

To further freedom and security for all mankind, the WACL Conference resolved that:

1. We appeal to the Free Nations to implement without delay strategies for common security. Peace obtained through

appeasement and concession never lasts. *Any attempt to set one Red group against another can only lead to disaster.* Helping Moscow during and after World War II only advanced Communism. Assistance given to Chinese Communists will produce the same results. A clear line of demarcation between friend and foe has never been more essential.

2. We urge Free Nations to recognize the unchanged Communist goal of world domination. The Sino-Soviet clashes and the Chinese Communist war with Communist Vietnam are indications of Red bellicosity and signs of further *internecine* Red bloc strife. The various Communist regimes may clash with each other in their tactical competition for influence. If their strategy requires cooperation, internal Communist differences will not prevent them from taking joint action. Birds of a feather flock together.

3. We appeal to the Free Nations to support actively economic and social progress in free developing nations, to abandon trade protectionism, and to remove tariff barriers and import quotas where possible. Economic stability and economic freedom provide effective protection against Communist infiltration and subversion, with a view to spreading the benefits of wealth and culture, health and general well-being as an effective preventive measure to check the advance of Communism.

4. We urge the Free Nations to work for a settlement of the energy problem in terms of a reasonable arrangement beneficial to the Free World economy, especially in respect of the supply and price of oil. The industrialised nations must solve their inflation problem in order to create the conditions for price stability. We fully

support the Middle East nations against Communism and their close ties with other Free Nations so as to attain a fair and lasting peace. It is gratifying to note that the Islamic World, of nearly a thousand million Muslims, has become increasingly aware of the dangers of atheistic and materialistic ideologies, especially Communism. It is hoped to encourage peoples of all faiths to work together to uphold sound spiritual, moral and historical values. Support should be given to the struggle of the peoples in South Yemen, Somalia, Ethiopia and Afganistan against Communism.

5. We strongly condemn Moscow's use of Cuban and other client troops for aggressive proxy wars in Africa and elsewhere. We therefore call upon free African nations to guard against the Communist strategy of stirring up racial strife and sowing discord in order to isolate those nations from the rest of the Free World. Free nations should strengthen technical cooperation with the African countries so that Africa's rich resources can be developed in order to bring prosperity to the continent.

6. We call upon Latin American countries to improve their common defence against Communism, particularly by strengthening treaties of intra-or inter-continental defence. We pledge support to the governments and peoples of, in particular, Paraguay, Uruguay, Nicaragua, Chile, Brazil and Argentina in their fight against the Communists and their stooges. We support the Republic of Nicaragua which is currently under military and economic attack on account of its struggle against Communism. We condemn those governments and organisations in the Free World, who falsely attack these and other Free World countries under the pretext of human rights or interfere in their individual fight against Communism. We also urge the use of sanctions against the Castro regime because of their crimes of internal suppression and external aggression. We

support the oppressed Cubans in any attempt to overthrow this Red tyranny. Latin America, particularly the countries belonging to the Southern Cone and especially Chile, has shown to the world that Communism can be defeated even when in power.

7. We urge the free European nations to recognise the new tactic of Euro-communism as part of the Communist plan for world domination. Claiming that they are for freedom and democracy, have abandoned the class struggle, and will not resort to means of violent revolution the Euro-communists are seeking power through the subversion of parliamentary democracy. Since the isolation of the Euro-communists and their allies is essential, the Free Nations should strengthen their cooperation. The Chinese Communist support of the European Common Market should be seen as a tactic to aid the centralisation of power and the destruction of national sovereignty.

8. We condemn the constant Soviet Russian measures aiming to destroy national cultures and religions and forcefully russify the subjugated nations in order to create one Soviet Russian nation. The Conference urges peoples behind the Iron Curtain to expand their struggles for freedom, national independence, democracy and human rights. We support the fight waged by the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Bulgarians, Croatians, Rumanians, Hungarians and other subjugated peoples for their national independence and against Moscow's russification and genocide policies. We call the attention of the governments of the Free World to the vital necessity of including in their national strategies, the national liberation of the subjugated peoples. We urge the millions of captive peoples of the Chinese mainland, Soviet Union, Indochina, North Korea, Cuba and elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain to rise against Communist

enslavement for the sake of freedom, democracy, peace and prosperity.

9. We urge the Asian-Pacific region non-Communist countries jointly to counteract Red expansion, as well as the manoeuvres for hegemony by the Russian and Chinese Communists. We urge the US, Canada and all the non-Communist Asian, Pacific and Australian countries to reverse their policies of concession and non-alignment. Alliance with the Chinese Communists against the Soviet Union will deliver free nations into Communist hands. The proposed meeting of non-aligned countries in Havana, to be hosted by Cuba, is a Communist scheme designed to place those countries under the Communist sphere of influence. We warn the political leaders of the non-aligned nations against falling victim to the Cuban trick. Cuban mercenary troops in Africa and the Indochinese peninsula fighting under the control of their Soviet masters already reveal the color of their alignment.

10. We urge nations and peoples to support the Chinese people's aspiration to restore freedom and democracy on the Chinese mainland. The people on the Chinese mainland must be given a clear and free choice between freedom and totalitarianism. Free nations and peoples must decide whether they want a free and democratic China or a China under Communist tyranny. The Chinese Communist regime is trying to implement a "four modernizations" program and hope to obtain Western aid in order to overcome their internal crisis and to continue their external expansion. The very system of enslavement and the backwardness of the Chinese mainland offer little hope for modernization. We, therefore, urge Free Nations to enforce an economic and military embargo against the Chinese mainland and, instead, strengthen friendly ties with the Republic of China. Particularly we call upon the United States of America to re-

sume diplomatic relations with the Republic of China.

11. We urge all Free Nations to stop all economic aid, trade and technological assistance to Communist regimes in order to achieve the above objectives and to bring about the collapse of the Communist regimes, which cannot survive without the Free World.

All the WACL chapters and regional organizations dedicate themselves to strengthening their work through joint anti-Communist activities in their countries and regions in order to enhance freedom and security against Red aggression and subversion.

Participants at the Conference express their highest respect to *President Alfredo Stroessner* of the Republic of Paraguay for his presence at the opening ceremony, which initiated a successful conference. Hearty appreciation also goes to the WACL Paraguayan Chapter and to the Paraguayan government and people for their warm hospitality and support which made the Conference memorable and fruitful.

*The 13th WACL Annual Conference will be held in 1980 at a site to be decided by the Executive Board.*

#### BALTIC COMMEMORATION

Peter Wytenus, chairman of the Lithuanian Wayside Shrine Committee, has been elected president of the New York State chapter of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Mr. Wytenus organized a Baltic commemoration ceremony at the site of the vandalized shrine in Flushing Meadows Park on Sunday June 17, 1979.

The ceremony is dedicated to the heroes of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, whose nations were occupied by Russia. Wytenus is preparing a campaign for the restoration of the shrine which was destroyed by vandals in April.

# Stepan Bandera Ukrainian National Hero

Jan. 1, 1909 — Oct. 15, 1959

The Ukrainian nation, in its everlasting fight for its existence, its state independence and freedom, bred many heroic, courageous fighters, who, because of their idealism, strength, talent for leadership, industriousness and selflessness bequeathed to us an example to follow through the rest of our lives. In the latest era of our history, an era of strife for liberation from various occupations of foreign imperialisms, core of the outstanding symbols of this period of struggle, whose name will be honored forever — was the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) Stepan Bandera. This year, we are commemorating the twentieth anniversary of his assassination by a Russian agent.

Omnious October of 1959. Unable to withstand the furries of fall winds, the trees drop their yellow leaves, like tears, upon the dying earth. A long procession silently moves through pathways of Waldfriedhof Cemetery in Munich, accompanying on his last journey the one, whose name inspired thousands of unnamed heroes to battle; heartened millions of peoples, enslaved and hungry for truth and freedom; and produced hate and fear among enemies of Ukrainians everywhere. Flags, which whispered about the everlasting glory of the fallen hero, were mournfully lowered. Far, far away, in bloody Kremlin, the red killers were celebrating their success in inflicting such painful loss to the Ukrainian liberation movement. However, the lips of funeral participants, as well as those of innumerable thousands of Ukrainian patriots all over the world, compressed with unshakable resolve:

"To win freedom for Ukraine, or die fighting for it."

Stepan Bandera's whole life was dedicated to obeying this national commandment. From early youth to his death, at the age of only fifty-one, Stepan Bandera was always in the front ranks of active freedom-fighters.

He was born in the village of Old Uhryniw, Kalish Country, in Western Ukraine on January 1, 1909. His father, a Catholic priest, gave Stepan Bandera his first patriotic and religious upbringing. The example of his father, Rev. Andrij Bandera, who was a volunteer in the Ukrainian Army of Western Ukraine (Ukrainian Galician Army) and later organized social reforms in his village, pointed the way for young Stepan to devote his life to the liberation of his nation from enemy enslavement. While attending Ukrainian High School in Stryj and meeting many of his contemporaries, who, like himself, suffered depression and deep personal insult to their national honor after Ukraine's defeat in the War of Liberation of 1917—1921, youthful Stepan formulated his consciousness, character and strength and took his first steps in active underground resistance against the enemy. He became an active member of a secret organization consisting of high school students, which later integrated itself into the newly-formed OUN. Later, he became one of the most vigorous leaders of the Society of Ukrainian Nationalist Youth.

The creation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), through a merger of the Ukrainian Military Organization with other nationalist groups in 1929, found Stepan Bandera in Lviv, where he was studying agronomy at Lviv University. Stepan Bandera immediately joined

the OUN and quickly became organizer of distribution of OUN publications, under the Propaganda Department of Western Ukraine Section. After having successfully completed his assignments as the above mentioned organizer, he was appointed in 1931 as member of the Executive Board and Director of Propaganda. During his tenure, he organized new means of mass propaganda, i.e., demonstrations at gravesites of fallen Ukrainian freedom-fighters, widespread actions against alcoholism intentionally popularized by the occupational forces, and acts among students against the occupation of Ukraine. These actions widely popularized the OUN and revolutionized the national masses. In January, 1933, Stepan Bandera was elected to head the Western Ukraine Section of OUN. His leadership accomplished complete integration into the OUN of the Ukrainian Military Organization, vast improvements of organizational structure of the OUN, and intensification of individual resistance acts against representatives of occupational forces.

The culmination of those resistance acts was the assassination of the Polish Minister of Internal Affairs Bronislaw Pieracki in Warsaw on June 15, 1934. Under Polish occupation, the OUN developed into the leading Ukrainian political power and was to become a factor in the eventual fall of Polish occupation of Western Ukraine. The trial of Stepan Bandera and other leading members of OUN, arrested in connection with the assassination of Minister Pieracki, turned into a protest of Polish occupation of Western Ukraine, resulting in widespread outrages in Ukraine and throughout the world. Bandera's praiseworthy stand at the trial served as an example for other defendants, galvanizing great masses of people to action, and awakening respect even among many foreigners. All at once, Stepan Bandera became one of the most famous heroes in

the eyes of Ukrainians of Western Ukraine. Although convicted and condemned to death, (sentence later changed to life imprisonment) he served his sentence in one of the harshest prisons at St. Cross, and continued to be a symbol of Ukrainian anti-Polish resistance and uncompromising fight for freedom.

With the start of World War II, Poland fell and Stepan Bandera was free. Together with other OUN leaders, he tried to correct the pro-German political line of PUN. (Leadership of Ukrainian Nationalists) headed by Col. A. Melnyk, and urged removal from PUN of persons compromised by activities harmful to the Ukrainian cause. However, he found complete lack of understanding from Col. Melnyk and his compatriots, all of whom were living in countries outside of Ukraine during its active struggle for liberation. As a result, in February, 1940, active leadership and membership of OUN, in Ukraine and outside its borders, reactivated the National Leadership of OUN and elected as its head Stepan Bandera. The Second Special Convention of OUN in the spring of 1941 affirmed this election. Differences between Bandera and Melnyk, which resulted in the division of the OUN into two different political groups were deeply felt by all concerned. However, future events proved that the uncompromising stand of OUN independent of foreign influences, as proclaimed by Stepan Bandera, was the only right one in light of the international situation of that time. This political stand resulted in the Proclamation of Independent Ukraine in Lviv on June 30, 1941, and in the continuation of war on two fronts against Germany and Russia by OUN-UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army). If this Proclamation did not take place, the Ukrainian cause would have been severely compromised by foreign dependence and influence. Ukrainians all over the world owe a debt of gratitude to Stepan Ban-

dera and the OUN leadership for the fact that they did not allow dishonor to befall the Ukrainian nation in the harshest circumstances of its history during the holocaust of World War II. Stepan Bandera was arrested by German occupational forces, together with members of the Provisional Government of Independent Ukraine: its President Yaroslav Stetsko, who categorically refused to withdraw the Proclamation of Independent Ukraine of June 30, 1941. This refusal resulted in their deportation to a German concentration camp, where, although under enormous pressure, they remained steadfast both physically and morally. Their incarceration continued almost to the end of World War II. Released in December, 1944 Stepan Bandera remained under constant police surveillance, again refused Germany's request to take part in establishing a German-controlled Ukrainian National Committee, yet, demanded recognition of unconditional Ukrainian independence from the Germans. As in the past, Stepan Bandera, together with President Yaroslav Stetsko, again demonstrated their political foresight and deepset conviction, characteristics demanded by national honor.

In February, 1945, the OUN National Convention again elected Stepan Bandera, who, at that time resided and intended to remain outside of Ukraine, as head of all OUN, and as a third in command and head of OUN in Ukraine, UPA General Roman Shukhewych — Taras Chuprynska. Yaroslav Stetsko was elected as the second member of OUN leadership. Stepan Bandera directed members of OUN toward an uncompromising fight against occupational forces in Ukraine and toward external aid for the fighting Ukrainians. He took this directive because of the altered circumstances of the new Russian occupation of the entire Ukraine, because of widespread war against the said occupation by UPA and because of the emigration of thousands of Ukrainians. Even under the

severest attacks by Russian occupational forces and lack of aid and understanding from the free world, OUN-UPA did not capitulate, but continued to wage war, changing their tactics in accordance with circumstances. In the free world, Stepan Bandera pointed OUN outside of Ukraine toward mass actions of popularization of Ukraine's independence issues and mobilization of free world opinion against Russia.

Highest moral character and political foresight of Stepan Bandera manifested themselves numerous times in OUN activities outside of Ukraine, particularly in defense of unblemished nationalistic positions against many false and opportunistic tendencies. He constantly defended freedom and the independent status of Ukraine's political causes. He did not yield to numerous suggestions for OUN to adopt the liberal views of the free world toward Russia. He refused any compromises toward the Soviet Union's "indivisibility", he recalled OUN's representatives from the Ukrainian National Council, when he was unable to change this Council's position towards aid for fighting Ukraine; he condemned members of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHWR) outside of the Ukraine for their deviation from ideological positions of nationalism, and in 1954, rebuffed members of a group of so-called "duodists", who allowed themselves to be convinced by enemy lies; and he attempted to bring ideological division to OUN membership in the name of false "democracy" and KGB-prepared "demands of Ukrainian home-front". Those were not easy decisions. Although, Bandera deeply suffered through all these events, his conscience wouldn't allow him to let the Organization, which carried the main responsibility for the historical fate of the nation, to descend into ideological no-man's land and opportunistic abyss.

Stepan Bandera was struck down in the prime of his political life by an assassin sent by the greatest enemy of independent Ukraine. This assassin's hand tried to deal a deadly blow to the Ukrainian independence movement and to its avant-garde — OUN. However, the enemy outsmarted itself. The secrets of the killing were discovered and the assassin himself, in his testimony, caused the condemnation of the criminal Russian clique by an objective tribunal of a free country and world opinion in general. Ironically, even through his death, Stepan Bandera struck a moral blow to the enemies of Ukrainian independence.

The stamp of Bandera's courageous fighting spirit is imbedded in a whole generation of freedom-fighters, inheritors of traditions of the War of Liberation, a heroic epoch of Cossackdom, and the knighthood era of the Kingdom of Ukraine. For them, as for Bandera, the fiery, testamentary words were holy: "Do not allow anybody to tarnish our honor and glory. Remember that you are a descendent of struggle for the glory of Volodymyr's Trident! Neither petitions, nor threats, nor torture, nor death will force you to reveal the secret endowed you!". Inflamed by Bandera's example, courageous UPA soldiers, OUN freedom-fighters, prisoners of Russian concentration camps of Vorkuta, and heroic women of Kingir, marched into battle against overwhelming forces of enemy powers.

The national uprising of the post war years and its participants were christened with the name Bandera, similarly as the War of Liberation of 1917—1921 was christened with the name Petlura, and the fight for freedom from Russian tsars was christened with the name Mazepa. Even today, our enemies call all Ukrainians who differ in their beliefs from Russians — "Banderists" and the whole independence movement "Banderism". This is proof of the great fear that the occupa-

tional authorities have vis-à-vis the determination of the fearless, uncompromising freedom-fighters who serve the great idea of our independent nation, in the same way that it was served by Stepan Bandera. Although Stepan Bandera and many of his fellow freedom-fighters did not live long enough to see their eternal dream realized — the dream of independent Ukraine — their example of heroism galvanized millions upon millions of their descendants, who believing in the immortality of their ideas, still untiringly work and fight for the fulfillment of this great aim. New times demand new ways and methods of battle. Under present circumstances the main role lies in the power of ideas. The material strength of the enemy has to be opposed by the highly idealistic moral power of the Ukrainian independence movement. The unquenching fire of Bandera's ideology, his uncompromising beliefs, self-sacrifice, faith in his nation's interests, and his spiritual strength, will continue to lead in the future, as in the past, the Ukrainian nation in its quest for the promised land.

In his writings, Stepan Bandera left us valuable directions in strategy and tactics of the Ukrainian fight for independence against Russian imperialism. According to his idealistic outlook, he believed armed conflict to be only one and not the main form of a nation's fight for its independence. In his article, "Essentials of Life and Development of a Nation", written in 1955, he stated in what mainstream lies our fight: "Firstly, we have to defend annihilation, keep alive those things which are most essential to national strength and development, things which form the context of its independence, and things which enhance its enlargement as a whole entity. Specifically, we are talking about the defense of the highest human values — faith in God, freedom, honor, human rights and unencumbered development of the nation and its people. It is self-evident

that the long struggle for independence is fought, so that in our independent country we can fully and in the best way secure, develop and enhance all those virtues."

The independence movement in contemporary Ukraine, which again increased after Bandera's death, follows the same line which directs the sense of life of the Ukrainian nation itself, although as yet it does not evolve into open warfare. There exists a struggle for the spirit of the Ukrainian nation, led by the best representatives of Ukrainian intelligentsia. This new generation follows Shevchenko's footsteps to Russian prisons and Siberian concentration camps, and creates new ranks of heroes and martyrs for God and freedom. This resistance pursues the example of Ukrainian freedom — fighters of UPA and OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera.

In the memory of Ukrainians, Stepan Bandera remains the everlasting symbol of an honest, eventempered and wise man, completely dedicated to the cause of freedom for Ukraine. Liberal and decisive, he was very modest and friendly. Although he was not very tall or extremely handsome — he was a giant among men. In his piercing eyes could be read the whole story of Ukraine's long and hard fight for its independence, which gave him the strength to become a great leader, spiritually invincible. He was very religious, virtuous and a person of highest moral character. His family life was harmonious, although, due to security reasons, even his own children did not know his real name. He took care of and extended all possible help to his friends and co-workers. In return, the respect and love for him felt by

everybody was limitless. Personally, he did not worry enough about his security and this might have been a major factor in his untimely death. Lack of financial resources caused many hardships in organizational life. Salaries, if any, of the leaders, including Bandera, were limited to cover only absolute essentials. There were no restaurants, hotels or first class transportation. The one and only automobile which Bandera used was a Volkswagen, old and delapidated, sharing it with other OUN leaders. Bandera was not a very talented public speaker, however, his speeches were always presented calmly, sensibly, analyzing the core of the problem. His decisions were always thoroughly rationalized. Bandera was never revengeful and forgave those who plotted against him, many a time even against his better judgment. He always stood by, and lived by his principles.

Let us state that the cause of Ukrainian independence for which he died, at the hands of a Russian agent, has not as yet been won. Ukraine is still occupied by Russia. However, the Organization which was led by him, the Ukrainian resistance movement are actively fighting on. In contemporary Ukraine, the ranks of freedom-fighters are increasing daily by thousands upon thousands. The Ukrainian nation is alive, strengthened by its faith in God and its new and ever growing ranks of freedom-fighters led by the spirit of Stepan Bandera toward its rightful destiny in the world. We know that Ukraine's and Stepan Bandera's hour of victory is near!

*(Translated from Ukrainian by  
Zena Matla-Rychtycka)*

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

# Creation of Ukrainian Spiritual Republic

Maintaining that existing states and governments have not succeeded in providing for the spiritual livelihood of their citizens, four Ukrainian human rights activists announced the creation of a Ukrainian spiritual republic or holy Ukraine, which, they hope, will better serve the needs of the Ukrainian people around the world.

Oles Berdnyk, a Ukrainian writer, futurologist and member of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, was the promoter of this concept. The latest document on the creation of a spiritual republic to come from Ukraine was titled "Epistle" (Poslania) and it was addressed to the government of the Ukrainian SSR, member-states of the United Nations and all nations on earth.

Dated April 30, 1978, the letter was signed by Berdnyk, Vasyl Striltsiv, Petro Sichko and Vasyl Sichko. The latter three are also members of the Ukrainian Helsinki group. The four dissidents consider themselves to be members of the council of the Ukrainian spiritual republic.

Berdnyk and his colleagues wrote:

"We, Ukrainian enthusiasts of spiritual quests, are convinced that the time is right in Ukraine and in other fraternal nations to assume a new level of existence. This desire has brought us together into a fraternal union of intellectual peers, which we call holy Ukraine," they wrote.

The Ukrainian spiritual republic, the activists continued, "is the first of its kind in the world." According to them, it will have "no borders, no armies, no legal procedures, no repressive apparatus, no administration, and it will guide citizens of holy Ukraine into eternal creativity, thought, beauty, love and happiness."

Three reasons are given by the four members of the spiritual republic's council for their actions.

First, they said that while mankind has entered the space age, it has not managed to become united, or as they wrote: "Do the people of Earth have a single representation to its galactic neighbours?"

Second, nuclear and non-nuclear weapons have limited mankind's growth, wrote Berdnyk and his colleagues.

Third, they wrote that mankind has become prisoner of the greatest prison — laws. They argued that laws are only used to help those in power and the criminals.

"That is why it has become necessary to create new, yet untested organs to unite Earth, its nations into a united, spiritual foundation. One of these organs (and the most important) will be the spiritual republics, and after that their all-planetary fraternity, and finally — a celestial union of civilization," they wrote.

They believe that their thoughts are not utopic or "fantastic ravings".

"That is the will of the national spirit, which refuses to continue to turn the slave wheel of futile efforts of dictators of one kind or another, or apologists of imperialism or chauvinism," they said.

The four right advocates expect that their plan will be met with stiff opposition and that replies, such as the Soviet Ukrainian government's sentencing of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhy, will not be uncommon.

Berdnyk and his colleagues warned, however, that if their idea is not acted upon, the only alternative facing mankind will be death.

In appealing to other nations of the Soviet Union "to create spiritual republics in order to search for new forms of creative life", the four wrote: "The Ukrainian spiritual republic extends its hand of friendship and opens its heart of love to all people on Earth — let us create the long-prophesized wreath of brother-hood. And

the mother of mankind — St. Sophia — will bless this day of happiness."

Berdnyk first made public his concept of a spiritual republic in an essay he wrote in Ukraine in 1977 titled "The Book on the Existence of Holy Ukraine" ("Knyha Butia Sviatoyi Ukrayiny"). The Ukrainian and Russian-language work bore the inscription "Alternative Evolution Initiative Council" ("Initsiatyvna Rada Alternatyvnoji Evolutsiyi") in Ukrainian, Russian and English.

In it Berdnyk wrote: "The extraordinary state of affairs on the plane demands a new understanding, new relations between people and nations, between thinking beings and the flora and fauna on Earth, and also a new law."

Berdnyk argued the importance of the nation in the creative life of the person.

"The most important creative sphere, in which the human spirit is expressed, is national life. That is why we place paramount importance on the search for new forms of existence, in which the national spirit could be expressed," he wrote. "Concern over the fate of the Earth, the fate of our native nation, and also the fates of the fraternal nations on the planet, suggested to us, Ukrainian enthusiasts, an alternative solution to the nationalities question. The idea of spiritual nations, or spiritual republics, which would take the place of the existing political-economic governments, appeared to us."

The Ukrainian writer explained that his idea of a Ukrainian spiritual republic, or

holy Ukraine, would be a "free brotherhood of all Ukrainians around the world, who are united by a single language, history, heritage and traditions, culture, national fate, national expectations and accomplishments."

By placing such a great deal of importance on the nation, Berdnyk wrote that it is the nation "that carries in itself the eternal sense of life." He said that the person is inseparable from the nation.

"A person beyond a nation does not exist. Language, human outlook, traditions, culture, feelings, the prospects for spiritual development, heritage, strength, spiritual tests — all of these are given to the person by the nation, the people, the clan," he wrote.

Berdnyk said that everything on the face of the Earth is temporary, except nations. He said that the "only thing worth saving is the feeling of your uniqueness, unity, unduplicability, for this is the creative spirit of evolution."

"A nation, which loses its sense of uniqueness and unduplicability turns into cosmic ashes and deletes itself from the commandments of existence. A person, who spiritually separates itself from its native nation, eliminates itself from the bosom of its nation and disappears in the darkness of non-existence," wrote Berdnyk.

For those reasons, Berdnyk said, the idea of the merging of nations is "criminal, anti-evolutionary, and should be banned once and for all."

#### REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE

the protest writings of

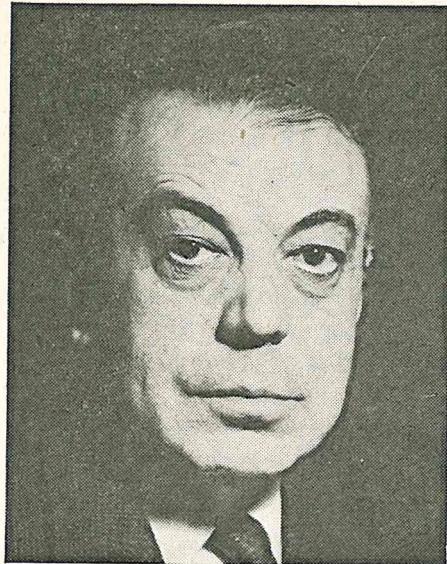
VALENTYN MOROZ

edited and translated  
by John Kolasky

Peter Martin Associates Limited

35 Britain Street

Toronto, Canada M5A 1R7



## Great Champion of ABN Ideas

perialism and communism, always uncompromising and steadfast, guarded and guards his nation before the enduring danger of Russian imperialism vis à vis his motherland Bulgaria.

In Bulgaria he is a reknown fighter for national rights, a fearless fighter against the imposed Russian bayoneted communist system in Bulgaria.

His father was a national-liberal politician, and his mother creator of the Bulgarian national flag. Dr. D. D. Walcheff studied law at the German Universities in Berlin, Greifswald and Heidelberg. Already in his youth he was politically active: at first in the framework of the National Liberal Party in which he served as the state secretary in the Ministries of Industry, Trade and Labour. Then, after the dissolution of the party in 1934 in Bulgaria, he became an active member of the Bulgarian National Legion. As an outstanding publisher he set a wide area of activity in motion. In 1944 he left Bulgaria before its invasion by the Soviet Russian army. For his anti-Soviet and anti-communist activities he was sentenced to death three times by "the national court".

In the West he belongs to the co-founders of the political Bulgarian organization "Bulgarian National Front". Spiritually and ideologically he became the publisher and chief editor of its organ newspaper "National Bulgaria". This organ became the flag-bearer of ideas in Bulgaria's struggle for freedom and of the

On May 10th the patriotic Bulgarian community marks the 80th birthday of Dr. D. Walcheff: noted national statesman, nationalistic ideologist, publisher, uncompromising politician and fighter for Bulgaria's independence. Simultaneously, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations honours one of its most noted co-founders in the Western World, unremitting Bulgarian representative in ABN's Central Committee, chief editor of the German edition of ABN's semi-official newspaper *ABN Correspondence*, author of many essays and articles for ABN, outstanding speaker and promoter of ABN's ideas, talented politician and participant in many diplomatic meetings with politicians and statesmen of the Free World and member of the European Freedom Council Executive.

Dr. Dymitr Walcheff — ardent Bulgarian patriot, highly idealistic Bulgarian nationalist, defender of the concept of nation in all facets of world politics, co-fighter of the universal struggle of subjugated nations against Soviet Russian im-

concept of ABN amid the Bulgarian emigration. Consequently, there resulted a wide-spread success in Bulgaria.

Dmytro Walcheff defends the Bulgarian cause in many essays, articles and speeches at international forums, always linking his work with the united front of nations subjugated by the Soviet Union. Based on the concept of ABN, Dr. Walcheff constantly interceded in humanitarian aspects for the well-being of many of his Bulgarian "brothers".

Our honoured member was always aware of his main objective, of the hierarchy of values and assignments. He belonged and belongs to the closest and most trustful co-workers of the President of the Central ABN Committee, Yaroslav Stetsko. He belongs to the most outstanding leaders of ABN, who never staggered and fearlessly defends ABN's ideas.

In honour of his 80th birthday, the co-fighters from ABN warmly welcome him.

To Bulgaria's faithful son!

#### Dr. BOBELIS ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF LITHUANIAN SUPREME COUNCIL

Dr. C. K. Bobelis, President  
5025 Central Ave.  
St. Petersburg, Florida 33710

Dear Dr. Bobelis:

We are very glad that you have been elected as Chairman of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Lithuania. This is very important for all the subjugated nations by the Russian imperialists in the Soviet Union and satellite countries. This will strengthen the common front against Russian invaders.

The present international situation needs great political leaders and statesmen. We stand before the decisive events for our native countries. The Ukrainian Revolutionary Movement and ABN are especial-

ly glad that you took the center position of the liberation movement of Lithuania because of your understanding of the necessity of the common front of the subjugated nations.

We wish you the most success in the fight of the Lithuanian people under your leadership for the national independence and freedom of Lithuania. Long live a free and independent Lithuania! Long live the independence and freedom of subjugated nations!

With best greetings, I remain,  
Sincerely yours,

Yaroslav Stetsko  
Former Prime Minister of Ukraine and  
President of ABN

#### GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

by

Prof. Vasyl Pliushch

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

# The Lithuanian Resistance

(Continuation)

## Unification of the Resistance, 1946—47

During the second Soviet Russian invasion, the Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania in the homeland fell apart; within six months many of its leaders were either killed or arrested.

Several political organs were formed to give direction to the underground. In the spring of 1945 there appeared a Lithuanian Council of Liberation (Lietuvos Islaisvinimo Taryba or LIT) which tried to inform the nation about international developments and to give guidelines to the underground and populace. It tried to help fugitives re-enter "legal life" under assumed guises. Unfortunately, the LIT operated only until May, 1945. When the NKVD discovered its operations and rounded up the key personnel, the survivors fled to Vilnius and tried to set up a new center, the Committee of Unity (Vienybes Komitetas). This Committee of Unity was liquidated when the NKVD rounded up 16 leaders.

Actually, the centralization was never really completed, because leaders and liaison men were continually being arrested or killed. Contacts had to be renewed frequently.

Each district (apygarda) adapted to local conditions. For the most part, the districts were modeled on the structure of the Lithuanian army or of the Riflemen's Association.

The best known partisan organization was that of Tauras District. The leader's staff had two sections — a military staff and a political section (for propaganda, information, press). The military staff had four units: combat, mobilization, intelligence and supply. The district was divided

into four formations, with a doctor and a chaplain. The formation was divided into three or four companies (kuopos), with three or four platoons (buriai). The platoon consisted of three squads (skyriai) and had from eight to ten fighting men. Therefore, the Tauras District consisted of between 1,080 and 1,920 fighters. As the underground became more centralized, small groups armed with weapons and dressed in uniforms with pre-war Lithuanian Army insignias, being acquainted with the local terrain, solved problems of supply and permitted local initiative. In the words of the Soviets: "they worked in the *kolkhozes* by day, and went out at night as bandits."

In 1946—47, the unified partisan command was concerned with the obstruction of the so-called elections to the Supreme Soviet. The first election in Lithuania occurred in February, 1946. Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were to be elected. On this occasion, the strategy of the partisans was to destroy communication lines, to fire on Soviet Russian armed posts in election districts and thus tire out the NKVD groups that were to collect votes, as well as keep them in one place, and to liquidate all Communist officials and to provide suitable excuses for the populace not to appear at the polling places (i.e., the danger from attacking partisans). The result of this election was that only about twenty-eight percent of those eligible actually cast their votes. The remaining votes were cast by the election officials themselves. The official announcement, however, was that over ninety-six percent had voted.

Having learned their lesson from the disaster of the first election, the Soviet Russian authorities did not dare hold elec-

tions to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet until February 9, 1947. Far more careful preparations were made on this occasion. (Until 1947 the formal legislative duties were performed by a Supreme Soviet elected in 1940; thus the election was long overdue.) The election is a good illustration of the ineffectiveness of the local Soviet Russian authorities and of the role of the Lithuanian underground. A formal report on the election, drawn up by the Lithuanian underground, states that besides the 50,000 MVD troops and detachments of the Red army stationed in the county just before the election, approximately 60,000 additional regular army troops were brought in. From twenty-five to fifty armed Soviet troops were stationed in each of the 2,277 electoral districts. Furthermore, in county and district centers reserve motorized troops were ready to provide additional support. (The additional troops were brought into Lithuania from Poland, where they had performed similar duties and had engaged in fierce fighting with the Polish resistance forces.) On the election day the populace, at least in the rural areas, simply stayed home. Facing a total boycott of the elections, the Soviet Russian authorities sent out election committees, actually ten to fifteen armed men, to collect the votes. The armed committees in many cases simply dropped into the urns the number of votes corresponding to the number of voters on the list. Thus only about fifteen percent of the votes were cast freely, the rest being obtained either through threats and coercion or through simple stacking of the ballot boxes by the election committees.

The partisan supreme leadership, following the suggestion of the Tauras District, planned to gather the signatures of Lithuania's inhabitants to a memorandum, whereby the nation, in accordance with the provisions of the Soviet constitution, would secede from the USSR! This memorandum was to be presented by a special

courier to the United Nations, the journey to be made in an airplane seized from the Soviets. A special group in Telšiai, led by Jakstas and Juozas Jurkus, was to prepare the memorandum. This fantastic scheme leaked out to the NKVD and was nipped in the bud.

Up to 1947, the partisans obstructed the collectivization of the land and the settlement of Soviet *kolkhozniki* on vacated farms. The partisan command also directed its energies against local evils: in 1946 the distilling of moonshine was forbidden, as well as fraternization with Communist colonists. Thieves, bandits, traitors and Communist lackeys were punished. The population was advised through leaflets and cartoons how to conduct itself.

From 1944 to 1952 the Lithuanian underground press was very much alive. At various intervals twenty clandestine newspapers were published, giving proof that the Lithuanians turned to their own sources for information and guidance.

The press had two main divisions — periodical publications; and non-periodical appeals, reports and posters. The paper shortage presented the greatest difficulty. During the first several postwar years, the entire Soviet Union was utterly stripped of paper. The partisans obtained their paper mainly by raids on offices of the Soviet administration.

In 1945—46, the publication of the underground press was centralized, but this soon proved to be impractical — NKVD forays would interrupt publication for long stretches. In 1947, the press was finally decentralized and apportioned among the larger units, each unit having its own facilities and information department to disseminate publications throughout the surrounding territory. The decentralization proved especially useful, as it lessened the work of delivery and risk to the messengers, and made publication immune to NKVD raids. While an affected

unit organized itself in a new location, neighboring units would maintain press coverage for the area. Each unit published at least one issue of its periodical monthly, in a circulation of some 1,000 copies. (The circulation of appeals and posters varied widely.)

In comparison to the periodicals of the Nazi occupation, the clandestine press during the second Soviet occupation was poorly printed. Most of the newspapers were not printed on a press, but run off on mimeographing machines; others were mere carbon copies prepared on typewriters. The quality of the paper was poor; some sheets were even printed on wrapping paper. But all of the newspapers showed a tremendous fighting spirit. Characteristic of the partisan press was the March 22, 1974, editorial of *Kova*, entitled "Lithuania militans — Fighting Lithuania":

Fighting Lithuania is alive and is here where the Nemunas flows and winds, where the enslaved Lithuanians grieve, for blood flows here, for the lives of the fighters for freedom are being extinguished, like candles, for here are the graves of the giants and their descendants — Lithuania militants.

The unified resistance also maintained contacts abroad. The first contacts were made by couriers from the West. In the fall of 1945, two couriers (Daunoras and his companion) arrived in southern Lithuania and made contact with Colonel Kazimieraitis. Daunoras returned to the West shortly thereafter. When he came again in May, 1946, Colonel Kazimieraitis was dead. Daunoras then contacted the Tauras Staff. Agreeing to maintain radio ties, Daunoras returned to the West, taking with him authorization to set up a seven-men delegation abroad. The radio ties were never established. Not receiving further word from the West, the partisan leadership sent its own courier, who reached Danzig in May, 1947, and re-established contact with Daunoras. The

latter convinced him not to go any farther west, by promising to come to Lithuania in the fall. The partisan courier returned safely to his homeland on June 6. Radio contact, however, was still not established; two partisan radio operators perished while transmitting communiques to the West.

In December, 1947, the partisan leadership sent a group of couriers, headed by Daumantas, to the West via East Prussia. Two of them (Daumantas and his companion) managed to reach the free West. They carried much documentary material — the "Appeal of Enslaved Lithuania to the Free World," the Letter from Lithuania's Faithful to the Holy Father, etc.

However, ties with the West did not give the partisans what they wanted, did not fortify their belief in the West. In fact, they were gravely disappointed. By reading information received from the West, the partisans drew the following negative conclusions: "They delivered us to death at Yalta, Potsdam.... The same mistakes are being repeated. The West does not dare raise a voice in protest against the destruction of our nation; it does not even want to know that we have lost confidence in them, that we are continuing the struggle against their allies.... Long and terribly bloody is the path of the struggle before our eyes. ... We can only continue the struggle by the most ingenious methods which would give us the necessary conditions to continue this struggle until the necessary moment."

In a special report that Daumantas sent to the partisan leadership in 1949, the courier complained bitterly about the Lithuanians in the free world. In a special note to VLIK, he also complained about certain VLIK operatives through whose negligence a new courier from Lithuania was killed while trying to reach the West.

He and Jonas Deksnys — two essential couriers — had influence over the resistance. The first came from the West to

Lithuania, the second went to the West. They were not the only ones. From the West via Stockholm through Deksnys' channels, a group led by the freedom fighter Neris reached Lithuania, but while landing on the coast near Palanga, it was detected by the NKVD and wiped out. In 1949, Jurgis Rimvydas left Lithuania and safely reached Poland, but because of the procrastination of the VLIK operative who was to take him out of Poland, Rimvydas also perished.

One of the primary aims of the resistance was to weaken the fighting capacity of the NKVD, and to demoralize NKVD soldiers in every possible way. According to the data of the partisans, the losses of the NKVD in its war against the partisans during 1944—49 were in the vicinity of 80,000 men, most of whom were killed while attacking partisan units.

Continuous armed clashes eliminated many officers from the ranks of the freedom fighters, and by 1947 the shortage was keenly felt. In August, 1947, the armed resistance organized courses for officers; seventy-two selected freedom fighters graduated from the first partisan cadet school. The second course was to take place in 1948, but the Soviet security forces attacked the training camp and forced it to disperse.

### Soviet Counter-Insurgency

Moscow was alarmed from the start by the tenacious partisan movement. In the fall of 1944, Deputy Minister of the Interior Lieutenant, General Sergei N. Kruglov, came to Lithuania to organize cleaning-up operations.

On a dark September night in Panevezys, Kruglov called a top secret operational meeting at which were present commanders of the units of NKVD troops, and deputies of these commanders for political affairs and intelligence, as well as the chiefs of staff of territorial units of the NKVD in Lithuania. In this meeting, Kruglov

summarized the results of the fight against the so-called bandit movement in Lithuania and said that up to the present time the measures which had been employed had not proved to be realistic; that the Politburo of the Soviet Union, and Stalin and Beria themselves, were not satisfied with the results achieved in Lithuania; that it was time to change from words to sharp measures; that order must be restored in Lithuania, and that the Communist party and the administrative Soviet Russian apparatus must be re-established in Lithuania. In the name of Stalin and Beria, Kruglov gave a concrete order that the work of intelligence agents had to be intensified and activated.

Kruglov then ordered the chiefs not to spare any efforts or money in creating a network of agents, to learn the leadership of the movement, and to liquidate this base of operations. All necessary measures were to be used in order to get all the information from the partisans themselves, from their relatives, or from the people whom the partisans use for liaison purpose. He also ordered the troops to become more active in their fight against the "bandits". Anyone found under suspicious circumstances was to be brought before the NKVD. Knouts, rubber-covered steel truncheons and bundles of ramrods were to be used to extract information. After interrogation, the friends and relatives of the known bandits were to be exiled to Siberia. Anyone fleeing arrest was to be shot on sight, and the farm or house from which he was fleeing was to be burned to the ground and its inmates turned over to the NKVD.

Former NKVD Colonel Burlitski, who later defected to the West, reported on the operations:

It was like beating the forests for wild game, except that the game was human. Day after day we formed long lines and combed the forests and the swamps, arrest-

ing, shooting, burning. If there was any doubt left about escaping from Russia, my experiences in Lithuania put an end to it. Even my well-disciplined soldiers were sickened by their jobs. Often after a particularly grim manhunt I would find them in their quarters half mad with drink; whatever was left of their human feelings was drowned in alcohol.

In 1944, to direct the sovietization of Lithuania, the Kremlin established an Organizational Bureau for Lithuania in the Central Committee, CPSU. Colonel General Mikhail Suslov was appointed head of this bureau, which exercised the supreme power in Lithuania and directed the struggle against the resistance, as well as the re-establishment of Soviet and Communist party apparatus. Suslov was well qualified for this assignment — during the second World War, he directed partisan activities against the Germans and was quite familiar with resistance tactics. This Orgburo existed until 1947, when the Soviet apparatus had been firmly re-established, after which his functions were taken over by a plenipotentiary of the Central Committee, CPSU, Vladimir V. Shcherbakov.

This Orgburo had as its principal aim the liquidation of the resistance movement; in actuality, it took over the entire political administrative and economic life of the Republic. Any orders or directives which were issued by Suslov were a "must" for the Government of Soviet Lithuania. Since the search-operations were unsuccessful, the NKVD became suspicious of the Lithuanian militiamen officials and even Komsomols. They believed that these elements were employed in purging these groups and officials.

In February, 1945, General Bartasiunas, with the approval of the Soviet government, issued a declaration to the effect that if the Lithuanian partisans were to leave their underground lairs and report to the territorial organs of the NKVD in Lithuania,

nia, with a statement that they were repenting their sins, they would receive amnesty. They were told to give up their arms and to indicate to the territorial organs of the NKVD where the headquarters of the partisans were located, where depots of arms were located, who the leaders were, etc. Some partisans who complied were dressed in partisan uniforms and used for provocations. Captured partisans were tortured by the NKVD to betray their comrades. One was cut into three parts with a power saw for remaining adamant; when another refused to speak, the NKVD cut out his tongue; others were flayed alive or buried head down in ant hills. In order to demoralize both the resistance and the populace, in 1946 the bodies of dead partisans were desecrated in public places in the towns.

Perhaps in nothing else does the ineffably vile nature of the Soviet Russian NKVD and of the Communist Party reveal itself so starkly as in their treatment of the bodies of fallen partisans.

A favorite Soviet Russian strategem devised to facilitate the discovery of the relations or friends of Lithuanian guerrillas whose mutilated bodies were exposed in some town square, was for a few leading Red activists or perhaps members of the militia to take up a point of vantage at the window of a nearby house and from there, through field-glasses, scan the facial expression of wayfarers passing by these sad relics of humanity. Should anybody betray signs of distress by shedding tears or in any other way, his or her arrest would almost certainly follow and not infrequently lead to an orgy of torture and maltreatment during an "inquisition" for the purpose of extorting the required information.

On July 10, 1947, 15,000 NKVD troops surrounded the staff of Dainava District in a forest near Punia. Eight partisans held out in the staff bunker for several hours until they were killed. Among the

dead were Azuolas, the District leader; Senis, the intelligence chief; Linas, the District adjutant. Two of the men in the bunker were only stunned by grenades and captured alive. The NKVD signed an appeal in their name addressed to the other freedom fighters to put down their arms.

The partisan leadership tried to alleviate the terror from the start. During the August 25, 1945, meeting of the Sudavian leaders, it was decided to permit partisans to make use of Bartasiunas amnesty. Men willing to seek amnesty were stricken from the roster and permitted to go. Then the ranks of the partisans were tightened up, because the remaining men were the hard core. The Soviets saw that these tactics were not breaking up the resistance, and therefore continued applying harsh methods.

In the main, brutality and terror were most widely employed by the Soviets against the partisans and their supporters. Mass deportations of supporters and possible supporters of the partisans were undertaken. It is known that during the period of 1944—50, eight mass deportations were carried out. According to the underground reports and the testimony of eyewitnesses, the dates of deportations and the number of victims are as follows:

August-September, 1945	60,000
February, 1946	40,000
Second Half of 1947	70,000
May 22, 1948	70,000
March 24—27, June, 1949	50,000
March, 1950	30,000

To these 320,000 deportees must be added 20,000 farmers executed by the NKVD between 1944 and 1946 for supporting the partisans. Soviet Russian terror did not end with deportations; entire villages that supported the underground were burned, armed men were liquidated on the spot. Provocateur partisan bands were trained and sent out to discredit the resistance movement. These bands and in-

dividuals of provocateurs tried to discover the supporters of the partisans among the populace. But the most treacherous aspect of the provocateur band activities was that they attempted to confuse the populace by plundering, stealing, and by the murder of peaceful inhabitants. While the well-organized partisans could unmask the provocateurs and spies, the populace in many instances was confused and fearful.

An armed force of such magnitude as was the Lithuanian resistance could only exist if the people provided the basic support in food, clothing and shelter. As long as private farming and isolated homesteads existed, the armed forces had plenty of food, clothing and hiding places. Contrary to Soviet contentions, almost a universal national support, transcending class and social positions, was necessary to maintain the armed struggle. The Soviet regime was well aware of this and acted accordingly. By pauperizing the Lithuanian farmer through result of state requisitions and the disorganizing effect on the land reform and subsequently instituting collectivization, the Soviet regime was able to deprive the armed partisans of their main source for subsistence.

The new offensive, prepared by Mikhail Suslov, started in February, 1946. This was a year of great importance to Communist leaders. The fourth Five Year Plan (*Petiletka*) was announced and the Lithuanian economy was to be integrated into this all-union program. Though collectivization of farms was not publicized as one of the goals of this plan, it was obvious that to participate in it effectively, the republic would need domestic peace and a measure of socialization to provide the necessary funds for the scheduled industrial investment. Suslov's was a furious frontal attack, combining the peace offensive with military action of increased cruelty and thoroughness.

By 1949, the collectivization of Lithuania destroyed the economic props of the

partisan movement. The tremendous bloodletting and disillusionment with the West further sapped the movement. During 1950—51, the entire fight against the partisans was entrusted to two NKVD units — the 2nd and 4th Special Tasks Divisions. The headquarters of the 2nd Special Tasks Division was located at Vilnius and the commander was General Vetrov; the 4th Division was located in Šiauliai and the commander was General Piashov. These forces were engaged in what can sadly be called mopping-up operations.

### The Phasing-Out of the Resistance, 1949—52

The newly-formed Movement of Lithuania's Struggle for Freedom (*Lietuvos Laisves Kovu Sajudis*) united the entire underground in 1950. The resistance continued on two planes — there was an active resistance which continued to wage guerrilla warfare, and a passive resistance which hid under the cloak of legality and waged a propaganda struggle. The partisans who had adopted the name freedom fighters (*laisves kovotojai*) functioned in nine districts (*apygardos*). By 1951, there were still three regions with two districts each.

The creation of the LLKS led to a change in tactics from open resistance to sabotage and tactics more suitable to small conspiratorial groups. Resistance took the form of infiltration and obstruction of the *kolkhozes*, *sovkhозes* and Communist administration from within. Frequently, the very offices of farm and factory chairmen and militia precinct headquarters were used by the partisans. This organized resistance continued until 1952.

Attempts were made to bolster the partisan movement by dropping specialists into Lithuania. Their task was twofold — to re-orient the resistance leadership, and to try to change its mode of operations.

Jonas Deksnys returned with Rimvydas (a former resistance courier) to Lithuania for a third time in 1949. The two men

quarrelled and separated; Rimvydas was killed in Poland shortly thereafter; Deksnys was captured by the KGB and defected to them. He helped the KGB infiltrate the underground in the West. Thanks to him, the Soviets knew about two subsequent drops.

On October 2, 1950, Daumantas-Juozas Lukša was parachuted into Prienai Forest with Sirvys-Sakalas and Benediktas Trumpys-Vytis. A second group followed on April 19, 1951, consisting of Julijonas Butenas and Jonas Kukauskas. Trumpys died in combat, and Sirvys was captured. Lukša assumed the name "Miškinis" and continued his activities. The second group searched for Lukša for several weeks after landing. They were surrounded in a bunker; Butenas committed suicide and Kukauskas was captured. He betrayed Lukša. As a result Juozas Lukša, alias Daumantas-Skrajunas-Miškinis-Skirmantas, died in October, 1951. He was the most respected and feared freedom fighter. General Kruglov personally sought out this "Miškinis." There are two versions concerning Lukša's death: first, that he was surrounded in Prienai Forest by numerous NKVD forces and, seeing that all was lost, committed suicide. The second version speaks of a rendezvous which was a trap — Lukša was trapped in a restaurant and forced to commit suicide. Lukša's death was a great blow to the partisans, but it did not destroy the movement.

In 1951, the partisans succeeded in eliminating a number of traitors and security agents. Only in 1952, when collectivization was completed, did organized resistance collapse, though individual squads continued to operate for a while. In the spring of 1953, "V" took over the remnants of the Iron Wolf. "V" and four others blew themselves up in a bunker near Vilkaviškis when they were surrounded by KGB men. In the fall of 1952, in Šaukotas Forest, the Iron Wolf unit, led by "K," was surrounded by the militia and was wiped out.

Even then, the partisans did not completely disappear, as was confirmed by the fact that on October 19, 1955, the Soviets issued an amnesty declaration over Radio Vilnius to "the men in the forest." Party Secretary Antanas Sniečkus admitted to the press that there were still "bourgeois nationalist bandits lurking in the forests." On March 22, 1956, the KGB appealed to the persons "still hiding" to avail themselves of the amnesty offer. The last resistance leader, Vanagas, evaded capture until 1956; he was seized and hanged in Kaunas. In 1957, people were arrested for engaging in partisan activities. Even as late as 1959, in Samogitia, three partisans were surrounded and shot. Armed resistance, however, had collapsed; resistance now took different forms.

The years of war against Soviet Russian forces had thinned the ranks of the freedom fighters. One detachment of partisans, for instance, had lost seventy-two men and suffered fifty-nine wounded in the course of one year. The average yearly losses in dead and wounded can be set at almost 5,500. The entire war, 1944—54, probably cost the partisans something more than 40,000 men. Most painful was the fact that the death toll took 90 percent of the cadres. The training of new cadres became impossible without outside help. According to available data, in 1944—45 the number of active armed partisans stood between 30,000 and 50,000. By 1949—50, this number had dwindled to 5,000, and by 1951—52 to 700. Furthermore, plentiful supplies of light arms and ammunition which had fallen into the hands of the partisans after World War II became exhausted. The annual losses of one partisan detachment, for instance, averaged out to fourteen machine guns and seventy-six other firearms. On this basis, the yearly

losses of the guerrillas must have reached over 500 machine guns and over 3,000 other firearms, while the entire war must have consumed a total of 4,000 machine guns and 25,000 other weapons. The only remaining sources of replenishment of arms supplies were NKVD or Soviet Russian Army munitions depots. The raids, however, on these depots were becoming more and more costly.

It was a brutal war with no quarter shown on either side. No pity was shown to Soviet Russian and Lithuanian Communist activists who were carrying out the Soviet Russian policy of oppression and genocide. From 1945 to 1952, the partisans put to death about 4,000 Communist activists, and in dashes, the guerrillas killed 100,000 MVD, NKVD and Soviet Russian Army troops. In spite of these staggering losses, the Soviets were able to draw upon limitless manpower resources. They could afford heavy losses as long as they were able to bleed the Lithuanians white.

There are two cardinal reasons for the failure of the anti-Soviet resistance. First, the leaders miscalculated partisan resources and the chances of political victory. They misinterpreted international developments and the intentions of the Western powers, and thus wrongly counted on the support of the United States and Great Britain. The first anti-Soviet Russian resistance and the anti-Nazi resistance also made the same mistakes of misunderstanding world politics and of counting on Western help. Also, without support from abroad, a long guerilla war against the total-war strategy of the Soviets became militarily impossible, especially under conditions of complete sovietization. The partisans lost after ten years of war. It is amazing that they were able to hold out so long, a tribute to their strong will, dedication and idealism.

## Inaccuracies in The Times?

A professor of history at Fairleigh Dickinson University has objected to a New York Times article titled "Grudgingly, The Baltics Have Accepted Moscow's Will", reported the ELTA Information Service of the Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania.

The article by Moscow correspondent David K. Shipler appeared in the Sunday, March 11, edition of The Times in the Week in Review section.

In a letter to the editor of the Week in Review section, Prof. Algirdas Landsbergis took issue with Mr. Shipler's assertion that in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia "the idea of separatism is dormant", his reference to the three nationalities as "minority cultures" and the correspondent's conclusion that the people of these three countries "have too much at stake in the established order to crave disruption". The professor pointed out that Mr. Shipler's article neglected to mention the existence of dissident groups such as the Lithuanian Helsinki Committee.

"Ever since the Soviet Russian Army invited itself into Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia at the beginning of World War II, many Americans have regarded the Baltic states as captive nations 'held in Soviet Russian bondage', in the words of the New York — based Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania," wrote Mr. Shipler in the beginning of his article.

"Now the three countries have been under Soviet Russian rule longer than they were independent. They have changed, if the Western image of them has not," the correspondent noted, explaining that although "linguistically and culturally they remain profoundly different from Russia, "the Baltic peoples' notions of separatism have become dormant."

In The Times article, Mr. Shipler pointed out "the danger of seeing anti-Russianism in the Baltics as a political sentiment."

He went on to say: "There is, after all, no democratic tradition in the region; during the brief period of independence (between world wars), open systems in all three states deteriorated into authoritarian government by decree. Though magnified by the political reality of Soviet Russian domination, anti-Moscow sentiment seems rooted primarily in ethnocentrism which may be manifested in a desire to preserve a minority culture — or in an ugly form of racism. A Riga man told how leaflets distributed in 1977 called for the murder of 60 Russians to mark the 60th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. The murders were not carried out, but Russians in the Latvian capital were assaulted on the holiday, he said."

The correspondent also wrote: "Baltic officials generally take the position that their republics are better off economically as part of a big country with extensive natural resources."

"Others agree that it would be unrealistic for tiny countries with a history of domination by Germans, Swedes, Danes and Russians to exist independently now," Mr. Shipler wrote.

Prof. Landsbergis expressed his disagreement with Mr. Shipler in a letter to the editor of the Week in Review. The full text of the letter follows.

"In his article on the Baltic countries (NYT Week in Review, March 11, 1979), David K. Shipler sets out to demonstrate that the Balts have grudgingly accepted Moscow's will and counsels the West to stop regarding them as 'captive nations'. Here are a few reasons why his argument is unconvincing:

"Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian nationalities, acknowledged as such even by

official Soviet Russian terminology and living in their ancestral homelands, are transformed in the article into 'ethnic minorities', as if Mr. Shipler were writing about the Bronx or Mott Street. Their striving to survive as national entities, a universal story in today's world, is chided as 'ethnocentrism'. Majority cultures under totalitarian threat in their own domains shrink to 'minority cultures'. As if this confusion in terminology were not enough, Mr. Shipler mentions the excessive influx of 'ethnic Russians' into the Baltic lands, thus suggesting the existence of a mysterious tribe of non-ethnic Russians.

Mr. Shipler is correct, of course, when he stresses the popular craving for 'stability, well-being and order' in the Baltics. What people in the world would not crave them after 'three occupations, war, partisan resistance, deportations on a mass scale and thousands of sacrifices? And yet well-articulated political sentiment, which Mr. Shipler finds absent in the Baltics, has manifested itself in many forms of active and passive resistance ever since 1940. In Lithuania today it is highly visible in the activities of the Lithuanian Helsinki Committee (since 1976), the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the Believers (established by five Lithuanian priests in November 1978), and, especially, in the thriving underground press (*The Dawn*, *Perspectives*, *The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, etc.), perhaps the most dynamic in the Soviet Union today. Not a single one of these is mentioned in Mr. Shipler's article, just as he did not deem them worthy of mention during his several years as the New York Times correspondent in the USSR.

While conveniently disregarding an entire grass-roots political-religious movement, as that in Lithuania, Mr. Shipler does find space to quote a rumor about leaflets urging, most atypically, the 'murder of Russians in Riga'. The unconfirmed leaflet ignites Mr. Shipler's indignation as an

'ugly form of racism'; 40 years of imperialist domination in the Baltic countries move him to suggest that it better be accepted as an accomplished fact. His sensitivities, it seems, are as highly selective as his reporting.

Then there is the historical argument. 'It would be unrealistic,' Mr. Shipler writes, 'for tiny countries with a history of domination by Germans, Swedes, Danes and Russians to exist independently now'. Will he follow this up with a suggestion to tiny Finland (domination by Swedes, Russians etc.) to realistically join the USSR, or tiny Israel (Romans, Turks, etc.) to face reality and to dissolve itself in to the Arab world? The samizdat press in Lithuania has discussed the same question and has opted for membership of the Baltic countries in a European economic union, as autonomous members; Mr. Shipler would simply bury them in an empire, a strange position for a professed liberal to take. All he finds in Baltic history is 'brief independence' and 'no democratic tradition'; again he chooses to overlook Lithuania's tradition of statehood dating back to the 13th century, or the proven economic, cultural and political viability of the three Baltic States during their independence period in the 20th century, which compares favorably with that of most independent states today.

Mr. Shipler speaks of 'uncorrelated attitudes' among the Baltics; if they were allowed to read his article, they would most probably return the compliment."

In another letter, this one to Walter Mattson, executive vice-president of The New York Times, Prof. Landsbergis points out certain inaccuracies in the newspaper's reports concerning the nationality question of the USSR. Following is the full text of the letter.

"When a distinguished newspaper, such as The New York Times, covers an area of major importance, as is the Soviet Union, accuracy and consistency are obviously of

the essence. May I call your attention to some regrettable exceptions, especially in the treatment of the nationality question in the USSR:

1. The terms 'Soviet' and 'Russian' are still used interchangeably in the pages of your newspaper. You will agree, I am sure, that this is inaccurate and misleading. The worst offender in this respect is the NYT sports section, but ought one not expect minimal political and geographic literacy even from the sports writers of a daily of global renown?

2. The term 'ethnic Russians' has been cropping up with increasing frequency in The New York Times. One recent example is the article 'Maverick Soviet Writer Visiting College in Kansas' (February 22, 1979, p. A1), where one reads that, 'like Stalin, the Okudzhavas were Georgians, not ethnic Russians'. This term, especially frequent in David K. Shipler's articles, is puzzling. If there are 'ethnic Russians', then 'non-ethnic' Russians must also exist. Who are they? Where do they dwell? An explanation of this term would be most appreciated.

3. Some 10 years ago, articles from the various Soviet republics published in The New York Times, listed the city and the national republic, e.g., Kyiv, Ukrainian

SRR; Riga, Latvian SSR; etc. This has been changed now to a mere mention of the city and the Soviet state: Vilnius, USSR; Tallinn, USSR. The previous listing was more informative and pointed out the multi-national character of the Soviet state; the present listing gives the impression of a monolithic state. Was there any special reason for the change? There is an unfortunate coincidence here between the campaign of denationalization in the USSR and your newspaper's decision to omit the references to the national republics. The connection is undoubtedly coincidental but, nevertheless unsavory.

4. The enclosed letter on Mr. Shipler's article speaks for itself. The New York Times has usually upheld the right of all nations to self-determination and has rejected the notion of 'second-grade' nations, races or religions not only as incompatible with your newspaper's liberal creed, but also as essentially reactionary in character. Have the views of The New York Times on this matter undergone a change, or do they remain the same?

For the past 30 years I have not only read and admired your newspaper, but have relied on it for class-room and research use. Therefore, I shall look forward to your reply with a special anticipation."

## NATION oder KLASSE

by

WOLFGANG STRAUSS

60 Years of Struggle Against the October Revolution  
A History of the Resistance Movements in the USSR

## The Bulgarian Powder-Keg

When on March 3rd last year Bulgaria celebrated the 100th anniversary of its liberation from Ottoman (Turkish) rule by Russian Tsarist troops, it could hardly be called a popular celebration. Now, a year later, there are even less reasons for celebrations: the hardships of the Bulgarians have increased as the political and economic ties with their mighty neighbour USSR have become even more onerous.

In fact, the celebration a hundred years ago was climaxed by the unseemly display of Bulgarian troops with bowed heads and bended knees before Bulgaria's liberator Tsar Alexander II. Today the Bulgarians are bending knees and bowing heads to a no less real Tsar: the present rulers of the Kremlin, and their stand-in in Bulgaria for the past two dozen years, Todor Zhikov. But to understand the Bulgaria of today, it is necessary to understand something of its turbulent history.

It would be naive to believe that Alexander II spent his efforts and troops (and volunteers of other nations including 800 Finns) for the good of the people of Bulgaria. He was as anxious as the present leaders of Moscow to obtain access to the Aegean sea. The Greater Bulgaria was to remain only such for a few months, as at the Berlin Congress in the summer of 1878, Bulgaria's territory was reduced to the present territory. Both in the first and the second world wars Bulgaria was to find itself on the losing side. As the Axis defeat was becoming evident, a communist-inspired "Fatherland Front" seized power, and the Red Army in 1944 occupied Bulgaria making sure — as elsewhere in the Balkans — of its remaining Communist. In 1946 the King was banished "forever" and Georgi Dimitrov formed his government. Bulgaria is today among

the most faithful of those satellites who hew the Moscow line and for good reasons they have been called "The Prussians of the Balkans".

There is still a residue of bitterness between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The former still recall the occupation of their territory by the Bulgarians, first with the Axis, and then, when the fortunes of war reversed, caused them to do "an Italian turn", they marched alongside the Red Army into Yugoslavia to "liberate" it. In Belgrade today they are wont to remark caustically about the Bulgarians. One recent article pointed out: "The Bulgarians have never drawn the right conclusions from history — and they cannot forget that they found themselves on the loser's side in both world wars. The centennial celebration is also viewed with suspicion by the Yugoslavs, pointing out that in Bulgaria, historical science now has become a tool of the "politicians" characterising it as "the ghosts of San Stefano."

But Bulgaria has been anxious to establish good relations with some of their other neighbours, including Rumania, Greece and Turkey. The border conflicts with Rumania's Dobruja is resolved by both accepting the borders laid down by the Axis powers in 1940. Bulgaria hopes that the political fortunes of Greece will lead to another victory by the far left, but in the meanwhile are satisfied to sabotage the Karamanlis' hopes for an all-Balkan conference, initially called together in January 1976. With Turkey, the relations are relatively good; the previous hurdle of the almost one million Turks living within Bulgaria being resolved by having 1,300 Turks emigrate weekly during 1978.

It is the other large group of national minorities which still may prove to be a

problem with international ramifications: the 200,000 Macedonians. In the 1955 census, the 200,000 Macedonians were recognized. In 1971 they had been "eliminated" or "integrated". The Macedonian problem will be kept alive. The Pirin Macedonia area in the Blagojevgrad district in an issue Belgrade is not allowing the Bulgarian government to forget.

### Economic hardships

If there was an evident lack of celebration during the anniversary of San Stefano, it is quite understandable. The shelves in the food stores were empty, coffee gone (except Vietnamese coffee which was called undrinkable). Only the "hard currency" stores still could provide some precious food items. In fact, the need for the hard currency of the west, although evident throughout the East Europeans countries, is felt especially in Bulgaria. Of Bulgaria's foreign trade only 15% is with the west, 80% with the Comecon countries and the rest with the Third World. Some currency comes in with the German and Scandinavian tourists at the Black Sea resorts (from which the ordinary Bulgarians are effectively shielded) but it isn't enough to pay for the vital food imports which only the West can provide.

Because of almost Stalinist controls of all information, little becomes known in the West about the present situation for the ordinary citizens in Bulgaria. But from time to time, some are let out, and the truth can be told. In the November issue of *Possev*, one of the oldest of the Russian Social Democratic exile publications published in Frankfurt, Pentsjo Spasov had some revealing tales to tell. He speaks of repeated cases of protests and opposition which are almost unknown in the West.

Spasov tells about the student protests of 1971 when the prices in the students cafeteria were increased by 50%, causing

a walkout which left only ten per cent of the students sitting in for examinations. This was followed by a workers' demonstration in Stara Zagora, and another similar strike and protest four months later in Svisjrov, where 90 per cent of the students at the economic institute walked out.

Bulgaria too had its Charta, although less known than its Check counterpart. The document, dated March 2, 1978, was first published in the Austrian publication *Presse*. It differs from the Check Charta in that it does not refer to the Helsinki agreement but emphasizes that the rights asked for are not rights because they appear written on an international document, but "because they are something natural, which belongs to people as self-evident human rights, just because they are human beings."

### What about the Future?

The author of the article in *Possev*, and other Bulgarian intellectuals in exile, believe that the time is fast approaching when an explosion will take place within Bulgaria. Fast, that is, according to Bulgarians own time schedule.

"The people of the free world ought not to forget the Bulgarian people which in 200 years of its history was ruled by Byzantine and after that 500 years of Turkish rule, but which in all that time never lost its national identity: a characteristic of which is an ability to be patient and hide the anger deep within their hearts. But therein lies the danger. For if patience is their peculiar form of self-defence then the strength of the explosion will be determined by the length of the patience, and then what happened in Hungary and Czechoslovakia will be nothing compared to what can happen in Bulgaria. An explosion, according to those who know the Bulgarian character well, should be expected within three to five years."

## Why the Soviet Union will not invade China

There seems to be much speculation in the United States as to when the Kremlin will give orders to its troops to cross the Chinese frontiers and "punish" China for its war against Vietnam. No such thing will take place for two reasons.

First, no Soviet conventional force can defeat China. The Chinese troops are too numerous, too stubborn, and too well-motivated to be destroyed by Soviet conventional armed forces.

In spite of the higher mobility and heavier firepower of the Soviet troops, no decisive victory could conceivably crown the military efforts of the USSR in the vast expanses of China. The deeper the Soviet penetration, the more dangerous will the supply become for the invading armies.

The historical lessons of the past, in this case, Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812, Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union in 1941, and not the least important, the Japanese war against China in the 1930s and 1940s, are too familiar to be missed even by today's dullwitted Muscovite political leadership.

A long conventional war with China is not in the interests of the USSR. Again, the past must haunt the Kremlin oligarchy. It is precisely Russia's wars with Japan in 1904—1905 and with the Central Powers in 1914—1917 that led to the Russian revolution.

Andrei Amalrik may still be right when he said: "The Soviet Union may not survive until 1984. The non-Russian nationalities and perhaps even the Russians may rise against the regime."

And what about the satellite countries in East Central Europe? Would they remain loyal to Moscow? And all these risks for the sake of Vietnam? Lenin would never forgive such folly.

Secondly, it seems elementary that no nuclear war will be started by the Kremlin in defense of Vietnam or, for that matter, in defense of any "friendly" country. It is just not worth it. Vietnam may sink into oblivion and still the "new tsars" (to use the Chinese "sayings" about the Soviet rulers) may end up trying to dominate the world.

The risk of dropping nuclear missiles and bombs on China are too great; the Chinese have them also and they will retaliate. According to the International Institute Strategic Studies "Military Balance 1978—79", China has from 30 to 40 IRBM missiles and the same number of MRBN missiles, not counting many nuclear bombs; this is a force quite sufficient to cripple the Soviet state.

What then is to be done by the Kremlin policy makers to help the Vietnamese? Admittedly, not much. First, they will continue the war of verbiage. Such a course of action may frighten some flagging souls in the West, but what conceivable effect may it have on the stern statesmen of the Middle Kingdom? The Chinese leadership (next to the Israeli, the most astute in the world) could not care less. Second the Russians will send weapons and other supplies to Vietnam, but will this really help?

It seems clear that the Vietnamese and their mentors were caught with their dialectics down and now have to pay an upward price. Mao Tse-tung said once: "We desire peace. However, if imperialism insists on fighting a war, we will have no alternative but to take the firm resolution to fight to the finish before going ahead with our construction." These words were spoken a long time ago and "imperialism" did not mean Vietnam; but the words are still applicable today.

## Soviet Union Unity Threatened

Stanley Karnow wrote in the February 20 edition of *The Gloucester Country Times* that because non-Russians will outnumber Russians in the Soviet Union, Moscow will be faced with considerable problems in the future.

"The implications of this phenomenon are enormous. For despite their theoretical autonomy in so-called 'socialist republics,' these disparate nationalities have long resisted Russian rule. Thus, it seems to me, the Kremlin leaders will be increasingly confronted by centrifugal forces challenging their attempts to control their vast land mass. They can look forward not only to local dissidence within the Soviet Union but also in Eastern Europe, which has chronically agitated against Moscow's grip."

Mr. Karnow explained that all of these factors will not immediately cause the break-up of the Soviet Union, but, he wrote, "the nationalities problem, along with economic shortcomings," will be of more concern to the Kremlin than its relations with the United States. He said that the fears that the Soviet Union will achieve world superiority are unfounded because its "domestic situation is bound to limit its ambitions."

Mr. Karnow wrote that during his tour of the Soviet Union a few years ago he was astonished to see so much overt dissatisfaction with the Soviet rule. He said that in Kazakhstan, Lithuania and Ukraine, to name a few places, people were protesting Soviet policies.

"Dissidence has long been rife in the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which were swallowed up by the Soviet Union after World War II. The Lithuanian Catholic Church is especially vital as a source of protest, and its underground publications are among the most famous of their kind in the Soviet Union. Ukraine, with a population of some 50

million, has always resisted Russian domination even though its people like the Russians, are Slavs. Ukrainian intellectuals have been in the forefront of the drive to monitor Moscow's violations of its human rights commitments made at Helsinki in 1975, and the Kremlin has reacted against them harshly."

Mr. Karnow said that the dissatisfaction has both prompted demonstrations against the government and its reprisals against "some regional leaders who display too much indulgence toward nationalities." He explained that local leaders have been ordered by Leonid Brezhnev to obey Moscow. Local officials are solely responsible for the "implementation of the party's directives."

The columnist wrote that only a handful of ethnic representatives are included in the Politburo and none in the Communist Party Secretariat. For the most part, said Mr. Karnow, the Soviet Union "is managed by Russians."

"In many ways, the Russian Communist leaders are merely carrying on where the czars left off. The czars strove to bring the diverse nationalities under their yoke, but the Communists did the job more efficiently. By 1922, using brutal force, they had subjugated Ukrainians, Tatars, Georgians and others, incorporating them into the new Soviet state."

There were some attempts at offering the nationalities concessions, admitted Mr. Karnow, but they, "like much else in the Soviet constitution, were simply window dressing. Stalin's labor camps were crowded with nationalities who sought to take advantage of their 'rights'."

The 1970 census gave the Soviet Union's population at 242.7 million, but since then, "nearly every nationality has been outbreeding the Russians by a ratio of four to one, and the forthcoming census will reduce them to a minority."

"The biggest threat to Soviet cohesion comes from the Moslems, whose birthrate is so high that it is estimated their numbers will double by the end of the century. This could lead, among other things, to severe economic pressures as the Moslems push to take over the choice jobs now held by Russian carpet-baggers in their native areas."

Mr. Karnow reminded that the Carter administration had indicated that it may

try to encourage national pluralism in the Soviet Union, but nothing came of it.

"That notion, like so many others, has been dropped by the White House. But with or without US encouragement, pluralism is taking hold in the Soviet Union — and it suggests that the Russian leaders soon will have to grapple with a dilemma that makes America's minority problem seem tame by comparison."

## RUSSIA CONTINUES PROSECUTIONS

Prosecution of dissidents both political and religious, is continuing relentlessly in the Soviet Union, but without the impact on the West of the big dissident trials last summer.

Known events of the past week include: Widespread house searches followed by a suicide.

Commital of young men for psychiatric tests for allegedly shouting insults against the Communist party. Resumption of blatant photographing of Western correspondents covering news about dissidents.

### Trials of Christians

Two new trials of Christians are soon to open — in Tashkent and in Nakhoda in the Soviet Far East.

The one in Tashkent involves the 83-year-old head of the independent church of Seventh Day Adventists, Vladimir Shelkov. He is accused of spreading falsehoods to discredit the Soviet Russian system.

He and two others are also accused of infringing the rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious ceremonies, a crime which could mean a five-year sentence.

Meanwhile, a 19-year-old Pentecostalist, Alexandre Orlik, is to stand trial for refusing, for religious reasons, to serve in the Soviet Army.

The man who committed suicide last week was Mikhail Melnik, 38, a historian

and poet. He took poison after his home outside Kyiv was searched by police. He was a friend of members of the local Ukrainian Helsinki human rights group, and his home was one of nine searched on the same night.

### Penalty for 'insults'

On Sunday a secret tribunal in Moscow ordered two young men to undergo psychiatric tests for allegedly shouting insults against the party while travelling in a Moscow underground train.

One is Sergei Ermolayev, 19, a student, and a member of a religious study group whose leader is in jail for the crime of "parasitism".

The two went before the tribunal charged with hooliganism, and face a maximum sentence of five years. The chief witness was a retired member of the KGB who happened to be in the train.

The day before the trial the 70-year-old mother of one of the imprisoned Jewish dissident leaders, Anatoly Scharansky, held a Press conference to claim that the authorities were withholding information vital to her son's appeal.

As the correspondents departed they were filmed by four plainclothesmen, one of whom made an insulting gesture to reporters and used an obscenity to describe the Jews who had called the Press conference.

*The Daily Telegraph, March 13, 1979.*

## NEW PRISON REGULATIONS

New prison camp regulations instituted by the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) have further curtailed the rights of political prisoners.

The new regulations took effect in the spring of 1978. MVD order No. 37, dated 1977, is said to be the most restrictive set of rules and regulations for political prisoners instituted by the MVD.

On January 14, 1972, two days after the mass arrests in Ukraine, the MVD announced its first change in regulations, which at that time were thought to be severe.

The regulations are not distributed to the prisoners, only excerpts from them are read to the inmates.

One of the new regulations stipulates that the receipt of packages or visits with relatives are postponed for the number of days a prisoner is confined in the so-called internal prison (PKT) or in isolation (ShIZO).

The new regulations also allow for prisoners to be punished by transferring them from internal prisons to isolation for up to 15 days without a rest period in between the two confinements.

In the Vladimir Prison, the prisoners

are forbidden by the regulations to receive gloves, felt boots, scarves, shaggy towels and elastic socks. While formal restrictions do not exist, the prisoners also are not given warm underwear, except for T-shirts and shorts.

The new prison garb bears the prisoner's name, which is burned into the clothing with chemicals.

While the purchase of tea was limited to 50 grams, other foodstuffs have been taken off the contraband list and can now be sent to political prisoners. Among them are salted fish, vegetables, fruit, canned fish and canned meat.

In the Perm camp No. 35, the officials can conduct searches of prisoners and their working places at any time and without warning.

Prisoners are forbidden to write letters on behalf of others. Their complaints are restricted to matters concerning themselves.

Inmates cannot play musical instruments under the new regulations. The new rules also require the penal authorities to notify the next of kin within ten days of the prisoner's change of address or regime of incarceration.

## Swedish Citizen Disappears in Soviet Prison

On June 6, 1978, two men, a Swedish citizen, Laimonis Niedre and a Latvian, Zanis Skudra, were arrested in Tallin, the capital of Estonia and accused of "spying and defamation of the Soviet State". What had they done? They had, apparently, previously photographed decaying former homesteads and ruins of Latvian churches. Some of the pictures were used by the Latvian National Foundation (LNF) in Sweden in their published materials.

Niedre and Skudra received 10 and 12

years respectively in strict regime camps at hard labour. A more serious charge of high treason was brought against Skudra. Niedre is a diabetic, allergic to milk products, and has had one lung removed. A Latvian dissident, Gunars Rode, who survived 15 years in Soviet Russian labour camps predicts that Niedre's health will not permit him to live longer than two years under the harsh conditions of the camp. Zanis Skudra is a father of three children and the high cost of living in

Soviet Russian ruled Latvia dictate that both parents must work to provide daily necessities for their family.

According to information received by the LNF, the trial was intended as an intimidation for tourists who may seek personal contacts in the Baltic States, especially during the Olympic Games next year in Moscow and Tallin.

Several groups, including Amnesty International, are actively trying to obtain the release of these imprisoned men.

#### **Background Information:**

On June 6, 1978, L. Niedre arrived from Sweden as a tourist in Tallin, Estonia, and was immediately arrested and detained by the KGB. This was done secretly without advising the organizing tourist agency or other members of the tourist group. Four days later when the group returned to Sweden, Niedre was not among them. His luggage and passport had been removed from the hotel earlier. Inconsistent replies concerning his whereabouts were received following immediate inquiries by the tourist agency and the Swedish Ministry of External Affairs. According to the agreement between Sweden and the Soviet Union, the information should have been provided within three days of the arrest. The arrest was not legal under the Criminal Code of Latvia because it took place in Estonia. It seems that for this reason the Soviet Russian authorities announced much later that Niedre had travelled to Riga to see his mother and the arrest had taken place there on June 23, a blatant falsehood.

The first news about the arrest was published on July 4 by the American Press which obtained it from BBC. An extensive news coverage of these events during July and later during the trial in October, was given by the Swedish press.

The Swedish Consul in Leningrad visited Niedre on three occasions and provided him with clothing and medicine. The

Consul was informed that charges against Niedre were based on the Criminal Code, paragraph 60, which among other matters, also covers spying by foreign citizens. The Consul was not permitted to reveal this to Niedre. Niedre himself had not been informed of the nature of the charges and appeared bewildered and depressed.

Niedre was an avid photographer and had taken numerous pictures during his previous visits to Latvia. Later these pictures were shown to the general public outside the USSR and used in some LNF publications. It is believed that Niedre was accused of slandering the Soviet Russian State because part of the photographic collection was considered uncomplimentary to the Soviets by the Communist regime. Probably some photographs were also supplied by Zanis Skudra. The pictures among other scenes show dilapidated buildings and ruined and converted churches. Moreover, a number of them were from regions designated "off limits" to foreign tourists. The only permitted areas to tourists in Latvia are the capital city, Riga, and a narrow strip of land along the seacoast near it. It appears that the Soviet Russian government considers trespassing on other territory as spying.

The trial started on October 24. It was closed to Swedish authorities and the foreign press. The verdict was expected October 30 but it was delayed by four days because Niedre refused to admit his guilt. The Swedish Consul was permitted to be present at the announcement of the verdict. Only at this time did it become known that another accused, namely Skudra, was involved. Skudra also had been arrested on June 6. Niedre was sentenced to 10 years for spying and slander of the Soviet Russian State and Skudra to 12 years for high treason, both at hard labour in a strict regime camp.

The official Soviet Latvian newspaper "Cina" published an extensive news article

that told very little about the trial itself but elaborated on the mean dispositions of the accused. Skudra was labelled a lazy scandal monger, Niedre as a calculating businessman, and the Latvian National Foundation was accused of interfering in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union and trying to overthrow the government.

In an attempt to intercede on Niedre's behalf, the Swedish authorities repeatedly requested the Soviet government to supply them with the transcript of the trial. A month and a half later no answer had been received. The only information available on the trial was the above mentioned news article in "Cina". At the end of November it was officially stated that Niedre was no longer in Riga. Inquiries to his whereabouts had not been answered. After repeated te-

lephone calls to the editor of "Cina" by a Swedish newspaper, it was indicated that nobody could speak Swedish, or English or even Russian there.

There is a strong suspicion that the trial was intended as an intimidation of the tourists planning to attend the 1980 Olympic Games and to discourage them from wandering away from the directed routes and establishing contacts with local residents.

Demonstrations on behalf of Niedre and Skudra have taken place in Stockholm, Ottawa, Washington, New York and Cologne.

The news in this article can be verified by the Latvian National Foundation in Stockholm, Sweden, Västmansgatan 27.

## Osadchy's Letter Published

*National Review*, a weekly magazine published in Washington, D.C., recently published the text of a letter to the American people, the Senate and President Carter by Ukrainian political prisoner Mykhaylo Osadchy in which he details his imprisonment and exile.

The letter was printed at the request of Dr. Askold Skalsky of the department of modern languages at Hagerstown Junior College which was made in a letter to the editor of the magazine, William F. Buckley Jr.

Both letters appeared in the letters to the editor section of *National Review's* October 27, 1978 issue.

They are reprinted below:

### Dr. Skalsky's letter:

Dear Mr. Buckley:

Can you do anything at all to publicize the enclosed tragic letter? Mykhaylo Osadchy is the author of *Cataract* (published here in 1976), an account of his arrest

and imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda", that is, for speaking out against the denial of human and national rights in Ukraine. I would like to call your attention to the last sentence, a sentence that I think would strike the average American with some surprise. That is because the average American is not aware that there is such a country as Ukraine, let alone the fact that Ukrainian dissidents are perhaps the most savagely repressed in the USSR. The horror stories coming out of Ukraine in the last decade are ignored by the news media, as this story will be ignored and, no doubt, others in the future. (Lev Lukyanenko, a member of the Kyiv Helsinki group, was sentenced to 15 years of prison and exile last week, but where were the front page or even tenth page headlines?) I ask you, therefore, Mr. Buckley, to do all you can to bring Osadchy's request to the attention of "public opinion". His heart-rending letter surely serves as an example of the times we live in.

### **Text of Osadchy's letter**

To the American people, the Senate, and President Carter:

For the seventh year I am being confined in the world's most terrible concentration camp for political prisoners — recidivists. The address of the camp is Mordovia, Sosnovka, ZhKh 325/1-6, RSFSR.

I am 41 years old, Ukrainian. I am married, have two children (11 and 9); my mother is 70 years old. When I still had my freedom, I published a number of literary and artistic works. I defended my dissertation, and the All-Union recommendation committee approved my bachelor's degree in philology. Many of my literary essays were published. I worked as a senior lecturer at Lviv University and at other schools.

Without any reason, I was twice repressed, in 1965 and 1972, because of political motives. I have been a prisoner to this day.

The KGB organs have not only made

it impossible for me to pursue any literary or artistic work, but have also sentenced me to death. Because my novel, *Cataract* was published in the West, I was sentenced to seven years in a special regime camp and three years of exile in Siberia. With the goal of destroying me sooner, in 1974, the KGB, using criminals, beat up my aged mother and then me at the deportation point in Potma (January 5, 1975). On May 5, 1975, in Sumy, again using criminals, they killed my 33-year-old brother Volodymyr Hryhorovych Osadchy.

They warned me that I would be killed in exile. I have less than a year left in exile, that is, until the date of my death. I know that no society in the world can save me, a slave without rights, sentenced to incredible degradation.

I want to die a citizen of the USA, a nation which, in accordance with my deepest convictions, is a fortress of peace, justice, freedom and a friend of Ukrainians and Ukraine.

### **Letter from Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets**

A letter dated November 8, 1978 from Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets who is now in banishment was recently made available in the West.

Excerpts from the letter appear below.

"...What should I write about myself? Lviv was my cradle, I was born there, went to school there, completed my university studies there (Slavic studies), and from there the machine took me away to a foreign land. On the eve of the separation — on Christmas Day — I walked past all the churches in Lviv with the Kyiv poet, Vasyl S. (now in Kolyma). The churches are filled during the holidays, the crowd spills out onto the streets; this is a moving river, the people make way for those who are freezing outside the church.

But this is the only river, because everyone is in the spirit of the carols, the voices become stronger and tears cover the eyes. There is an unbelievable longing for the churches in the foreign lands, especially during the holidays. In Mordovia, a small community of us sat at a plain table beside a candle made of the wax which covers cheese. Sometimes we were able to obtain a branch of a fir tree — and we had a Christmas tree. From pearl-barley — 'kutia' to which we added honey, poppy seeds, nuts — anything we had saved for the holidays from the scant parcels we received. And we sang carols... And Ukraine was near us, and all our distant and close countrymen...

Memories did not abandon us for a minute, because in the closed spaciousness of the foreign lands one lives only through memories. Here it is as though it was freer, the space here is boundless, but it is so boundless, so distant, that it is insubordinate to the feet. The Bouriat steppes are difficult to describe — one must see them. Here the horses appear to be toy horses, and the village — a peculiar card in infinity. Perhaps that is why it is so foreignly foreign here. 'Ukraine' is in our room. Ihor decorated the wooden partition with various cards — Scythian mementos, portraits of Mamays, Ukrainian clothing, scenes of Lviv, and several postcards of paintings by Yaroslava Surmach. Books. A portrait of Taras. An icon of Mary embroidered by my friend, two more icons. And several of my embroideries — 'servetky' and 'rushnyky'...

The first days when I was here alone I longed for my language, for the sound of a native word. This longing I know from long ago, for me it is intolerable.

I would like to be with you, near you, as I was in my childhood with my grandfather. He is from Malinivska Volya — there is a village by that name near Malniv (there is an ancient church and a unique icon here) in Lvivshchyna (formerly Drobobychchyna), from a small settlement

where there are several white houses. It was there that I spent the summers of my childhood, because I visited my grandfather every summer. There, in that 'preserved settlement', the secrets — thanks to which I am unfolding the past — of the Ukrainian holidays, traditions and rituals were revealed to me. Because in our past, in memories, and in the Bible, there are some five centuries.

I do not regret that fate led me to such unexpected travels. I suffered in remote places like a simple city dweller such a vegetative existence, but how can one 'exist'? In my, in our, homeland the people are the same as before, only drowsier, like autumn flies, they become revived during the holidays, they emerge from somewhere, and no one is alone...

I would like this letter to reach you before St Nicholas' feast day, and for it to serve as a gift — most sincere words and wishes of health, Kozak strength and faith. May the good spirits of the homeland protect you. And may the memory of the homeland warm you in the distant foreign country, because all of us — I and my husband, our daughter (Zvenyslava), our parents, our friends and acquaintances will think of you often, will keep in touch with you thousands of kilometers away — we greet you! Your Iryna."

## Horrors of a Soviet Russian Prison Camp

*Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov has made available to Western reporters in Moscow copies of a 27-page letter he has received describing in vivid detail life and conditions in a Soviet prison camp. To avoid reprisals, Sakharov has withheld the name of the author, who is serving a long sentence in a Sosnovka "special regime" camp in the Mordovian Autonomous Republic in Central USSR.*

I have only seen the outside of our camp from the guard post.

When my gaze came upon the swing-beam barrier, the fence, the gates of the guard post, the barbed wire and the guard dog kennels, I had the impression of seeing a yawning trap, the Gates of Hell suddenly thrown open.

From the outside you can see the watchtowers at the corners of the fence, and in winter you can see smoke rising in a liquid stream from our stoves.

The inside of the camp produces a no less grim impression.

We have been living in this building for six years and for six years we have been suffering from the damp, from carbon monoxide fumes that escape through the chinks in our stoves, from wet walls and ceiling, which get drenched when it rains and in the spring from the melting snow, because there are holes in the roof.

The latrines are never cleaned or disinfected regularly. I should add that the stench is omnipresent, persistent and permanent. We bathe in foul odors and we walk on filth.

Our washstand we made ourselves out of an old cistern, which was already rusted on the inside. Water collects in it overnight and in the morning it runs out along a narrow pipe with small holes pierced in it.

In the cistern there is a layer of filth, rust, worms, dead mice...

We are forced to do dangerous work—grinding cut glass on grinding wheels and metal lathes with the use of abrasives. We are forced to do it and we enjoy no privileges at this work — we are allowed no milk and no supplementary food, though we do a full day's work.

The work is especially harmful and dangerous to our health because we lack technical protection. It took six years of complaints for them to give us anti-dust breathing masks, but there is still no ventilation to clear the air in the workshop.

There are no washing facilities in the workshop. It is heated by a stove and in winter the workshop fills up with carbon monoxide fumes...

A word about the high rate of injuries: ground glass and sliver cut fingers, work their way into the body and fly into your face. A finger touching a fastspinning lathe is immediately flayed. A prisoner with cut fingers may go for one or two weeks incapable of work.

Yet, no measures to reduce injuries are taken and no records of accidents are kept.

As for the food — it is revolting.

What do I mean, revolting?

After all, you can't please every taste. One man likes pineapples while another can't stand them and prefers roast grouse.

But this is not a question of taste. I mean that our meals are cooked with spoiled rotting food for which we pay 16 rubles (\$24) a month. From one day to the next, we chew the same old cud.

In the morning five times a week we get 55 grams (1.9 oz.) of fish (the regulations permit about 75 grams — 2.6 oz.), rotting fish, and a basin of runny gruel. For lunch we get 21 grams (0.7 oz.) of tainted lard, thin smelly soup made either of onions or decaying cabbage. In the evening we get more smelly soup and a piece of bread about the thickness of a finger.

Vegetables, which we are supposed to get on ration, we practically never get.

The whole camp suffers from intestinal and stomach pains, yet we lack regular medical care.

You know how (imprisoned dissident Yuri) Galanshov died. He died of a stomach ulcer after an operation. He had been treated for that ulcer for several years. However, an ulcer nowadays is a curable ailment and in civilized countries people do not die of ulcers or say tuberculosis.

However, 30-year-old K. died of an ulcer, 22-year-old V. died of tuberculosis and so did 40-year-old T. From not receiving medical care in time, V. died of a heart condition, aged about 40.

These are those who died in the prime of their life, but what about those in their 50s and 60s? They are dying like flies.

They should be in hospital, but the hospital does not admit them.

In the event of sudden illness, you cannot reach the doctor. Dr. Y. rarely visits the camp. Two weeks after you fall ill you can make an appointment with her for the following month.

It is no better in the hospital.

There you are kept under lock and key. The food there is no more nourishing. The doctors do not make regular rounds, but see a patient once or twice while he is in hospital. As a rule no treatment is prescribed. And you can be discharged for the slightest infraction of the regulations (no matter what your condition).

In accordance with the regulations, we are allowed to keep five books or news-

papers in the residence block. Almost every day the supervisor or camp chief checks the cells, looking for forbidden articles, searching under our mattresses and in our lockers.

Here I will close. I hope that somehow we will meet, Dr. Sakharov.

With respect,

*A Prisoner of the Sosnovka Concentration Camp.*

Lew Shan-sky

## The Teaching of "Holocaust"

### PART III

*All violent feelings... produce in us a falseness in all our impressions of external things, which I would generally characterize as the "Pathetic Fallacy".*

*John Ruskin (1819—1900)*

While discussing the problems of Jewish collaborators with the Nazis in the ghettos and in various concentration camps and facing some shocking cases of this collaboration, Simon Wiesenthal, the famous hunter of the Nazi murderers, responsible for the discovery of Adolf Eichmann in a South American hideout, exclaimed in his memoirs: "Like all races, we have had our saints and sinners, our cowards and our heroes", (*The Wiesenthal Memoirs*, ed. by Joseph Wechsberg, New York, 1967, p. 129). The same problem was discussed also by Dr. Hannah Arendt in her book: *Eichmann in Jerusalem: The Banality of Evil* (London 1963) asserted that Jewish leadership "almost without exception" collaborated with the Nazis in the deportation and in the extermination of Jewish victims of the "Holocaust". "Jewish officials and Jewish policemen,"

said Dr. Arendt, could be trusted by the Nazis to compile lists of persons and their property, to secure money from the deportees, to defray the expenses for their deportation and extermination, to supply police forces, to help seize Jews and get them on the trains." In this attitude of the Jews themselves, i.e., in the attitude of the victims, Dr. Arendt saw the dreadful efficiency of the Nazi totalitarianism.

Thus, this is not only the case of saints and sinners, or of cowards and heroes. Of course, the saints and sinners, the cowards and heroes exist in all races. The Poles, Lithuanians, and Ukrainians have also their saints and sinners, their cowards and heroes. But in the case of the Nazi totalitarian efficiency one must reckon with the possibility that heroes in normal conditions could have been turned cowards under the conditions of this dreadful efficiency. The efficient Nazi totalitarians were not only successful in shattering the will to resist among their Jewish victims, but also in driving otherwise normal people to become murderers. The dreadful totalitarian efficiency was also able to mobilize the

worst imaginable rabble on earth not only for killing the Jews, but also for the realization of other Nazi aims. To quote only one example: they had organized the so-called Dirlewanger SS Brigade which was composed of the worst criminals and perverts in the Nazi concentration camps and had been thrown into Warsaw to suppress the Warsaw uprising. The Dirlewanger SS Brigade went into battle with elan and in three days of fighting, had murdered more than 20,000 civilians, including women, children, hospital staff, priests and the wounded and sick insurgents in their sector. Dirlewanger was rewarded with the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross for his action in Warsaw.

Dr. Hannah Arendt, herself a Jewish emigre from Germany, was able to conceive the truth behind the Nazi Holocaust of the Jews, which neither the scriptor of "Holocaust", nor Titus Productions, nor the authors of the study guide issued by 15 Jewish organizations in the USA, were able to conceive. Miss Arendt was emphasizing the terrible strength of totalitarianism, not the weakness or bestiality of its victims. By bureaucratizing murder, the Nazis enabled the malleable men to commit passionless atrocities without a sense of doing wrong. Nazi totalitarianism as she diagnosed it, was an attempt to reduce masses to a single malleable material serving the Nazi purposes. Miss Arendt feared that it may be successful because in its satanic way it uses precisely all the awful sinews of the modern states from propaganda to random terror, to drive even cohesive and spirited people beyond despair to anomie. The totalitarianism has not died; it continues its dreadful efficiency in the Soviet system.

Well, if there were Polish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian collaborators with the Nazis in the killing of the Jews, the scripter, Gerald Green, the Titus Productions, the authors of the study guide do not see the

reasons for this fact in the dreadful Nazi efficiency, but in the "existence" of some unbelievable, inconceivable, incorrigible "anti-Semitism" of the entire peoples in Eastern Europe, of the Poles (30 million in 1941), Lithuanians (4 million), Ukrainians (40 million). Imagine, 74 million "anti-Semites" in Eastern Europe in 1941, which meant that the chances of the Jews for survival and resistance in this region were reduced to zero. Accordingly, the authors of the study guide published by 15 Jewish organizations in the USA advise to pose the following question to their children: "How did the anti-Semitism of non-Jewish East Europeans (Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Poles) affect the Jews' chances for survival and resistance?" Well, if 74 million anti-Semitic East Europeans did exist in reality, the Jewish chances for survival and resistance were, indeed, very bad. However, we would like to have this racist concept of "anti-Semitism" of the entire peoples in Eastern Europe interpreted more clearly. What is it? The Polish Underground at the time of the Nazi occupation of Poland founded an official institution called the Council to Save the Jews (Rada Pomocy Żydom). Is a sign of anti-Semitism? On the third day of the Warsaw Uprising, the leader of the Jewish Resistance in Warsaw, Isaac Cukierman (Antek), issued a proclamation on behalf of the Jewish Fighting Organization summoning all fighters and all able-bodied Jewish young people to join the Polish insurgents. The proclamation ended with an appeal: Join the ranks of the Insurgents! Through battle to Victory, to a free, independent, strong and just Poland! The Jews joined the rank promotions and military distinctions were distributed among them according to the Polish Army regulations and even a Jewish woman, Shoshana Kosower received the Polish Cross of Valor and the rank of second-lieutenant in the *Armia Krajowa* (Home Army) for

her bravery. And the learned authors of the study guide are fantasizing in their booklet that "when the Jews did fight with the Polish resistance they did not say they were the Jews! What's the matter? Are the Poles anti-Semites or the authors of the study guide are the Poland-hating racists?

The Lithuanian anti-Semitism? For twenty and one years in this century, there existed a free, democratic Lithuania. Did somebody ever hear of Lithuanian anti-Semitism in the Republic of Lithuania from 1918 to 1939? Were there pogroms in Lithuania or were the Jews treated as second-class citizens in the Republic? However, when the Russians invaded Lithuania in 1940 as allies of Nazi Germany, and installed a fake Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, they were greeted by the majority of the Jewish population with enthusiasm. This Jewish predilection for Bolshevism in Eastern Europe was a very strange phenomenon, but it was a factor in Eastern European politics. The first occupation of Lithuania cost the Lithuanian people some 500,000 people shot on the spot or deported to the Gulag Archipelago. For a small nation of 4 million people it meant that 12,5 percent of the people were destroyed, often being denounced to the Soviet police by the Jewish enthusiasts of the sovietization of Lithuania.

The trouble with all Jewish accusations of Ukrainians is the prejudice that the Ukrainians were somehow privileged under the Nazi regime in Ukraine. They were not! As an "inferior" Slavic people destined for destruction by the Nazi supermen, they were persecuted and they could claim the Nazi Holocaust of their own, leading

into millions of victims shot, put into death camps, or having been killed in partisan warfare. Was under such conditions any anti-Semitic activity imaginable? A fair idea of this may be gained from the official German publications of the SS and the police of District Galicia, from October 1943 to June 1944. On the basis of new German law "to combat anti-German activities", promulgated on October 2, 1943, no less than 1,541 Ukrainians were sentenced for various political offenses, economic and industrial sabotage, participation in partisan warfare, etc. Included in this list were 102 Ukrainians who were executed for helping or concealing Jews (*Judenbegünstigung*). This is a substantial number when we take into consideration the following facts: 1) Only a part of the Ukrainians who helped Jews were apprehended and executed; 2) In many instances those guilty of this "offense" were executed on the spot and do not figure in the official statistics; 3) The death sentences cover only nine months (Oct. 1943 — June 1944) and the list includes only a part of the Ukrainian territory, the so-called District Galicia, perhaps the most nationalistic of all Ukrainian districts. All these statistics with official German announcements have been deposited with the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research in New York.

So not all Ukrainians were anti-Semites and collaborated with the Nazis. One can be sorry that the children in the USA will never know this. Instead, they will learn direct Ukraine-hating from a prestigious study guide published almost by all Jewish organizations in the USA.

There are no beds in Poland because the Party is on guard, the enemy is awake, the patriots are behind bars and the workers are sleeping on roses.

## Wishes of National Independence to Bulgarian People

Dr. I. Docheff

Chairman of the Bulgarian National Front  
P.O. Box 1204, Grand Central Station  
New York, N.Y. 10017  
USA

Dear Dr. Docheff:

*It is an honor and privilege for me to send to your liberation organization the best greetings and wishes to the heroic Bulgarian nation in the struggle for national independence and freedom on the occasion of the great Bulgarian national anniversary.*

*The Bulgarian nation stands in the first front of the common Anti-Russian and Anti-Communist struggle for the disintegration of the Russian empire and the annihilation of the communist system.*

*The Bulgarian national front under your leadership has great merits in the liberation fight and common front of the subjugated nations. We hope that the*

*traditional historical friendship between Ukrainian and Bulgarian nations will grow and the great Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations will strengthen through this close co-operation.*

*Your personal courage as a young fighter in the Anti-Communist struggle in Bulgaria will serve as an example to Bulgarian youth in your homeland and in exile.*

*We are confident that the Bulgarian national front as an integral part of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in the common struggle will contribute greatly to the destruction of Russian imperialism and communism and the renewal of the national independent states of the subjugated nations.*

*With best wishes and greetings, I remain,  
Sincerely Yours,*

*Yaroslav Stetsko  
Former Prime Minister of Ukraine and  
President of ABN*

## An Appeal

### OLYMPIC GAMES IN OCCUPIED ESTONIA

Whereas the International Olympic Committee has decided that the Olympic Games in 1980 shall take place in the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics,

Whereas the USSR by arranging a part of the games, the sailing regatta, in Tallinn, that is, in the capital of another state unlawfully occupied by it, has failed to comply with the decision of the International Olympic Committee,

Whereas the aim of such devious proceedings, among others also issuing coins with the picture of Tallinn on one side the coat of arms of the USSR on the other side, is to create an appearance as if the Republic of Estonia were a part of the USSR,

Therefore the Government of the Republic of Estonia, now in exile, considers it imperative to stress:

That the Republic of Estonia is not a part to the USSR, but a separate State, now unlawfully occupied by the USSR,

That this standpoint is shared by a number of States, including the USA, who do not recognize the forceful incorporation of Estonia into the USSR,

That this standpoint of non-recognition is based on the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence which right was proclaimed by the Atlantic Charter, by the Charter of the United Nations, by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and finally made legally

binding as a treaty obligation by the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, as well as by the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Both these Covenants, ratified by the USSR, entered into force in 1976, and consequently their provisions are obligatory for the States who have ratified them. The article of these Covenants states that all peoples have the right to self-determination and that the States parties of these Covenants shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination.

That, furthermore, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, of August 1, 1975, states in its section III — Inviolability of Frontiers: "The participating States will refrain from any demand for, or act of seizure and usurpation of part or all of the territory of any participating State." And in section IV — Territorial integrity of States: "The participating States will likewise refrain from making each other's territory the object of military occupation or other direct or indirect measures of force in

contravention of international law, or the object of acquisition by means of such measures or the threat of them. No such occupation or acquisition will be recognized as legal."

Therefore the Government of the Republic of Estonia wishes to draw the attention of the International Olympic Committee, of the Member States of the United Nations and of the Secretary General of the United Nations to the above facts, and wishes to leave it to the conscience of the athletes and organisations concerned whether they should participate in the Olympic Games in the USSR, and especially in Tallinn, unless the USSR will observe the fundamental human rights. They ought to be aware that coming to Tallinn they are coming to the capital of a State occupied and oppressed by the USSR by force and violating international law in contravention of treaties entered by the USSR itself.

Copenhagen, March 26, 1979

August Koern

*Minister for Foreign Affairs in the  
Government of the Republic of Estonia*

Orest Szczudluk

## Ukraine's Independence

January 22, 1979, was designated as "Ukrainian Independence Day" in Massachusetts and in Boston respectively by Governor Edward J. King and Mayor Kevin H. White.

### National Flag at City Hall

"We congratulate you for your determination in keeping up the tradition of Ukrainian independence and for your reminding us about the value of freedom," stated Edward J. Sullivan, vice mayor of Boston, in opening the flag raising ceremony at Boston City Hall Plaza on Monday, January 22, 1979.

After singing of the Ukrainian national

anthem, Very Rev. Peter Ohirko, pastor of Christ The King Ukrainian Catholic Church, delivered the invocation. Greetings were extended by Boston City Councillors Frederick C. Langone and Albert O'Neil. Mayor White's proclamation stated in part: "the sixty-first anniversary of Ukrainian independence dramatizes the legitimate right of all people and nations to pursue freedom and national independence."

Orest Szczudluk, a vice president of the Boston Chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, spoke briefly about the present struggle for national and human rights in Ukraine.

### **Resolutions by City Council**

On January 9, 1979, Councillor Frederick C. Langone introduced and all nine councillors adopted following resolutions in the Boston City Council;

"Whereas, January 22, 1979, is observed as "Ukrainian Independence Day" in Boston, commemorating the 61st anniversary of Ukraine's independence; and

"Whereas, the Ukrainian people continue to struggle to regain their full national independence and sovereignty; and

"Whereas, the Ukrainian Americans in Boston continue to support the right of the Ukrainian people for full national independence; and

"Whereas, hundreds of Ukrainian patriots languish in Russian communist prisons as a result of their fight for the restoration of national and human rights in Ukraine;

"Therefore, be it resolved that the Boston City Council appeals to our national leaders to continue to support the right of the Ukrainian people for national independence; and to exert all the efforts possible through the United Nations and

other means to restore national and human rights in Ukraine and free Valentyn Moroz, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksiy Tykhy and hundreds of Ukrainian patriots from Soviet Russian jails; and to demand the restoration of Ukrainian Catholic, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and Ukrainian Protestant Churches in Ukraine."

### **In Congress**

In separate letters, the Boston Chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) asked Massachusetts Congressmen to make appropriate statements in Congress in regard to Ukraine's independence.

Several Massachusetts Congressmen participated in the observance: Speaker of the House of Representatives Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., John Joseph Moakley, Silvio O. Conte, Brian J. Donnelly and Robert Drinan.

Congressman John J. Moakley was asked to introduce copies of governor's and mayor's proclamation and Boston City Council's resolutions into the *Congressional Record*.

### **A Proclamation 1979**

WHEREAS: January 22, 1979, marks the 61st anniversary of the proclamation of free Ukrainian National Republic as the sovereign State of the Ukrainian people; and

WHEREAS: The Ukrainian people have not accepted the status of Soviet Russian enslavement and are continuing to struggle to regain their national sovereignty and independence; and

WHEREAS: Ukrainian Americans in Massachusetts support the Ukrainian people in their struggle for full national self-determination; and

WHEREAS: Ukrainian Americans in Massachusetts appeal to our President and Congress to take affirmative action at international forums for the implementation

of national and human rights in captive Ukraine and all captive nations in Eastern Europe;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, EDWARD J. KING, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, do hereby proclaim January 22, 1979, as  
**UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY** and urge all citizens of the Commonwealth to take appropriate cognizance of the event and to participate fittingly in its observance.

Given at the Executive Chamber in Boston, this sixteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and seventy-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the two hundred and third.

## Declaration

WHEREAS: The Ukrainian people in Boston and the world over will mark the sixty-first anniversary of the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic on January 22, 1979; and

WHEREAS: This sixty-first anniversary of Ukrainian independence is a fitting opportunity to direct public attention to the continuous violations of Ukrainian rights by the government in Moscow; and

WHEREAS: This sixty-first anniversary of Ukrainian independence dramatizes the

legitimate right of all people and nations to pursue freedom and national independence:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Kevin H. White, Mayor of the City of Boston, do hereby proclaim Monday, January 22, 1979

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY and direct that the Ukrainian National Flag be raised at City Hall Plaza on January 22, 1979, to commemorate this special occasion.

# *From Behind the Iron Curtain*

### CULTURAL GENOCIDE CONTINUES IN LITHUANIA

"Since the very first days of the Soviet Russian occupation, books in Lithuanian and other languages whose contents and... ideas hamper the occupying power and its local collaborators in the realization of their pernicious plans in Lithuania — to break down Lithuanians morally and then to denationalize them completely — are torn and sliced to shreds, burned, and otherwise destroyed."

"The persecution and physical annihilation of the Lithuanian word continues today. That printed word is not always a

'transgressor' against the occupying power. It may pass the filters of threefold censorship (the author's, the editor's and the censor's). And yet it may be destroyed even after that process — by special order, if the author trespasses against the government in some way at a later date, or if he is generally disliked. This is what happened to the writer and poet *Tomas Venclova*, the courageous defender of human rights in Lithuania, who was forced by KGB persecution to emigrate to the US.

### KGB CAUSE FREEDOM FIGHTER'S SUICIDE

A Ukrainian dissident committed suicide after KGB security police raided his home during a night of searches carried out around Kyiv, Leningrad and Moscow.

Historian and poet Mikhail Melnik drank poison after the KGB searched his home in a village outside Kyiv. The homes of 13 other persons were also searched, some of the raids lasting all night.

Melnik was a member of "Helsinki", a dissident group that has been the focus of a broad official crackdown.

Eight of the raids carried out in Ukraine were believed by the dissidents to be connected with the prosecution of Oles Berdnyk, a founder of the local Helsinki group. Three raids in Moscow and two in Leningrad appeared to be linked to police action against a Leningrad chemistry teacher who had been collecting documents detailing the history of the dissident movement.

The KGB officers said their search warrants were issued in connection with the

continuing investigation into the activities of Helsinki, a group that monitors Soviet Russian compliance with human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki accords.

Since that crackdown began in January

1977, the most active and visible members — including founder Yuri Orlov and dissidents Anatoly Shcharansky and Alexander Ginsburg — have been jailed or forced to emigrate.

## New Arrests, Trials and Executions

### **BIG UKRAINE**

*Vasyl Striltsiv*, member of the Kyiv-based Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, was sentenced at the end of 1978 to three months imprisonment for participating in a strike. He had already spent ten years in prison (1944—1954) for his political convictions. Striltsiv was born in 1929. After he completed his ten-year prison term, he worked as a teacher of the English language in the city of Dolyna, Ivano-Frankivska oblast. In 1977 he renounced his Soviet citizenship and expressed a desire to emigrate to England with his family.

*Yosyp Zisels* was arrested at the end of December, 1978, in the city of Chernivtsi. Born in 1946, he is a physicist and engineer for a television studio in Chernivtsi. He was an organizer of moral and material support for persons placed in Soviet psychiatric prisons for their convictions. During the search which preceded his arrest, the KGB confiscated from Zisels a file on dissidents who are in psychiatric prisons.

*Vasyl Ovsiyenko* was sentenced on February 8, 1979, in the city of Radomyshl, Zhytomyrska oblast, to three years imprisonment, on the accusation of resistance to police. Born in 1949, he is a graduate of Kyiv University, and has worked as a teacher of Ukrainian language and literature. He was first arrested on March 5, 1973, and sentenced to four years imprisonment for his acquaintance with

members of the Ukrainian human rights movements. He served his term in a concentration camp in Mordovia, and was released on March 5, 1977.

*Mykhaylo Melnyk*, historian, married father of two children, active in the Ukrainian human rights movement. Found dead in his home near Kyiv on March 6, 1979. Dissident sources termed his death suspicious.

## Crimean Tatars

*Mustafa Dzhemilev*, a fighter for recognition of national equality for the Tatar nation, and for the right of deported Tatars to return to Crimea, was arrested on February 7, 1979, in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. Born in 1943, he spent eight years in prison between 1966 and 1977. He was freed in November 1977. During the time of his imprisonment, he participated in a ten-month hunger strike.

## Armenia

On the basis of allegations that they had organized a bombing in the Moscow subway, three Armenians were sentenced to death on January 26, 1979. They were executed immediately after the trial:

*Stepan Sadikyan*, born in 1947, was an active member of the Armenian resistance movement and spent five years (1967—1972) in prison for his activities. At the time of the bombing in the Moscow subway, he was not even present in Moscow. Executed along with him were *Saven Bagdazaryan* and *Akop Stepanyan*.

*Robert Nazaryan*, member of the Armenian "Helsinki" group, was sentenced on December 2, 1978, to five years imprisonment and two years exile. Born in 1946, his parents repatriated from Romania in 1946. A graduate of the Faculty of Physics at Yerevan University, Nazaryan worked at the Byurakan Observatory, and at the time of arrest he was a group director at the Armenian State Project Institute. On April 1. 1977, Nazaryan, along with *Samvel Osyan* and *Eduard Aruyunyan* formed the Armenian Group for the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. He was arrested in December, 1977.



## GEORGIA

*Avtandil Imnadze*, Georgian film producer, was arrested in April, 1978, after he had publicly demanded that the Georgian language be recognized in the new Georgian Constitution as the official language of the Republic. He was sentenced in December, 1978 to five years imprisonment and four years exile for preparing and distributing Georgian samizdat materials.



## BOHEMIA

*Yaroslav Shabata*, one of three official representatives of the Czechoslovakian movement for the defense of human rights "Charter-77", was sentenced in Trutinov in January, 1979 to nine months of strict-regime imprisonment. He is 52-years old, and was a professor of psychology at the University of Brno. On October 1, 1978 he was assaulted by state security agents on his way to a meeting with Polish dissidents. After this he was arrested and charged with insulting a state security

agent. Shabata has previously been imprisoned for his human rights activities. He is seriously ill, after suffering a heart attack in prison.

*Jiří Chmel*, a 24-year-old geophysicist, was sentenced in October, 1978, to eighteen months imprisonment for allowing several people to sign "Charter-77" in his apartment.

*František Hrabal* and *Jiří Volf*, both aged 26, were sentenced on October, 26, 1978, to three years imprisonment, for disseminating "Charter-77" documents and other "anti-party and anti-social texts".

*Petr Cibulka*, a 28-year-old worker, *Libor Chloupek*, a 23-year-old librarian, and *Petr Pospichal*, a nineteen-year-old printer's apprentice, were sentenced to two years, twenty months, and eleven months imprisonment respectively, for organizing private performances of musical and other non-conformist groups and of duplicating and disseminating typewritten and tape recorded samizdat writings.



## LATVIA

*Leymonis Niyedres*, a Swedish citizen of Latvian heritage, was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment. He was accused of ties with the "Latvian National Front", which, with the help of the Peoples Republic of China, was alleged to be organizing the desertion of soldiers from the pre-Baltic republics.



## POLAND

*Henryk Yagello*, a lieutenant in the Polish Navy, was sentenced on November 30, 1978 to one year imprisonment for distributing the Polish samizdat magazines "Opinia" and "Bratnyak" (The Hostel), which is put out by the Students' Committee for Solidarity.



Valentyn Moroz in the US, shortly after his release from Soviet Russian concentration camps, appeals to the West for the release of Ukrainian and other political prisoners in the USSR. ABN calls for mass actions to free political and religious prisoners of the subjugated nations in the USSR and in the satellite states.

# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

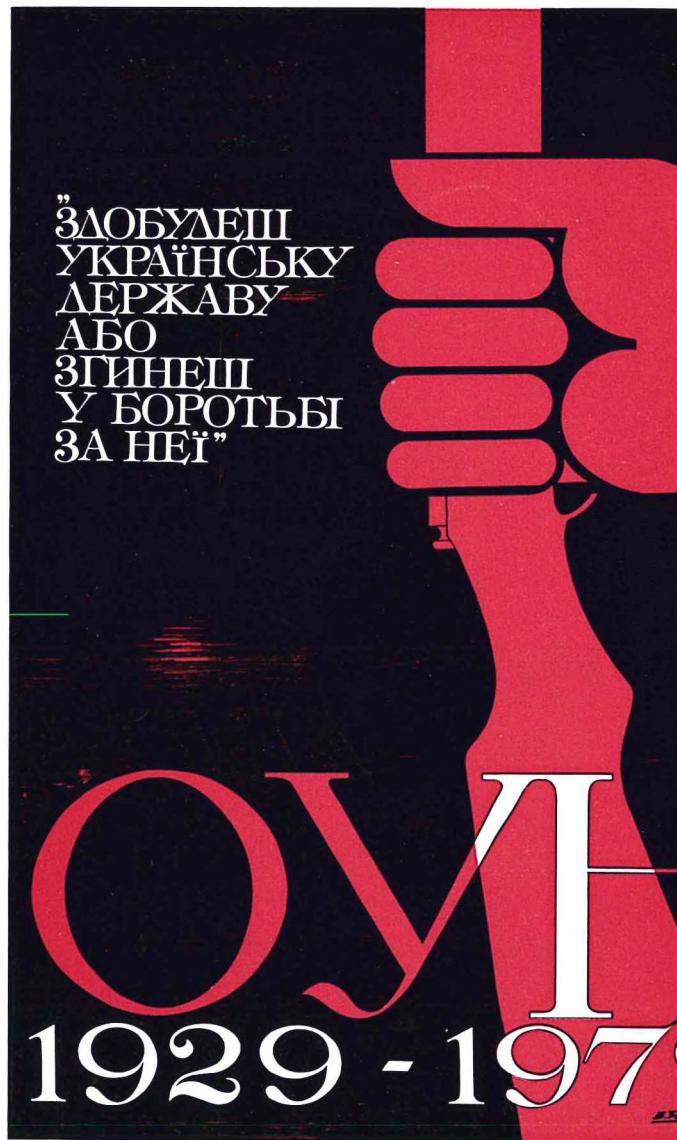
*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

"You Will Achieve  
Sovereign Independence  
For Ukraine  
Or Die  
In The Struggle  
For It."



Organization of Ukrainian  
Nationalists (OUN)  
1929 — 1979



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## ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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# Nation-killers and Russifiers on the Advance

The "Workers Newspaper", published under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CC CPU), dated May 23, 1979, brings us news from Tashkent about an All-Soviet Scholarly-Theoretical Conference on the subject of "The Russian Language — the Language of Friendship and Cooperation of Nations in the USSR." Leonid Brezhnev, the greatest russifier of all times, sent his "greetings" to the Conference, and M. O. Prokoviev, the All-Soviet Minister of Education in the USSR, also spoke.

This russifier, in his speech on the subject of "The Road to the further improvement of learning and teaching of the Russian language in the Soviet Republics", insisted that the learning of the Russian language should start in the pre-school years and continuously develop on the different levels of scholarship. His presentation is characteristic of the planned and systematic total russification of schools and pre-schools, including kindergartens, where the children of all the enslaved nations are to speak in Russian and learn the "Great(?) Russian language". S. R. Rashyдов, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan underscored the fact, that the Russian language, "is the language of the "great" Lenin, the language of a "great" nation, which has... a culture of the highest order, rich... democratic traditions... it always carried out progressive historical functions — for the toilers of other nations and peoples, it carried the light of knowledge, progressive ideas, socialist culture" — so carried on the traitor of the Turkestani people.

And Brezhnev, the tyrant of the highest order, in his "hearty greetings" ascertained the following historical nonsense: "In the condition of developed socialism, when the economy of our country has developed into a single national economic complex, a new historical community has appeared — the Soviet nation, objectively the role of the Russian language has grown as the language for international cooperation in the building of Communism and the education of the new individual. The fluent use of the Russian language, voluntarily(?) accepted as a common historical acquisition of all the Soviet peoples, will aid in the further strengthening of the political, economic and spiritual unity of the Soviet (Read: Russian Supernation) nation."

"The studying of the Russian language by Soviet people of all nationalities has become an object of general concern and attention... Lenin's dream, to make it possible for every citizen of our country "to have the opportunity to study the great(?) Russian language, 'is becoming successfully realized'" ... ended the great tyrant. Such were the intentions of the

russifier Lenin, and different Sovietophiles call upon "Lenin's national policy" . . . Who has ever heard here on God's planet about someones "GREAT" language? This is possible only in the minds of Russian chauvinists, the Muscovite-Nation-killers!

And, so we have the widespread and implemented plan of the russification of all the enslaved nations in its unusually menacing manner.

The Central Committee of ABN has taken not only an official position, but has instigated widespread actions on the international forum against russification and genocide. (ABN CORRESPONDENCE, Russification and National Genocide, A Statement of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Vol. XXX, No. 2, p. 9, March — April 1979.)

The time has come for the development of widespread actions of entire national communities against genocidal russification, especially because we have received an appeal from behind the Iron Curtain to mobilize the entire world community for a total uncompromising effort with all available resources, to force the Russians to halt their advances on the soul of the enslaved nations!



*Slava Stetsko (ABN) delivering a speech at the Plenary Session of the XII WACL Conference held in Asuncion, Paraguay, April 23—27 1979.*

# "Russian Empire Built on Dynamite"

The following are excerpts from the statement delivered by Valentyn Moroz at the House of Commons, London, June 18, 1979

## Illusions Created by Moscow

Here are some of the illusions: One must concede to Moscow, otherwise there will be a world war. The opposite is true. Concessions only lead to new demands, as the Munich treaty enticed Hitler to new aggressions. In this case Britain was fortunate. Forty years ago Chamberlain brought home a scrap of paper from Munich. I more than once saw this paper in old newsreels. When Chamberlain stepped off the plane he stated that this piece of paper would safeguard peace for a whole generation. We now know the true value of that treaty, but at that time Britain was fortunate. And now a similar document will be brought to Washington. Yes, several days ago President Carter signed the SALT Treaty in Vienna. Vienna is not very far from Munich. The spirit of Vienna is even closer to Munich than its geographic distance.

## SALT

Senator Henry Jackson aptly pointed out that the SALT agreement may be another Munich treaty. Again it will be said that this new agreement will ensure peace. And intelligent people will once again listen to these words with irony. Where are the guarantees that Moscow will uphold the SALT agreement? You do not have to accept what I say about SALT; I am a dilettante in these matters, but it is interesting to note that Lt. General Rowney, President Carter's advisor on SALT, has elected to retire. He believes that the SALT agreement poses a great threat for America and therefore refuses to take upon himself the responsibility of supporting it.

When will the West finally come to understand that it cannot trade with Moscow on the basis of credits? All trade agreements must stipulate full payment in advance, because Moscow continuously promises but never delivers. A perfect example of this is the prisoner exchange. Soviet dissidents were exchanged for two Soviet spies convicted in the United States. We were told during our flight to freedom that the terms of the exchange also included the release of our families. The spies left for the Soviet Union a long time ago, but our families continue to be held in the USSR\*. Yes, this confirms once again that Western compliance should only be forthcoming after Moscow has kept its part of the bargain. You cannot trade with Moscow on the basis of credits or promises. The unprincipled and inconsistent policies of the West with regards to Moscow has lost much for the West.

## World Stability?

The West is now committing the same mistakes towards Moscow as it has in the past towards Iran. Western politicians long argued that the Shah's regime was a stabilising factor in the region. We know what happened with the stability of the Shah's regime; it ended in disarray. Similarly the totalitarian systems in eastern Europe and Asia are not built on a foundation of granite, but on dynamite. At their core one finds dynamite which suddenly explodes leaving no trace. The same will happen with Moscow.

It is an illusion to think that together with Brezhnev one can seek world sta-

\* On July 5, Moroz's wife and son left the USSR for the United States.

bility; that with Brezhnev one can sign lasting agreements. I do not know what fate awaits Brezhnev; whether on the one hand he dies a natural death because he is a long-time alcoholic, or whether he will perish in the Kremlin as Allende did in his presidential palace.

But I know that tommorow's decisions in the Kremlin will not be made by Brezhnev but by others. He is sitting on a volcano and to sign agreements seeking stability with such a power is simply naive.

There is yet another illusion that Moscow weaves: it is that Moscow creates stability within its domain and that this is good for maintaining the status quo. And many say that we should not challenge this power because it may draw us into an another Vietnam war. My answer to this is a firm one — there will be more wars, whether we like it or not. The question that remains is whether they will end in victory or defeat.

### New Era of Turbulence

We are entering a new era, an era of turbulence. Reston of the New York Times and even a great friend of the Soviet Union, Helmut Schmidt, has stated so. Yes, the 1980's will be interesting and turbulent throughout the world, including the Soviet Union, eastern Europe and all unstable areas under totalitarianism or dictatorships because these dictatorships are built on dynamite.

When Iran fell into turmoil and the Ayatollah appeared on the scene, all believed this to be a uniquely Iranian phenomenon. We have recently witnessed shattering effects of the Pope's visit to Poland. Has there ever been such an inspiring Pope or such a Papal mission to a communist country? It was as if there was no Communist regime in Poland. Anyone can clearly see that the Polish regime is tee-

tering on the abyss of disaster. Yes, the Pope fulfilled a role in Poland, one beyond politics and politicians. A new turbulent world is upon us, a world where politics will not suffice; where electoral and democratic institutions will not suffice. The time of internal turbulence is also imminent for Moscow with all the turmoil and problems that it presents.

The most important characteristic of the new Pope is his deep understanding of the East and ability to live in an environment of turbulence, something that the West has yet to learn. The new Pope has possibly done more for the cause of freedom than all of his predecessors combined. The new Pope has recognised that he is an ambassador of catholicism in the world and not Moscow's representative in the Vatican.

The West does not know to live in a turbulent world, thereby suffering defeats time after time: Vietnam, Angola, Afghanistan. These defeats were caused by the inability of the West to adapt to a world environment of unrest. In this we Ukrainians can do much for the West. Ukrainians are not a poor people begging for help. We understand that true co-operation must be based on principles of mutual benefit and partnership.

We do not intend to compete with the West in the realms of theory and material prosperity, what we do have is that which the West lacks; we understand how to live in a turbulent world. A nation that has yet to achieve independence will always have a propensity to armament and not disarmament — will always bear the motto "live turbulently".

### Ukrainian Nationalism

Our credo, as Ukrainian nationalists, is based on the spiritual values and deep understanding of our national heritage; that it is our duty to build an independent

and better life for our country. We do not vassilate. We are committed to our goal. The first point of our credo states: "You will achieve sovereign independence for Ukraine or die in the struggle for it".

I know of Moscow's propaganda warning the West not to link itself with those who dare to struggle. Moscow argues that they will draw the West into disaster and new wars. My response to this is — as long as the world has existed so have disasters. The only question is whether we are prepared to confront them and prepared to deal with them. The West needs a Churchill and not a Chamberlain. The West needs leaders who will not bury their heads in the sand, but rather leaders who face problems squarely and view them realistically, so as to overcome them with minimal cost.

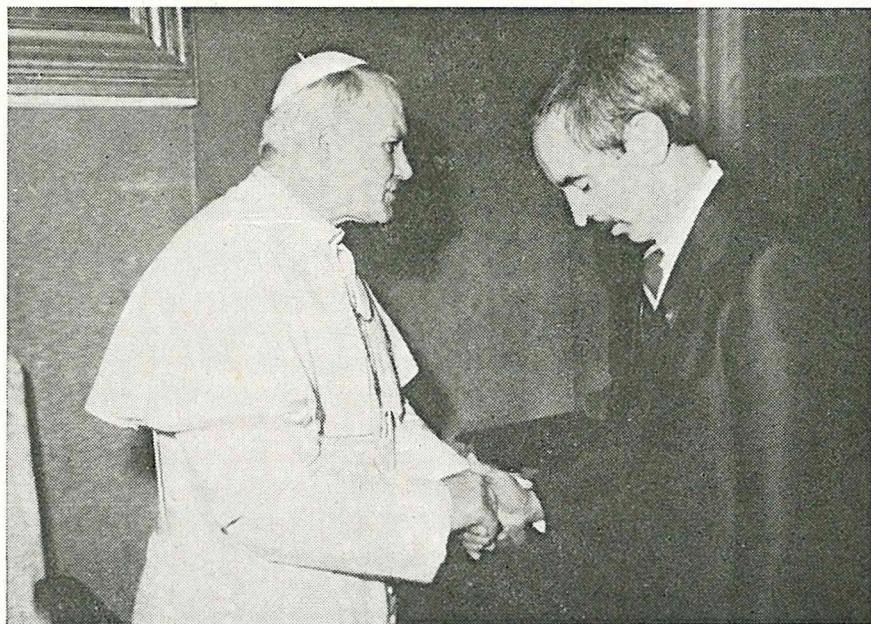
#### Russia Recognises no Laws

Moscow and the East play a game in which they recognise no rules. This is an

alien concept to the West, because the greatest achievement of Western civilisation is the rule of law.

The Baltic states were fortunate. Although they were incorporated into the Russian imperial system, they were never annexed spiritually because of their traditional orientation to Western civilisation. Ukrainians were less fortunate. Their nation was spiritually ravaged by Moscow. But, in a sense, we also gained. We gained a genuine insight of what our enemy, Russia, really is. We know beyond any doubt that Russia recognises no laws, recognises no rules. No-one knows Russia as we do and this is our greatest obligation to expose the true face of Russia to the free world.

I am often asked about SALT. I will answer with a Georgian anecdote: "A cunning fox was making its way down a road and came upon a tempting scrap of meat. While carefully inspecting the meat, the fox concluded, although there is no apparent danger, there must be a catch.



*Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian freedom fighter, released from Russian concentration camps, in a private audience with His Holiness Pope John Paul II on June 28, 1979.*

So the fox steered clear and went on his way."

We are well aware of this game without rules and therefore we will never accept that which the East gives freely. We know that the East never gives freely; there is always a catch. Brezhnev has offered SALT to President Carter. If I were Carter I would know that this gift was not without a catch. I would not be too eager to accept SALT.

### The Russian Empire Must Be Dissolved

I am not advocating a destructive act, for to destroy the Russian Empire is progressive and constructive. By its very existence, the Russian Empire undermines the quest for stability and world balance. There was a senator in the days of the Roman Empire who would conclude each of his speeches with the words "Carthage must be destroyed". He was considered an eccentric. This "eccentric" understood that the only way to safeguard Roman authority throughout the Mediterranean was by destroying Carthage. There was no room for two Romes or two Carthages in the Medi-

terranean. How desperately we need such "eccentrics" in our contemporary world; people who understand that there can be world stability only after the dismantling of the Russian Empire. Russian tanks moved to the Elbe in 1945, but Moscow's advance began in the 17th century.

### Decolonisation

We Ukrainians live within the pathos of nationalism, within the pathos of wars of liberation. It is natural for Britain, with its traditions of Empire, not to trust nationalism and trends to liberation. But it is critical to understand that the threat of national liberation has long ago diverted its guns towards the East and not the West. The decolonisation of Africa is nearly complete. The new forum for decolonisation, where genuine movements towards national liberation exist, is in the East and the Soviet Union. There one can find several dozen nations, large and small which await their liberation and decolonisation. It is these specific issues — decolonisation and liberation — which are the greatest political resource for the West.



*Mrs. Raissa Moroz, with her son, reunited with Valentyn Moroz upon their arrival in New York on July 5, 1979.*

## **Human Rights and Communists**

A Communist who languishes in a Nicaraguan jail deserves to be defended as does each and every individual. But before we begin our defence campaign we should think twice with regards to the most effective means at our disposal. We should recall a very important truth: "Today we save a Communist — tommorow we will be saving ourselves from Communism".

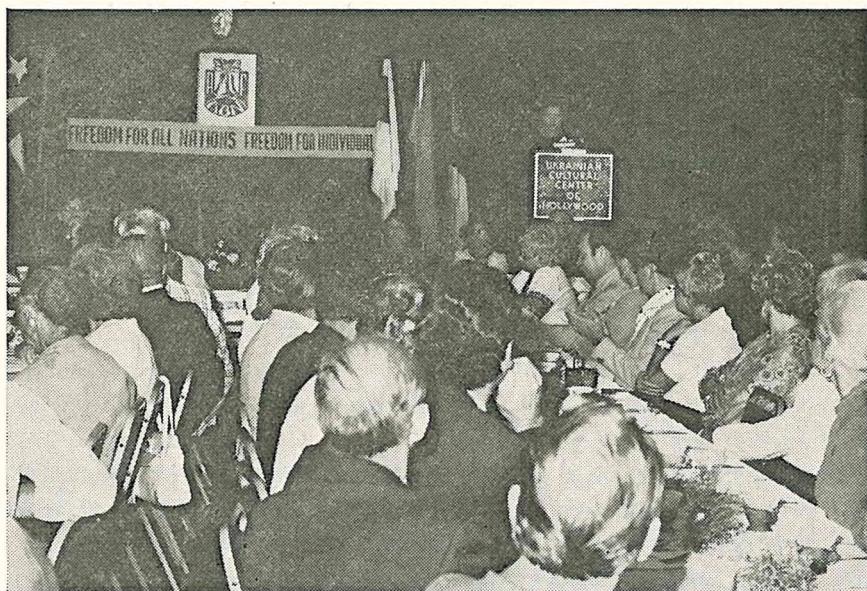
These are very complex matters and Britain has always stood as a centre for unravelling such issues. It was Britain which understood in 1943 that not only must a wall be erected against Nazism, but also against Communism, to keep the horde of Western Europe. The British strategic mind understood this. The tragedy lies in the fact that strategic military power was on the other. Today the new government of Britain has the greatest responsibility in the world. This is not merely a government, but a force which can make the world understand the meaning of the term, responsibility. It is in the best position to realise that to simply resist the destructive forces in the world, which

manifest themselves in the form of communism, will achieve nothing.

## **Offensive and Defensive Strategy**

It is necessary to go on the offensive against these destructive forces, to develop a psychological attitude of attack. I suppose the British can best remember that the individual who established the foundations of Britain was William the Conqueror. The psychology of victory is grounded in the concept of offensive and not defensive strategy.

The contemporary world has shrunk. Strategic missiles launched in Siberia can reach California in a matter of minutes. The English Channel is no longer a defence, nor is the vast Atlantic. We should finally cast off antiquated ideas. Britain should not delude itself into thinking it has created a stability where there are no threats. In our shrinking world the problems that have beset Ukraine are equally important to Britain. If the British want to maintain their way of life then this necessarily means that they must join the struggle for the right of Ukrainians to be Ukrainian.



*ABN Conference in Miami, Florida, held on March 3, 1979.*

## Kremlin Feeling the Breath of the Wind from the Grave

*Preface to the "Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the Soviet Union", published by the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine and Studium Research Institute, Inc., Toronto, 1979.*

I have tried to remember many facts in these agitated and chaotic two weeks. Here, in the depths, things are a little calmer because they have lain there, gray and monotonous, year after year. Imprisonment can make everything gray. People in prison hunger after colors, and on that long road of many years there are sudden flashes of color, flashes of faces, flashes that will never be erased from the memory. First of all there is Mykhailo Soroka, a knight of iron who radiated strength and inspired others. I had the good fortune to be with him for one month, and during this month I became fully formed. The last touches were added by Mykhailo Soroka.

It was a small camp in Mordovia, no. 17, hidden deep in the woods. No automobiles could be driven there in rainy weather, and sometimes that was to our advantage. Next to the camp was a dairy farm. Under Moscow's system of things, and especially where there are no roads, everything is delayed for weeks. But milk does not understand politics and sours after a day. They had to sell it to us, although that was against the law. Then a KGB man appeared and the selling stopped.

Summer came. They were mowing hay in the off-limits zone between the fences, and beyond them the pine woods were growing dark. The most difficult time in the camp is when you smell the newly mown hay. To look through the window at the woods and meadows, at freedom — that is very dangerous. Then, imperceptibly, the armor falls from the soul, and every touch is very painful. And you must have an armor there, because a prisoner breaks down quickly when he stands naked amid the snows. The KGB know what they are doing when they take prisoners from Mordovia to Ukraine and drive them through the Carpathian Mountains. They made this offer to me several times. I refused.

Mykhailo Soroka, he is not listed here, as many others also are not. Some day we will carve a long list in granite and the first name will be Kalnyshevsky, the first Ukrainian to serve 25-years in prison in that large and senseless country which one of our eminent polemicists has called the kingdom of vulgarians. I speak here of those on the list who are no longer numbered among the living in order to remind everyone that we must hurry. Behind the barbed wire, in the woods, beyond the Baykal live Ukrainian minds, Ukrainian poetry, Ukrainian art. The aim of the

regime consists precisely in the attempt to kill, through long imprisonment, the creative potential of Kalynets, Sverstyuk, Rudenko. Sometimes there are variations: The body steps out into freedom but the spirit remains behind wire. This is called being *let out* but not being *set free*. Let us teach the West (and ourselves) that holy restlessness, that feeling of guilt that gnaws at the heart and says: Have we really done everything we can to make sure Plakhotnyuk will not remain imprisoned for seven years in a psychiatric chamber of tortures? That Shukhevych's remaining prison term, for having done *nothing at all*, will be revoked?

There was a time that the leaders of the West signed treaties with Moscow without reading them. It was a sort of absurd race to see who could sign a treaty with the Kremlin the quickest and then boast about it to the voters. To sign a treaty with Moscow was considered the mark of a good politician. Times have changed. Now Moscow looks only too often for chances to demonstrate that her relations with the West are good ones. Out of the five pivotal powers of the world, four (America, Europe, Japan, China) are increasingly holding on more tightly to each other, and Moscow has found itself before the frightening specter of isolation. The four are already in the same boat, which is leaving the harbor, and the distance between the shore and the boat is growing. Moscow is making a desperate attempt to jump into the boat, and will give up much to realize this goal. At the edges of the empire's horizon, death has appeared with its scythe, and the Kremlin can already feel the breath of the wind from the grave.

A Ukrainian woman from America wrote me a moving letter (I have received many such letters lately) in which the most interesting sentence was, "My husband said that Moroz would never be freed." Moscow has created a very strong stereotype. No one really believed that the wall could be cracked. Yet it was. And it is naive to explain this fact by thinking that Moscow got rid of people that it did not want. The KGB would never have let me go if it did not *have* to. Moscow is bankrupt and wants to sell its dissident ware at any price. And those who have the determination to stand firm can strike a very good bargain.

Let us then create an atmosphere in which the world will know that it cannot conduct any talks with Moscow without consulting us. The Jews have created such a situation. Must we always lag behind?

Let us make the world aware of the slogan that is now the timeliest for Ukrainians, the slogan heard at the May 12 youth manifestation in New York:

Today Moroz. Tomorrow Shukhevych.

# Byelorussia Demands Independence

## Byelorussian Democratic Republic

Sixty one years ago, at the end of World War I, The Council of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic solemnly proclaimed the national independence of Byelorussia. This important action occurred on the memorable day of March 25, 1918, in the capital city of Minsk. The Act of Independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, The Third Constitutional Act, says as follows:

"One year ago the people of Byelorussia, jointly with the peoples of Russia cast away the yoke of the Russian monarchy, which was oppressing Byelorussia most of all. Without consulting the people, the Czar had involved our country in the tragedy of war, which razed Byelorussian towns and villages. Now we, the Council of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, are liberating our country from the last vestige of state dependency imposed by the Russian monarchy upon our free and independent country. From now on the Byelorussian Democratic Republic is proclaimed a free and independent state. The peoples of Byelorussia, through their elected Constituent Assembly, shall themselves determine the future relations of Byelorussia with other states.

This present act nullifies all previous relationships which gave a foreign government the power to sign the treaty in Brest, also on behalf of Byelorussia, the treaty that spells death for the Byelorussian people and cuts their country into pieces. On the basis of this present act, the Government of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic shall approach the interested parties and propose the revision of that part of the Brest Treaty which concerns Byelorussia and the conclusion of the peace treaty with all belligerent states.

The Byelorussian Democratic Republic shall embrace the whole territory inhabited by the Byelorussian people as a majority.

The Council of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic confirms all those rights and civil liberties which were granted by the act of March 9, 1918.

Proclaiming the independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, its Council hopes that all the freedom loving nations will render assistance to the Byelorussian people in their endeavor to secure full realization of their political ideals of statehood.

*March 25, 1918, in Minsk  
Council of the Byelorussian Democratic  
Republic."*

After 125 years of slavery and oppression by the Czarist Russian Government, the Byelorussian people, with great enthusiasm and sacrifice, began the restoration of their own statehood. The new Byelorussian Government organized the administration of the country, the formation of military forces, diplomatic activities, and schools, and the revitalization of the puppets stated by the Moscow Government.

## Byelorussia Reconquered by Soviet Russia

However, after the seizure of power in Russia by the Bolsheviks at the end of 1917, the new Soviet Russian Government started an aggression and conquest of the recently restored independent non-Russian states, formerly dominated by Czarist Russia. These conquests were made under the guise of the formation of ethnic puppet states by the Moscow Government.

On January 1, 1919, in the city of Smolensk, the Bolshevik Government of Moscow, in opposition the independent Byelorussian Democratic Republic, proclaimed

formation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR), a fictitious state. Subsequently, the Soviet Russian Army attacked Byelorussia and finally conquered it in 1921.

Byelorussia was completely subordinated to the Moscow Government and ruled as a colony. About half of the Byelorussian ethnographic territory was annexed to the Russian SFSR. Byelorussian people were deprived of all their national, economic and human rights. Using mass terror, the Moscow Government during the years of its rule, annihilated over six million of the Byelorussian population. The communist system imposed total economic exploitation of the working people and natural resources. In this way the Moscow Government was able to develop its military potential to the present global aggressive capabilities.

Desire for national independence, formulated and proclaimed by the representatives of the Byelorussian people sixty-one years ago, was approved later by the *Second Byelorussian National Congress* in Minsk on June 27, 1944. The Resolution of this Congress says as follows:

"The Second Byelorussian National Congress, assembled in Minsk a quarter of a century after the First Byelorussian National Congress and having heard the speeches concerning the records in Byelorussian at the time between both congresses, decided unanimously the following:

1. To acknowledge as right and to accept again the historical resolution of the Council of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, which had authorization from the First Byelorussian National Congress in 1917 and which on their assembly on March 25, 1918, with the solemn Third Constitutional Act determined to finally break off Byelorussia from Bolshevik Moscow and the Russian state in all its forms.

2. To state, that the Byelorussian people never accept in the future as a form of

their own Byelorussian state the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic forced upon them by the Moscow occupants.

3. To inform all governments and peoples in all the world that the voice of Moscow and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic in Byelorussian affairs does not have any legal power and all so-called Byelorussian Governments, created by Moscow, do not have any legal competencies, because they are not acknowledged by the Byelorussian people. Therefore, all the agreements or political decisions of governments: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or the formerly existing Poland and of the contemporary so-called government of Poland in exile, concerning territory of Byelorussia and Byelorussian people, which were formerly achieved or which will be made in the future the Second Byelorussian National Congress proclaims as deprived of legal power as well as the other possible efforts for partition of Byelorussia by other states and peoples.

4. The Byelorussian Central Council with President Radoslav Astrouski at the head is acknowledged today as the only legal representative of the Byelorussian people and their country."

The Byelorussian National Guard had fought for independence against Soviet Russian invaders, but this time Byelorussia was conquered again by Soviet Russia.

At the present time the Moscow Government, using systematically deepening russification, deportations of Byelorussians to Siberia, and the colonization of Byelorussians into a Soviet Russian homogenous people.

The new Constitution of the USSR, approved in 1977, and the new Constitution of the BSSR, approved in 1978, did not bring any changes to the conditions existing in Byelorussia. These Constitutions are distorting history and misrepresenting the existing reality.

In Chapter 8, Article 70, the USSR Constitution states that the USSR was created by a free self-determination of the nations, and a voluntary union of equal in rights Soviet Socialist Republics.

In reality, there was a military aggression, conquest and destruction of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic by the Soviet Russian Armies, creation of a puppet state, the Byelorussian SSR, by the Government of Moscow, and forced incorporation of Byelorussia into the USSR in 1922.

Article 72 of the Constitution acknowledges to each union republic the right for the free separation from the USSR. However, the slightest expression for national separation by a non-Russian people is punished most severely by deportation to a concentration camp, confinement in a psychiatric asylum, or imprisonment.

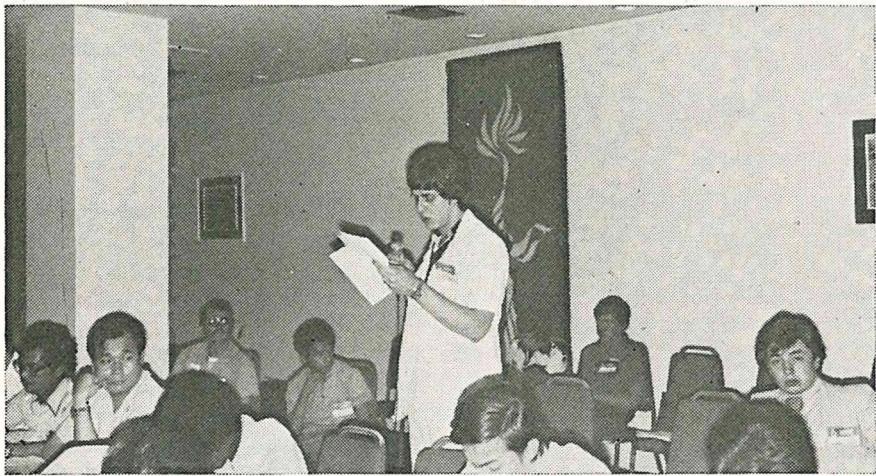
According to Article 80 of the Constitution, each union republic has the right to be in direct relations with foreign states, conclude treaties, and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives. However, to this very day this right exists only on paper.

The new Constitution does withdraw the previous right of union republics to maintain their own armies.

Articles 73 through 81 and 108 through 142 give full ruling power to the central Government of Moscow over the entire USSR, limiting union republics to subordinated colonial status.

Presently the Soviet Russian Government is expanding its domination throughout the entire free world, using misinformation, economic corruption and military pressure. Its misinformation, about the USSR as an ideal solution for national problems of the entire globe, is a shameless public fraud, that can be easily verified by its treatment of Byelorussia, and other captive nations as well.

To stop Soviet Russian expansionism and achieve peace, security and national justice in the present time, it is necessary to liberate all the non-Russian subjugated nations, including Byelorussia, from the Soviet Russian colonial bondage and restore their independence. The Russian state within its own ethnographic boundaries will not be capable of global expansionism and will disappear as a threat to world peace.



Ihor Zwarycz (Ukraine) addressing participants of the WYACL Conference, April 1979.

# 50 Years of OUN

In 1979 patriotic Ukrainians in Ukraine all over the world are marking the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which has carried the brunt of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their national freedom and independence in the most recent historical period.

The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists has grown on the basis of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian nation in 1917—1921 for its sovereignty and independence, on the traditions of the Ukrainian underground organisations of the 1920s, such as the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO), whose founder was Colonel Evhen Konovalets and who later united various nationalist formations into the single Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1929.

Ideological justification for the struggle of the OUN gave Dmytro Dontsov, the most eminent theoretician of modern Ukrainian nationalism.

The OUN began a new stage in the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation. It closely related its national and political struggle with the struggle for social justice, defending the Ukrainian people and all its strata from exploitation by foreign occupants.

The front against all the occupiers of Ukraine, reliance on Ukrainian people's own forces, and cooperation only with those external factors which recognise the idea of the disintegration of the Russian empire and the restoration of a free, sovereign united and independent Ukrainian State and other national states of the peoples at present enslaved by Russia — this is the signpost of the OUN.

During the period of leadership of Stepan Bandera (1940—1959), the successor

to Evhen Konovalets, the OUN made a great and historic decision, unprecedented in the history of other nations — to wage a struggle on two fronts: against the strongest powers of the day — Germany and Russia. At the initiative of OUN the restoration of the Ukrainian State was proclaimed on 30th June, 1941. The chairman and members of the Ukrainian State Government, headed by Jaroslaw Stetsko, the present leader of the OUN, the leader and members of the Supreme Executive of OUN, despite German terror and imprisonment in concentration camps, refused to revoke this historical act. The OUN then called into being the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which waged war on two fronts. At the initiative of the OUN and UPA there took place in Ukraine, in 1943, the First Conference of the Nations Enslaved by Russian Bolshevism. By now it has grown into the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) which has come forward with the only realistic conception of liberation by the peoples' own forces.

The period 1943—1950 was marked by the heroic deeds of the great strategist of the Ukrainian national revolution, the C.-in-C. of the UPA, General Roman Shukhevych (nom-de-guerre Taras Chuprynka), the leader of the OUN in Ukraine.

In 1946—47, representing at the time the revolutionary political sovereignty of our nation, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) which came into being at the initiative of the OUN, successfully organised a boycott of the "elections" to the Bolshevik "parliaments" by the population of Ukraine. The nationwide uprisings in the years 1943—53, i.e. over a period of ten years, organised by OUN-UPA, saved many Ukrainians,

especially in West Ukraine, from mass deportations and physical annihilation.

In the next period, 1953—1959, strikes and uprisings initiated by imprisoned members of the OUN and UPA fighters spread in the concentration camps of Siberia and Kazakhstan, seriously undermining this system of slavery.

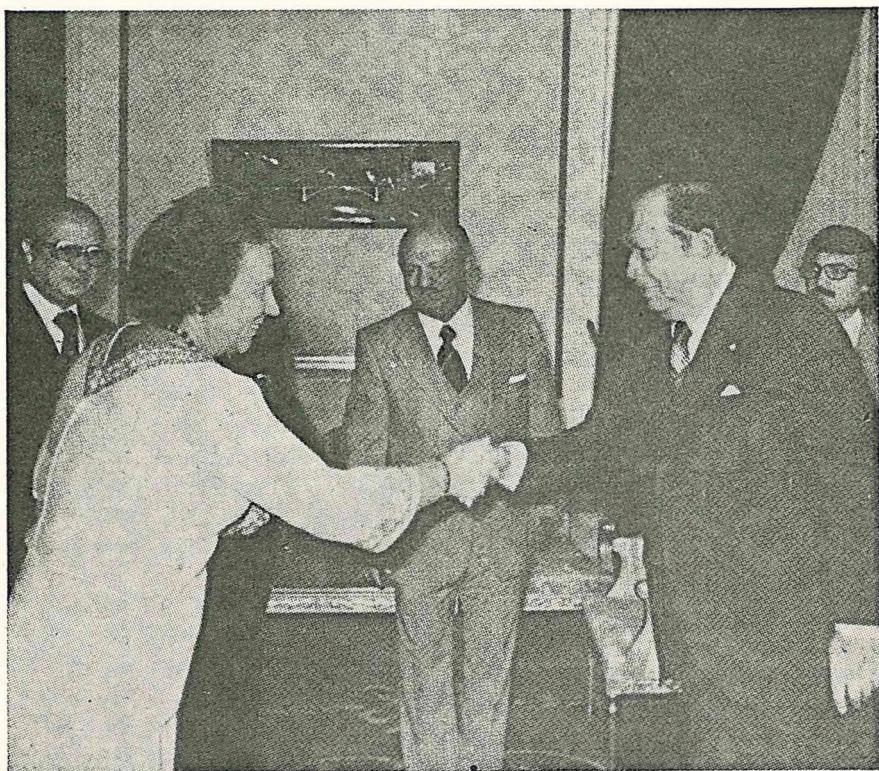
At present, the young generation which has grown up on the ideological foundations of OUN-UPA, the generation of Valentyn Moroz, has begun a great fight in the literary, artistic, scientific and publicistic fields, in particular by clandestine literature.

Ukraine is the revolutionary problem of the world, because its independence would

mean the collapse of the biggest contemporary empire in the world — that of Russia. As a result the political map of the world would change radically. OUN is in the vanguard of Ukraine's struggle for freedom.

On the 50th anniversary of the OUN we pay tribute to all the freedom fighters, heroes of Ukraine, members and non-members of OUN, who during the last 50 years gave their lives for the freedom and happiness of their country.

Though the struggle is still far from finished, their sacrifices have not been in vain. New heroes are born and join the ranks of fighters. Truth, Justice and Freedom will prevail.



*The President of the Republic of Paraguay, Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, receiving the members of the WACL Executive Board, April, 1979. From left to right: Prof. Rafael Rodriguez Lopez, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Dr. Juan Manuel Frutos — WACL President, President Stroessner, Dr. Carlo Barbieri Filho.*

## Lithuanian Political Prisoners

Lithuania, one of the Baltic states, was one of the first victims of Soviet Russian colonialism. About one tenth of Lithuania's population was exiled to Siberia and thousands died in slave labor camps and jails.

This did not squelch Lithuanian resistance. About seven underground papers are published in Lithuania. Many books, banned from circulation in Lithuania, are secretly translated, published and distributed in Western countries. Some Lithuanians, such as Romas Kalanta, self-immolated shouting in flames "Freedom for Lithuania".

Moscow has troops and KGB in Lithuania. People are severely oppressed and dissidents are placed in slave labor camps, jails and even in psychiatric wards. Here is a list of some of the more important Lithuanian dissidents, but their number in reality is many times greater.

1. *BALYS GAJAUSKAS*, son of Jonas, born February 24, 1926, at Vygreliu village, Vilkaviskis district. For membership in the guerilla fighters he was arrested in 1948 and on September 18, 1948 condemned for 25 years. He was deported to the Soviet Union and kept in the concentration camp at Mordovia. After completing his entire punishment sentence, he was released on May 3, 1973. He returned to Kaunas and took up residence with his old mother at Kaunas, Spynu St. 3-8 and worked as an electrician.

On April 20, 1977 he was arrested again, jailed, interrogated and condemned because: 1. He gave a Polish book, "Bolshevism", to another person to read. 2. He translated one chapter of Solzhenitsyn's book "Gulag Archipelago" from Russian into Lithuanian. 3. He compiled a list of Lithuanian political prisoners and was col-

lecting material about Lithuanian guerilla fighters. He was condemned again for 10 years in a strict regime concentration camp and to 5 years in exile. He was deported to the Soviet Union. His last known address:

Mordovskaja ASSR  
Zubavo-Polianski rajon,  
pos. Sosnovka už Že 385-1.

Balys Gajauskas is a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki monitoring group.

2. *JUSTAS GIMBUTAS*, born 1925. After the Soviet occupation in 1944 he was a freedom fighter in the Kretinga district, the Skuodas area. He was captured, condemned to 25 years in a strict regime concentration camp and deported to Mordovia, camp 385/9. Transferred from one jail to another he reached northern Siberia. There he was additionally punished to 5 more years. He underwent extreme pressure to become an informer. He was tortured. During the 1977 New Years Eve, when prisoners were taken to a hall, he stepped forward, raised a paper and said, "What is written here is written with my own blood. I, Justas Gimbutas, state that no torture whatsoever could break my faithfulness to Jesus Christ and to Lithuania".

After that he was again severely beaten and placed for 6 months in a lockup room. His health is very poor.

His last known address is:

Justas Gimbutas  
Moscow,  
USSR, 5110-1 ZH

3. *HENRIKAS KLIMAŠAUSKAS* graduated from the Construction Institute and received a senior engineer's degree while he was still a deportee in Irkutsk, near Lake Baikal. Subsequently, he worked on various construction projects and, on the

eve of his return to Lithuania, had risen to the rank of chief engineer at the local construction board. Back in Lithuania, he continued working in his specialty and became chief of the production department of Kaunas Construction Trust No. 2.

In his job, Klimašauskas met up with a rather common fraudulent practice. He observed how some individuals included non-existent work projects in their reports and were awarded prizes and bonuses. Conscientious as he was, he wrote a complaint to the LSSR People's Control Board. When that office failed to investigate, Klimašauskas submitted a complaint to the USSR People's Control Board. Following an investigation, the director of the trust, Vitkus, and the chief engineer, Stankevičius, both members of the Communist Party, were each fined 500 rubles. They retaliated by denouncing Klimašauskas to the KGB.

On February 13, 1976, Klimašauskas was arrested on his way to work. His office and apartment were searched. During the search, security agents discovered more than a dozen copies of Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag Archipelago" in Lithuanian translation. Klimašauskas was promptly arrested. For a while he was kept in the Vilnius prison and was then transferred to a psychiatric hospital. He was then diagnosed as an "invalid of group two", i.e., suffering from a persecution mania. He was said to suffer from a "delusion" that KGB were persecuting him.

On August 1976, Klimašauskas was sent to a psychiatric hospital in the former East Prussian town of Insterburg (Isrutis, in Lithuanian). Its present address is: 238100 Kaliningradskaya Oblast, Gorod Cherniakhovsk, Psichicheskaya bolnitsa, USSR. In the morning, he is taken to the city where he supervises construction projects. At night, he is again placed behind locked doors with the mental patients. His official monthly wages are 120 rubles, but all he gets is 12 rubles. The

rest is deducted for "room, board and medical treatment". Whenever his family visits him, four Russians bring him in and supervise the conversation, which is to be conducted in Russian only.

Elta, October, 1978, No. 10.

4. VLADAS LAPIENIS, son of Antanas, born June 6, 1906, economist, graduate of the department of Economics at the Vilnius University. He was arrested on October 19, 1976, and accused according to the criminal code, paragraph 68, part 1, of keeping "anti Soviet" literature, of distributing "The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania" and of Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag Archipelago" part I.

In July, 1977, he was condemned to a 3 year sentence and deported to a concentration camp in the Soviet Union. Because his health did not permit him to perform heavy work, he was twice locked in the punishment lockup room. He is married and is already 72 years old.

His last known address is:

Mordovia  
Tengushevo rayon  
Barashev  
učr. ZhX 385/3/51

In his letter Vladas Lapienis writes (see ELTA, No. 8, August, 1978): "From December 9, 1977, to January 27, 1978, I was in a hospital. On February 17, the commander told me that a committee of physicians (which I have never seen) described me as healthy, fully able-bodied, and classified me as belonging to the third invalidity group, which gives the camp administration an unlimited right to assign prisoners to any kind of work. I was immediately ordered to go to the boiler room and to start working as a stoker. This is difficult work: one must carry in coal from the outside, saw wood, carry out coal and ashes, stoke the burner... I replied to him that my old age and poor health (frequent exhausting headaches, low blood pressure, radiculitis and a weak heart) would make it impossible for me to per-

form such work... They locked me up for seven days, forbade me to receive food parcels this year, and forbade me to purchase food in the camp store during the month of February.

5. *PETRAS PAULAITIS*, born 1904 in Kalnenai, Jurbarkas county, Raseiniai district. From 1926 he attended the University of Milan, Italy, and received a doctor's degree. In 1939 he returned to Lithuania. He was chairman of the district of Raseiniai, a teacher of Latin and German at Jurbarkas High School. During the Nazi occupation he worked underground, in the movement agitating the Nazis in their fight for a "New Europe". In October 1943 he was detained by the Gestapo, but managed to escape. He continued to hide for some time.

Under the Soviet Russian occupation he was an active freedom fighter, working in the information section. He was arrested by the Soviet forces on April 10, 1947 at Batakių woods, district of Taurage. For 6 months he was kept in solitary confinement at Vilnius KGB headquarters and sentenced to 25 years in a concentration camp. After an amnesty in 1956 he returned to Lithuania. He worked in a canning factory in Kaunas. He was arrested again in 1957 and accused of activities among the students of the Polytechnical institute. On April 12, 1958 he was sentenced again to 25 years in a strict regime concentration camp and deported to Mordovia. He had to be released on April 12, 1973, however, he still remains in his place of punishment. He has been suffering in Soviet slave labor camps for more than 30 years. In his letters he complains, "Medical conditions are poor. Almost nothing is available in our drugstore".

His last known address is:

Petras Paulaitis

Mordovskaja ASSR

St. Potma, P/ja ZH KH 385/19-3

6. *VIKTORAS PETKUS*, born 1929 in the Raseiniai district. For his activity in

the Catholic youth organization "Ateitinkai" he was arrested in 1947, sentenced to 10 years and deported to a slave labor camp in Siberia. There he received an additional punishment of 10 years, however, as a minor he was released after 6 years. He graduated from a middle school in 1957, but the same year during Christmas he was again arrested and sentenced to 8 years, and again deported. After completing his term of punishment he returned to Lithuania.

He is a graduate of the University of Vilnius, a specialist in Lithuanian literature but was barred from working in his profession. He was punished for his participation in a Catholic youth organization and for distributing books written by emigre writers which had been written before Lithuania's annexation into the Soviet Union.

Lately he has been residing in Vilnius and working as a sacristan at the church. During the trial of human rights activist and Amnesty International member Sergei Kovalev in December, 1975, Petkus was detained by the police in order to prevent him from attending the trial and from meeting other human rights activists.

Being a dissident activist he was one of the organizers of the Helsinki monitoring group in Lithuania. He was arrested on August 24, 1977, jailed, and subjected to intense interrogations. His trial started on July 10, 1978. He refused to go to the court hall and was forcibly taken there with his eyes blindfolded. His trial continued for three days. Despite favorable statements by witnesses, on July 13, 1978, he was sentenced to 3 years in a strict jail, to 7 years in concentration camps and to 5 years in exile.

He was kept at the Vladimir jail and later transferred to: 422950 Tatarskaja ASSR, g. Christopol UE-148 St. -4.

For a certain time he was confined to a psychiatric hospital.

7. *PETRAS PLUMPA-PLIURAS*, born 1939, district of Rokiskis, worker, married, father of two children, resided in Kaunas. He was arrested in 1957 at the age of 18, accused of keeping weapons, actually a knife for home use, some rusted parts of a gun and a grenade without an activating device. He was condemned to a 7 year sentence and kept in a concentration camp in Mordavia. Upon completion of his sentence in 1965 he returned to Lithuania.

He was arrested again in November 19, 1973, interrogated, and for duplicating and distributing "The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania" on December 24, 1974 he was sentenced to 8 years in a strict regime concentration camp. He was deported to the Soviet Union. His last known address is:

District of Perm  
618263, Cusovoj kraj, Kuchino,  
VS 389/36-2, USSR.

8. *NIJOLE SADUNAITE*, daughter of Jonas, born 1939, Dotnuva, Kedainiu

district. In 1955 she completed the Anyksciai middle school.

She was arrested on August 27, 1974, accused, interrogated and charged with possession of the 11th issue of the "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania", found in her typewriter when her apartment was searched by the Soviet secret police.

During the preliminary hearing Nijole refused to reveal anything to her interrogators, who then threatened to have her put into a psychiatric hospital. For two months no food was allowed to be brought to her from outside. At the end of January, 1975, she wrote the prosecuting attorney a letter of protest about the way her hearing was conducted and about the threats to have her taken to a psychiatric hospital.

In March the members of the investigating committee contacted two of the local psychiatric hospitals in the city of Vilnius inquiring whether Nijole Sadu-



*Korean and ABN delegates at the 12th WACL Conference held in Asuncion, Paraguay, April 1979. From left to right: Mr. Yeong-Soo Sue (Korea), Dr. Basil Mailat (Rumania), Prof. S. Halamay (Ukraine), Prof. G. Corbi (Argentina), Dr. N. Labrada Bernal (Cuba).*

naite had ever been a patient there. The answer from both hospitals was negative.

In April, 1975 Nijole's case was transferred from case No. 345 to a separate file numbered 416.

While awaiting her trial in prison, Nijole Sadunaite was seriously ill with bronchitis and angina.

On June 16-17, 1975, her trial took place and the decision of the court was read: "Nijole Sadunaite has been found guilty according to the Criminal Code of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, paragraph 68, of the publication and distribution of the "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania" and is sentenced to three years compulsory labor and three years in exile." By the decision of the court her typewriter was confiscated.

On the afternoon of June 20, 1975, security agents took all of Nijole's papers and, having searched her belongings once again, they brought her to the concentration camp at this address:

Mordovskaya ASSR  
431200 Tengushevskiy ray.  
pos. Barashevo, uchr. Zh X 385-3-4.

In 1977 she was exiled to Krasnojarsk region her address there is:

SSSR, Krasnojarskij kraj, 663430  
Boguchani, Partizanskaja 17 kv. 1  
Sadunaite Nijole, Jono

During her stay in the concentration camps and exile Nijole survived a heart attack. She later contracted a flu and an ear inflammation, but no medical help was available. Ever since then her hearing has been partly impaired.

9. ŠARUNAS ŽUKAUSKAS, born 1950 in Kaunas, student at the school of medicine in his third year. He was arrested in 1973 and jailed for keeping and distributing forbidden literature, for underground activities, for editing the underground paper *Naujasis Varpas* (The New Bell), and for giving support to the fa-

mily of Simas Kudirka. On March 5, 1974 he was sentenced to 6 years in a strict regime concentration camp under Penal Code 68. He was deported to Mordovia.

His last known address is:

Moskva, učr. 5110/1 VS USSR Permskaja obl., 618623 Čusovskij raj., pos. Kučino, učrežd. VS 389/36

Šarunas Žukauskas.

10. ALGIS ŽYPRE, son of Pranas, born July 7, 1927 at Pakalniskiu village, Skuodas county, Kretinga district. His mother was deported to Siberia and he had been in hiding since 1944. Later he joined the freedom fighters. When amnesty was declared for the partisans, he tried to enter a school but was not granted permission. He then worked on construction. He was arrested on April 23, 1958, and sentenced to 25 years, disregarding that fact that amnesty was granted all freedom fighters and disregarding the fact that the penal code was changed to a maximum punishment of 15 years.

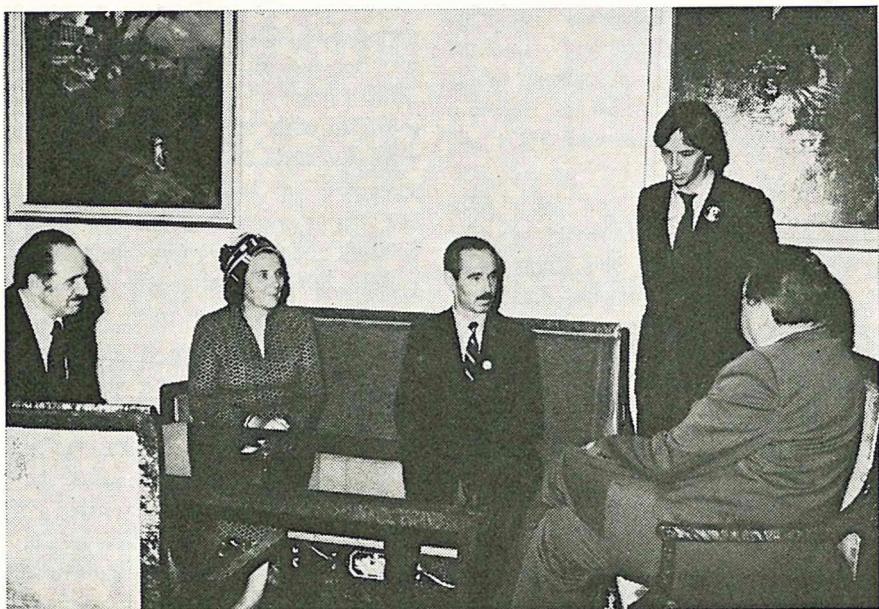
He was to be released on January 14, 1973, however, he is still being kept in a concentration camp at Mordovia. After his sentence had ended he wrote to the appropriate justice departments asking to be released. After repeatedly writing petitions to be released, he was on October 13, 1973, locked in the psychiatric ward at the Barashevo concentration camp 385-3-12, in Mordovia.

Here he was kept in isolation from the outside world, his window completely covered. He was not permitted to walk in the fresh air. He was severely beaten on October 20, 1973 and on February 7, 1975. He received injections of chemicals that damaged his mentality. He was kept at the Moscow Butyrki jail. His health is poor. Damaging chemicals deteriorated his heart, he is getting weak and gradually losing his sight. He has severe internal pains. He is permitted to receive only one

package per year. His last known address is: 420082 Tatarskaya ASSR gorod Kazan 82 UE 148 st. 6 Žypre A.P. (section 7)

As informed by ELTA (February 1979, No. 2), the Lithuanian Information Service in the USA, Mr. Žypre in his letter communicated: "Since April 7, 1978, I have been in Kazan. Here, they are exercising methodical pressure on me from all sides. I am totally forbidden to correspond with anybody, except my sister.

But she, too, received only three of my last five letters... Mutilation by drugs is constant here.. they do not intend to stop giving aminazine to me... They have kept me in the same ward with seriously ill patients, they made me lie on a mattress wet with urine... (in the psychiatric ward), I am the only political prisoner. The correspondence of the original (criminal) prisoners... is not restricted... The shortage of drugs here is complete... Physicians are not independent when they are treating political prisoners..."



Prime Minister of Bavaria, Germany, Dr. Franz Josef Strauss, meets Ukrainian delegation. From left to right: Mr. A. Melnyk, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Mr. Valentyn Moroz — released Ukrainian freedom fighter, and his translator — Mr. Roman Szuper.

**REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE**  
the protest writings of  
**VALENTYN MOROZ**

edited and translated  
by John Kolasky

Peter Martin Associates Limited  
35 Britain Street  
Toronto, Canada M5A 1R7

# Janka Kupala

(July 8, 1882 — June 28, 1942)

## Byelorussian National Poet

Janka Kupala (Lutsevich) was the most talented and prominent writer of poetry and prose in modern Whiteruthenian (Byelorussian) literature. He was born on the 8th of July, 1882, in Vyazynka, in the Vyaleika district of central Whiteruthenia. His parents were tenants of a small farm. His first works were published as early as 1905, and the first collection of his poems, "The Flute," which appeared in 1908, demonstrated the unusual talent of the bard of the Whiteruthenian peasantry. Kupala's poetic horizons soon began to expand beyond peasant problems and experiences, and the idea of national liberation penetrated his writings. At the same time he was perfecting himself as an artist. It was not long before he became not only the most prominent and representative poet of Whiteruthenian literature but also the spiritual leader of his people, who were awakening to national political consciousness.

His next poetic works were "The Bard" (1910) and his most artistic and mature collections, "Along the Road of Life" (1913), "Heritage" (1922) and "Nameless" (1925).

Kupala was not only a poet but also a writer of prose and plays. He wrote two symbolic dramatic poems. "Eternal Song" (1908) and "A Dream on a Burial Mound" (1910); a dramatic show, "The Halt," a comedy in prose "Paulinka" (1912), a national social drama "The Scattered Nest" (1913), a farce "The Bridegroom Accepted into the Family" (1914), and a satirical tragi-comedy "The Natives" (1920).

After the establishment of Russian Communist rule in Whiteruthenia Janka Kupala wrote very little. In 1930 he attempted suicide in protest against the sharp anti-Whiteruthenian and Russianizing policy of Moscow. He was saved and cured, but from that time onward was kept under the close surveillance of the Soviet police. In 1942 a second attempt at suicide, which proved successful, freed him from spiritual slavery.

The main sources of Kupala's writings are Whiteruthenian oral folk literature and his own knowledge of his people's way of life. He wrote much about the life of the Whiteruthenian peasants, and about the liberation of his country. His works include a number of political satires. There are also poems about nature, and love lyrics, such as "She and I," as well as poems based on folk legends.

Technically, Kupala's poetry has unusually vigorous and musical rhythms, rich and varied forms, and vivid imagery pervaded by spiritual feeling.

Kupala's influence on the Whiteruthenian people was immense. The younger generation of Whiteruthenian writers was nourished on his works. From the artistic point of view his writings enriched and developed the literary language of modern Whiteruthenia. But his works were also an inspiration to his people, a forceful stimulus to them in their struggle for national liberation in 1917—1921.

The patriotic poetry of Kupala has not lost its national revolutionary influence even today. Kupala has become the acknowledged poet and prophet of the Whiteruthenian national rebirth.

# In Defence of Yuriy Shukhevych

Testimony of Walter Chopiwskyj before the 34th Legislature State of Arizona,  
Senate Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Chairman, Members of this Committee.

My name is Walter Chopiwskyj, President of the National Captive Nations Committee — Arizona Branch, an organization established in accordance with the Joint Congressional Resolution signed into Public Law 86-90 by President Eisenhower.

The Resolution calls for observance of "Captive Nations Week" each year until... "freedom and independence shall be achieved by all nations"... enumerated in the resolution.

Since that time, we have drastically moved from the position of cold war and confrontation to "peaceful-coexistence", "cooperation, detente", and the Helsinki agreement, which brings us to the issue of Human Rights.

We are all aware of the situation behind the Iron Curtain, especially in the Soviet Union. National rights and human rights are not being observed. On the contrary, the number of prisons and concentration camps has tripled since the Stalin era, according to the testimony by a former political prisoner before the Committee of the United States Congress.

The russification process is being enforced in all of the non-Russian nations occupied by the forces of the so-called Soviet Union.

Those who are defending their national rights, their cultural heritage, language and tradition, are persecuted, prosecuted and placed in prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric asylums. According to numerous testimonies and article in "Battle Line", an ACU publication, 70% of the political prisoners are Ukrainians.

The recent arrests of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhy for being members of

the Ukrainian Public Group to promote implementation of the Helsinki Agreement was in "flagrant violation of human rights and an affront to the United States, as signatory of the Helsinki Agreement" stated in Illinois House of Representatives Resolution 47.

The Memorial before you, exemplifies one particular case of a young man, who at the age 15, was arrested, convicted and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment for crimes he never committed, only because he was the son of a General of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, who fought the Nazi and the Soviet Russian occupational forces of Ukraine.

In 1950, General Roman Shukhevych was killed in a battle with the security units of the KGB, then under the name of MVD. His son already a political prisoner for two years, was offered release from prison on the condition that he publicly denounce his father. The moral conviction of the boy dictated him that he could not do it. His answer was a clear NO! Finishing his 10 years of imprisonment, the offer was repeated, and the answer was the same — NO! As a result of this, (based on trumped-up) charges of anti-soviet activities while in prison, he was sentenced to an additional 10 years of incarceration.

After having served a total of 20 years in prisons and concentration camps, Yuriy Shukhevych was released and exiled into Siberia and prohibited to return to his native Ukraine.

While in Siberia, Yuriy married and had a son named Yarema. But he only enjoyed 4 years of relative freedom in a foreign land, when he was arrested again, this time just because he had signed a col-

lective letter in defense of Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, who was sentenced to imprisonment for Ukrainian Nationalism. — Moroz, has now become a symbol among all political prisoners of the USSR.

Yuriy Shukhevych received a sentence of 10 years imprisonment in the most cruel prison — the Vladimir prison in Moscow. His son, was only 2 years old, when Yuriy was taken away for the third 10 years of imprisonment. His wife and his son now 9 years old, are suffering severe hardship. Yuriy himself, now 46 years old, has spent

26 years in prisons, almost a two-thirds of his lifetime. Will he be able to survive 4 more years before his scheduled release? Will he be released — or will he draw 10 more years of incarceration?

There is a large number of Ukrainian-Americans and Ukrainian Canadians who are ready with a moral and financial support, such that the Shukhevych family will not become a burden for this country.

Mr. Chairman, Members of this Committee, I humbly ask you for passage of this Memorial.

Thank You.

## Concurrent Memorial

Introduced by Senator Usdane (State of Arizona)

*Urging the President and the Congress of the United States to open negotiations with the Soviet Union for the Release of Yuriy Shukhevych.*

To the President and the Congress of the United States of America:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

Whereas, the President of the United States has expressed deep concern for human rights in the world; and

Whereas, the President and Members of the United States Congress have intervened in several cases on behalf of individuals who have been deprived of their human rights in the Soviet Union; and

Whereas, Yuriy Shukhevych, a Ukrainian, has been incarcerated in Soviet prisons for almost thirty years; and

Whereas, in 1948, when only fifteen years old, Yuriy Shukhevych was arrested and sentenced to ten years of imprisonment simply because he was the son of a Ukrainian General of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army; and

Whereas, during his ten year imprisonment he drew an additional sentence of ten years incarceration for refusing to denounce his father and the underground; and

Whereas, in 1968 he was released and banished from Ukraine into Siberian exile; and

Whereas, in March 1972, on the fabricated charges of the KGB of "national activities", Yuriy was rearrested and sentenced to another ten years of imprisonment; and

Whereas, during the brief time of freedom, he married and had a son; and

Whereas, his wife and son have suffered enormous hardships as the family of a Ukrainian political prisoner; and

Whereas, the crimes committed by Yuriy Shukhevych cannot be considered crimes in any civilized society; and

Whereas, Ukrainian-Americans have indicated their willingness to support, morally and financially, the Shukhevych family; and

Whereas, the people of the State of Arizona are gravely concerned over the treatment of Yuriy Shukhevych and his family and condemn the action of the Soviet Government for arresting Yuriy Shukhevych at the age of fifteen years and keeping him imprisoned for almost thirty years.

Wherefore your memorialist, the Senate of the State of Arizona, the House of Representatives concurring, prays:

1. That the President of the United States, the Secretary of State of the United States and the Members of the Congress of the United States immediately open negotiations with the government of the Soviet Union to seek the release of Yuriy Shukhevych from imprisonment and to

request an exit visa for him and his family and extend to them political asylum in the United States.

2. That these negotiations with the Soviet Government for the release and emigration of Yuriy Shukhevych and his family offer, if necessary, an exchange similar to numerous exchanges already consummated to secure freedom of victims of the Soviet Union's unjust penal system.

3. That the Secretary of State of the State of Arizona transmit certified copies of this Memorial to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States and to each Member of the Arizona Congressional Delegation.



*Young members of the Republican Party in Arizona created a committee for the release of Yuriy Shukhevych.*

# Mykhailo Melnyk Murdered by the KGB

The murder on March 6th of Mykhailo Melnyk, a historian and poet, was the result of his close connection with the Ukrainian Group For Monitoring the Observance of the Helsinki Human Rights Agreement by the Russian Government. This is yet another example of the price many have to pay to courageously resist the Soviet-Russian system of intrigue and repression.

Mykhailo Melnyk died under suspicious circumstances following a raid by the KGB on his home outside Kyiv. During this same time, Oles' Berdnyk, the noted writer and philosopher who became the leader of the Ukrainian "Helsinki" Monitoring Group after the arrest of Mykola Rudenko last year, has apparently vanished without a trace which strongly suggests that he too was arrested by the KGB.

This is not the first time that prominent Ukrainians have become victims of KGB plots; there have been many others. Barely a year has passed since Rostyslaw Paletskyj, a well-known artist from the Odessa region of Ukraine, died under similar suspicious circumstances following a visit by a stranger to his house. The events which led to the death of Alla Horska in 1970, another talented artist, also strongly suggests that this was the result of a well thought out plan on the part of the KGB. Thus Russian colonial imperialism finds many ways to eliminate Ukrainian patriots who demand freedom for Ukraine.

It is therefore apparent that the KGB campaigns of harassment and repression have no bounds! Besides arresting, confining to psychiatric asylums and deporting

to labour camps prominent intellectuals, students, workers and faithful of many churches, the KGB also persecutes their wives, children and relatives. Oksana Meshko, who herself spent 10 years in a Russian concentration camp, is constantly being subjected to raids and searches by the KGB for belonging to the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, while her son Oleksander Serhiyenko languishes in a Russian concentration camp. A similar fate has befallen Raisa Rudenko, whose husband Mykola, a poet and leader of the Ukrainian "Helsinki" Monitoring Group, was sentenced to 12 years deprivation of freedom last year.

It is clear from these incidents and tragedies that the KGB, already notorious for its unbridled campaigns involving intrigue and repression, will stop at nothing to crush one's love of freedom. Where persecution and harassment do not bring the desired results, it resorts to eliminating those brave men and women who dare to speak out against the destruction of their culture and of their desire for freedom which they hold so dearly.

These actions by the KGB are clearly a mockery of the Helsinki Human Rights Agreement which the Russian government signed.

We hope that you will raise your voice of protest by appealing to the media and your representative to parliament.

*Committee in Defence of  
Ukrainian Political  
Prisoners*

49, Linden Gardens, London, W. 2

There are no beds in Poland because the Party is on guard, the enemy is awake, the patriots are behind bars and the workers are sleeping on roses.

# Ukrainian-Americans Valuable National Resource

*The following article is by George Woloshyn, a Federal attorney who is working with ACU in setting up the Alliance for Freedom, a group which will promote greater involvement by Americans of European origin in America's political process.*

Mention the word "Ukraine" to the average American and you'll draw either a total blank or a vague comment that it is part of "Russia". But to two million Americans of Ukrainian origin, this vague miscomprehension is an everyday source of chagrin and concern. For, most Ukrainians will tell you, and many Sovietologists will confirm, that the future of Western civilization may well be decided in this geopolitically vital link between Europe and Asia.

Ukraine has long been an object of bitter contest among European powers. Russia, Germany, Poland, Austro-Hungary, Turkey and France have all vied at one time or another to gain control or influence over the fabulous resources and wealth of Ukraine. As the second most populous state in the Soviet Union and third largest nation in Europe, Ukraine has the potential of playing a leading role in world affairs. Without Ukraine, the Soviet Union would never have been able to challenge the peace and security of the Free World.

Few nations have been blessed with such an abundance of wealth and beauty, variety of climate and terrain. Ironically, however, even fewer nations can claim the devastation and bloodshed that these gifts have brought upon its people. The toll of human life in Ukraine during the 60-plus years of Soviet rule has been estimated at 20 million — a "holocaust" of unprecedented proportions designed to eliminate the Ukrainian threat to Soviet Russian hegemony.

It is no wonder then, that Ukrainians cling so tenaciously and fiercely to their national identity, culture, and pride, and yet, very few communities in this country

can equal the intense loyalty and patriotism Ukrainians have toward their adopted American homeland and traditional American virtues. It would be hard to find a Ukrainian in a welfare line, in prison, or in a "peace" demonstration.

Ukrainians started arriving in this country in substantial numbers in the 1870s, although there is some evidence that solitary soldiers of fortune, such as John Adams ("Adamchuk") had arrived even earlier to help in the American Revolution. Destitute peasants flocked to our coal mines and factories to work as laborers and domestics. By 1945, they had established a viable base for absorption of the 100,000 highly nationalistic professional and skilled workers that sought refuge from Nazi and Soviet repressions.

In the last two decades there has been a virtual explosion of Ukrainian community activity fueled by the zealous political passions of the new arrivals. Their energy and faith infected the earlier generations of Ukrainian-Americans and together they set out to construct a framework from which to pursue their ancestral dream of Ukrainian freedom.

Two-thirds of the Ukrainian community is concentrated in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois and Ohio. They have established educational institutes ranging from kindergartens to colleges. They developed a dynamic and spirited media network consisting of approximately 60 periodicals and dozens of radio broadcasting programs. Their children find wholesome release of their energies in a national network of scout and youth camps and resorts.

Four Ukrainian insurance companies and

several dozen savings institutions serve the financial needs of the community. Touring theatrical, dance, choir, opera and "rock" groups provide cultural nourishment and an outlet for creative talent. After a long and intensive campaign, Ukrainians contributed several million dollars to Harvard University for the establishment of a Ukrainian research and study center where scholars can earn doctoral degrees in Ukrainian studies.

Almost every large community is served by stores selling Ukrainian books, artifacts, records, greeting cards, etc.; clubs and "national homes" for organizational and social affairs; and hundreds of professional, educational, cultural, charitable, athletic, political and religious organizations of local, regional and national dimensions. Several major resorts host thousands of Ukrainians from around the world for summer or year-round recreation and conventions. Every year, for example, one major resort in the Catskills is host to 10,000 Ukrainians rallying during the Labor Day weekend in support of their political aspirations.

Ukrainians have a well-earned reputation as a hard-working, thrifty and ambitious people. They place great value on education and a far greater proportion of Ukrainians attend private schools and colleges than the national average. Five times as many Ukrainians are enrolled in post-graduate courses than the average for Americans in general. The income of Ukrainian families exceeds the national average by 15-20 percent and home ownership exceeds it by 25 percent.

Today, Ukrainians proudly boast of such successful Americans as Jack Palance, Sandra Dee, Judge John S. Gonias (former

Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate), Dr. Joseph V. Charyk (President of COMSAT), Dr. George Kistiakowsky (former Chairman of the President's Science Advisory Commission), Igor Sikorsky (of helicopter fame), Alexander Archipenko (the world renowned sculptor), Gen. Samuel Jaskilka (retired Assistant Vice Commandant, Marine Corps), Walter Tkaczuk (New York Rangers), and Miss Annelise Ilchenko (Miss USA, 1976).

In sum, the Ukrainian-American is profoundly "American" and "conservative" in that he wholeheartedly embraces and personifies those principles that dominate the conservative movement: a fierce hatred of tyranny; disdain for government hand-outs; impatience with criminal-coddling laws; a deep concern about the decline of American power and prestige; a proponent of greater intelligence activity; and a rugged, make-do, assertive individualism.

In addition, he is fired with a deep and unceasing concern about the fate of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, and a willingness to make all necessary sacrifices in confronting and destroying Soviet Russian power. Above all, he realizes that a free and independent Ukraine would necessarily spell the doom of Soviet Russian expansionism, and conversely, the continued subjugation of Ukraine and the other captive nations lends momentum to Moscow's dream of world domination.

From all available data it appears that the aspirations of the Ukrainian-American are shared by his 45 million brethren in the Soviet Union, who, according to reports from former denizens of the Gulag, comprise 70 percent of the prison population and hundreds more who are daily rising in defiance.

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

## US Military Warns Carter

More than 170 retired generals and admirals have warned US President Jimmy Carter of what they describe as an "increasing Soviet challenge" to the United States.

In an open letter, they said a national intelligence estimate that is described as "the most authoritative US Government evaluation of intelligence data" had finally acknowledged that the Russians were "heading for superiority, not parity, in the military arena".

The letter said a US inter-agency study on the global military balance concluded recently that "in a non-nuclear conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States in the Middle East, Israel alone might deter Soviet combat forces' intervention or prevent the completion of such deployment".

Were it not for the ability of Israel's ground forces, the officers declared, the United States would have to station significant forces and equipment in the Middle East.

The signers, among whom were six generals, 15 lieutenant-generals and four admirals, included Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, former chief of naval operations; Gen. Paul Freeman, former army commander in Europe; Gen. T. W. Parker, former army chief of staff in Europe; Gen. Albert Wedemeyer, who was commander of the China theatre of operations at the end of the Second World War; Maj.-Gen. John Singlaub, former chief of staff, US forces in Korea and Maj.-Gen. George Keegan, former chief of intelligence, US Air Force.

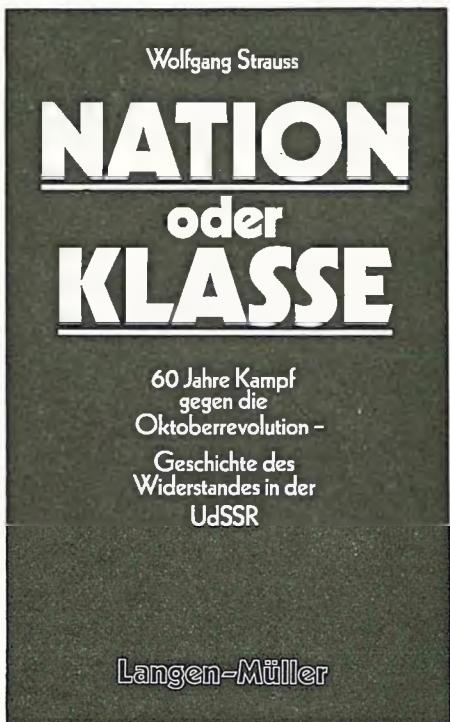
The Soviet Union's "imperial objectives" were described as the neutralization of Western Europe, partly by denying it access to oil, the encirclement of China and the isolation of the United States.

The letter said the Soviet Russian focus on the Middle East to reach these ob-

jectives represented "a real and growing threat to Western security". It said Soviet Russian influence and power had expanded in the eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan had come under Soviet Russian control and "anti-American forces" were harassing the governments in Iran and Turkey.

Cuban mercenaries were described as carrying out Soviet policies in Angola, Ethiopia, Zaire, Syria and Lebanon.

The writers also mentioned a point raised by nuclear scientists, academic students of Soviet policy and many foreign and US intelligence analysts: "Soviet defence literature expressly rejects the Western doctrine of 'mutual assured destruction'. It rejects specifically the notion that nuclear war means suicide. Soviet forces are structured to fight, survive and win a nuclear war."



# WACL Against Russification

*Resolutions passed at the XII WACL Conference in Asuncion, Paraguay April 28, 1979*

## Defence of National Independence for the Subjugated Nations

Because Russian bolshevist imperialism aims at the conquest of the whole world and the subjugation of all nations and people, through constant aggression, provocation of constant new peripheral wars in Asia and Africa, through the military support to communist upheavals under the guise of so-called national liberation wars, through internal subversions and turmoils inside free nations, through disintegration by Marxism, Communism and left liberalism of national and human morale inside free societies of the world, through the negation and destruction of national traditions and religious beliefs, through sharpening of national conflicts in the Middle East in order to get access to the Persian Gulf and warm waters;

Because while the subjugated nations are fearlessly fighting by all possible means for their national independence, for the dissolution of the Russian Empire and the liquidation of the communist system, Russian chauvinism, racism and communism by its linguicide, ethno-, cultural-, geno-, and natiocidal policy (the total russification of subjugated nations) strives to crush the subjugated nations.

Because in November 1978, the Russian chauvinists and racists, with the help of its colonial government of the Ukrainian SSR issued a decree of total russification of schools and pedagogical institutes in Ukraine, similarly decreed in Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Kazakhstan or as in 1978 when they tried to abolish from the constitution of Georgian and Armenian SSR their mother languages and to introduce instead the Russian language as the sole official language, but were compelled to withdraw under the pressure

of mass anti-Russian demonstrations in Georgia and Armenia;

Because russification is directed at the destruction of national entities by means of a forceful removal of mother languages of subjugated nations and instead the introduction of the Russian language in schools, public offices, mass media, in literary works, in humanistic and other sciences, "soc-realism" in cultural creativity (namely enforced Russian ways of life — bolshevism, Russian traditions), the colonization of non-Russian subjugated countries by Russians, deportations and mixing of peoples, aimed at the artificial creation of so-called Soviet people — namely a Russian supernation — strengthened the resistance and counter-action of the subjugated nations aimed at defending their own spiritual, cultural, national and biological existence;

Because the new constitution of the USSR as the most reactionary basic law of all empires ever known aims to guarantee the absolute supreme role of a Russian supernation, the indivisibility of the Russian Soviet empire and total subjugation of nations and individuals;

Because Russian imperialism and bolshevism endeavors to crush the national liberation revolutionary struggle of the subjugated nations as the main obstacle in conquering the world and simultaneously is preparing by the accumulation of an unheard of armament to unleash through an accelerated tempo and unexpected attack, the third world war;

## The 12th Conference of WACL decides

- 1) To support, as possible alternative to a third world war, the independent sovereign force on the world political arena — the subjugated nations in the Soviet

Russian empire, their national liberation revolutions — namely, of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Turkestan, Cossackia, Idel-Ural, Siberia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Eastern Germany, Slovakia, Czechia, Croatia, Albania, Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam and other subjugated nations in their struggle for national independence and freedom.

2) To protest against the attitude of considering the liberation of the subjugated nations and the realization of national and human rights as an internal problem of the Russian empire but instead, according to international law agreements and resolutions of the United Nations and according to human and God's laws to consider the disintegration of the Russian empire and the establishment of independent national states as the basic foundation of the new just order in the world for which the entire free world should strive.

3) To appeal to the governments, parliaments and public opinion of the Free World to organize actions against the russification of the subjugated nations and the annulment of the Ukrainian SSR government's decree dictated by Moscow (see Nov. 11, 1978 *Radianska Osvita* [Soviet Education] — "Raising the standard of learning and teaching of the Russian language in schools and pedagogical institutes of the republic") by which the Russian language in Ukrainian schools received privileged position ousting the Ukrainian mother language, similar to the tyrannical Tsarist Ems Ukas (decree) a hundred years ago wherein the Ukrainian language was forbidden or to the Valuev Ukas (decree): "non-existence of the Ukrainian language".

4) To condemn similar criminal violations

of the most natural rights of a child — to learn in its own mother language in Byelorussia, Kasakhstan, Caucasian Republics and in languages of national groups included in the Russian FSSR and to demand restoration of sovereign rights to mother languages for all countries occupied by Moscow.

5) To appeal to President Jimmy Carter to incorporate as an integral part of US foreign policy towards the USSR the realization of the American Congress Law on the national independence of the nations subjugated by Russia and communism nations from 1959, UN resolutions on decolonization — it means, dissolution of all empire of the world, including the Russian, UN resolutions of legality (from the international law point of view) of military support to the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations against colonial empires;

6) To appeal to President Jimmy Carter and governments of other free world countries to stop economic and technological support etc. to the USSR and its satellites until the political and religious prisoners of the subjugated nations are released, the concentration camps and psychiatric prisons are disbanded, the russification is stopped, the persecution of the churches is ceased, the Russian occupationary armies and Russian apparatus of terror is withdrawn from the subjugated countries and the national and human rights in the subjugated countries are realized;

7) To appeal to the enemies of the Russian empire to consider in the unavoidable war with the Russian empire the subjugated nations with their strivings for national independence and freedom who constitute almost 2/3 of the population of the Russian empire with the satellites as the decisive factor.

## **On the Liberation of Byelorussia from Soviet Russian Slavery**

WHEREAS, the communist Soviet Russian empire, called officially the USSR, has recently superimposed its dominating influence on Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, South Yemen and Cambodia;

WHEREAS, the USSR is preparing further expansions in Oman, North Yemen and Iran, encircling the largest oil deposits around the Persian Gulf, with the aim of applying the policy of oil strangulation against Western Europe, Japan and other free countries;

WHEREAS, the immense military capabilities and effective strategic positions of the USSR are openly demonstrated by its presence and activities on the entire globe, threatening the freedom and independence of existing sovereign states;

WHEREAS, this tremendous might of the USSR has been developed and built on the basis of its colonial possessions and exploitations of many non-Russian captive nations, including Byelorussia;

WHEREAS, the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, proclaimed on March 25, 1918 in Minsk by the Council of the First Byelorussian Congress, was attacked and finally conquered by the Soviet Russian Armies in 1921;

WHEREAS, the Byelorussian SSR, created by the Moscow Government, is a fictitious state, ruled by the central government of Moscow;

WHEREAS, about half of the Byelorussian ethnographic territory is annexed to the Russian SFSR; Byelorussian people are deprived of all of their national and economic and human rights; through the use of terror, the Moscow Government annihilated over six million people of the Byelorussian population; using the superimposed communist system of the economy

for the limitless exploitation of the working people;

WHEREAS, the Government of the USSR is using the present time to increase rapidly its own potential for the intention of world domination: by an artificial unification through enforced Russification of the multi-national population of the USSR; 2) by achieving a completely centralized economy for the entire USSR, while ignoring the local needs of union republics; 3) by increasing its military might to a magnitude, surpassing any possible combination of the free world in this respect; the new union republics' Constitutions of 1978 are serving this purpose — the previous right of union republics to maintain their own armies has been withdrawn.

NOW, THEREFORE, the 12th WACL Conference is urgently recommending the decolonization of the Soviet Russian empire and liberation of Byelorussia and all the non-Russian nations, with the restoration of their national independence.

**Igor  
Shankovsky**

## **SYMONENKO**

**a study in  
semantics**

1977

UKRAINISCHES INSTITUT FÜR  
BILDUNGSPOLITIK — MÜNCHEN  
e.V.

## For Ukraine's Independence from Russian Colonialism

Whereas the Ukrainian nation and other subjugated peoples are fighting for national independence, the realization of social justice and other human rights;

whereas the so-called policy of detente has turned out for the West to be a complete failure and has created for the Russian imperialists a convenient opportunity for advancing on Afghanistan, Cambodia and some areas of Africa;

whereas the "new" USSR constitution is in essence the constitution of a cruel empire which, while creating an artificial structure, s.c. Soviet people and in reality a Russian supernation, places the highest authority into the hands of the Politburo and Russian government in Moscow and officially sanctions terror as the governing system by granting the General Public Prosecutor (the KGB) uncontested rights and privileges to appoint or approve the appointees by the republican public pro-

secutors, also candidates selected by the KGB;

whereas the said constitution deprives the subjugated nations of realizing national and human rights through subordination of these rights in the interest of "the Soviet people" (Russian people), the Communist party, "the working class" and the USSR;

whereas the introduction of the "new" imperial constitution and massive propaganda for an artificial "new historical entity" called "the soviet people" together with extreme centralization have strengthened a bold and pressing russification since the Russian language has been given the status of a privileged language aiming at the denationalization and assimilation of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Latvians, Estonians, Turkestani, North Caucasians etc;

whereas the severe and relentless russification is being forcefully imposed upon



*Delegates at the plenary session of the 12th WACL Conference in Asuncion, Paraguay,  
April 23—27, 1979.*

Ukrainians and other subjugated peoples by perfidious methods of discrimination of non-Russians, by decreeing the teaching of the Russian language to Ukrainian children *en masse* starting with the first school grade, by increasing the numbers of Russian teachers inside the entire Ukrainian educational system and other methods as reported in the newspaper "Soviet Education" — November 1978;

whereas the forced deportation of many young and adult Ukrainians from Ukraine to distant parts of the USSR (Siberia, Gulag, a.o.) and the simultaneous "import" of Russians into the Ukrainian regions of Donbas, Kharkiw, etc. are designed to produce various aspects of russification and Russian colonization. The persecution of Ukrainian patriots and the atheistic demolitions of Churches (Ukrainian Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant) lead toward the annihilation of the ethno-national, cultural and religious, ideological and philosophical, folkloric and traditional, linguistic and even biological substance of Ukrainian and other nations in the USSR subjugated by Russia;

whereas the cultural, ethnic and physical genocide is systematically carried on by the Russian invaders inside the USSR be it resolved that:

1) WACL strongly supports the national liberation fight of the heroic Ukrainian nation for national independence and human rights;

2) WACL condemns all acts of imperialist subjugation of Ukraine and other enslaved peoples by Russian communists and imperialists;

3) WACL condemns all acts of the KGB and other agencies in the prison of nations of the Russian regime perpetrated upon Ukrainians, Georgians, Byelorussians,

Lithuanians, a.o. in order to break the will of nations so that they accept the artificial structure of the so-called "Soviet People";

4) WACL strongly protests the persecution of Ukrainian freedom-loving writers, cultural workers, poets and philosophers such as Jurij Shukhevych, Irena Senyk, Viacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Svitlychnyj, Ivan Hel, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Father Romaniuk, Vasyl Stus, Ihor Kalynets, Oksana Popowych, Leonid Lukyanenko and many others, especially members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) condemned to 25 or more years of imprisonment;

5) WACL appeals to the US Congress and Government as well as to all free nations to apply by means of proper policies and channels to exercise adequate pressure upon Soviet Russian and communist regimes that they stop russification, because he who kills the language of a nation kills the soul of that nation, which in turn leads to the despiritualization of the life of mankind, for the world culture consists of a mosaic of national cultures;

6) WACL appeals to the Government of the USA that it apply the UN Resolution on World Decolonization — the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of December 14, 1960 not only to the areas of Asia or Africa but also to the USSR, which means the dissolution of the Russian empire into national independent states of the subjugated nations;

7) WACL appeals to the US government to include in its foreign policy as its integral part the US Congress Resolution of 1959 on the support to the liberation of the subjugated nations.

## Islam in the Soviet Union

*Text of lecture at the IVth Conference of World Assembly of Muslim Youth in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, held on 21/3/1979. Dr. B. Hayit is the Chairman of the Turkistan Research Institute in Cologne, West Germany.*

Before dealing with the subject at hand: "The Problems of the Defence of Islam under Communist Rule", it would perhaps be expedient to make some comments about the extent of Communist rule in Islamic countries in the present-day Soviet Union, in order that the overall problem may first be recognised.

In February 1917, socialists of all types — social-democrats, social-revolutionaries and communists — joined forces to overthrow the Czar of Russia. Shortly afterwards the Communists adopted a radical course, they overthrew the social-liberal government in Russia and, in October 1917, took power. With this act, communist rule came into being for the first time in the history of the world.

Before the emergence of communist power, the Russian Empire had been one of many nations. The Islamic peoples — Azerbaijanians, North Caucasians, Turkistani, Baschkirians and Crimean Tartars also formed part of this empire. Russia's military aggression towards the Islamic peoples began in the middle of the 16th Century and ended at the close of the 19th Century with the conquest of Turkistan. Of the Islamic countries of the Russian Empire, the states of Buchara and Khorezm had been protectorates since the end of the 19th Century and had sovereignty over their internal affairs. Between 1921 and 1924 the Communist government of Russia recognised the sovereign right of the states of Buchara and Khorezm, these monarchies having been transformed into Peoples' Republics in 1920.

The Moslems of the Czarist Empire,

whose territories comprised historically more than 4.5 million square kilometres, and who numbered more than 30 million, were continuously striving to free themselves from Russian domination. Both Russian defeat in the First World War and the revolutions weakened the power mechanism which Russia had established over the Islamic peoples under its domination. Relations between the Russians and the Moslems were so strained that a reconciliation between rulers (Russians) and ruled (Moslems) seemed impossible, even in the age of Communist rule. Russia's Communists recognised these tensions and sought a solution.

On November 15th 1917, eight days after assuming power, the Russian Communist leadership issued the *Declaration of Rights of the People of the Russian Empire*, in which it conferred on non-Russian peoples the right of secession from Russia.<sup>1</sup>

On December 3rd 1917, after Communist rule had been in existence for twenty-six days, the Communist government of Russia went further and published an *Appeal to the Moslems of Russia and the Orient*. In this proclamation, too, it was stressed that Moslems had to be masters in their own countries.<sup>2</sup>

In 1917—1918, following the collapse of the central government in Russia and on the basis of the above-mentioned declarations, the Moslems of the Russian Empire formed their own national states. The Communist leadership in Russia now had to oppose their own declarations and promises, in order to reestablish the unity of the Russian Empire. Armed conflict

between Russians and Moslems now became inevitable. The Communist leaders of Russia were endeavouring to suppress by force of arms those Moslem national states which had come into being after the Communist Revolution. Thus, the Russians began the second conquest of the countries of *Islam*. In Turkistan, where Moslems lived in closely-knit communities, conflicts between Russians and Moslems assumed particularly large proportions. In February 1918, a struggle began against Communist Russia for the liberation of Islam and the people in Turkistan. These conflicts, which were conducted by Communist Russia with alarming brutality (and included the use of aeroplanes and tanks, the poisoning of springs and mass murders) and by Turkistan Moslems with bravery and exceptional faith in the triumph of Islam, ended in 1935 with the take-over of power by Communist Russia in Turkistan.<sup>3</sup>

However, it became apparent that the Moslems of Turkistan were not prepared to abandon their determination to be free. We can recognise this in the action of Turkistan Moslems and of other Moslems from the Soviet Union at the time of the Second World War, when than 400,000 Moslems, including more than 270,000 from Turkistan, joined forces with the Germans in the fight against Communism.

Since the emergence of Communist power in the Russian Empire and up until the present day, the Moslems in the Soviet Union have striven to free themselves from Russian Imperialism and Communism. However, they have not been able to reach their intended goal. Another reason for their failure lies in the fact that Communism achieved power in Russia and merged its ideology with Russia's traditional sense of being a great power. The ideology of Communism took shape within the framework of traditional Russian Chauvinism. Many Russian philosophers in fact affirm this. For example, Nikolay

Berdyayev, the distinguished Russian philosopher writes:

"Russian communism is a distortion of the Russian messianic idea...  
Communism is a Russian phenomenon".<sup>4</sup>

What, then, is the significance of this Russian messianism? It originated in the 15th Century, after the conquest of Byzantium by the Turks. Russian clerics preached that Moscow should become the third Rome (after Rome itself and then Constantinople as the second Rome), and should purge and rule the world in the name of Christianity. This idea of world domination by means of the Christian religion was for centuries the political leitmotiv of Russian rulers. With the victory of Communism, Moscow abandoned the idea of messianism on a religious basis; and, instead, the Russian leadership adopted Communism as its tool for world domination. With the adoption of Communism, Russia had a new concept for world domination which has had a drastic effect on the world right up to the present day. The Russian philosopher Berdyayev rightly notes:

"Instead of the third Rome, the Third International (Communist) has been successfully realised... In the West it is far from understood that the Third International is not an 'international' but a Russian, 'national' idea".<sup>5</sup>

Russian Communists also currently maintain the following view: "*The establishment of Communism in the USSR is a beginning and an integral part of the rise and consolidation of Communism as a worldwide unit*".<sup>6</sup>

It is evident, from references of this nature and from daily life in the Soviet Union, that Communism is an instrument of Russian imperialism.

Communism as a power has now been in existence since 1917. As a power, it has been able, particularly since 1945, to

bring several countries under the control of the Communist concept. China, the Balkan States (Albania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania), the countries of Eastern Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia), East Germany, Cuba, North Korea, Cambodia and Vietnam all serve as examples. Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen and Afghanistan are other examples of the formation of Communist power.

Outside the Soviet Union, there are many Moslems who live within the sphere of influence of other Communist-controlled countries. For technical reasons it is not possible here to deal with the problems of these Moslems and of Islam. I should like to make a brief statement here on the fate of Moslems within the country of origin of Communist power, namely the Soviet Union.

Communism, as a materialist concept was, and is, closely bound up with the theory of godlessness. Communism categorically rejects religion and thereby belief in Allah. Consequently, the Communist régime, which also extended to the Moslems of the former Russian Empire, could not behave in a neutral manner towards religions, particularly Islam.

The godless leadership of the Soviet Union was not, however, in a position to take immediate and radical action against Islam. Until 1930, the Communists looked for a way of concluding the fight against Islam. On the one hand, the Communist leadership was prepared to defer both initiating the development of godlessness amongst the Moslem in an immediate and radical manner and taking political measures against Islam. The Communist leadership also tried to win some of the Islamic priests over to Communism. At the same time, the Communist rulers of Russia tried to interpret Islam from a Communist standpoint, i.e. to falsify the teachings of Islam. Several essays and pamphlets which serve to show the irreconcilability between Islam and Communism have appeared in

both the East and the West up till now.<sup>7</sup>

Whilst Russia's Communist national leadership fought against Christianity with the help of Russian Christians, not one Moslem was prepared to fight Islam on behalf of Communism. Consequently, former Christians, now atheists, themselves took charge of the Anti-Islam Movement amongst Moslems in the Soviet Union. It should also be pointed out that, up till the Communist takeover in Russia, there was not a single Communist amongst the Moslem population.

*The radical fight of the Communist régime against Islam began in the years 1929—1932 and continues to this day.* The Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs of the Abdul Aziz University in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, was kind enough to publish my views on the tragic situation of Islam under Communist rule in the Soviet Union, with Turkistan as an example.<sup>8</sup> Some facts concerning the anti-Islamic policy of the Communist régime may be gleaned from this publication. In spite of this, I should like to point out that the fight against Islam in the Soviet Union has been carried out in the cruellest of ways. It is, however, regrettable that the tragic situation of Islam in the Soviet Union under the domination of godlessness has not been compiled in a documentary, chronological and systematic fashion and published in the Islamic world. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that young Moslems outside the sphere of influence of the Communist régime can hardly imagine what is happening to the Moslems and to Islam under Communist rule.

It is well-known that Communism pursues, on the one hand, an intensive anti-Islam policy within its sphere of influence and, on the other hand, pro-Islam policies and propaganda in those Islamic countries outside the Soviet Union. Thus the ungodly ones are pursuing their twin objective of conclusively suppressing Islam within their sphere of influence and of winning

Moslems from outside the Soviet Union over to Moscow's foreign political goals.

In order to get an idea of the apparent defeat of Islam under Communist rule, it is necessary to answer the question: *What has Communism achieved with its anti-Islam policy?* It is possible to answer this as follows:

— Islamic spiritual leaders have been arrested and many have been executed. Moslems have been left without trained religious personalities

— Mosques and Medresehs have been closed and Avkaf properties have been confiscated

— The education of youth on the basis of Islam has been forbidden

— Islamic religious life (Prayers, Ramadzan, Zekat, Pilgrimages to Mecca) has been forbidden by law.

— The publication of religious tracts has also been forbidden

— Communism, as the ideology of Russia, has had every possible means at its disposal in the fight against Islam

— The anti-Islamic education of our youth has been pursued up till the present day as an integral part of the Communist education policy.

— The Communist theory and practice of godlessness has been an integral part of the substructure of the State. Instead of this, the Moslems have their inner, unshakable belief in Allah.

— It is also a fact that Communism is training some godless youth groups from Islamic families, who are, in their turn, now helping the Russians in their fight against Islam. However, these remain in the minority amongst Moslems.

Having looked at the rise of Communist power in the Soviet Union in general, and the intensive anti-Islam policy of Communism and the Soviet State in particular, we can now turn to the problems of the defence of Islam by the Moslems under Communist rule. It must, first of all, be noted that, because of legal stipulations,

and as a result of continually enforced anti-Islam measures, Moslems are forced to defend Islam in a predominantly illegal manner and to perform their duties, as far as possible, inconspicuously. The Communist Party and the agencies of the Soviet have established that Moslems still believe in Islam. The defence of Islam by the Moslems in the Soviet Union can be summarized and interpreted in the following way:

1. *Creed (Kalima-yi Shahādat): As is known, since 1930—1937, Moslems have had no religious leaders at their disposal who were trained and in a position to continue the teaching of Islam to Moslems and to constantly remind them of their duties. Nor are there any Islamic religious writing from which our youth might, at least, be able to recognise the meaning of Islam and from which they could learn. Furthermore, there is no religious teaching amongst Moslems. The teaching of the Islamic faith is forbidden by law, both in the Soviet education system and on a private basis.<sup>9</sup> In spite of this, Moslems from the older generation have tried, and are still trying, to convey the fundamental principle of Islam, the Kalima-yi Shahādat, to Moslem youth.*

This teaching takes place neither at meetings of young people nor by any written form of communication, neither by radio nor in a mosque, but in the family. In the family, the eldest family member reminds the younger members of the significance of the Kalima-yi Shahādat and attempts to implant it in their minds before they begin their education in Soviet Communist schools. Children learn the Kalima-yi Shahādat by heart and repeat it, or rather must repeat it, silently and constantly. When the children have reached adulthood and have taken on some responsibility in life, they are asked by their elders about the content of the Shahādat. Today Moslems born before the rise of Communism are few and far between. But those

who were born before its rise and who have studied the Kalima-yi Shahâdat pass it on to the next generation. They see this as the preservation of their tradition, and as a sign of respect for the spirit of their ancestors. According to their tradition, young Moslems still respect their elders and are, thus, readily responsive to the older generation.

In this way, our Creed has been maintained in the forefront up until the present day.

2. *Prayer:* According to Soviet Law, it is forbidden to pray in mosques. Under the Religious Law (Article 4), Moslems are obliged to seek registration if they wish to pray together in a mosque. To obtain permission, at least twenty Moslems must submit an application to the municipal authorities for the registration of a religious community and for the opening of a mosque. Only after the application has been approved by the *Council for Religious Affairs of the Ministerial Office of the Soviet Union*, in Moscow, may Moslems undertake common prayer. However, Moslems do not seek registration. Religious services in mosques are rare, since there are hardly any mosques in existence and since Moslems want to protect themselves against possible criminal prosecution by the Communist State. Most prayers are conducted, not in public, but privately and in secret. Even in the family, prayers are conducted only if the head of the family is of the opinion that no member of the family is an agent of the State or of the Communist Party. In those mosques which are approved by the authorities, Moslems, predominantly of the older generation, are allowed to pray. It is estimated that about 200 mosques are open in the Soviet Union at the present time.<sup>10</sup> Before Communist rule there were 24,321 mosques in a good condition, of which 12,733 were in Turkistan.<sup>11</sup> The voice of the Muezzem, calling the Moslems to prayer, has disappeared. Moslems pray according to their

own timetables. They must say their prayers in silence, as far as possible, as the law forbids religious life to be conducted in state offices, schools and other public places. And so they pray in silence, without drawing attention to the fact that they are doing so. In the villages, prayers are also conducted in tea-house. Although the construction of mosques without official permission is not allowed, Moslems in the Soviet Republic of Tadschikistan, for example, have risked the building of 27 new mosques. They have registered them as teahouses or clubs. It is not obvious, from the outside, whether a building is a mosque or not, but inside the Mehrâb has been erected. In order to keep this secret from the authorities, Moslems have covered the Mehrâb with a portrait of Lenin, whenever prayers are not in progress. Allusions of this nature signify that Moslems are trying, by all the means at their disposal, to retain their Islamic community spirit.

3. *Fasting:* Communist Religious Law makes no mention of Ramadzan. However, this does not mean that the State permits fasting. On the contrary, fasting is vigorously opposed by the régime, since it maintains that fasting hampers the work process and is, therefore, detrimental to Communism. Despite this, many Moslems fast without drawing attention to themselves. Fasting Moslems indicate to one another that they are fasting and then give one another support. Both the Fasting Festival and the sacrificial offerings donated by pilgrims are forbidden in the Soviet State, yet religious ceremonies are often held in closed circles. For social reasons, too, Moslems are not in a position to hold religious ceremonies.

4. *The Zekât:* Communist Religious Law also remains silent on the question of the Zekât. However, because of the living conditions under Communism, nobody is socially in a position to fulfill his obligation to the Zekât. Instead of the contribution to the Zekât, Moslems continue to

offer relief to distressed Moslems, even though the organisation of relief funds is forbidden by law. A regular contribution to the Zekât has almost vanished from Moslem life.

5. *Pilgrimages*: Pilgrimages to the Holy City of Mecca may only be undertaken with the approval of the Soviet Government. According to our information (what we have heard from Moslems in the Soviet Union), more than 50,000 Moslems annually await approval to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca. Occasionally the Soviet Government allows 18—20 persons to make this journey. Allah alone knows how many of these pilgrims are direct agents of the Communist régime. In any case, all those who are permitted to make the pilgrimage are, as always, investigated by the Soviet Secret Service. All the others continue to wait to make the pilgrimage, yet receive neither approval from Moscow nor foreign currency.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Baymirza Hayit, *Sowjetrussische Orientpolitik am Beispiel Turkestans* (Soviet-Russian Orient Policy with Turkistan as an example), Köln-Berlin 1962, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> This proclamation was published in all the languages of the Orient. For the English text, see: Spector 7, p. 33—35.

<sup>3</sup> Baymirza Hayit, *Turkestan im XX. Jahrhundert* (Turkistan in the 20th Century), Darmstadt 1956, p. 200

<sup>4</sup> Nikolay Berdyayev, *Russkaya ideya* (The Russian Idea), Paris 1971, pp. 250—251

<sup>5</sup> Nikolay Berdyayev, *Istoki i smysl russkogo Kommunizma* (The Sources and Thought of Russian Communism), Paris 1955, p. 118

<sup>6</sup> *Osnovy nauchnogo Kommunizma* (Principle of Scientific Communism), Moscow 1967, p. 569

<sup>7</sup> As an example, the following publications (books, brochures, articles) may be cited:

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(To be continued)

## The Unreported Holocausts

Most people seem to agree that the TV movie Holocaust was important to remind ourselves and kids of the events that led up to the Nazis' genocidal policies. "We must never let such a thing happen again," is a common response.

It is this observation that needs examination. We assume, by being horrified and angered at Nazi atrocities, that we are vaccinating ourselves against a repeat. The unfortunate, unfair and maybe even dangerous thing is that there have been other Holocausts in history, and no one cares. There are Holocausts going on in the world today, yet it is neither fashionable nor profitable to examine them.

For example the Holocaust in Ukraine, where, in 1932 Stalin unleashed History's first and only man-made famine, in order to bring Ukrainians to heel and to collectivize the farms. The crop of 1932 was about 12% below normal, but Stalin raised food procurements from the peasantry by 45% and exported Ukraine's grain to Europe. The world ignored this famine, which was denied by the Soviet-Russian government. Some 7 million died from hunger or disease, plus those executed by Stalin (he later told Churchill that collectivization cost — 10 million lives). Who commemorates that Holocaust, or says it must never happen again?

Who recalls the Holocaust of the Soviet Union's genocide of seven national groups, before and during World War II? That is virtually ignored — seven nationalities systematically, imprisoned, deported or liquidated because their loyalty was suspect. The seven, for those interested in historical research: The Chechen-Ingush, Crimean Tartars, Volga Germans, Karachai, Kalmyks, Balkars, Mesketians. Some 25 years later the Soviet-Russian govern-

ment began posthumous rehabilitation of the massacred peoples. Yet no one says "We must not let this happen again!"

In fact there is sublime irony in the world's tolerance for Soviet-Russian crimes against humanity (by no means the only offender, but the world's most persistent enemy of mankind and liberty). In 1940, when Hitler and Stalin were allies carving up Poland, the Soviet-Russians executed some 4,000 Polish officers in what has become known as the Katyn Forest Massacre. Ever since, the Soviet-Russians have tried to blame the Germans.

When Poles in Britain sought to erect a monument in Chelsea to the victims of Katyn, opposition came from a variety of quarters, notably the British Foreign Office, the local council and the Church of England. They said a monument would be disturbing to old-age pensioners in the area (!) and that it would be alien to the "spirit of reconciliation" that both the Church and the Foreign Office sought with the USSR. It seems that Holocaust was not fashionable to recall!

Britain committed its version of Holocaust at the end of World War II when it introduced forced repatriation of millions of refugees and escapers from Sovietism, back to Stalin and reprisals. Britain has purged its official records of this gross inhumanity. Few urge that this be remembered, so as to "ensure that it never happens again."

The world's greatest on-going Holocaust that no one wants to be reminded of — especially Western peace activists — is Cambodia, where twice the number of people were killed in one year of peace (one million) than were killed in five years of war (500,000). Even Communists turn queasy

at the barbarism of the Cambodian Khmer Rouge.

Hanoi has its Holocaust of "re-education" camps throughout South Vietnam where hundreds of thousands perished or live in purgatory. Indonesia has been a Holocaust for the leftwing which have experienced massacres — just as the Indonesian Communist party planned its own Holocaust had it achieved a coup 13 years ago.

Africa is a continent of unreported Holocausts — places like Equatorial Guinea where slavery is still practised and the bulk of the population has fled the continent's greatest tyrant, President — for-life Macias.

In Ruanda and Burundi Holocaust resulted in genocidal annihilation of the giant Tutsi. We all know of Idi Amin. If you are the wrong tribe in Africa, a continent without a single practising democracy, it can prove fatal. Holocaust is a fact of daily life.

In Mozambique, the Holocaust is "re-education" camps for those who are against the neo-Marxist regime of President Machel, where *Amnesty International* reports over 100,000 are incarcerated under harsh unreported conditions.

Holocaust is being a Kurd in Iraq where the regime is waging a campaign of annihilation and "pacification". Holocaust was in Tibet where the Chinese have broken the people, committing cultural genocide. Holocaust is the Naga people of India, where repressions and punishments are routine.

Those who say the showing of the movie will help ensure that there will be no repeat of Holocausts are deluding themselves and others. And that is dangerous and hypocritical, for it increases complacency, encourages selective indignation against injustice, and guarantees repetition and perpetuation of the Holocaust mentality.

*The Toronto Sun*, May 18, 1978.



Funeral of V. Ivasiuk, a Ukrainian composer, at the Lychakivskyj Cemetery in Lviv (Ukraine). He was murdered by the KGB in April 1979.

# From Behind the Iron Curtain

## New Abuses in the Soviet Gift Parcel Operation

For the last three decades the Soviet communist regime has been economically abusing the US citizens of Eastern European roots by means of their Gift-Parcel Operation.

In Stalin's era any contact with the non-communist world was considered dangerous for the regime and, therefore, was strictly forbidden. After World War II, and particularly after Stalin's death, the Iron Curtain — separating the Western from East-European countries — was raised slightly and through its carefully guarded slits the severely isolated Soviet citizens were permitted to have contacts with their relatives in the free world — first through correspondence and soon thereafter through gift-packages.

With these rightful privileges taken for granted in the free world the Kremlin regime intended to kill two birds with one stone: to manifest to the free world the liberalization of the regime, particularly during Khrushchev's "peaceful coexistence" era, and to alleviate the misery of its people living under severe deprivation of daily needs. Simultaneously, the regime would come into possession of American dollars, still strong at that time, and badly needed for its expenses abroad for its official representatives, its communist propaganda, its subversive activities, and its spies — not to mention its imports.

Thus, it permitted its unfortunate enslaved people to communicate with the free world by mail and to ask people of good will for help. In this way the Gift-Parcel Operation started.

Used clothing was permitted in packages up to 44 pounds only for a short time, and

the required customs fees were not too high. Soon, only new articles of clothing were permitted and much higher customs fees were imposed. Later on from year to year, new limitations were dictated not only in the form of steadily rising customs fees but also other fees, such as for licensing, service and insurance.

Besides these fully prepaid packages, small unprepated envelopes or small parcels are permitted but the duty, notably increasing, has to be paid by the receivers.

Except for the Soviet government and the governments of its satellite countries nobody knows how many millions have flown into their treasuries, but by now it is estimated that all together the sum amounts to billions!

Until the stability of the American dollar on the international markets was shaken, the duty on prepaid packages had to be paid in dollars. Since then, the continuously increasing duty has been charged in rubles at the dictated rate of exchange. The recently imposed parity of exchange rose to \$1.56 for one ruble, thus increasing the required duty by 50%!! What this means for the victimized sender is shown by an example for sending a small prepaid parcel with three large woollen kerchiefs at the sale price of \$ 10.50 each. With the imposed duty together with the license fee totaling 18 rubles at the above indicated exchange rate, and with a service fee of \$20, insurance fee of \$3, and air mail postage of \$10.44, the expense for sending just one such kerchief amounts to \$20.34 which is an exorbitant 200% of its market value! (According to an original bill of a Parcel Service).

In a similar way the Soviet Union's own citizens are also victimized by the increased duty on items of clothing in unprepaid gift parcels, in effect since June 1978, e.g. jeans or jean jackets — Rubles 50; kerchiefs, small — R. 20, large — R. 25; sweaters — R. 25, etc.

The result of this merciless exploitation of both the senders and recipients of these gift parcels has been that neither the senders nor the recipients can afford to pay the enormous fees imposed on both sides by the Communist governments. Consequently, many of the firms in the West representing the Soviet "Vneshposyltorg" (official Soviet Trade Organization) are closing their profitable businesses and the recipients are returning the unprepaid packages.

It is also known that particular recipients, notably the dissidents and former as well as present political prisoners have been forced to sign declarations denying the acceptance of even the prepaid packages. In addition, prepaid packages insured for guaranteed deliveries are being sent back without the return of collected duties.

It might be worthwhile to analyse Moscow's change in stance on their Gift-Parcel Operation from encouragement to restrictions, inspite of the colossal profits and inspite of Lenin's "prophetic" words about Soviet trade with the West: "When the Capitalist World starts trading with us — on that day they will begin to finance their own doom."

First of all, this Gift-Parcel Operation has proved to the exploited population in their "Paradise on Earth" that there must be something wrong with that "paradise" if the gift parcels alone can immensely improve the entire economy of a huge world power. This Gift-Parcel Operation increased the trade on the black markets to a level comparable with the official trading. It also divided the population

into "the haves and have-nots" — a situation theoretically incompatible with the equality of a communist "paradise". It assured some means of survival for those whom the regime would rather see not survive. It dispelled the proclaimed superiority of the communist economy over that of the "foul capitalist world" and denied the communist leadership in industrial production. It finally intended to halt the liberalization of the regime which started after Stalin's death and which has led to protests and strikes in the Soviet Union and in the communist satellite countries.

This is not to say that nothing has been done for the defense of the unscrupulously abused people on this side of the dividing barricade. There were many protests in the press against the abuses, there were numerous appeals of the organizations for defense of human rights. Already in 1959 there was an investigation by the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities culminating in a report about the extraction by blackmail of millions of American dollars from American citizens. There was a Congressional hearing during which it was proposed to include this issue of economic abuse into the proposed US — USSR trade agreement granting the USSR the favored tariff terms (put forth by Sen. Henry T. Jackson). However, all these endeavors to protect the abused citizens were to no avail because the communist government has maintained that these good-will intentions constitute interference in their internal affairs and US officials have been afraid of spoiling the policy of detente.

Thus, trade with the greatest deceiver in the world goes on.... The greatest communist "prophet" has clearly defined the meaning of the trade of the West with the communist countries, but by whom was it said that "we can trade even with cannibals"??

M. L.

## KGB incites hatred toward Stus

The Soviet secret police is waging a campaign of inciting hatred toward Vasyl Stus, a Ukrainian poet who was arrested and sentenced in the aftermath of the 1972 KGB crackdown in Ukraine.

Stus, 42, was sentenced to five years incarceration and three years exile. After completing his imprisonment term in the Mordovian region camps, Stus was exiled to the Tenkivsk region, Magadan oblast, where he works in the coal mines.

Magadan is the northern-most region of the USSR. The average winter temperature there is between minus 19 and minus 48 degrees Celsius.

Attacks against Stus began in July 1978. The local newspaper published a series of articles by A. Supriaha, castigating Stus. Follow-up articles were also published which cited the original three.

Supriaha interviewed many persons for his articles, among them Stus' co-workers, infirmary personnel and the sister of the infirmary's administrator.

The author hoped to have Stus branded as a fascist. The sister of the infirmary's administrator told Supriaha that Stus reminded her of the three fascist soldiers she saw as a child during the war.

"Three fascists approached me. They were blue from the cold. They had smiles on their thin lips, but in their eyes was anger. The same kind of anger I saw in the eyes of the person in our infirmary," said the woman.

Another person told Supriaha that Stus was a "fanatic".

"He was filled with enemy ideology to such an extreme point that I could not believe it," said one person. Another added: "He must have friends in foreign places. He receives packages from West Germany and Canada. If only it was something worthwhile, but it is only oatmeal,

tea, rich dehydrated milk, canned soup."

In another article, Supriaha wrote that Stus was known as a poet only among the kind of people who he said did not want to work for the best interests of the Soviet Union. Supriaha added that "these chance persons fall prey to anti-Communist circles".

In the final installment, Supriaha said that Stus concealed anti-Soviet material in his Kyiv apartment. Supriaha said that Stus was sentenced for that crime.

Soon after the appearance of the articles, a meeting of the miners was held to discuss Stus' conduct. The Ukrainian poet spoke up in his own defense at the meeting, charging that "all officials are on the side of those liars". He said that it would be a waste of time to try to prove his innocence.

Using "nationalist" in the sense of chauvinist, Stus said: "In your opinion I am a «nationalist». In my opinion I am a Ukrainian patriot, citizen of a sovereign Ukrainian state."

"I am a Ukrainian poet, I translate Russian, Byelorussian, German, Spanish, French, and English poems. I am the author of some two-dozen literary critiques. Yes, I love my Ukrainian people, I consider myself its loyal son. That is why I deeply respect other nations. I never allowed myself to insult the dignity of any nation. Among my longtime friends are persons whom I call brothers: Russians and Byelorussians, Jews and Ukrainians, Armenians and Moldavians, Lithuanians and Tatars, Georgians and Latvians. And what about those, who in the world of Kirasev, tell me that if I had a machine gun I would shoot all those "khakhly" (a derogatory reference to Ukrainians)," said Stus.

He added that Ukrainians are not worse than any other nation on earth.

## Dr. V. Horbovy Fears Starvation

Eighty-year-old former prisoner Dr. Volodymyr Horbovy last year wrote to the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, V. Shcherbytsky, that he is "threatened with starving death".

The full text of the letter, dated August 15, 1978, appears below.

### Complaint.

I hereby inform you that I am threatened with starving to death.

In August 1972 I returned from imprisonment to my native village, Obolonnaia, and took up residence in my home at 112, T. Shevchenko St. I immediately contacted the Dolyna regional branch of social welfare about the matter of material aid in my old age (I am nearly 80 years old; I was born January 20, 1899). I was not given a pension. Instead the Obolonnaia village council provided me with 6 hectare of land near my home. Nevertheless, at about the same time, the same authorities gave permission to another citizen (incidentally, a brother-in-law of mine) to build a house and farm buildings on the same parcel of land. Therefore, I am still left without any means for survival, although Article 43 of the Constitution of the USSR recognizes my rights to maintenance and life.

Until recently I was able to make use of the help of good people abroad, but in 1978 this contact was severed: not only do my letters disappear, but so do packages, although Article 56 of the Soviet Constitution guarantees the secrecy of mail. The following incidents are proof:

1. On August 4, 1978, I received a registered letter from Dr. Sigmund Mannheim of Munich in which he wrote that the package he had sent me in the spring of 1978 was returned to him by the postal authorities of the USSR and was marked "addressee unknown", although the

package was addressed exactly as the received letter. Workers of the Dolyna post office assured me that they had never sent back any package addressed to me.

2. This is also the case with packages and letters from the United States.

These facts lead to the conclusion that certain powers are involved which willfully violate and limit elementary human rights, rob me of means to live and prepare my physical destruction. The aforementioned citizen stated candidly that he will "leave me to rot and that nothing will happen to him as a result of this". It is not difficult to comprehend on whose protection he depends.

On January 30, 1977, I appealed to the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, L. I. Brezhnev, to help me make use of the provisions of the Final Act of the 1975 Helsinki Conference to emigrate from the Soviet Union to friendly Czechoslovakia. My son, Roman Horbovy, lives in Prague with his family; I lived there, too, until my groundless imprisonment. There I was socially insured, and I am eligible for a pension which will prevent my death from starvation.

I ask you to use all means to remove any obstacle to delivery of my mail so that I would be able to receive the correspondence and packages addressed to me, and also to hasten my emigration.

Eugen Malaniuk

DAS

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## Former Member of UPA persecuted since 1940

Myroslav (Myron) Symchych, a former soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was sentenced in 1940 to 25 years imprisonment and five years curtailment of rights. After Symchych was sent to the Magadansk oblast to serve his sentence, the Khabarovsk court sentenced him to an additional 10 years imprisonment.

Symchych is now confined in Perm camp VS 389/35 and is scheduled to be freed this year.

In the summer of 1976, he wrote an appeal to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in which he described his case and the conditions to which political prisoners are subjected.

The last document about Symchych, a review of his case by a Soviet judicial tribunal, was marked "Attention! Secret document. Not to be released to the convict." It is excerpted below.

A judicial tribunal for the criminal affairs of the Supreme Court of the USSR reviewed on January 20, 1970, the protest of the first assistant to the prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR concerning the decision of the Ivano-Frankivske oblast court (January 19, 1968) to nullify the sentence of the military tribunal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Stanislaviv (now Ivano-Frankivske) oblast handed down in the case of Symchych.

The military tribunal had sentenced Symchych to 25 years imprisonment under the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for being a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and a leader of its "bandit groups" which conducted armed warfare against Soviet Russian authority during 1944—48.

While serving this sentence in a corrective labor camp, Symchych joined an existing "bandit group" in the camp which afflicted punishments on prisoners not of the group's liking. For this, the Khabarovsk court sentenced Symchych on De-

cember 7, 1953, to 10 additional years of imprisonment under provisions of the Criminal Code of the Soviet Russian SFSR.

On August 2, 1956, the commission of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet commuted Symchych's sentence to 10 years imprisonment. As a result he was released on December 7, 1963.

In 1967, the KGB and the prosecutor's office received new information about Symchych's activity in the OUN. The information revealed that Symchych was involved in reprisals against members of the Communist Party, Soviet activists and citizens. This was not previously revealed to the military tribunal.

The Presidium of the Ivano-Frankivske oblast then decided on January 19, 1968, to cancel the sentence handed down by the military tribunal and to give the case over for further inquiry.

An inquiry conducted in 1968—69 into Symchych's activities found that he was indeed involved in reprisals against Soviet citizens during 1944—47. Symchych was then accused under additional articles of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR decided on December 19, 1969, to overrule the decision of its Commission (August 2, 1956) and to commute Symchych's sentence.

The prosecutor's office of the Ukrainian SSR then brought the case before the judicial tribunal of the USSR Supreme Court.

After reviewing the above information, on January 20, 1970, the judicial tribunal decided that Symchych was to serve the remainder of the sentence handed down by the military tribunal in a corrective labor camp. The tribunal also decided that the time Symchych had spent under guard (since 1968) while his case was being reviewed would count toward the completion of that sentence.

## Book Reviews

### "Nations in Chains"

It is under this title that the Swiss Eastern Institute published a book that will assuredly become a valuable source of information about the subjugation of non-Russian nations of the USSR for the German speaking world. This book is a collection of speeches which were pronounced at the European conference in defense of human rights and self-determination. This organization's deliberations which are dedicated to enslaved non-Russian nations, took place in Lucerne, Switzerland from January 13 to 15, 1978. Representatives of the non-Russian nations subjugated by Moscow, who now live outside their countries' boundaries, took part in these deliberations. The president of the Swiss Eastern Institute, Dr. Elgar Eler, is one of the most important Swiss organizers.

One of the valuable works submitted to the collection is a speech presentation by Prof. Lazlo Reves entitled, "The National Subjugation in the USSR". The author closely links the contemporary russifications and imperialistic measures of the Soviet regime with those of Tsarist Russia. This is further indication that from the beginning of 1920 the USSR continues to brutally break all undersigned "friendship" or "non-aggression" treaties: In the Soviet-Estonian peace pact of 1920, it is stated that Soviet Russia recognizes Estonia's independence and self-government unconditionally and voluntarily renounces the era of sovereign rights which Russia seized from the Estonian nation and country. Similar "eternal" peace pacts were signed with two other Baltic nations, namely Lithuania and Latvia. In 1932 Moscow signed a peace pact with Finland in which it guaranteed the in-

viability of its frontiers. This act was corroborated by the Soviet-Finnish peace pact of 1920. The Soviet Union signed the same clauses of confirmation with the Baltic nations as well as with Poland.

Already in 1939, the USSR signed a "friendship pact" with Nazi Germany, which in reality repeated the worthless pieces of paper of all previous "eternal pacts" with the Baltic countries, Finland and Poland. In the secret pact with Germany it was decreed to liquidate all these independent countries and to divide their territories respectively. The author reminds us that the Russian tsars also treated their different "eternal pacts" similarly. Furthermore, Prof. Reves observes the contemporary "proximity of nations" in the USSR, which in reality has as its objective the russification of non-Russian nations, as well as the realistic significance of Soviet educational politics and so-called "international" education.

In other chapters of the book, other authors treat the individual situations of the non-Russian nations in the USSR. Dr. T. Leonti dedicates a paper to Ukraine's situation. Based on the contemporary self-publications of Ukrainian documents, he analyzes the russification politics in all facets of life. As proof he presents an entire list of statistic data. Moreover, the article observes the contemporary Ukrainian anti-Soviet movement and its significance of continuing struggle for the national rights of the Ukrainian nation. Dr. Bajmirza Hayit talks about Turkestan, Prof. Josyf Uralgiraj reviews the Crimean Tatars, Amts Lyijk discusses Estonia, Julijs Kagelis observes Latvia and Stasys Lozorajtis reviews Lithuania. The paper presentations are followed by articles about Eastern and Finnish Karelia (author Esmo Ridalja)

about North-Eastern Prussia (Gerhard Prengel), about Byelorussia (V. Bortnik), about Azerbajzan (F. Aekiner), about Germans in the USSR (Andreas Maser), about Tatar-Bashkiri (Ali Akish) and about Northern Caucasus.

Even today the original pro-Russian complex weighs heavily upon the West. For the Western world, everything that is found outside Poland's or Rumania's boundaries is usually Russia. Strangely enough, the West is of the opinion that the freedom fight of different African nations or tribes is more understandable and more topical than the freedom fight of the non-Russian nations in the USSR.

The collection "Nations in Chains" is an original and sensibly written encyclopaedia of knowledge for the Western world.

M. S.

*Dr. Alexander Sokolyszyn*

**Wooden Architecture of Ukrainian Carpathians.** (ed. John Hvozda, The Lemko Research Foundation, Inc., New York, 1978)

With the help of a board of editors, consisting of Michael Czereszniowsky, a well-known Ukrainian sculptor, Nicholas Duplak, a professor at one American University, Bohdan Gerulak, engineer, husband of one well-known artist of Ukrainian ceramics, and Myron Mycio, an UPA member, Prof. Dr. John Hvozda was able to publish an original monograph dealing with the wooden architecture of the Ukrainian Carpathians. This region was always a bastion of Ukrainian cultural and religious heritage, professed by the Ukrainian regions of the Hutzuls and the Lemkos. Both Ukrainian ethnic groups were in the Ukrainian provinces of Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine, including Marromysh and Bukovyna. However, there were only Hutzuls in Bukovyna and not Lemkos. The foreword by Prof. John Hvozda (written in English and Ukrainian) presents the role of the Lemkos' wooden material culture (especially the

16th-19th centuries) in church architecture, home dwellings and their accessories. This culture, as the author mentions, belongs to the whole part of Ukraine: it is an integral part of Ukrainian cultural heritage. The Ukrainian introduction, written by Pavlo Miliar, mentions the Lemkos' deportation by Poland. The monograph is divided into two parts: part one, by Olha Chmukh, consists of 7 chapters and deals with the "Ukrainian wooden architecture and the wooden architecture of the Ukrainian Carpathians"; the anthropological and linguistic characteristics (including clothing, dwellings, husbandry and church architecture is presented by Antin Varyvoda; "Architecture of Lemkivshchyna" is by O. Volynets; the "Wooden Churches in Lemkivshchyna" is by Roman Reinfuss; the "Old and new houses in Lemkivshchyna" is by Pavlo Stafniv'sky. These chapters are written in Ukrainian. "Wooden architecture of the Ukrainian Carpathians", written by Antin Varyvoda is presented in English. This part, consisting of 68 pages, ends with a summary of Lemkivshchyna's history (also written in English) and a map of this region. Part two consists of "Selected illustrations of the wooden architecture of the Ukrainian Carpathians", with reproductions of original aquarelles (partly in colour), with diagrams, constructions plans and scales. This book is of value not only for art historians, but also for construction students and engineers. The entire special section contains 178 artistic drawings by maestro Antin Varyvoda. It includes a description of the wooden structures collected and presents a historically documented value monograph. Varyvoda's article about Lemkivshchyna also has a selected bibliography and finally, at the end, a description of the location, date of construction and illustrations are given. The World Lemko's Federation President, Prof. Dr. John Hvozda, deserves a great compliment for publishing this valuable work.

## The Tragedy of the Sudeten Germans

By Austin J. App., Ph.D.; 96 pages, eleven illustrations, index. Published by Boniface Press (8207 Flower Avenue, Takoma Park, Md. 20012), 1979.

The 3½ million Sudeten Germans for 700 years cultivated and converted their land, about the size of the state of Maryland, 10,000 square miles, situated around the edges of what the peace dictators of Versailles called Czechoslovakia, into one of the most Christian and flourishing spots of the world. From their ranks came many scientist, scholars and missionaries.

But in 1919 their Golgatha began. They were torn away from Austria and forced into a minority of second-class citizens of Czecho-Slovakia.

Because in 1938, in the Munich Pact, Hitler induced the victors to let the Sudeten Germans self-determine themselves back to Austria, the self-proclaimed "Democrats" of Prague, after the Unconditional Surrender in 1945, took a hor-

rible revenge on the 3½ million innocent Christian Sudeten Germans.

This book of 96 pages tells the genocidic story — in three sections: 1. the Sudeten Germans until the Munich Pact, 1938, pages 1 to 16 (republished from *Reason*, February 1976); 2. the vicissitudes from the Munich Pact to the Potsdam Conference, 1945, pages 17-37 (republished from *Steppingstones*, Spring, 1977; Summer, 1978); 3. the fate and "holocaust" from the Unconditional Surrender to the present, pages 38—82, published for the first time.

The entire book is a historical and realistic account of the ups and downs of the Sudeten people. It describes in stark detail the terrible atrocity committed against the Sudeten Germans in the fightful genocide of 1945—46 — after the Unconditional Surrender. In this mass atrocity 241,000 were brutally clubbed, burned and shot to death.

Some eleven illustrations, properly captioned, tend to reinforce this stark story of genocide.

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Underground Magazine from Ukraine  
Issue IV

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# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

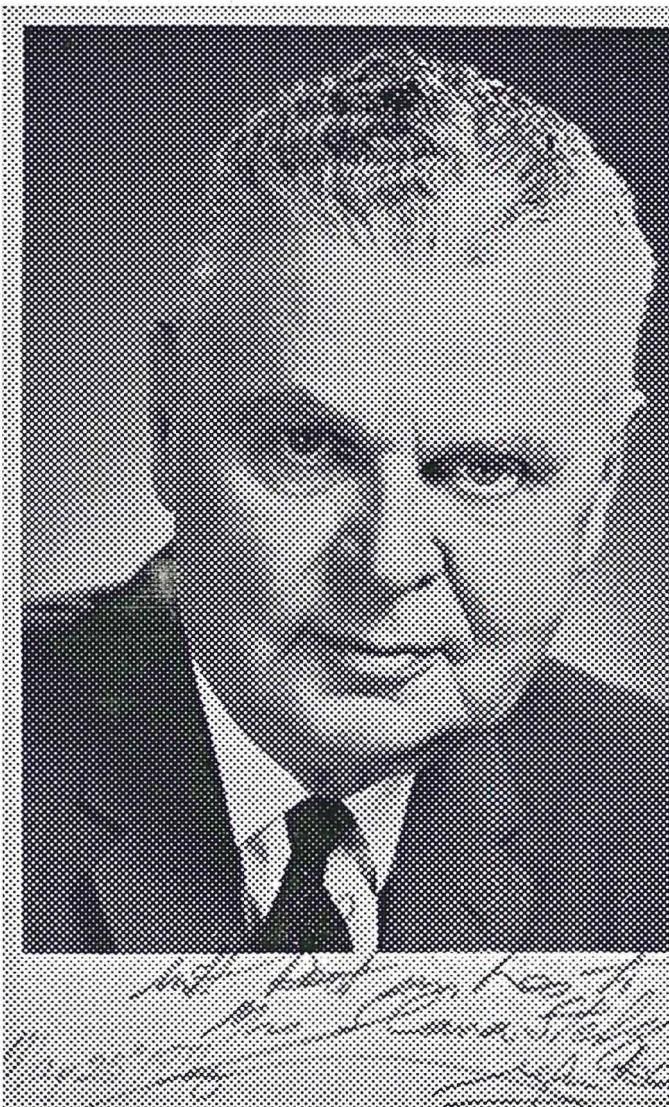
BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

## John G. Diefenbaker

18. 9. 1895 — 16. 8. 1979

The Greatest Champion of  
Freedom and Independence

John George Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada from June 21, 1957 to April 8, 1963, and the highest-ranking government official in the West to publicly support the independence of Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and other subjugated nations in the USSR and satellite countries, died at the age of 83, on August 16, 1979. He entered into the history of nations subjugated by Russian Imperialism and Communism as the most outstanding defender of their independence and supporter of their liberation struggle.



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# **ABN CORRESPONDENCE**

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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## **Center of Natiocide — Site of the 1980 Moscow Olympics**

Especially at the present time when in the USSR and in the Russian empire as a whole, natiocide, genocide, linguicide, ethnocide and culturalcide are on the increase, countries of the world deceived by the attractiveness of détente, have completely forgotten the frightening reality in the captive nations and the everpresent threat, which is hanging over the yet free world from Russian imperialism and its modern personification — Communism, Bolshevism. Moscow is constantly conquering new countries in Africa, Latin America, in the Near East, aiding their fifth column to come to power. The hand of Russia, the war instigator, is involved in the deadly critical for the West — oil crisis. The most outstanding British and other experts in matters of Bolshevik aggression visibly and convincingly prove Moscow's participation in terrorism, which is starting to take root in the very heart of free nations, dividing the free communities and swaying the governmental apparatus.

### **MOSCOW — THE FATHER OF WORLD TERRORISM**

The very governments do not believe in the fact that in every country of the free world exist two comparties: one visible, the other — underground, which is best exemplified through the system of brutal terrorism. Training, arming and aid of all sorts are given to the terrorists by Moscow, either directly or through its sattelites. In the face of this obvious proof of Moscow's crimes and the entire openly criminal system, official circles in the West remain dumb, hiding their heads in the sand! Revelations of terrible crimes perpetrated by Bolshevism on various dissidents have not helped.

One of the greatest criminals-natiociders of all times, Leonid Illyich II — a “peacemaker”, who “has to maintain himself in power through compromises”, so that other tyrants, “worse than him”, would not come to power. The criminal attack on Czecho-Slovakia is blamed on Podgorny and Shelest, who “overrid” the wishes of the “peacemaker” and “good father”, Brezhnev, viewed similarly as Roosevelt viewed favorably the “good father” ‘Joe’ Stalin, always surrounded by his KGB agents.

### **RUSSIFICATION — NATIOCIDE**

Meanwhile, on our very eyes, Brezhnev's XXV Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR (CPSU) in its resolution “on the further improvement of educating and teaching students of general schools and their preparation for employment” decided to increase the pressure on the teaching of the Russian language in the national schools — the language “of friendship and brotherhood of nations in th USSR”. In the implementation of this resolution the “ministry” of the Russian colony “the Ukrainian SSR” in November of 1978 decided to make plans during 1978—1985 “directed at the fundamental usage of the Russian language

in the upcoming generation, and from 1980, the instruction of the Russian language in schools of general education with Ukrainian as the language of instruction will begin with the first grade of instruction.

Simultaneously the alarm has been sounded from Ukraine, calling for action in defense of the native languages of the captive nations, pointing out that with the new school year at the expense of the native language, the Russian language will prevail in the primary schools. Presently in large cities almost all the schools have converted to Russian language instruction. Brezhnev is continuing the policy of the czars. He is actualizing that, which in 1870 the Minister of Education of the Russian-Czarist empire, D. Tolstoy, announced that "the end result of the education of the non-Russians, must be their total Russification and assimilation with the Russian nation".

From the time of the "reactionist" Czars the CPSU has not come up with anything new. The new "Czars" are continuing and prolonging the policies of the old Czars.

In 1958, as a result of the efforts of Nikita Khruschev, new school regulations were imposed upon Ukraine and other so-called "republics", which gave parents "the right" to choose, to which school to send their children — to schools with Ukrainian instruction or to schools with Russian instruction. Russians did not get this "right to choose". In their native country they continued to send their children to schools with instruction in the Russian language.

#### **THE NEW WAVE OF THE ADVANCE OF RUSSIFICATION**

The Resolutions of the XXV Congress of the CPSU dealing with the matter of Russification is being systematically realized. The All-Soviet Scholarly-Theoretical Conference, "The Russian Language — the language of friendship and cooperation of the nations in the USSR", which was held in May of this year in Russified Tashkent, had the assignment of not only laying a foundation for the necessity of the imperialistic aspect of Russification, but also to develop a plan for the Russification of the languages, therefore the linguicide of the captive nations.

The Red Czar, Brezhnev, in his letter-greeting to the conference pointed out the necessity of Russification as the result of the founding "of the new historical community — the Soviet people", and the objective necessity of a common "Russian language, as the language for international cooperation" in the Russian colonial empire. To strengthen his position, he recalled "the dream" of the first Red Czar — Lenin, "to make it possible so that every citizen of our country will have the opportunity to learn the great (?) Russian language", reiterating, this "dream is becoming realized" during the reign of Illyich II.

In his lecture, the All-Soviet Minister of Education, M. O. Prokoviev, layed out a plan for the complete Russification of the languages with the

aid "of a strong system for the learning of the second language", which is becoming the primary language and is replacing the native language in schools. His main emphasis was put on the "pre-school age", on kindergartens and nursery schools, with the requirement "of the continued development of learning on all levels of education" . . .

The traitor, the Turkestani S. R. Rashydov, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, underlined the importance of the Russian language, as the "language of our unity and brotherhood", the language "of a great nation", which has "a culture of the highest order", and "rich democratic traditions", as "the most important commodity of exchange in the spheres of economics, scholarly-technical and socio-political activity" . . .

Having proven the enforced policy of the colonization of Uzbekistan by Moscow and other non-natives, which (colonial occupation) he characterized as "brotherly aid", which (for example, during the Tashkent earthquake of 1966) from among "all brother nations came to aid the capital of Uzbekistan . . ."

#### **PLANNED ETHNOCIDE AND CULTURALCIDE**

Therefore Moscow, in unity with their traitors, are following the plan of linguicide, at the time when all colonial empires have fallen and the culture of newly found nations and countries are on the rise, when the scholarship of their traditions is beginning to rise, as well as their spiritual creativity, their language and culture, meanwhile nations with thousand year old traditions of culture and nationhood are being destroyed by Russian barbarians and wild men. Irish, or Basques, the Welsh or Jews are cultivating their once forgotten languages and cultures, but Moscow, as barbarians are trampling age-old languages and cultures.

Russification is not only linguicide, it is a complete system of methods of destroying the captive nations with the help of mixing of nations, the camps of forced labor, exile, the colonization by Russians of occupied lands, countries, imposing upon them the Bolshevik socio-economic order, collectivization, cultural-political captivity with the aid of socio-realism, therefore the cult of the conqueror of the conquered, of a military atheism, which is contrary to the spiritualism of the captive nations, where the national idea is joined with the religious one, the forced implementation of state "orthodoxy" of domineering power, the army service outside one's country, the destruction of cultural and religious relics, the burning of museums and archives of age-old cultural documents, the falsification of history, the colonial administration, the colonial industrialization, and development of lines of communication with regards to the interest of the empire and as a culmination of these undertakings, the artificial creation of a so-called Soviet nation, therefore a Russian supernation, the cult of Russian racism — all of this is RUSSIFICATION.

The destruction of national elements in music, art, sculpture, the introduction of Russian elements, the forbidding of national creativity, folklore, their falsification with Russian mixtures, the doing away with national instruments such as the bandura, and substituting the native instrument with the balalaika, the falsification of national dances, melodies, the introduction of stray material and other falsifications into native folklore, the restrictions of native national songs, of age-old religious customs, which originate in the pre-Christian era — all of these are components of the process of Russification, all of this is Natiocide!

### **THE CAPTIVE NATIONS MUST STRENGTHEN THE STRUGGLE**

Following the example of the revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) on Western Ukraine territory in the thirties, it is necessary to implement in the captive nations a *wide-scale educational action*, starting with children and ending with parents and grandparents. The native language must be demanded exclusively in native schools, especially in kindergartens, in pre-schools and on all levels of education, including universities and institutes.

Everywhere and always the native language should be spoken, in public places, in government, in shops, in factories, in installations, on collectives, in the media, to sing national and patriotic songs in the native language, to play national instruments, the boycotting of the Russian language on native soil, using the native language in conferring with foreigners, who should know the language of the nation on whose territory they live!

Soldiers should demand military service on their own territory! Youth should resist assimilation with the “whole” and remain on their own native land! They should steadfastly hold on to their native territory!

Protests should be mounted against the colonization of the occupied territories by Moscow! They should return from their jobs in Kazakhstan or Siberia to their native lands! Protests should be mounted against the forced mixture of peoples! One should proudly acknowledge one's own national affiliation!

### **AID FROM ABROAD**

Documents about Russification's natiocide should be made known in foreign languages and propositions made to educational, literary, art and cultural institutions of all kinds in the free nations, that they defend the culture of nations, and stand in the defense of culture of the world — because without national cultures, there is no world culture. We must act quickly in order to save the culture of humanity!

The matter of documented linguicide and natiocide should be turned over to the United Nations, calling upon not only the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Man, but also on the resolution calling for the decolonization of all the empires of the world from 1960/1972, because

linguicide and natiocide are — the results of an imperialistic and colonialist occupation by the *herrenvolk*-Moscow of the nations held captive in the USSR and in the satellite countries.

Governments and Parliaments of the free nations, individual political figures and publicists, who sympathize with our efforts, should receive documentation for their actions against the Russian colonialists. Professional organizations, student organizations, and youth organizations of all kinds, journalists and especially professors, teachers and many others should be motivated to action.

It would be a great accomplishment, if children, pupils, students would demand for their peers the freedom to learn in their native language, for there is not a greater barbarism, than to take away the native language of a child in pre-school or in kindergarten!

All organizations on all levels of cultural, professional and political-governmental life should be mobilized *in defense of teaching children and youth in their native language in the kingdom of Czarist tyranny!*

*The youth of the free nations should take to the streets, in defense of the most elementary of rights — the right of the child to speak and learn in the language of its mother! Only a barbarian would take this right away.*

Television, radio, the press, all the forms of media should be presented with documents, to protest the linguicide, culturalcide, because a poet can best create in his own language, with which in turn he is enriching the spiritual creativity of the human race! The loss of the native language is the path to assimilation!

### **OUR DIRECT AID**

It is of the utmost urgency that political, public, professional, youth, women's, combatant and especially scholarly, cultural, literary and artistic organizations of our emigration use all the avenues at their disposal to mount actions of protest against the total Russification perpetrated by the colonialists — the Russian racists. Protestive assemblies, manifestations, demonstrations, marches against Bolshevik missions and institutions, and also manifestations in front of governmental parliaments, and even certain cultural institutions and institutions of higher learning with the handing over of appropriately documented memoranda which are certain to have their necessary effect.

It is very important that scholarly and in general cultural institutions and persons from the West raise their voices of protest! It is especially important that Nobel prize recipients also raise the fight against Russification!

The free world should state, if it still has an iota of some sort of pride and honor: that until in the Russian prisons and concentration camps, in "insane asylums" and in exile, there still suffers at least one political

or religious prisoner, until concentration camps and psychiatric prisons still exist, until the Russifier's linguicide, culturalcide, ethnocide, genocide and natiocide exist, until the colonial empire of tyrants and nationkillers exists, until they still murder, hang priests, artists, writers, fighters for freedom, until that time not one sports person of the nations from the free world, which guarantee their citizens human rights, for beings created in the image of God, will set foot in the Moscow "Olympic" games.

*Therefore, we call upon the free world to boycott the 1980 Olympics in Moscow!*

A time will come when the West will be sorry that it did not heed our warnings!

*Let long live the freedom and independence of nations and the freedom of the individual!*

*Death to the Russian prison of nations and people!*

*Long live the national revolution of the captive nations — the path to liberation!*

September 1979

THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN)

## Prisoners Against Russian Imperialism

Fifteen political prisoners of various nationalities incarcerated in the Soviet Union signed a document supporting the fight against Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism.

The 1979 statement was addressed to the secretariat of the Group 72, the Moscow and Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring groups, U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, the 35th session of the U.N. General Assembly, governments which signed the Helsinki Accords, and all citizens of the free world.

The document was written and signed by six inmates of the Chystopol special prison: Razmik Zahrobian (Armenian), Anatoly Shcharansky (Jew), Vladimir Balakhanov and Michail Kazachko (Russians) and Vasyl Fedorenko and Yuriy Shukhevych (Ukrainians).

It was co-signed by nine prisoners of the concentration camp near Sosnovka in

Mordovia: Balys Gajauskas, Aleksandr Ginzburg, Nikolai Yevhrafov, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Lev Lukianenko, Bohdan Rebryk, Oleksa Tykhy, Danylo Shumuk and Edward Kuznetsov.

Castigating the Soviet Union for being a "prison of nations" and for its "savage despotism", the political prisoners called on the governments of the world, all political parties and the Churches "to firmly raise the question of the liquidation of all forms of national and colonial subjugation — the inseparable companion of mankind's final empire, the Soviet Russian — the prison of nations, which today near the end of the 20th century, is the principal retarding force in the world's development."

One of the first points raised in their statement was the "suffocation of the national liberation struggles of the non-Russian nations." In protesting against the

deportations to the eastern-most regions of Siberia, the prisoners demanded to be returned to their original native lands.

The political prisoners declared a day of silence on July 26 in protest against national discrimination. They objected to the camp administration's refusal to allow them "to fraternize with the camp's administration, personal and business correspondence, to speak in languages other than Russian during meetings with family members, to read books, to listen to the radio, to watch movies in the native language, to observe national holidays and dates, to foster their national customs and rituals, to organize along national lines."

August 3 was designated by the political prisoners as the day to commemorate a nation's right to decide its own future. On that day the 15 political inmates marked the signing of the Helsinki Accords by "protesting against the brutal violation by the Soviet government of Article VIII of the declaration of principles of the Final Act and demanding the immediate implementation of its most important international principle concerning all prisoners of Soviet Russian colonialism and impe-

rialism on the territory of the USSR and beyond its borders."

Their motto was "For the freedom of each of our nations" and "For your and our freedom."

"However we realize that solidarity among the captive nations is not enough and we are therefore counting on the support and sympathy for our cause of all freedom-loving countries on Earth, first of all from those which recently attained their independence, and the entire Third World as well as all democratic countries of the West", they wrote.

The political prisoners hope that the 10 Days of Solidarity become "a new warning against the dangers to peace and freedom of the West," they wrote.

Writing that their reality is in constant threat of becoming a statistic, denationalized and unified into one entity called the "new historical community of people — the Soviet nation," the political prisoners warned the countries of the world that "our today would become your tomorrow" and that "civilization could be trampled under the boots of the Kremlin's global hegemony."

## Two UPA Veterans Face Harassment

Two veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, who have been incarcerated since the late 1940's and early 1950's have been transferred to a prison camp for criminals. The two veterans, Vasyl Pidhorodetsky and Myroslav Symchych, were transferred from Camp No. 35 in the Perm Oblast to a special zone in the town of Chyvaka.

Pidhorodetsky is currently serving his second sentence. He was sentenced in 1952 to 25 years in prison and in 1976 he was sentenced to a six-year prison term.

Pidhorodetsky is a former officer of the UPA and a former member of the staff of Gen. Taras Chuprynska, commander-in-chief of the UPA. Pidhorodetsky is re-

ported to be in poor health and in 1970 he was declared an invalid of the second category.

Symchych, who was born in 1923, was sentenced by a military tribunal in 1949 to 25 years imprisonment and five years exile for his involvement with the UPA and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

In 1956 a commission of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR commuted his sentence to 10 years in prison, but four years later an additional five-year sentence was added to his original 25-year confinement.

## Contribute to the ABN Liberation Fund

Sovereign politics of a captive nation without its own finances do not exist! This law, this truth has been confirmed one-hundred fold by the history of liberation struggles of the captive nations. "Liberators" do not carry freedom for the subjugated, but rather the will of their rule on foreign territory. One, who liberates oneself, will remain free, one, who is "liberated", will be taken into captivity!

On the background of the last several decades of history many different international organizations of captive nations have disappeared, which existed solely at the will and thanks to the financial support of foreign powers and interests. From the moment the egotistical interest of the superpowers did not require the political play of the captive nations, when the politics of "liberation", the politics of "containing" Bolshevism was foresaken in the interest of "peaceful coexistence" and eventually for the politics of détente and cooperation with Bolshevism, with the Russian tyrranical empire, — the superpowers halted the financing of "assemblies", "green" or other "internationals", and other "projects", and very quickly many different international formations, which were not founded on independent financial resources, disappeared.

The oldest international antibolshevik organization of captive nations with a thirty year history of struggle is the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)!

Only because of own independent financing, the ABN was able to maintain itself and spread its worldwide scope of activities and has become the symbol of an uncompromising anti-Russian and anti-Communist struggle for the national idea against the imperialism, for national states of nations held captive by Russian imperialism and communism, built on the ruins of the Russian empire.

ABN has become the flag-bearer for liberation struggles of captive nations and the guiding light for patriotic national anti-bolshevik forces of the world. The Russian empire is the main enemy of the captive nations. All the activities and the struggles on all fronts of the captive nations, are directed against the Russian prison of nations of whichever color it might be and against Bolshevism, as the modern form of Moscovite imperialism.

Before ABN today are the following important tasks:

a) the spreading of the world front against Russification, as the main element employed by Moscow for the enslavement of the captive nations, implemented in forms of linguicide, culturalcide, ethnocide and natiocide;

b) the widespread attempts for the liberation of national-political, religious and all other freedom fighters-prisoners, from Russian prisons and concentration camps, for the liquidation of concentration camps and psychiatric prisons;

- c) to change the politics of détente to policy of liberation;
- d) for the decolonization of the USSR — for the dissolution of the Russian empire into independent national states of all the captive nations;
- e) for the mobilization of the citizenry of free nations against the Olympics in Moscow in 1980.

These very important and timely assignments, ABN is already implementing. Proof of this — the approval of the resolutions *against Russification, for the freeing of political prisoners, against the 1980 Olympics in Moscow and for the dissolution of the Russian empire* — by the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and the World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL) 1979.

Is not the pride of the ABN its periodical — ABN CORRESPONDENCE, which has appeared for over thirty years, exclusively, thanks to its own strength and independent finances?!

Where is another international anti-communist organization of free or captive nations, which over long years has published a periodical of this sort? How many serious publications, books in foreign languages, always dealing with the matter of the destruction of the Russian empire and the independence of nations, books of translations of underground publications were published by the ABN in the duration of the last several years? How many international conferences were organized, or its delegates took part in continental or international congresses?! How many meetings were held with governmental heads or with political and cultural leaders of free nations? How many trips and lectures were organized for the world that is not familiar with the plight of the captive nations.

*Especially because of the achievements of ABN during the past decades are possible the further successes of the fighters for freedom, which are arriving presently to the free world. Without this tremendous action, the present achievements would not be possible.*

*Loudest in the entire world was the action taken in Stockholm, Sweden during Khruschev's visit there!* The entire world press, all forms of media in the countries of the world picked up the matter of freeing the captive nations, when the dictator of the Russian empire attacked the President of the ABN for the famous honoring of the greatest enemy of Moscow, Hetman Ivan Mazepa and his Swedish ally, King Charles XII.

In the situation, when the Russian empire as a military power surpasses the United States, when it makes advances in the world's oceans and endangers the United States with its oceanic connections with other continents, when in the so-called "third world", Moscow is strengthening its positions, as for example in: Angola, Ethiopia, the invasion from Angola into Zaire, communist victories in southern Yemen, in Afghanistan, the occupation of Vietnam with their military bases there, Muscovite military bases in Ethiopia and Libya, also military air force units in

Cuba, the march of Vietnamese forces into Cambodia with Soviet support, the conference of so-called neutral nations in Havanna, Cuba at Moscow's initiative in September of 1979, the actions of the ABN are of greater importance!

*An international conference of the ABN with representatives of nations of the free world is very timely!*

*The spreading of psychological and political warfare in the world, but especially the political mobilization of the strength of the captive nations on their native territories including the dispatching of periodical and non-periodical ABN literature is the command of the moment!*

*A well developed financial base is needed to at least partially satisfy the uncommonly large needs of the various ABN projects!*

*Therefore, we call upon the emigration of nations enslaved by Moscow: to generously contribute their voluntary donation to the ABN Liberation Fund!*

*Without your financial support the work of ABN will not be possible!*

ABN is not subsidized, even in the smallest amounts, by the world's superpowers!

ABN is strong only and because of YOUR strength!

Collect funds for the ABN also among sympathizers of the free nations!

Who from the free nations helps the ABN, helps himself!

Moscow — is the enemy of all freedom-loving peoples!

FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT  
THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS  
September 1979

#### LETTER TO THE TORONTO SUN EDITOR

Millions of people on the North American continent have had a chance to view a feature film "Holocaust". There were a number of direct inferences that Ukrainians helped the Germans to eliminate Jews, while in practice Ukrainian peasants were the ones who were risking their lives by providing accommodation and food to the homeless and hungry Jewish families. Had the producers of "Holocaust" been objective, they would have depicted such factual stories and there were thousands of them, not only in Ukraine, but in most of the European countries. Why not ask some of those who survived just how they saved their necks? Why was there not any

mention that 50% of those shot at Babi Yar were not Jews and if they were not Jews, why were they eliminated together with the Jews? Why not ask thousands of Jews who have been saved from the Germans and then from the Russians and are now Israeli citizens, who it was that helped them save their lives? There were thousands of Jews that fought hand-in-hand with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) from early 1942 until 1950. Why wasn't this undeniable fact mentioned in the film?

Walter Pawluk

Editor's reply:

It was a failing in the film.

# Fifty Years of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

*Statement by the former soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)*

Fifty years have passed since in Vienna, the capital of Austria, the first Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was held. At this congress, Colonel Evhen Konovalets, commander of the corps of Sitch Riflemen during the Ukrainian liberation war in 1917—20, was elected unanimously the Head of the Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. From the very beginning of its existence, the OUN nourished the idea of a military struggle, mindful of Ukrainian military traditions, revived in the stormy revolutionary years of the liberation struggle of 1917—1920. The OUN itself continued these traditions through its underground struggle by its precise shots into the representatives of occupationary administration and its active hirelings, and by its overt military struggle which led to the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and to the creation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). On the outset of its existence, the organization considered itself a military revolutionary organization, which follows orders with great discipline. Its members have chosen either — to regain the Ukrainian state or to die in the struggle for it.

The ground for the creation of OUN was prepared for many years. Several generations of Ukrainian patriots worked hard and with dedication in order to develop the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people, following appeals in the literary works of Ukrainian spiritual leaders such as Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko and Lesia Ukrainka. When the time was ripe, Ukrainian people began to realize their national right — to build an independent and united Ukrainian state on all its ethnographic territories. But the fierce and blood-shedding war from 1918—

1920, which was led on three or sometimes four fronts ended in the “tetragon of deaths”. Ukrainian armies were destroyed, not so much by the military victory of enemies, but by an artificially spread epidemic of typhus. Even today, in popular songs, the shawm weeps for the 40.000 “Ukrainian flowers” — Ukrainian commanders and soldiers who died in this typhonic catastrophe, while the mighty of this world were looking on idly. And in 1921—1923 on the steppes of Ukraine, 40.000 Ukrainian insurgents, sons and daughters of the Ukrainian nation, who did not accept Russian overlordship over Ukraine and led against it an unrelentless partisan war, died in the heavy struggle against Red Moscow. Even Lenin writes about this time: “Soviet rule in Ukraine exists only formally because during the nights, in reality, Ukraine is ruled by Ukrainian insurgents” (XXXI, pgs. 310—312).

At that time, in the full understanding that the Ukrainian liberation war is not yet ended and that it should continue, Col. Evhen Konovalets and other high-ranking commanders of Ukrainian armies called into being the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO). It was to be a military revolutionary organization, which had to continue the Ukrainian liberation war by other, non-conventional, military means. This organization was structured in a military manner and was composed predominantly of former commanders and soldiers of the Ukrainian army. Military acts of UVO showed to the alien occupants in Ukraine, that the Ukrainian nation does not recognize foreign rule and does not agree with the imposed order.

UVO started to accept new members into their ranks, who because of their age had not previously been in the Ukrainian

army, but well remembered the period of Ukrainian statehood. UVО constantly reminded its members and the Ukrainian nation that the liberation of Ukraine can only come about as the consequence of a nationwide military struggle. Among this youth, which was destined later to play a decisive role in the OUN and UPA, the conception of an armed Ukrainian struggle began to circulate, which rapidly spread over the entire Western Ukraine.

The idea of the regeneration of a Ukrainian military force, in order to regain Ukrainian independence in a united state and to secure it, became the guiding light of OUN and later, of the entire Ukrainian population of Western Ukraine. Simultaneously, Colonel Evhen Konovalets and the executive of OUN in Western Ukraine began to propagate and to consolidate the ideas of OUN in the Central and Eastern territories of Ukraine. In its activities, OUN embraced all Ukrainian territories and incorporated all Ukrainians abroad in its liberation struggle. Col. Evhen Konovalets was assassinated in Rotterdam, Netherlands, while organizing a liberation struggle in the Central and Eastern territories of Ukraine.

OUN cultivated the idea of an armed Ukrainian struggle, of heroism and dedication. It organized gatherings of youth at Makivka and Lysonia, sites of former battlefields for Ukrainian independence. Often such gatherings clashed with police and communists. OUN organized celebrations of Pentecost on Ukrainian military cemeteries, school actions for the defense of the Ukrainian language, strikes of peasants and workers against their exploitation and the colonization of Ukrainian territories. They sabotaged the foreign occupationary system, organized military educational seminars and spread patriotic publications of "Chervona Kalyna" (a Ukrainian underground publication).

About this period a historian of UPA writes: "Only perhaps during Khmelnyts-

kyj's time, the Ukrainian population was as ready psychologically for a military struggle against the occupant, as they were at the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939".

Because of the efforts of the OUN, the Ukrainian nation was ready and willing for a military struggle against its occupants. In Carpathian Ukraine in 1939, hundreds of Ukrainian youth under the leadership of such renowned members of the OUN as Zenon Kosak and Mykhajlo Huzar-Koldzinskyj participated in battles of "Karpatska Sitch" against the alien occupants. There were a number of military clashes with the withdrawing Polish army in 1939 and against the fleeing Red army in 1941. Already in the years 1939—41 during the first Soviet Russian occupation, there was a military underground of the OUN in Volynia and Halychyna (Galicia) which was armed with the weaponry taken from the Polish army. After the proclamation of the restoration of the Ukrainian state on June 30, 1941 in Lviv at the initiative of the OUN, in many places in Volynia and Halychyna, there existed Ukrainian military detachments, armed with weapons of the fleeing Red army thanks to the courageous initiative of OUN. Arms gained by members of the OUN from the fleeing fifth Soviet Army in Volynia and the first Soviet Army in the Carpathian Mountains served for the armament of UPA detachments in 1942.

All these actions were accomplished by the OUN. The OUN also played a main role in such military formations as Karpatska Sitch, Druzhyny Ukrainskich Nationalistiv (DUN) — military units of Ukrainian nationalists — and corps of Kholodnyj Yar in Rivno. It created a physical basis for the organization of UPA, by having the Ukrainian nation accumulate arms and accept training in their use. But the foundation was not only physical! UPA was born in the struggle against Nazi and Russian occupants of Ukraine. It was

the OUN, which, led by Stepan Bandera, started the decisive war against Nazi Germany and appealed to the Ukrainian people to join the OUN in the struggle, immediately after the Germans voiced their disapproval of the Act on the Restoration of the Ukrainian State on June 30, 1941, when they imprisoned Stepan Bandera and Yaroslav Stetsko, Premier of the newly restored state. In the months of August and September 1941 the Nazis conducted mass executions and arrests of OUN members. These Nazi repressions did not break the OUN. It remained the leader of the Ukrainian nation's struggle against Nazi invaders. It organized this struggle and strengthened it daily, turning the struggle into an overt war led by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Thus OUN created not only a physical basis for the UPA struggle, but also gave it a moral foundation. Through its attacks against Nazi occupants, the OUN defended the honor of the Ukrainian nation during World War II and by blood, decreed its right for independence and freedom.

The two front war of the UPA — against Germany and Russia — was the political concept of the OUN which gave the UPA ideological and political guidance. The nationwide revolt led by the UPA against the Russian occupants during the decades was possible only because the UPA was united inseparably with the OUN and because it defended the western territories of Ukraine — Lemkiwshchyna and Kholmschchyna (Lemko region and Kholm region) against Polish communists and their armies.

UPA became a national Ukrainian army, which embraced Ukrainian patriots regardless of their political views, who fought against Nazi German and Russian occupants. Thanks to the pan-national politics of OUN, numerous Ukrainian high officers, many of whom deserted the Red Army, organized military units of UPA, trained them and led them in the struggle against the enemies of Ukraine. In the con-

sequence of the liberation concept of the OUN — a common front of the subjugated nations — military units of other subjugated nations such as Georgian, Armenian, Turkestani (Uzbeks), Tatars and others were integrated into the framework of the UPA against Russian invaders. This friendship on the battlefields was witnessed by the first conference of the subjugated nations which was convened on the initiative of OUN-UPA during November 21—22, 1943. The representatives of 15 nations of Eastern Europe and Asia fought in the ranks of the UPA against Hitlerites and Russian Bolshevik occupants. Representatives of 12 nations participated in the conference. It is precisely out of this friendship among the subjugated nations on the battlefields of the UPA that the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) originated. During the subsequent 33 years, under the leadership of the Premier of the Ukrainian Government from 1941, former prisoner of Nazi concentration camps in 1941—44, now the Chairman of the OUN and member of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) Presidium — Yaroslav Stetsko — tries to acquaint the world with the liberation struggle of Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Moscow. This is clearly and straightforwardly expressed in the slogan of the 2nd Congress of the OUN in 1941 — "Freedom for Nations, Freedom for Individuals". On the initiative of the OUN and by their uninterrupted struggle, UPA and OUN rescued through their heroic efforts the so-called Zakerzonnia — Lemkiwshchyna and Kholmschchyna — populations of Western Ukraine's territories from mass genocide by the Russians. The OUN played a unique role under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, in the development and struggle of the UPA. It is not a coincidence that such experienced members of OUN as Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynska, Dmytro Hrytsaj-Perebyjnys, Oleksa Hasyn-Lytsar, Wasyl Sydor-Shelest, Dmytro Klatchkiv-

skyj-Savur and Hrabets-Batko led the struggle of UPA or were co-creators of its ideological political platform like P. Poltava, O. Hornovyj, Taras Majivskyj and others. And it is not coincidence that Ostap, Jasenj, Hrehit, Shabluk, Halajda, Kruk, Khmara, Ren and many others who were commanders of the UPA units, also were "old members of the OUN" because the OUN sent many of its cadres into the staff and rank and file of UPA, many of whom distinguished themselves in battle. OUN sent its members to the military schools organized by UPA and from which came later such outstanding commanders as Serednyj, Krutish, Bryl and others. And of primary importance, OUN, on all its levels, coordinated its activities with the actions of UPA, putting at its disposal the entire organized structure. The OUN took over the main burden of security service and intelligence, material provisions and supply, medical sanitary service (through special service — underground "Ukrainian Red Cross"), propaganda, political service (underground printing houses, publications and a radio station) and technical service for special tasks.

Strikes, disturbances and revolts of prisoners in Russian concentration camps from 1953 to 1959 and in the subsequent years were politically organized and carried out mainly on the initiative of the OUN members and former members of UPA, who jointly created a great period of struggle for the liberation of the nations subjugated by Russia.

Thus, in the fire for the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine, a very deep friendship and understanding developed between the soldiers of the UPA and the OUN members. Jointly, they shared the joy of victories and together they grieved over their failures and defeats. Exactly, this friendship that was molded on the battlefield in the uneven struggle for Ukraine's freedom, we, the former soldiers of UPA, would like to commemorate on the Fiftieth

Anniversary of the OUN's existence. The nation, which gave birth to such an organization as the OUN, an organization which stood in the past and still stands together with its nation, the organization that taught the nation to believe in itself and in its liberation, can courageously look into the future. This nation will be victorious and will once again regain an independent and united Ukrainian state.

*Society of former UPA soldiers  
in the USA*



Commemoratives issued on the occasion of the 50 Anniversary of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the 35 Anniversary of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

# Total Violation of Human Rights in the USSR

*Testimony of Valentyn Moroz before the Comission on Security and Cooperation  
in Europe, July 19, 1979*

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Commission,

The issue of human rights is the first successful initiative by the West in the psychological struggle with Communism. This is the first instance in the post-World War II era when the West has seized the initiative, as partially manifested by the Helsinki Accords, and therefore is in an undefeatable position. Previously, the various forms of the psychological struggle were dictated by Moscow and the Communist world in general. Having achieved their goals even before the issues reached the field of psychological battle, Russia was able to preclude any chance of victory for the West. The initiative was always in the hands of Russia, leaving the West in a defensive "reactionary" posture, thereby precluding the possibility of any Western offensive alternatives.

However, a situation has arisen similar to that in the Ukrainian fable of the "Fox and the Crane": "A fox invited a crane for dinner, but then served the meal on a flat plate so that the crane was unable to grasp anything with its beak. The crane was also cunning and decided to return this insult. The crane, in turn, invited the fox to dinner, serving the meal in a long vase, which did not allow the fox to reach the food at the bottom." Let us all welcome the Western "crane", which for the first time has outsmarted the Muscovite "fox".

Indeed, Russia exploits the fact that in the West there are also human rights violations. It is natural and understandable that the world today does not possess a system where everything is good, where all human rights can be fully guaranteed. But there can be no real comparison between the East and the West. In Russia and the Communist world in general there is a systematic and total denial of human rights. Whereas in the West, human rights violations occur on the basis of exceptional cases in specific areas, which, therefore, do not lend themselves to any parallels with the East. As a result, the platform of human rights is the most useful weapon in the hands of the West. It has become the issue by which the West can wage a victorious battle in the psychological struggle.

The cause of human rights is not some kind of an artificial invention. The quest for individual rights has become a priority in the world today. The 20th century, as the age of industrialization, has created elaborate structures and colossal systems, which threaten to undermine human and individual rights. This threat is not necessarily posed only by Communist totalitarian systems in the East or by totalitarian dictatorships in Africa — known as "mono-party democratic states." There are many similar systems in the West. We can clearly see the trend in supra-national events;

that our age is the age of systems. Therefore, the question of defending individual rights has become a priority issue for the world. Russia vainly expects the campaign for human rights to be short-lived, but the issue of human rights will be with us for a long time to come. For example: A female worker applies for a job in an Italian factory. On the job application form she is asked, "What are your relations with your husband?" She is given to understand, that if she does not respond to this question her chances for employment are lessened. It should therefore be obvious that such circumstances will cause concern not only for those who are actively engaged in defending human rights, but generally for everyone who is concerned with the question: "Does the individual have a chance to survive in the contemporary world?" — irrespective of whether the individual is in the East or the West.

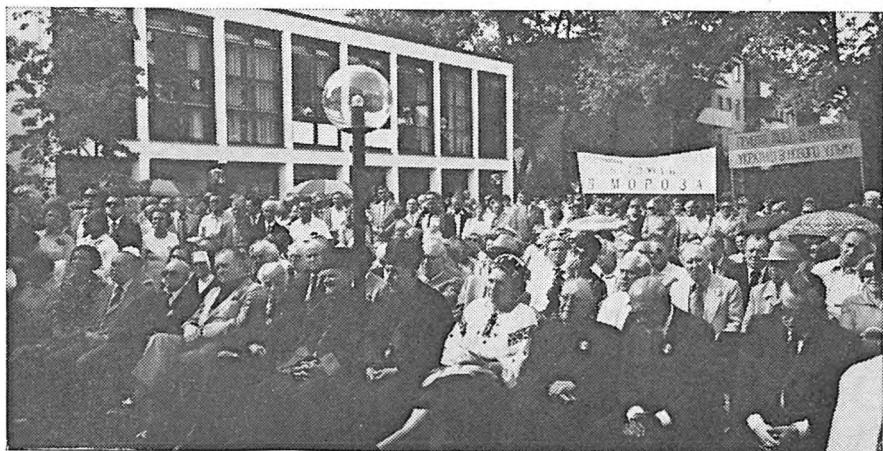
I was asked here as a witness to testify about violations of human rights in the Soviet Union. I am prepared to answer all questions. I can provide 100,000 personal accounts of violations of human rights. I can begin with an example from my first arrest, when I saw in the possession of my KGB interrogator a blank indictment form already signed by the prosecuting attorney; thereby providing the interrogator with the freedom to list whatever names, dates and events that he may contrive to substantiate the indictment. The final great injustice perpetrated against myself, immediately prior to my release, was the withholding of my writings — my 122 notebooks — which were taken from me without any legal grounds. This step was taken irrespective of the fact that a Soviet court had ruled that over one-half of these writings were my personal property. Yes, one could provide a wealth of testimony with regard to human rights violations in the Soviet Union. This Communist system in practice represents, in and of itself, a total denial of human rights. It should suffice to recall several facts. If an individual is denied the right to emigrate, then such a country is nothing more than one large prison. Therefore, it is not necessary to list concrete violations when 250 million people are themselves already victims of one mass violation. If an individual in the Soviet Union is denied the opportunity to read a newspaper from the West, denied the right to subscribe to periodicals from the West, what more needs to be said about violations of human rights. What further testimony is necessary? If in the Soviet Union all political parties, except for the Communist Party, are banned, is it necessary to cite specific denials of human rights for specific individuals?

Yes, the Soviet Union, the Communist system, represents a total denial of human rights. And is it not meaningless to speak of personal matters? Truly, I could provide you with statistics of, for instance, how many socks were taken away from me by the KGB and what colors they were. But, I mention this only with irony. I believe, that to provide further evidence of violations of human rights in the Soviet Union would be superfluous.

This should be evident to everyone. The only question that remains is: How are we to continue the struggle against violations of human rights in the Soviet Union? I would like to speak at this time not in the role of a witness, but in the role of one who has come to remind you — it is time for us to move on from simply talking about human rights violations to joining in the struggle against these violations. Testimony as such can go on without end. I have gained the impression, that for those in the West who are concerned with human rights, it is difficult to move to the next plateau, from talk to action.

We can do a great deal to protest, to struggle against human rights violations in the Soviet Union, and in a very practical sense. We should take a look at the Arab world. The Arabs have little political experience. They are developing nations. But, they have outdistanced the West in utilizing their resources to achieve their political goals. Our age is the age of food and energy crises. Arabs have come to understand this well. When the Canadian Prime Minister sought to move the Canadian Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, the Arabs immediately responded: "We will no longer provide you with oil". Canadian government leaders failed to apply this Arab mentality and respond: "We shall cease to provide you with Canadian wheat". It should be enough to provide you with this one example. Canada and the United States, taken together, represent the greatest producer of wheat for the world. If they understood how to exploit this resource, as an instrument of world politics, they would be able to do a great deal for the cause of freedom and human rights in the world.

Today, Moscow finds itself in a catastrophic situation with regards to providing foodstuffs for its population. If the United States firmly declared that it will withhold all grain shipments to the Soviet Union until ge-



*Valentyn Moroz, after his release from Soviet Russian concentration camps, addresses a Ukrainian rally in Munich, West Germany, June 24, 1979.*

nuine changes are implemented by Russia in its human rights policy — until it ceases spreading its falsifications and exploitation of man — Moscow would be forced to give serious consideration before responding. Russia is faced with serious shortages and ever-depleting reserves, which, if not replenished, will bring about ruin. In other words, if the United States, Canada and the West in general seriously wanted to and knew how to utilize their resources, they would be able to coerce Moscow into immediate changes of policy in many areas, and specifically in the area that we are discussing here today, human rights. To appeal to the conscience of the Kremlin regime is a comical self-delusion. We should not appeal, but demand, that American enterprises not sell crucial goods that Russia needs until specific changes are instituted in the realm of human rights.

No, I am not calling for a halt of trade and relations with Moscow. I am calling for a trade policy which is not unilaterally beneficial to Moscow. We should say to Moscow: You need our products and in return we need a free flow of information and ideas and the right of free emigration. We should say to Moscow: if you need American shoes then we demand that each pair of shoes be accompanied with a copy of the *New York Times*.

The struggle for human rights requires concrete actions. To struggle against violations of human rights in the East and the Soviet Union means to struggle against such psychiatrists like the one from Switzerland, who visited the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry. There he was not shown living people, but rather papers that provided the diagnosis that these individuals were mentally ill. Upon his return to Switzerland, this psychiatrist testified that the patients in Serbsky are mentally ill because it so stated on the papers he was shown. In the West there are many people such as this psychiatrist. Some of them do not fully understand the implications of their actions and some cannot comprehend what they had seen over there because of their naivete and inability to believe that life in the Soviet Union can be so brutally different from their own. These shortsighted and naive people are the greatest reserve of Moscow in the West.

To struggle against human rights violations in the Soviet Union and particularly in Ukraine means to protest against the airing of the film Holocaust. I would respect naive individuals who claim that Ukraine is anti-Semitic only if these individuals sincerely believed this. But, I am not so naive as to believe in their naivete. They know of the Russian slogan — “Beat the Jew to save Russia” — they know of the countless Russian pogroms against the Jews. Why then is not Russia singled out as the center of world anti-Semitism. And people with foresight, who see the absolute necessity of cooperation with the Ukrainian liberation movement should themselves protest against this KGB inspired thesis — that Ukraine is some sort of world center of anti-Semitism. What I know is that in

Western Ukraine the Jewish population represents the largest per capita minority in the world. What kind of anti-Semitic country could this be if Jews flock to it rather than flee from it? In Ukraine there have always been many Jews who have never felt antagonized. This false thesis was contrived by the KGB for the express purpose of dividing the two most powerful movements in the Russian Empire, the Ukrainian and Jewish dissident movements. When I am confronted with the statement that Ukraine is anti-Semitic, I respond that I will not try to justify myself before you now. Some day when we have our own independent state and Ukraine is a force in its own right, you will cease to speak of Ukrainian anti-Semitism.

To struggle against violations of human rights in the Soviet Union requires the creation of an atmosphere that would convince President Carter that unless he raises the demand for a general amnesty in places such as Vienna, he will return to Washington to face a new "Watergate". We should create an atmosphere that would channel all types of dialogues with the Kremlin toward the demand for a general amnesty for all political prisoners and only then can we begin discussions on other matters. I am not speaking here of an amnesty comparable to those issued in the West. I am speaking of liberating people who are sitting behind bars in prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric asylums, for many years, for absolutely no reason. To maintain its self-respect in its negotiations with Moscow, the West must begin each negotiating session with the demand: amnesty for all political prisoners. We expected that President Carter would raise the demand for amnesty for political prisoners during his trip to Vienna, but unfortunately an odd situation developed. Carter held all of the cards in his meeting with Brezhnev, but for some inexplicable reason he didn't play them; he left them behind in Washington. Before even the ink of the signatures was dry on the SALT II treaty, Brezhnev lashed out at President Carter as if he were the president of Czechoslovakia and not the United States of America. This is a perfect example of how one can possess all of the arguments and resources to win and still achieve nothing. Is it possible to utilize the resources of the West in the struggle for human rights? The new Pope in his trip to Poland clearly demonstrated that we can. He showed us that even in a Communist country with a Communist regime one can emerge victorious. His conduct gave one the impression that there was no Communist regime in Poland.

A very important component of human rights is national rights. One often hears the argument that the Helsinki Accord cannot be applied in national rights issues because it recognizes only individual and not collective rights. It must be made clear that every individual right is an inherent part of group and social rights and vice versa. For every individual his national rights are a concrete component of his individual rights. When people speak to me of human rights I state: For me the first and most

sacred right is the right to be a Ukrainian. National rights are the most sacred of human rights. This is what I understand to be nationalism.

In Africa and Asia the drive for decolonization is almost complete. In Eastern Europe it is only beginning. In Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union there are several dozen large nations that await their liberation. If we want to seriously address ourselves to the question of human rights in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union there is no honest way that we can overlook the issue of national rights. It is important to note that the ideal of human rights is not complete without a recognition of national rights. The final thesis of human rights should be: Freedom For All Nations — Freedom For The Individual.

There is yet another aspect of human rights in the Soviet Union which does not always gain attention. A right which is most important for those who write and paint — the creative strata of society. For these individuals, that which they write or paint is often more important to them than their physical selves. Yes, I can emphatically state that there is more of myself in that which I have written than in my physical self. The fate of my works is more dear to me than my personal fate. My 122 notebooks, my creative work over many years was left behind in Moscow; this is something that causes the greatest anguish for me. This is not a personal matter, this is a matter of principle. The West would gain a great weapon for itself if it was able to secure the release of the literary — creative works of political prisoners that have remained behind in the hands of the KGB. Therefore, I would be most grateful if the Congressional Helsinki Commission would place before the Russian regime the demand for the release of my writings. What's more, over one half of my writings, taken away from me upon my release, were declared my personal property by a Soviet court, which found them not to be anti-Soviet or anti-Communist.

I have come before you as a witness of the reality in the Soviet Union with regard to human rights violations. But, first and foremost I come before you as a Ukrainian. Ukrainians comprise 50 percent of all political prisoners in the Soviet Union. Ukraine and Ukrainians have made a major contribution to the struggle for freedom. I believe that to have only one Ukrainian released out of the nine that were recently allowed out is not enough. The West unnaturally devotes relatively little attention to the struggle of Ukraine for human and national rights. I call on all who are working for freedom and human rights in the world to devote more of their attention to the struggle being waged in Ukraine.

Thank you for your attention.

There are no beds in Poland because the Party is on guard, the enemy is awake, the patriots are behind bars and the workers are sleeping on roses.

## Islam in the Soviet Union

*(Continued from the previous issue)*

Until now we have been trying to present a brief survey of the five main pillars of Islam and how they are complied with. Let us now turn to the question of Islam customs. *What is happening to religious marriage (Nikâh)?* Religious marriage on the basis of the Law of Schariat has already been forbidden. The régime does not tolerate any public Nikâh ceremonies. But Moslems are unwilling to accept this Soviet Russian decree and, therefore, marriages based on the Law of Schariat are only conducted in the most intimate circles and by someone who has some knowledge of Islamic Marriage rites. After the ceremony, the couples register at the State Registry Office, as the State does not recognise any other form of marriage. Moslems marry amongst themselves. Moslem women and girls, in particular, remain close to their tradition; they do not marry Russians. Even the marriage of young Moslem men to Russian girls is a rare occurrence.

*Circumcision:* This custom continues to be practiced, even though it is constantly being attacked by godless propaganda and even though those who have been circumcised are held in contempt, particularly in the schools. The policy of godlessness has a fruitful impact upon one area of Islamic life, at least, on the custom of circumcision (*Sunnat*). Moslems justify circumcision to the authorities on the grounds of hygiene. Other facts concerning circumcision have emerged from publications in the Soviet Union. The religious administrative bodies concerned with the religious affairs of Moslems in Turkistan have announced that circumcision is not compulsory for Moslems. However, despite this annoying decision, Moslems continue to adhere to the custom of circumcision.

The following question is of importance,

when it comes to the defence of Islam under Communist restrictions: *Which forces may be considered as the key factors of Islamic life under Communist rule in the Soviet Union?* To find the answer to this question, we must look at the Moslem way of life. It must not be forgotten, above all, that Islam determines Moslem thinking and the Moslem way of life. Islam and the life of the individual form a whole. Thus the Communist State in Russia has not succeeded in its attempts to expel Islam from Moslem life, that is, to render all Moslems godless. Of course, the path of Islam has had to be redrafted completely as a result of the restrictions imposed upon it by Communism. This means, in effect, that Islam cannot make itself felt so manifestly, but must exist in the heart of each individual Moslem. In this way, Islam dwells on in the hearts of Moslems as the determining factor of everyday life. This "immigration" of Islam into peoples' hearts enables it to survive, inspite of the power of the State and intense anti-Islamic propaganda and education.

At present there are more than 50 million Moslems living in the Soviet Union under the domination of the godless régime. The Moslem population is increasing continually. This situation is a cause for alarm to the Communist leadership in the Soviet Union. The birth rate in Turkistan has risen, particularly since the Moslem tradition of having large families is very much alive.<sup>12</sup> Even Communist experts consider the Soviet Republics in Turkistan to be the most reproductive areas of the Soviet Union. In 1970, 45% of the population of Turkistan consisted of persons below the age of fifteen.<sup>13</sup> From 1959-1970, the number of inhabitants below the age of fifteen fell by 3.9% in the Soviet Union as a whole, whereas in Turkistan the

number of young persons in this age group rose by 6.8%. Many Moslem families are extremely large. In the Soviet Republic of Usbekistan, there are 645,000 families which may be considered "large", each having more than 10 children. The Moslems in Turkistan live predominantly in villages. They do not leave their villages voluntarily.<sup>14</sup> It is evident, from these facts, that under Communist rule Islam has sufficiently large resources of human potential.

In 1941, the Soviet Government permitted the formation of a central administrative body for dealing with Moslem religious affairs. In 1943, this one organisation was replaced by four religious administrative bodies, in the Soviet Union. These are to be found in: Transcaucasia; North Caucasus; the European part of the Soviet Union and Siberia; and Turkistan. These administrative bodies exist in name only, since they have no powers whatsoever to safeguard the interests of Islam, i.e. to defend Islam against Communist attacks. Of these religious administrative bodies, the religious administrative body for the Moslems in Turkistan, has a particular role to play within the framework of Soviet foreign policy. The Chairman of this fictitious religious administrative body for Turkistan, Mufti Ziyauddin Ischan Babakhanov, ranks as the leading actor on the stage of the Soviet Union's Islamic policy within the Islamic world. This figure, known even in the Orient as the "Red Mufti" has made the following statement:

"The religion of Islam is actively on the side of the construction of socialism and Communism. The Moslems' religious administrative bodies and every leader of the religious organisations of Central Asia and Kasachstan (Turkistan) consider it their prime task to care for the moral integrity of their people and to carry the Moslems along the path of Islam and of socialism".<sup>15</sup>

But what is the meaning of this socialism, towards which Mufti Babakhanov wants to guide the Moslems? The Communist leadership believes that "*Socialism is the first step towards a Communist society*". According to Lenin, "*Communism must develop out of socialism*".<sup>16</sup> In the Soviet Union many religious leaders of Babakhanov's kind attempt to bring Islam closer to Communism and vice-versa, claiming that this way can guarantee the existence of Islam under the rule of Communism. Views of this nature are, of course, a danger to Islam since the godless can very easily use them to confuse the younger generation, because they have every means against Islam at their disposal and various methods of falsifying the teaching of Islam. Mawlana Raghib Ahsan Rahmatuallah, from Pakistan, now Bangla Desh, has rightly made the following observations about this religious body:

"The religious administration in Tashkent is not a body which supports religion and takes over responsibility for religious education, but is merely a government office enabling the Communist Russians to control religion".<sup>17</sup>

Regardless of the functions which such Moslem religious administrative bodies possess in the Soviet Union, such a manifestation of religious life serves to strengthen Moslem consciousness. Moslems do not believe that their religious agencies can play an active role in the defence of Islam, but they use such institutions as proof of the effectiveness of Islam under Communist rule. For this reason, they support such administrative bodies, both morally and financially.

Moslems have recognised that the defence of Islam must be taken up in conjunction with the movement for national liberation. Communist publications themselves admit that "Religious and national ideology are closely bound up with one another".<sup>18</sup>

Moslems in the Soviet Union do not have a sufficient number of spiritual leaders to

lead religious life. *There is only one Medreseh in the Soviet Union, Mir-Arab*, in Bukhara, where no more than 50—60 students study Islamic theology. Several of the graduates of this Medreseh are engaged, not in taking care of religious life amongst Moslems in the Soviet Union, but, rather, in the employment of Middle East countries, within the framework of Soviet foreign policy. The students of this Medreseh master the teachings of Islam and of communism simultaneously. Moslems outside the Soviet Union constantly hear that there is an Islamic college in Bukhara, for the training of priests. It should not be forgotten that Bukhara was once considered to be the centre of Islamic learning and that 185 Medreseh were in existence here before the rise of Communism.<sup>19</sup> Now, about 50 million Moslems in the Soviet Union have one single Medreseh and even this serves not the Moslems but Soviet Russian foreign policy. It is a tragic fact that there is even a street near the Medreseh in Bukhara which bears the name "Godless" (Bezbojnaya).<sup>20</sup> Moslems have looked for a way to meet their need for religious leaders. Wherever Moslems live, there are also numerous teachers, officials, even leaders of the Communist Party organisations acting illegally as religious leaders. During the daytime, these people carry out their duties according to the demands of the régime, but, at the same time, in the evenings, they lead the religious life, conducting prayers, reciting the Koran, interpreting Islam or giving advice on moral questions.

At present the tendency for Moslems to infiltrate the Communist Party is particularly noteworthy. Moslems have learned from experience that in certain respects they can expect sympathy from Communists who were once Moslems. Many good Moslems have also become Communists in order to defend Islam and the Moslems from within the régime or to hamper the radical anti-Islam measures of the Com-

unist régime. However, it has become clear to those Moslems working within Communism that they are not in a position to change its nature.

It is tragic enough that historic Islamic cultural monuments have progressively disappeared from the face of the earth. Only a few the most famous mosques and Medreseh have been spared from Communist vandalism. The Soviet Union is now contemplating restoring several historically and architecturally beautiful mosques which have not been destroyed. For example, the Bibi-Chanim Mosque in Samarkand, built in the 15th Century, is to be restored. However, this restoration programme serves not the preservation of Islamic civilisation, but tourism. This can be clearly illustrated by the following comments in a Soviet publication: "The unique, ancient architectural monuments in Samarkand have developed into one of the major centres of international tourism. Between 1970 and 1975, more than 100,000 foreign tourists and about 3 million Soviet tourists visited Samarkand".<sup>21</sup> Moslems themselves are making every effort to protect these historic mosques, which have been spared from destruction, and to preserve them by all possible means.

Paragraph 52 of the Soviet Constitution allows freedom of conscience, i.e. every individual has the right to believe or not to believe in God (or Allah), to attend religious ceremonies or to distribute atheist propaganda. Under the guise of Islam, Soviet propagandists abroad point out this paragraph in the Soviet Constitution and claim that Islam is, thus, free. Although it is an unequivocal fact that people *are* free to take part in religious ceremonies, this does not, however, mean that they are free to propagate their beliefs. In addition to this, the conduct of religious ceremonies is governed by legal stipulations. In this paragraph of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, atheistic propaganda is referred to, but no mention is made of re-

ligious propaganda. Nobody in the Soviet Union has the right to publicly propagate Islam. Even the Soviet 'Red Muftis' are fully aware of this situation. "*Moslems of the Soviet Orient*", the only newspaper published by the religious administrative body of Turkistan Moslems, in Tashkent, and printed in Uzbek, Arabic, English and French, is not seen as a platform for the defence of Islam, but as a mouthpiece of Communist propaganda. Moreover, only very few copies of the Uzbek edition are printed and it appears only at irregular intervals. The Moslems in the Soviet Union have no newspapers or other publications for getting information about Islam. And so they are compelled to reproduce by hand some short Sura from the Sacred Koran or a few extracts from the Islamic Duties and to distribute these among the Moslems. In such endeavours, the Kalima-yi Shahâdat, in the Arabic language and in Cyrillic script (Arabic script was dispensed with among Moslems in 1928/29), with a translation into the mother tongue, plays a particularly important role.

As the ruling force, the Communist régime has the unrestricted right to hold anti-Islamic lectures, in order to incite godlessness amongst Moslems. *Soviet sociologists have disclosed that nearly 23% of former Moslems no longer believe in Allah.* It is impossible to ascertain the credibility of this statistic. The régime wishes to increase the number of godless ones, to the detriment of Islam. Thus, the Communist régime frequently organises series of provocative lectures. For example. M. Tokjigitov, a former Moslem, now godless and in the service of the Communist anti-Islam movement, informs us in his essay *The Truth about the Koran* (Koran turalı akitalar), that he has often given lectures on the theme *Why is Allah on the Side of Atheists?*<sup>23</sup> Communist anti-Islam propaganda of this nature goes even further. In 1977 in the province of Ashkabad, for example, more than 2,000 conferences

were organised against Islam.<sup>24</sup> In the Turkmenian Soviet Republic an average of 9,000 lectures have been organised each year against Islam.<sup>25</sup> Moslems have no right whatsoever to organise public conferences or lectures about the truth of Islam. They merely have the opportunity to give oral instruction about the meaning of Islam in order to uphold the spirit of their faith.

One of the most important questions is the education of youth. The Communist powers wish to educate children as loyal Communist subjects. Paragraph 52 of the Soviet Marriage and Family Law stipulates that "Parents must bring up their children in the spirit of the moral codex of the structure of Communism".<sup>26</sup> Moslems have a different interpretation of how to educate their children, an interpretation which contravenes this law. Moslem families have upheld their family traditions. We can see this once again from a Soviet sociological survey. In the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan, 2,500 people were asked about their way of life. Nearly 80% of those asked said that they preferred a marriage in the old tradition. In the towns, 88% of the Moslems (Uzbeks) questioned said that the approval of their parents was necessary for them to marry. In the villages, the figure was 92%.<sup>27</sup> From these figures, it is clear that the family is the true bearer of the spirit of Islam.

*Islam lives on in the hearts of the Moslems as a selfmotivating dynamic force, under Communist rule. Islam under Communist rule receives no support whatsoever from outside the Soviet Union. On the other hand, there are many personalities in the free countries of Islam outside the Soviet Union who have been swept away in the tide of Communist propaganda. For example, Dr. M. Fahham, leader of the Egyptian Moslem delegation, has stated that "Religious freedom is a reality in the Soviet Union; I have seen this with my own eyes... Moslems, Christians and Jews can carry out their religious obligations*

everywhere".<sup>27</sup> Dr. Lufti Dogan, the former President for Religious Affairs in the Turkish Republic, declared, after returning to Turkey from the Soviet Union, that Islam enjoyed freedom in the Soviet Union.<sup>28</sup> It is astonishing that assertions of this nature should be made by a person who, for years, was at the very forefront of Islamic religious life in Turkey. People such as Dr. Fahham and Dr. Dogan, who dance to the tune of Communist hypocrisy, can also be found in other Islamic countries. With their ignorance about the tragic situation of Islam under Communist rule, or with their misleading statements, such people prejudice the efforts of oppressed Moslems to defend Islam and add weight to the unhindered advance of Communism against Islam.

*Communist ideologists* unequivocally state that the movement of the nation towards godlessness is a legitimate process.<sup>29</sup> From statements of this nature, it can be seen that the Soviet régime would not only like to render the individual godless, but the nation as a whole. Moreover, they state that "Islam is trying to present itself as protector and interpreter of the national independence of the peoples of the East and of their national interests".<sup>30</sup> For this reason, also, the Communist leadership wants to continue the fight against Islam.

*Many Moslem leaders in the Soviet Union take the view that "Islam will also exist under Communism, obviously not in its present form, but in a modernised form... Without religion, the spiritual life of Man is void".<sup>31</sup> Certainly, Moslems are trying in various ways to keep Islam alive, under the conditions of Communist rule. Nugman Ashirov, a former Moslem, and now a godless author, has amply documented this in his book.<sup>32</sup>*

Moslems in the Soviet Union under the domination of godlessness are dependent entirely on themselves in their efforts to defend Islam. Until now they received no

active moral support from the free Islamic countries. A great many Moslems in the Soviet Union feel that the free world of Islam has forgotten oppressed Islam. It is also recognised that a few expressions of sympathy from free Moslems for those living in the chains of materialism and atheism are insufficient to relieve the misery of their fate. Nor has the free Islamic world tried to maintain radio contact with the Moslems living under the power of godlessness or to continue explaining the teachings of Islam to them. Special attention as well as gratitude is due to those young Moslem in the Soviet Union, who are continuing the Islamic tradition of their parents, although they receive no formal religious education of any sort, know little about Islam, and have to live with the continual anti-Islamic policies of Communism.

Since the free Islamic world has paid no attention to the affairs of Islam under Communist rule; has taken a passive stance on the question of the defence of Islam; and has taken up no arguments with Communism within the Communist sphere of influence, many Christian missionaries have tried to make inroads into the life of the Moslems and atheists. The Nordic-Swedish Mission, for example, has organised radio broadcasts about the Christian doctrine in all the languages and dialects of Moslems in the Soviet Union. Naturally, this mission would like to make the Christian doctrine popular to Moslems in the Soviet Union and to win new converts to Christianity, but the Islamic world has no such radio contact through means of which support for Islam could be given.

*In the future we must find answers to the following questions:* "Why, both as an ideology and state power, does Communism make an impression everywhere in the countries of Islam? Why does it try to convert Moslems to Communism and why do free Islamic countries remain silent on the position of Islam under Communist

rule, instead of adopting an offensive position against Communism in a religious sense? Why does Communism want to combat Islam and why is it allowed to do so while Islam mobilises no forces whatsoever against it? Why don't personalities in the Islamic world view Islam as *in-divisible*, and hence Islam under Communist rule as an integral part of the whole of Islam? What, up till now, have we free Moslems seriously undertaken in defence of Islam under Communist rule? Do we possess any state or public organisation anywhere in the free Islamic world which is concerned with the problems of the Moslems under Communist rule in the Soviet Union? Do we have any *Journal* which supplies the world at large, including Moslems, with information about Moslems in the Soviet Union? How many minutes do radio stations in the Islamic world transmit broadcasts about the teachings of Islam to Moslems under Communist rule? — and in their own language? Do we have any documentation centre for the compilation of all the documents recording the anti-Islamic policies of Communism? Do we possess an Islamic Foundation which would finance measures for the defence of Islam? Which Islamic university holds courses in the history and current affairs of Moslems under Communist rule?

What have we, in the free Islamic world, done so far as regards the question of national liberation for Moslems living in the Soviet Union? Our Brother in Islam, Sheikh Mohammad Al-Chazali, was kind enough to ask in his latest book: "What have we done for Turkistan"? There are a great many other questions to be asked. Let the answer to all these questions be a task for the future. Whatever happens, Moslems in the Soviet Union, in exactly the same way as in the case of Moslems under Communist rule in China, are firmly decided, even without the fraternal aid of Moslems in the free world, to defend Islam and to keep it alive and effective, with the help

of Allah. The two concepts — the godless materialist concept of Communism and the Moslem concept based on Allah — stand, today, in radical opposition to one another. Those without God — the Communists — take the view that: "Belief in Allah, belief in the necessity to fulfill Moslem obligations as the moral norm, must give way to the scientific materialist perception of the world and to belief in the realisation of our Communist ideal... The conquest of the rest of Islam is a long process and calls for the harmonious amalgamation of the complex of atheistic measures... Moslem preachers say: "Islam is eternal and will not disappear".<sup>33</sup>

The fact is, that, unlike the case with Communism, Moslems are convinced that Islam is eternal. In this respect, Moslems take the following view: As long as a single copy of the Holy Koran is available, Islam will endure, even under the régime of godlessness".<sup>34</sup> There can be absolutely no doubt about such a comment. The fight between Communism and Islam will be a long one. We are not in a position, today, to foresee what further measures the Communist rulers of Russia will adopt against Islam, in order to stamp it out once and for all in the Soviet Union. We can, however, predict that Moslems will defend Islam. Islam in the Soviet Union can only gain genuine freedom through national, independent states, without Communism and without Russia.

Those Moslems who are oppressed by Communist rule and by the Imperialism of Russia live with the constant hope: "Allah biz bilen"! —

"Allah be with us".

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>12</sup> *Oezbekistan Kommunisti* (Journal of the Academy of Science, Tashkent), 1978, No. 1, p. 41

<sup>13</sup> ibid. (12)

<sup>14</sup> *Voprosy Ekonomiki* (Journal, Moscow), 1978, No. 8, p. 39

<sup>15</sup> Nugman Ashirov, *Evolutsiya Islama v*

*SSSR* (The Evolution of Islam in the USSR), Moscow 1972, p. 77

<sup>18</sup> *Osnovy nauchnogo Kommunizma* (6), pp. 290—291

<sup>17</sup> Baymirza Hayit, *Soviet Russian Colonialism and Imperialism in Turkistan as an example of Soviet type Colonialism of an Islamic people in Asia*, Köln 1966, p. 47

<sup>18</sup> *Kazakhstan Kommunisti* (Journal, Alma-Ata); 1978, No. 4, p. 95

<sup>19</sup> Olga A. Sukhareva, *Bukhara XIX — nacalo XXv.* (Bukhara at the turn of the 20th Century), Moscow 1966, p. 71

<sup>20</sup> Walter Kolarz, *Die Religionen in der Sowjetunion* (Religions in the Soviet Union), Freiburg 1963, p. 431

<sup>21</sup> *Oezbekistanda Ijtmai Fanlar* (Journal, Tashkent), 1978, No. 3, p. 57

<sup>22</sup> *Kazakhstan Kommunisti*, 1978, No. 3, p. 57

<sup>23</sup> *Turkmenistan Kommunisti* (Journal, Ashkabad), 1978, No. 4, p. 33

<sup>24</sup> ibid. 1979, No. 1, p. 53

<sup>25</sup> G. R. Gol'st, *Religiya i Zakon* (Religion and the Law), Moscow 1975, p. 102

<sup>26</sup> *Oezbekistanda Ijtmai Fanlar* 1979, No. 1, p. 41

<sup>27</sup> Nugman Ashirov, *Islam i Natsii* (Islam and the Nations), Moscow 1975, p. 113

<sup>28</sup> *Milliyet* (Newspaper, Istanbul), 21-9-1978, pp. 1 & 7 Ali Gurbuz, member of the Turkish National Assembly, demanded that Lutfi Dogan explain to Parliament why he had given the alleged religious leader from

the Soviet Union the opportunity to appear on Turkish television and why he had spoken of freedom of Islam in the Soviet Union (See: *Hergün* (Newspaper, Istanbul), 20-12-1978). Beginning on February 3 1979, the Istanbul newspaper, *Sabah*, published a series of articles on the situation of Islam in the Soviet Union, taken from my book *Türk dünyasında Rus imperiyalizminin izleri* and without prior consultation with me, in order to repudiate the assertions of Lutfi Dogan and Ziyauddin Babakhanov.

<sup>29</sup> See: Ashirov (27), pp. 38—72

<sup>30</sup> ibid. p. 142

<sup>31</sup> N. Ashirov, *Evolutsiya Islama v SSSR* (The Evolution of Islam in the USSR), in "Nauka i Religiya" (Journal, Moscow), 1971, No. 4;

B. Hayit, *Der Islam und die Anti-Islam Bewegung in der Sowjetunion* (Islam and the anti-Islam Movement in the Soviet Union), "Osteuropa" (Journal, Aachen), 1972, No. 2, p. 118; ditto, *ABN-Correspondence* (Journal, Munich), 1972, No. 3, p. 20; also in "Religion und Atheismus in der UdSSR" (Periodical, Munich), 1971, No. 6 (44); "Digest des Ostens" (Journal), 1971, No. 10; "Dergi" (Journal), 1971, No. 65, pp. 64—69; "Al-Muhajirun" (Journal, Munich) 1971, No. 29, pp. 8—15

<sup>32</sup> See: Ashirov (15), 152 pp.

<sup>33</sup> Rashid Rahmatullayevich Mavlyutov, *Islam*, Moscow 1974, pp. 166—7

<sup>34</sup> *Die Tat* (Newspaper, Zürich), 8-8-1961

## Situation in the Subjugated Countries

*ABN Report to the 12th WACL Conference in Asuncion, Paraguay*

While the subjugated nations are fearlessly fighting by all possible means for their independence, for the dissolution of the Russian Empire and liquidation of the communist system, Russian chauvinism and communism by its linguicide, ethno-, cultural-, geno-, and natiocidal policy strives to crush the subjugated nations which constitute the strongest barrier against the inaudition of the free world by the bolshevist flood.

In November 1978, the Russian com-

munists, with the help of its colonial government of the Ukrainian SSR issued a decree of total russification of schools and pedagogical institutes in Ukraine, similarly as they did previously in Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Kazakhstan or as in 1978 they tried to abolish from the constitution of Georgian and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics their mother languages and to introduce instead the Russian language as the sole official language, but they were compelled to withdraw

under the pressure of mass anti-Russian demonstrations in Georgia and Armenia.

Russification is directed at the destruction of the last vestige of national educational systems; the persecution of the national churches and faiths of the subjugated nations (the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Protestant Churches, the Byelorussian Catholic and Orthodox Churches, the Lithuanian Catholic Church, the Georgian and Armenian Orthodox Churches and the Islamic faith in Turkestan and North Caucasus). The cultural, ethnic and physical genocide is systematically carried out in an attempt to achieve the ultimate goal of total Russification and to create a so-called Soviet people — a single Russian nation..

The new constitution of the USSR as the most reactionary basic law of all empires ever known, aims to guarantee the absolute supreme role of the Russian supernation, the indivisibility of the Russian Soviet empire and total subjugation of nations and individuals.

After 35 years of ABN's existence, it is clear how realistic the main strategic policy of the First Conference of the Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Russian dominated parts of Asia was. The concept of pan-national revolutions of subjugated peoples as the road to liberation, is the only realistic solution, and also an alternative to a nuclear holocaust.

In the face of ruthless Russification, ABN raises the issue of cultural creativity and freedom, because, should nations die, culture shall also die, and the dehumanization of life shall set in. Should nations disappear, the heroic conception of life shall also disappear, and with it, man as a spiritual being.

ABN is not an emigre formation of national communities in exile, because these are only a part of their respective spiritual organisms-nations. ABN is a community

of nations with deeply rooted national and cultural traditions, which fearlessly defend their national essence.

In the course of 35 years (1943—1978), the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations has been conducting very dynamic activities. In many countries of Europe, in many cities of the United States and Canada, in Latin America, as well as in such distant countries as National China, Japan, India and Australia, ABN has spread vital information about the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the so-called satellite states. Thus ABN has endeavoured in the noble task of awakening the Free World's opinion to the dangers of the expansion of ruthless Russian domination over the rest of still free countries. Surely by applying many-sided methods ABN has penetrated the Iron Curtain. Not only has ABN sent memoranda and petitions to governments of Western countries and to the conferences of Major Powers; not only has it established international contacts, participated in international forums, organized campaigns and rallies of ABN, but also ideologically and otherwise influenced the methods of struggle of the subjugated nations inside of the "prison of nations".

Over the course of many years important activities of ABN were accomplished by its branches and dedicated membership. The ABN appealed to Western democracies that they withhold supplies of military hardware, logistics, oil, clothing, etc. to the Russian communists, because our nations have known their true nature for many decades. Instead, the Western countries ought to provide moral and material support to the national freedom fighters.

The 35 years of ABN's experience proves that our position was correct. Had the appeals of Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian insurgent armies not fallen on deaf ears, had England, the United States

and their allies given effective support to their struggle for the political independence of Ukraine, Turkistan, Slovakia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Cuba and other subjugated nations — this much can be said today — we would not have had to live through this unfortunate turmoil in Iran, nor would the United States have lost tens of thousands of brave soldiers during the Korean and Vietnam wars. Nor would we have to witness tens and hundreds of lengthy, humiliating, fruitless, ineffectual meetings with Russia in reference to SALT (Strategic Army Limitation Treaties).

It only suffices to point out the fact that not very long ago, a secret military organization was discovered among clandestine officers of the Red Army, whose contacts extended from the Baltic Sea to the Caucasus Mountains. Also, we can judge the extent of the cooperation among the nations of ABN behind the Iron Curtain by the frequency and the intensity of the Russian attacks in their press and their radio transmissions, which often tried to besmeare ABN as a whole, as well as individual leaders and in particular its President — Yaroslav Stetsko, Central Committee Members like Prince N. Nakashidze (Georgian), Dr. C. Pokorny, Prof. F. Dorchansky (Slovak), Gen. F. Farkash (Hungarian), Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan), Col. D. Kosmowic (Byelorussian), Dr. D. Waltscheff (Bulgarian) and many others. Many of these attacks were published not only in Russian but also in Czech and other languages. There were also several radio programs devoted especially to critisizing ABN's symbols and actions. We wish to draw your attention to the adverse effects of such propaganda, because the persecuted people of the "prison of nations" i.e. the Russian empire, instead of developing a hatred for ABN, have learned about its activities.

We are in possession of documentary evidence that cultural workers in con-

centration camps periodically arrange special evenings devoted to the strengthening of common ties among the freedom fighters of nations of ABN. Several literary works, poems, novels, short stories positively develop the ideas of a common struggle against a common enemy — Russian imperialism.

Here we shall quote one representative of the young generation of cultural workers, a historian — Valentyn Moroz, who was incarcerated for 14 years behind bars:

"The present events (in Ukraine) are also a turning point: the glacier of terror which had firmly bound the spiritual life of the nation for many years is breaking up. As always, they (the Russian imperialists) put people behind bars and as always deported them to the East (i.e. Siberia). But this time, these people did not sink to obscurity. To the great surprise of the KGB, public opinion has risen. For the first time, the KGB felt powerless to stifle all this".

This modern development in Byelorussia, Armenia, Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania, and other subjugated nations deserves much more attention in the Free World. Here we need to state, that this neo-Stalinist tyranny in the Soviet Union may take many victims, but it is foredoomed to ultimate defeat because our nations are strong believers in individual freedom and national state independence above all. And they are ready to fight for them. The communists are killing our freedom fighters behind the Iron Curtain but they are killing the leaders of our liberation movements in the free world as well. They killed Ukrainian National Hero, Stepan Bandera, outstanding leaders of Croatia (over 20), Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, and just recently two Bulgarians in Western Europe. But the struggle for national independence is growing.

## Hard Melodies

Dedicated to the pure memory of Mykhailo Soroka.

Proud, we carry your coffin, and there is iron in our footsteps.

One does not weep on the grave of a Chief of the Cossack Camp.<sup>1</sup> People like you are beyond weeping, beyond pain, and the accustomed word "sorrow" is not for them. You are not dead. While still alive, you became a monument; people came to touch it to feel its strength. Among them was I.

A black eagle soars above Ukraine. The body of the Chief of the Cossack Camp is carried to its rest. According to the law of the living, your heart was bound to stop beating a long time ago — nevertheless it was beating still. An iron heart forges its own laws for itself. It could not stop beating — it was moved by the *Order*. It could not stop beating — you were the heart of our community. You were the Chief of the Cossack Camp. Your years had been counted off by the cuckoo long ago but you went on living, you went on living beyond your time — and you kept an iron heart in your breast. You were not sure to whom to hand it over.

Where would you find a breast that would not be burned through by it?

Where would you find hands capable of carrying this weight of stone?

You were the Chief of the Cossack Camp. And your camp stood beyond the Danube, under foreign stars. And over there, in the far-off distance, the tallest were falling under the cold winds of nostalgia. But you supported them with your iron arm because you were Chief of the Cossack Camp. Many would have fallen if it were not for your iron arm. It is more difficult for the Chief of the Cossack Camp than for the Hetman.<sup>2</sup> Even in the Great Dnieper Meadow,<sup>3</sup> in our native land. By day and by night — among

people suddenly very strong, and suddenly very weak. Like a mountain stream fed by rainfalls, which knows no middle course: it either roars menacingly downhill in a swollen flood or vanishes, powerless, in shallows, among dry pebbles.

You knew how to be a Chief of the Cossack Camp. You existed to lead. And it was not the people who made you Chief of the Cossack Camp but the voice of the *Order*. For people do not long worship the idols which they put up themselves. Both in times of bitter frosts, and in times of fierce rainlessness, your sources breathed in an even pulse — *with the strength of a Leader*. Their strength was not born of a rainfall. You were not dependent on weather, and because of it you were a *Leader*.

We, who came to the camp from university benches, knew a lot about wisdom and evaluated everything in the world by its criterion. Only we did not know what *strength* meant. You upset our criteria. You differed by something, although you were not among those who had a striking appearance. You differed from the general crowd by something but we could not recognize by what, because the scales which we had brought along from the university did not set aside a place for you in the front row. We saw a leader and did not know what it was, because in the world from which *we came there were* no leaders. There were only drivers there, and we thought that the leader and the driver were Siamese twins, and we hated them heartily. To us you pronounced the word *Leader* purified from dirt, and it rang in our ears like a psaltery unused for a thousand years. We brought to you our golden hearts, but we knew nothing about the iron heart because the world from which we came did not have iron hearts. That was the kingdom of deadened hearts,

and we were accustomed to think that an iron heart was a rusty heart, and hated them both heartily. You showed us an iron heart cleansed from rust, and for the first time we believed that iron could shine brighter than gold. Thick-skinned palms were not a rarity for us, but we had always seen a thickskinned head associated with them and firmly remembered that this was inseparable: thick-skinned palms and thick-skinned heads. O, there was no shortage of them in our world! — of calloused palms. Our entire reality was a kind of wooden symphony, with callouses instead of sharps and keys. And every time that children wanted to have something, they would be shown wooden fingers. And every time when they wanted to see, the world would be screened off from them by a wooden palm. We used to ask but they did not know how to answer us and hid behind toiling hands. Callouses replaced everything. Callouses replaced everything: heavy bovine callouses from long rubbing of a wooden neck by a wooden yoke. In the heavy woodleness one forgot already that this had been caused by the yoke.

Bovine necks are usually strong. Beautiful — never.

You, however, had beautiful hands. You had beautiful calloused hands — the hands of a *fighter*, and we liked them, although they were with callouses.

Callouses may be beautiful — but not from the yoke.

And everything was not as we had construed it. Everything in your world seemed to be very hard — this was because our hands were very soft and were not capable of holding.

Everything in your world appeared to be coarse — just as the heavy monumentality of the ancient idol found in the river Zbruch<sup>4</sup> appears to be somewhat coarse to a person whose taste has been cultivated on Baroque's rich variety. We knew a lot but there was no hard skin on

our palms. We knew and imagined that our knowledge was a firm foundation. Time winnowed off feathers — there remained but a heap of broken pieces on the tavern yard. They were brought and left there by casual guests. Anyone threw whatever pleased him upon that heap. Our house, too, is a tavern in which anyone may spit on the floor, and our soul is like our house. Thus, we knew already that there was no foundation and that our erudition was merely a huge storage heap of rusty scrap metal which we would have to remelt to obtain a hard monolith. A heart was needed which would be able to melt iron — but we did not have it. Fire was needed — but we were unable to catch fire. We just looked on that heap of broken pieces and went on fetching more and more of them. No longer with joy, however.

We came upon some kind of a barrier, we had to proceed farther, but farther — there was fire. Like the hero of the Edda, we had to get across to the middle of the circle, to the world of the hardened, strong, and sound, where Odin — the warrior god of the gods — was ruler. And we saw clearly that slyness would not help us because the fire was round and the world of the strong was there, within the circle. There is only one path to the world of the strong — through the fire.

We had been looking for you for a long time. Without believing that you were possible — we were looking for you. To take off for a flight, one has to run up along a hard path first.

These were our wanderings to the water of life. A foreboding told us that *someone* would come and would strike a strong fire to ignite us. And that we had to fathom one more — the hardest — wisdom — *the ABC of hardening*.

But you, the cold ones, with wooden foreheads — do not rejoice! You knew very well that the heaviest apparel to wear was dirt, and that children would

overstrain their legs before they would crawl out upon a clean spot if they have inherited a dirty path from their parents. You would have forgiven him everything if only he would allow you to dab his conscience with just one, just a single spot. For the most precious inheritance (you knew this well) are those who depart pure and leave a pure path after themselves.

And he, powerful and heavy, made a deep mark upon your consciousness, like a meteor that flew in God knows from where.

You have departed.

You have departed in white robes, like Svyatoslav.<sup>5</sup>

A huge glow was burning in mighty pillars at the funeral feast, and golden eagles tore away from it to the sun.

A huge pyre at your feast was roaring with its mighty wings, and white horses dedicated to the gods broke loose from it and galloped to the sun.

And we, the young ones, stretched out our hands to harden them — and they became hard as if adamantine. And we, the young ones, raised our swords, and they rang out clearly, and we knew already what it meant — *golden arms*. And then we crossed the bonfire with our swords and our horses, and we came out, renewed, on the other side. And the spirit of the fire spoke from us, and we recited the oath, and named fire our God — the pure Midsummer Night's fire,<sup>6</sup> and that spring fire through which the Hutsuls<sup>7</sup> drive their cattle and through which they themselves pass. We drank from Svyatoslav's springs and the luxurious music of "I am coming at you!"<sup>8</sup> rang for us.

"I do not like you, golden eagle, because you have a fierce heart".

But an eagle is just powerful; it is not his fault. He is powerful because he has strength. And as long as eagles live in the world the healthy voice of "I am coming at you!" will not grow silent,

- because strength does not like to wither away unused;
- because something cannot be nothing;
- because the sweetest music in the world is born by iron.

The huge glows of fire at the funeral feast burned themselves out; the white smoke from your body rose in wisps and disappeared, like Svyatoslav's sacrificial offering, but your heart did not die down — it was unburnable, immortal — and we have recovered it from the ashes. For it has been beating for a thousand years, since that grey primeval time in which the legendary Bozh<sup>9</sup> is king, and it has no power to stop beating; and it must search for a breast which it would be unable to burn through, and it must search for hands capable of holding a weight of stone.

It must do so! — because a nation in which no one is capable of carrying an iron heart disappears, because God becomes angry and takes away the sword from the feeble who are incapable of wielding it.

With our caps we were throwing black Ukrainian soil upon your grave... and now it is time to march off again. Let us lift your iron heart on our rifles like a blessing. We know already that it is a great burden. But you have taught us a great majesty, very heavy, like all the stone crosses in the world taken together — *the majesty of hardness*.

The years of tempering did not pass in vain.

Our hands have become hardened already.

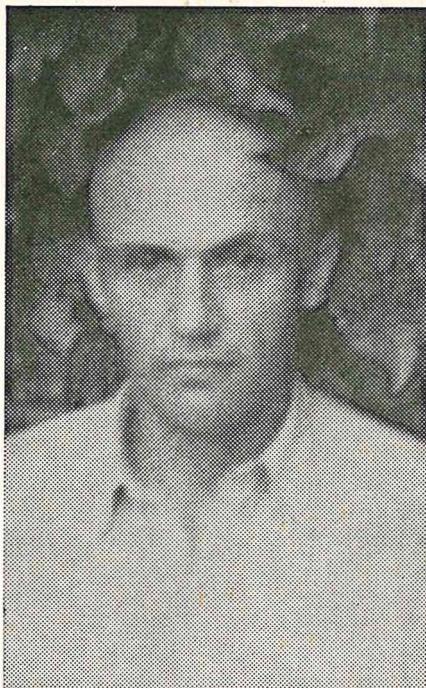
We accept the iron heart from your hands.

*Translated by Wolodymyr B. Mykula*

*NOTE. This "poem in prose" by V. Moroz is dedicated to the memory of Mykhailo Soroka, a Ukrainian nationalist who died in a Soviet Russian prison camp in 1971. This work was memorized by its author in imprisonment, was restored to a written form after his release in April*

1979, and was publicly read for the first time at the Ukrainian Youth Rally in New York on May 12, 1979.

Mykhailo Soroka was born in 1911 in Western Ukraine. Arrested as a member of



Mykhailo Soroka

the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) by the Polish police, he spent 7 years in Polish prisons prior to 1939. He was rearrested by the new, Soviet Russian occupiers in 1940 and sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment for being a member of the Territorial Directorate of the OUN under

the leadership of Stepan Bandera. He was released in 1949, then rearrested again and sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment for having been a member of "underground organizations in concentration camps", the so-called "OUN-North". Shortly before the completion of his final term of imprisonment he was murdered by the Russians on June 16, 1971. The authorities refused to grant the permission to take his body away from the camp and bury it in Ukraine.

<sup>1</sup> Ukr. "koshovyj" — Chief of the Sich camp of the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks on an island below the Dnieper rapids (16th — 18th C.)

<sup>2</sup> Hetman — Head of the Cossack State; Commander-in-Chief.

<sup>3</sup> The Great Dnieper Meadow (Ukr. "Velykyi Luh") — the region on the Lower Dnieper where the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks had their main base.

<sup>4</sup> The idol of Svyatovyd (Sventovit), an ancient Slavonic deity, hewn out of a square-section bloc of stone, with bas-relief images of the god looking four ways.

<sup>5</sup> King Svyatoslav the Conqueror (960—972), ruler of the Old Ukrainian Kyivan Rus' State, — Transl.

<sup>6</sup> Midsummer Night — in Ukraine it is known as Ivan Kupala's Night and is connected with customs the origins of which go back to ancient pagan times: bonfires are lit near river banks, young men try their skill in jumping over them, girls make wreaths of flowers and set them adrift on rivers.

<sup>7</sup> The Hutsuls — a Ukrainian ethnic group in the Eastern Carpathians.

<sup>8</sup> "I am coming at you!" — this was the laconic message which King Svyatoslav used to send to his enemies when he set out on a campaign against them.

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

## American Ideals And Captive Nations

*Speech by Dr. Askold Skalskyj delivered at the Captive Nations Week Rally on behalf of the American Friends of ABN, Inc. in Central Park, N.Y.C., on July 15, 1979*

Today we mark the 20th observance of the proclamation of Captive Nations Week. As in the past, participants here and throughout the United States will again march with their banners and in their respective national groups; once again we will hear speeches, prayers and proclamations on behalf of this cause. It would seem that there is little new to be said today which — in one way or another — has not already been said on such occasions in the past. We here today know very well who the Captive Nations are, what they stand for, what it means to share in their fate.

Unfortunately, we also know some other things:

We know — if past experience is any guide — that our manifestation here will largely be a non-event to the influential news media of this city and of the country in general, so that few Americans will be aware of this occasion and even fewer of its significance; we know also that what we do here will be almost wholly ignored by those who are presently conducting the United States foreign policy in regard to the nations that we represent; and, finally, we also know that our manifestation will be quickly dismissed — if not actually scorned — by much of the intellectual elite of the powerful Liberal establishment which contributes so decisively to the formation of American public opinion.

These are unpleasant, uncomfortable truths — but they must be acknowledged and remembered; their reality makes our presence here today that much more significant, our efforts on behalf of the Captive Nations that much more difficult, even discouraging. For we must remember that the whole concept of the Captive Nations and its intrusion into the American po-

litical forum are by no means universally welcomed.

1. We know for example that prominent members of the political establishment have tried to repeal the Captive Nations resolution: George Kennan in 1961, Sen. Fulbright in the mid 60's, Dean Rusk in 1975.

2. We remember that in 1977 Pres. Carter almost failed to make the annual proclamation and did so only at the last minute under pressure from Captive Nations groups.

3. We note that the presidential texts of the Captive Nations proclamations, as well as many of their lower level variants, have been reduced to a string of generalities and pious abstractions that — in themselves — no regime anywhere on earth can quarrel with.

4. Yet, when the specific intent of the Captive Nations proclamation is noted, then we discover some very strong and unequivocal reactions, reactions such as those in an article by a prominent columnist in the Washington Post, which appeared last year immediately before the Captive Nations Week observance. The author writes that the Captive Nations is a "deeply flawed" concept because it dares to call for the dissolution of the Soviet bloc and for the dismemberment of the USSR. He goes on to suggest that the Captive Nations observances are pursued by aging ethnics who — using the Captive Nations forum as a vehicle of anti-communist and anti-Soviet extremism — are out to create a "dangerous" world situation by provoking the Soviet Union. The author of the article expresses satisfaction that the message of Captive Nations has, for the most part, been ignored, and has

been ineffective in making an impact on US policy.

We must not think that these are isolated views, rather, they are representative of the thinking of perhaps the majority of the American political elite, and we should carefully note not only the assumptions of such arguments but their insinuations as well.

Thus, the Captive Nations supporters are viewed as somewhat narrow-minded provincials, motivated by ethnic biases and dated antagonisms that no enlightened individual any longer entertains in this modern and supposedly complex world. Then, of course, come the standard and timeworn labels: — the Captive Nations supporters are right-wing extremists, benighted anti-communists, rabid nationalists pursuing selfish goals, and all this criticism is accompanied by a condescending, sneering tone that effectively closes off any serious debating of the issues. How often, in one form or another, have we all heard or read innumerable variations of such biases and mistaken assumptions? These are the reasons why we will look in vain for any news of this even on the pages of tomorrow's New York Times; Or why there is no representative from the White House here today.

Yet it would be naive for us to be surprised at such attitudes. For the policy of the US towards the USSR, for much of the last 20 years has been anything but one of encouragement for the Captive Nations. In this policy, whose contours shift uncertainly between containment and accommodation, the USSR and other communist regimes are viewed to be pretty much like many other states around the world: backward and politically and economically inexperienced nations, only now emerging onto the intricate arena of international affairs. Such states must be educated, and gradually introduced to Western values; tensions towards such states must be relaxed, opposition minimized so that their rulers

may be enlightened in liberal doctrines through American unilateral restraint, understanding, and a polite turning away from the crudities of totalitarism. From this follows that the consolidation of Soviet conquests is unopposed, the suppression of national and human rights is viewed with "benign neglect". Thus, we see influential senators recommending an arms limitation treaty because its passage would avoid "shocks" to the Soviets; we hear it said that our policy towards the USSR should reflect "mutual interests" and address "mutual problems" of the US and the USSR. We read important foreign policy pronouncements by men like George Kennan who pictures Brezhnev as a man of "peace" and the head of a "moderate, conservative regime". What wonder then that at this very time administrative spokesmen have become apologists for the USSR, putting the most positive interpretation on Soviet behavior in order to provide a favorable climate for the acceptance of the Soviet status-quo.

This official unshakeable American belief in so-called "established realities" of Soviet and Chinese power, this desire to stabilize the Soviet Russian empire, this deep fear of change, the fear of alienating militarily powerful empires and regimes whose governments are illegitimate, non-popularly elected — what can all this have in common with the ideas of the Captive Nations Week? Doesn't our presence here today expose, the sham of such a foreign policy?

An American journalist in Moscow recently wrote that the most conspicuous characteristic of life in the USSR is the enormous contrast between Soviet claims and Soviet reality and, consequently, the great capacity for self-delusion of the regime's rulers, I would like to extend that comment to today's observances. For the significance of Captive Nations Week seems to me to be likewise concerned with certain gaps between claims and realities, claims made not only by the likes of Brezhnev or

Deng Chou Ping but by the many American political leaders, government officials, and general opinion makers. On American soil and in the face of American indifference and opposition the spokesman for the Captive Nations have had to point out the discrepancies between false claims that would perpetuate the Russian Empire and the reality of such an empire. We have had to point out the discrepancy between traditional American ideals and the reality of their practical absence when it comes to the Captive Nations. For at least 20 years we have had to live with the reality of the sufferings of our peoples while watching a whole procession of illusory, dangerous experiments in moral indifference: East-West Trade, Disarmament, Bridge-Building, the Sonnenfeldt Doctrine, Détente, Helsinki — the whole sorry line of policies from Yalta to Salt II.

So it seems that our commemoration here today is, one of those bitter, though instructive ironies of our times. For the ideals of freedom and national independence for millions of forgotten human beings has been kept alive by us, by those who believe in the Captive Nations cause, in their liberation struggle. For 20 years the hope for the Captive Nations has been fuelled not by powerful statesmen and leading politicians of the mightiest country in the free world but by a small group of immigrants and their descendants and friends who doggedly and selflessly have acted as a moral thorn in the side of an American policy that would just as soon forget these unpleasant facts and be satisfied with stable spheres of influence and getting on with the business of economic well-being and technological progress.

That is what we have been trying to do, but it is not enough. Menachem Begin, justifying his opposition to British policy in Israel in the 40's, writes about the short memory of the world in regard to the Jewish people and he gives this warning to his countrymen: "For the sake of our fu-

ture, and possibly for that of the future of humanity, we dare not forget what happened to us in this century of mechanized civilization, in the heart of 'cultured' Europe." And Begin goes on to say: "The world does not pity the slaughtered. It only respects those who fight. For better or for worse, that is the truth."

These are strong words, and I think that they are applicable to us here today also. We have tried to keep the world from forgetting: it is time now to do more than that; time to make our critics uncomfortable, to embarrass those who ignore us, it is time to fight. We have an example in men like Menachem Begin: his dedicated nationalism, his criticism of what was once also thought of as enlightened Western policy, even his para-military activities — all this has not hurt him in the esteem of posterity, quite the contrary.

I am not suggesting that we must emulate the Jewish liberation movement. But I am suggesting that we must somehow jolt the consciousness and conscience of those, who at present find the Captive Nations expendable. We must expose their ignorance, their lack of principles, and — quite often — even their arrogance. How we do that is something that we must decide between now and the next Captive Nations observation. But we must take the initiative, knowing that we can only influence that fate of the Captive Nations by what we do here in the US. And in spite of our modest numbers, of past setbacks, of misunderstandings among ourselves, we must realize that we have much to teach the foreign policy makers of the US. We are told we live in an era of progress, in an era of supposedly universal nominal commitment to human rights, an era of increasing technological achievement, when world public opinion can be mobilized as a moral force by modern communications media. We live in an era when, for example, the Gilbert Islands with a population smaller than that of

Jersey City can enjoy freedom and full political independence. In such an era the Captive Nations can no longer be treated as the "dirty little secret" of international affairs, and any rationalizations or evasions concerning an active liberation policy on their behalf must be challenged and exposed no matter how politically powerful or socially prestigious the oppositions.

We can, therefore, derive a paradoxical satisfaction from the fact that our meeting here today will not receive the attention it deserves; for the idea we represent is a truly radical one in today's world and it is we who are the true revolutionaries; we who dare to criticize the gaps between the claims of an outmoded realpolitik and the

brutal reality. And such an attempt is seldom popular.

On the other hand, let us also decide that we have played the game of docility long enough: somewhere, sometime in the future, history will remember that for 20 years the so-called "ethnics" from Asia, Eastern Europe and Cuba, with few resources and on the periphery of American political life, carried the burden in an unequal struggle on behalf of over a dozen nations whose people could not speak for themselves. Let us hope that we have the perseverance to continue that task. Let us believe that in the next 20 years we will have played a decisive role to make that task unnecessary.

*Dr. M. Ausala (Latvia)*

## Message to a King

*Blue gardens of dreams  
Shimmering through the dusk,  
Visions of the unknown.  
  
My eyes  
Are two weary pilgrims  
Seeking your land,  
your kingdom of legends,  
Tangun Wanggom.  
  
My heart carries a message  
From your twin brother  
Far away beyond time and space  
A message  
Marked with holy signs,  
The last mystery of God and men,*

*Over the plains of China  
Lazy rivers murmur to ocean.  
  
The Sun rises  
Leaving behind faded deserts,  
Snowy peaks of ragged mountains,  
Desolate Siberia's tundra  
And smoky cities great and small.*

*On the calm waters of the Baltic sea  
The sun goes down*

*Flooding the waves with light  
And playing with amber pieces on the  
dunes.*

*There is my land,  
My kingdom of legends  
And there  
Once upon a time  
Your twin brother Lach-plee-sis was found  
Under the shadows of pine trees  
Mothered by a golden bear  
like you  
before he became a mighty king.  
Only his hair was as fair as the sand on  
the dunes  
and his eyes as blue as your gardens of  
dreams,*

*Tangun Wanggom.  
Take the message  
out of my heart  
And let your smile  
Close the circle of things gone by  
and things to come.*

To the IV INTERNATIONAL WORLD CONGRESS OF POETS in Seoul, Korea

## Rumanian Workers Demanding their Right

In February 1979 the Free Labor Union of the Working People in Rumania (in Rumanian: Sindicatul Liber al Oamenilor Muncii din Romania — or SLOMR) came into being in Bucharest, Rumania. Its founders, a group of twenty have succeeded in sending to the West a programmatic manifesto, in which they announce the establishment of SLOMR and call for help from all labor organizations in the world.

The establishment of the SLOMR was announced to the West at a press conference held in Paris by the distinguished Rumanian writer and dissident Paul Goma on March 5, 1979. The contents of the original signed document, that was smuggled out of Rumania, were broadcast on Radio Free Europe, also in March 1979. The formation of this "dissident" labor union comes on the heels of the formation of other similar groups in Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania and other parts of the Soviet Russian Empire.

By March 25, 1979, it was reported that all founding members of the Union had either been arrested or threatened with internment in a Psychiatric Hospital. Some had been severely beaten, and one, the Orthodox priest George Calciu was beaten nearly to death for his "association with enemies of the state". A day later, on March 26, 1979, Paul Goma drafted a letter on behalf of the group to AFL-CIO President George Meany, informing him of the group's existence, their objectives and asking for support of the SLOMR's efforts.

In the preamble of the SLOMR Charter, the organization outlines the legal basis for its existence calling upon the international and national pacts signed by Rumania, in accordance with Article 22 of the International Pact of Civil and Political Rights and in accordance with Article 8 of the Pact of Social, Economic and Cultural Rights, respectively, granted by Decree

212 of the Council of Rumania on October 1, 1974.

Upon its formation, the SLOMR declared its affiliation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It also declared its solidarity with the activities of all organizations in Rumania and abroad, that fight for the respect of the fundamental rights of man, and especially those rights that are derived through labor relationships.

The founders of SLOMR deemed it necessary to form such an organization because of the Economic, Social and Cultural situations in Rumania. SLOMR, unlike the state "union" apparatus, is to exercise its activities freely and will not serve as a conveyor of any political force or ideology. SLOMR sees as its main task: the fight for the defence of the rights of Rumanian citizens, in virtue of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, ratified by Rumania in the afore-mentioned decree. The declaration proclaims the ideal of the human being freed from fear, and the SLOMR intends to put into effect Article 11 of the Pact for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights that provides the right of everyman to a sufficient standard of living, with respect to food, clothing and housing. The free union also calls on the Government of Rumania to cease discriminatory practices against workers, especially those practices that are associated with Communist Party politics.

Besides the twenty founding members from Bucharest and Turnu-Severin, forty others have subsequently rendered membership applications. A one thousand member Free Union of Targu-Mures was formed: and, upon learning from Radio Free Europe about SLOMR, promptly affiliated with it. News of the formation of other free unions in the cities of Brasov, Pitesti, Craiova and Ploesti have also reached the West.

Consequently the Government of Rumania, under the auspices of the Security Police, is taking steps to counteract the now widespread "free union fervor" in Rumania. Reports of Security Police abuses are commonplace, with widespread charges of torture, blackmail and pressures

on families, on friends, on their workmates and on their neighbors.

Their statement concludes with the knowledge that perhaps they might be physically destroyed and their goals not attained in their lifetime, but eventually victory will be theirs.

## Mysterious Death of Ukrainian Composer in Lviv

The body of popular Ukrainian composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk was found hanging and mutilated in a forest 10 km. outside of Lviv on May 18. Ivasiuk, a physician by training was best known for his compositions "Chervona Ruta" and "Vodohray."

The 30-year-old composer had been missing since late April when he was reported to have been dragged to a black unmarked KGB vehicle by two men while on his way to the Lviv Conservatory.

Ivasiuk had been under KGB surveillance following a visit to Canada and the US and had been threatened with psychiatric incarceration for his protests over the KGB harrassment and lack of creative freedom.

Ivasiuk's funeral on May 22 became a massive demonstration of several thousand. As news of his death spread across Ukraine, writers, composers, artists and thousands of his admirers began to converge on his grave to lay wreaths and to sing his compositions. Tourists report that the atmosphere in Lviv has become extremely tense particularly following clashes between police and youth who gather at public places to sing Ivasiuk's songs. No credence is given to the official version regarding his death by the youth of Ukraine who have threatened with reprisals against the KGB.

They are convinced that the KGB was responsible for Ivasiuk's death and did not attempt to cover up the killing in or-

der to scare the nationally conscious population, particularly the young people, who have recently become more outspoken concerning the lack of freedom in Ukraine. Ivasiuk was a highly principled and nationally conscious individual. At the time of his death, Ivasiuk was working on a opera about the Kozak period of history.

Ivasiuk's grave has been the site of numerous rallies and memorial services, frequently numbering several hundred persons. Some of the participants read speeches or poetry dedicated to him and others sang songs. Ivasiuk's grave was covered with flowers, wreaths and photographs of him.

On the night of June 4-5, several unknown persons, who were suspected of being secret police agents, set fire to the grave. Despite the vandalism, his grave was again covered with fresh flowers on the following day.

Soon after the fire, the crowd at Ivasiuk's grave was addressed by Vasyl Striltsiv and Vasyl Sichko, two members of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group. Following their return to Ivano-Frankivske, Striltsiv and Sichko were summoned to the local KGB headquarters and warned that if they do not cease their activity, they will be arrested and imprisoned.

Sichko, 22, the youngest member of the group, was subsequently arrested along with his father Petro, also a member of the group.

## Let's Call a Spade a Spade...

Not many people really think about the names that they use. We all, in an off-hand manner, in conversations and even in print, talk about the Soviet Union, USSR, Russia, never deeply reflecting or considering what territory, country or government we are talking about.

What is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)? As such, it does not exist, it is nothing but a myth, perpetrated by one country, one government, one people, to misinform the world in general about the status of said country's empire. In the Western world, we know of many unions, labor, social, educational, religious, trade and even international, as exemplified by the European Common Market. They all have one thing in common — membership in such unions is purely on a voluntary basis. However, no one asked Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia or Turkestan (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, Tadzhikistan and Turkmenistan) whether they desired to join and become part of the USSR. These countries were forcibly occupied by the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (RSFSR), namely Russia, a country consisting of a territory populated in a majority by Russians. Many parts of Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other nations' ethnographic territories, which would belong to the different respective subjugated nations if they were free, have been appropriated by the RSFSR and annexed to its territory.

In the Western world, all members of a union are equal, having the right to terminate their membership at will at any time. The member-countries of the USSR have no say whatsoever as far as fate of their peoples are concerned, their real

governments are located in Moscow (capital of Russia or RSFSR), they have no armies, no law enforcement agencies, no postal service, nor educational agencies — everything is centralized and directed by the government establishment of Russia or RSFSR. These countries are nothing more than vassals of Russia, not full-fledged members of any union, as are, for instance, the countries compromising the European Common Market. Russia, duly realizing that the time for empires, as such, is past, perpetrated the myth of the USSR, a union, consisting of a number of countries, all "willingly" remaining members of said union, all "willingly" giving up their rights to independence and self-government, all "willingly" donating their natural resources and industrial gains to their conqueror, all "willingly" transferring their inherent rights to their own defense, law enforcement or educational systems to their conqueror.

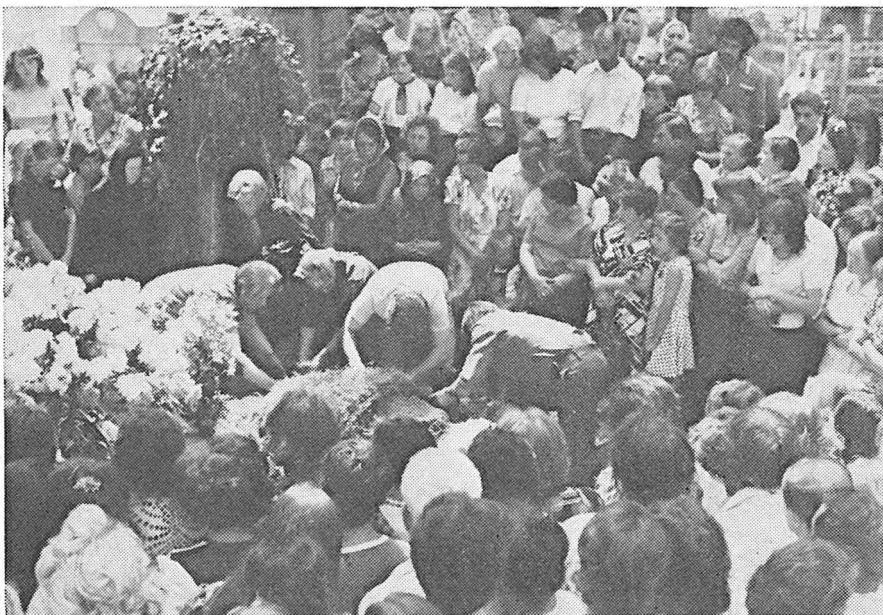
In a very benign mood, we might forgive the West its naivete in giving credence to such fables, as enumerated above; however, it seems beyond the most primitive human logic or sane reason, to understand statements of some of our own countrymen, members of nations occupied by Russia, desiring to change only the regime in their countries, the system, desiring to only lessen the Russification of their languages, desiring at least some human rights in their countries. Hey, wake up! Stop thinking in Russian categories! We, members of occupied nations are nothing more than slaves of Russian imperialism, no matter what beautiful "unified" names Russia calls us. Let's not lose our perspective. It is very noble to fight for human rights all over the world, but let the people of the free West do it. Our main and foremost fight should be for

the first God-given human right, the right of freedom, independence, self-determination, self-government. All of our force in the free world should be marshalled toward the one and only aim, the destruction of Russian imperialism and the dissolution of the USSR into self-governing, independent countries, without even the slightest Russian influence.

What about the "regime" or "system" in Russia itself? Well, in the opinion of the author, a country with over one hundred twenty million population of one nationality has exactly the kind of government it desires. Russians are not unhappy with their government, they are proud to be the rulers and masters of one hundred fifty million people of countries occupied by them, they do desire to russify the one hundred and fifty million people in order to build one Russia, with one Russian nation, language, etc., consisting of over quarter of a million population. And why not? Perusing Russian history, we find that this kind of behavior is nothing new. During Tsarist times, the Russian nation

with its people was no less imperialistic, no less cruel to the countries occupied by it, with tsarist concentration camps, same as today's concentration camps, being filled with non-Russians, who fought the conquerors. See, nothing changes — just colors of flags!

A lot of Germans, after the war, might have said that they did not know what was going on. Sorry, but no such excuse is possible for the Russian people. Each and every Russian is perfectly aware of Russian occupation of the enslaved countries, of Russian imprisonment and genocide of non-Russian peoples — each and every Russian man and woman is responsible for it. At such time that all of our countries are again free, which hour, I personally believe, is not far, the only reparation we can obtain from Russian people will be material, with maybe some concentration camp commanders being sent to prisons. However, let us not despair — "vengeance is mine" said God — and let us not forget the four horsemen of the Apocalypse...



*The funeral of Volodymyr Ivasiuk, a Ukrainian composer murdered by the KGB, Lviv, Ukraine.*

## Russian Racism and the Ukrainian Language

The denial of the existence of the Ukrainian language, as well as Ukraine, as a separate nation, has been the cornerstone of the national policy of the Russian empire. V. H. Belins'kyj, a Russian literary critic and a so-called "revolutionary democrat", who called Shevchenko, "a jack-ass", and Ukraine — "Little Russia", wrote:

"Little Russians have always been a tribe and never a nation".

This "tribe" did not have its own language, but spoke in a "dialect".

When it became impossible to deny the existence of Ukraine as a separate nation, Russian rulers tried to forbid the use of the Ukrainian language and in this manner attempted to russify the Ukrainian nation.

The Russian occupiers have always understood that one of the most important characteristics that distinguishes one nation from another — is its language. By destroying the nation's language, one might be able to destroy the nation.

D. Tolstoy, Minister of Education in the Russian empire, made a clear and open statement to that effect in 1870:

"The ultimate goal in the education of non-Russians must be their Russification and assimilation with the Russian nation".

For some time following the "October Revolution" the Bolsheviks permitted the rebirth of other, non-Russian, languages and cultures. At the beginning of the 1930's, when the new regime had developed a firm base, the road of cultural rebirth was condemned as a nationalist deviation, and the Ukrainian elite, including Party and Government leaders were destroyed.

During Khruschev's reign the policy of Russification reached new heights. It received a philosophical foundation and a legitimization. Russification became not a

forced destruction of the native language of the nation, but a "voluntary" and "natural" course for the assimilation with the language of "the brother nation", with the language of "the greatest revolutionary proletariats". With the announcement of the theory of "closer ties" and "a fluid mixture" (assimilation) with the Russian language, Russification became the official policy of the Party and Government.

Although Russification was extended to all fronts, special attention was given to children. In 1958, despite strong opposition from the public, a new school regulation was put into effect in Ukraine, which gave Ukrainian parents the "right" to choose the language of instruction for their children — Ukrainian or Russian. Russians ordinarily did not have the benefit of this "right". They continued to send their children to schools with instruction in the Russian language. This "right to choose" was extended only to Ukrainians. With the inception of this law, the number of schools with Russian instruction greatly increased.

Although Khruschev has been condemned, the pressure of Russification has not let up under Brezhnev. Yet, the sought after goals have not been attained. Frightful signals deplored the poor state of acceptance of the Russian language by students in schools started to appear in newspapers and magazines, ("The Russian Language in the National School", No. 3, 1972; "Communist", No. 10, 1972, and others).

This matter was brought up at the XXV Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which in its resolutions "On the further improvement of education and teaching of students in schools of general scholarship and their preparation for employment" decided to step up the effort for teaching of the

Russian language in the national schools — the language "of friendship and brotherhood among the nations in the USSR".

The decisions of the Central Committee organs are binding with the effect of law on the "republics". The Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR immediately implemented plans for the continued improvement of the teaching and instruction of the Russian language and literature in schools, pedagogical institutes, pre-schools and institutions in the Republic, ("Soviet Education", November 11, 1978). The Ministry decided to implement methods during the years 1979 to 1985 "directed at the fundamental usage of the Russian language among the upcoming generation," which will enable the active participation of the workers in the development and the public life of the country.

Among such plans will be the preparation of new lecturers in the Russian language and literature; the dividing of classes of Russian language instruction, for the better comprehension of the Russian language; extracurricular activities for students (in 1979, a competition for the best composition, dedicated to the 110 Anniversary of Lenin's birth). But the most important — beginning in 1980, the instruction of the Russian language will begin in the first grade of the general school of Ukrainian instruction (previously the instruction of the Russian language in such schools began only in the second year). A person not familiar with Soviet reality, might surmise that all these efforts are made for the improvement of instruction of the student's *second* language. But, meanwhile, the instruction of the first, Ukrainian language, is neglected. Some libraries of Ukrainian schools are lacking works of Ukrainian classics. Often, because of the shortage of Ukrainian textbooks and instructors, which are fluent in the usage of the Ukrainian

language, some courses are taught in the Russian language. In large cities, almost all the schools have converted to instruction in the Russian language. The goal of these plans is to give the Russian language an added advantage in schools of smaller cities, where instruction is still held in the Ukrainian language, and to culminate the process of the Russification of education in Ukraine.

These new plans are obvious evidence and implementation of Russification in Ukraine. Ukrainian students in the preparation for employment in their native Ukraine, must have a fluent knowledge, not of the Ukrainian language, but of the Russian.

Against these systematic plans of Russification, will be a new opposition of the Ukrainian nation. But the struggle is difficult and uneven. There will be new arrests and convictions. And new victims of the Russian occupation in Ukraine will march the path to Siberia, similar to the one that Shevchenko trodded, the path to concentration camps and exile.

It is the duty of every freedom-loving individual and organization in the free world to protest against these renewed efforts of Russification in Ukraine, and lend their support to Ukrainian patriots in their struggle for the liberation of their nation from Russian imperialism.

*I. Kolusky  
August 1, 1979  
The Ukrainian Echo*

Eugen Malaniuk

DAS  
WESEN  
DES  
BOLSCHEWISMUS

1978 — UKRAINISCHES INSTITUT  
FÜR BILDUNGSPOLITIK —  
MÜNCHEN e.V.

## AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT ASKED TO DENOUNCE RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

We, the undersigned naturalized Australians of Ukrainian origin, having just completed a 24-hour hunger strike in order to emphasize the strength of our sincerely-held convictions:

HUMBLY PRAY that the Australian Government will act with vigour and determination through the United Nations, through diplomatic channels and by other appropriate means in pursuing the following objectives —

DENOUNCING Russian imperialist expansionist policies.

SUPPORTING the cause of self-determination for Ukrainian and other National Republics in the USSR.

INSISTING that USSR adheres to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Agreements, so that all forms of genocide against Ukrainians and

members of other National Republics in the USSR will cease.

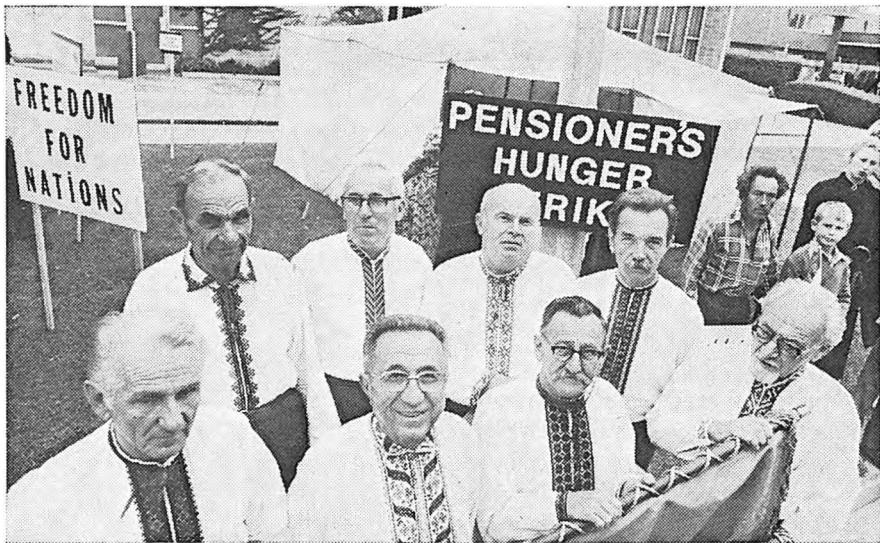
DEMANDING the release of all Ukrainian prisoners, whether political or former members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), *many of whom are still in concentration camps after 30 years.*

And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

STEFAN MISKO, B. de SHEMET, S. JASKEWYCH, G. ODLYHA, G. BAZALICKI, G. KOMYSHAN, W. OSTROWSKY, S. CHWYLA.

Authorised by the Federal Council in Defence of the Nationally and Politically Persecuted in Ukraine, P.O. Box 314, DICKSON, A.C.T. 2602.

CANBERRA 22,  
January 1979.



*Outstanding representatives of the Ukrainian emigration in Australia holding a protestive hunger strike in Canberra, Australia.*

## AFABN Inc. Meeting August 29, 1979

*Suggestions for the future activities of the ABN and a short identification of the AF ABN and what it stands for.*

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is a multinational organization and an alliance of national liberation centers fighting for the just democratic order in the world based on national independence and sovereignty of all nations within their ethnic territories, and on social justice for all peoples and each individual. To achieve their goal, the member national groups of the ABN work and fight for the eventual downfall and destruction of the Soviet Russian colonial empire and of all Communist tyrranical systems in order to re-establish free democratic national societies.

The American Friends of the ABN is an American organization created almost 30 years ago by Americans of Eastern and Central European descent, whose national representations belong to the ABN.

Now allow me to make some practical suggestions in regard to our future activities.

On November 7 of each year, the Russian Communists, the Bolsheviks, observe the anniversary of the so-called "Great October Revolution" (October 27, 1917) by which Lenin with his butchers using deception, fraud and brutal power brought the Provisional Kerensky Government down and established the tyrannical Bolshevik despotic system.

Had the Russian Communists stayed in Moscow with their Bolshevik revolution and limited their bloody revolution to Russia, within its ethnographic boundaries, the revolution would have been a Russian internal affair. However, inspired by the Marxian utopian-proletarian world revolution, the Communist and the traditional Russian imperialists conceived the idea of Communism as the ideal means

for the conquest of the non-Russian lands, already liberated, free and independent neighboring countries of Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Cossackia, North Caucasia, Idel-Ural, Ukraine and others; — later on, in 1939, under the treacherous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Baltic nations of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia were conquered by Moscow; and after the Second World War, the other neighboring lands, the satellite countries, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Czechia, Bulgaria, East Germany and others were incorporated, with the aid of Communism, into the Russian empire, with the aim, as many of the liberals of the time used to say, "to secure the boundaries of the Soviet Union."

The Soviet Russian involvement in the so-called "socialistic wars of liberation" has proven that there is no limit to the imperialistic appetite of Moscow, and therefore each man of good will should be concerned with the Bolshevik revolution.

In order to help our fellow Americans to better recognize the continuous danger coming from the Bolshevik imperialistic conquest and to expose the outright annihilation of our subjugated peoples by the Russian Communists through periodic mass deportations and Russification, — on November 7 of this year, we must bring out our people into the streets of New York City and picket the Soviet Union Mission to the United Nations at 67 Street to expose to the American public today's greatest source of evil in the world. Several hundred individuals with appropriate slogans, short speeches, national and religious songs and other street demonstration rituals, could accomplish a good job to attract media and reach American people reminding them about the plight of our enslaved nations.

Our next event should be a scholarly panel discussion of a high level with the participation of our college professors with the following proposed topics:

1. Contradictions and Weaknesses of the Soviet Russian Colonial System,
2. The Peking-Moscow Conflict and its Effect on the Subjugated Nations,
3. Russification as a means of Moscow's Colonial Expansion,
4. The Participation of the AFABN Nationality groups in American politics;

Suggested time, 15-20 minutes for each presentation followed by the questions and a discussion period. This panel discussion should be held on a Saturday afternoon in late November or early December, depending on the availability of good speakers.

The proceedings of the panel discussion should be publicized and disseminated to the American public, especially to our fellow citizens of Eastern and Central European descent, which number, I am

not sure how many millions, but in any case a large number of good Americans. And hopefully the discussion of the last topic will conceive the creation of a pre-election Political Action Committee of the AF of the ABN.

The next event should be a folklore evening of subjugated peoples to encourage a free culture exchange and to use the possible net income from the event for some noble cause, like for instance, the aiding of the Baltic peoples to rebuild their vandalized Shrine in Flushing (on the grounds of the former 1964 World's Fair) dedicated to the victims of Communism and to the freedom fighters of the Baltic nations. The folklore evening should be held sometime in March 1980 after the carnival season.

And the fourth event, we should extend our attention and become responsible for the observance of the Captive Nations Week in 1980.

*M. Shpontak*

## How to buy SALT?

On May 9 this year, seven years after the conclusion of the SALT agreement, the SALT-II negotiations were completed. During the Vienna summit (15-18 June), Carter and Brezhnev put their signatures to a treaty which Brezhnev defined as a "sensible compromise" and the Carter team considered a success. Meanwhile, an analysis of the text, insofar as it is available from deliberate leaks from American circles and the course and circumstances of the negotiations, especially during the final phase, tend to point to the conclusion that SALT-II is a success for the USSR and an imprudent compromise on the part of the United States. Or rather, a successive capitulation of the West to the unyieldingly expansionist policy of Moscow.

The following facts, in particular, evoke reservations regarding the agreement.

— SALT-II does not define the problems

of monitoring the implementation of the agreement, and the USSR does not have the reputation of a partner in whom one can place complete trust. Moreover, the USA has recently lost two electronic listening posts in Iran. The loss of these could have been offset — at least to a certain degree — by reconnaissance flights of U-2 aircraft along the Turkish-Soviet frontier. The Turkish government has made its agreement to such flights subject to the approval of the Soviet authorities.

— The agreement does not take in the Soviet supersonic "Backfire" bombers, which Moscow insists are "tactical". Some 30 of these are produced annually. At present, the Soviet Union has about 100 of them. Carter was content with a verbal assurance from Moscow that the scale of production of these aircraft will not be increased.

- The agreement does not cover the Soviet SS-20 (medium range) rockets which are aimed at more than 100 key points in Western Europe, Japan and the Pacific, nor the SS-18 intercontinental rockets.
- The agreement ignores changes in the makeup of the forces associated with Soviet Russian expansion in Africa and the Far East paralleled by the withdrawal of the USA from Taiwan, Iran and Korea.
- Before the period when the agreement comes into force, the USSR is significantly increasing the accuracy of its missiles (at present it is considerably less than that of the American missiles) and since the ceiling of the number of missiles is very high, the relative growth of the strength of Soviet arms will be very large.
- In the agreement, the USA renounces the development of several types of arms, while the USSR has agreed only to the numerical reduction of the most obsolete types of missiles.
- The agreement eliminates the possibility of the USA ensuring a defence “umbrella” for Western Europe and other “grey zones” in which the USSR does not possess tactical superiority.
- In this situation, there exists the possibility that the Senate will not approve the agreement (in its present form — it is difficult to deny the need for actions to limit armaments), although this would only be the lesser evil. For the USSR is playing a complex game in which, after several withdrawals which were in fact only a sop to the principles of the rule of law, it is striving to achieve three aims. Firstly, to obtain the consent or the Senate to the agreement, secondly to procure the “most favored nation” status in trade with the USA, and finally to prevent the West from withdrawing from the Moscow Olympic Games. (Such a withdrawal might not weaken the Soviet Union’s strategic position, but it would damage “detente” in the Soviet sense of the world, vis-à-vis the silent consent of the West to the expansion of the Communist ideology and armed forces.)
- So far the price which Moscow has had to pay for this is exceptionally low.
- On April 23, five imprisoned dissidents, Valentyn Moroz, Alexander Ginsburg, Edward Kuznetsov, Mark Dymshits and the Baptist leader Georgi Vins, were exchanged for two Soviet spies sentenced in the USA to 50 years’ imprisonment.
- At the end of April, the beaming of microwaves at the US Embassy building in Moscow was halted.
- In April, the number of Jews emigrating from the Soviet Union for the first time exceeded 5000 in a single month. It is predicted that in 1979 the total number of Jews emigrating from the Soviet Union will exceed 50.000 (in 1978, it was 31.000).
- On 19 April, five Jews sentenced in December 1970 to ten years in a labour camp for their part in the Leningrad hijack attempt were released 14 months before the expiration of their sentences. (Three others have not been released.)
- Eight Jewish families from Leningrad have received visas after waiting for almost 10 years.
- The poet Andrei Voznesensky, author of the almanac “Metropol” received a passport to go to the USA.
- Aleksei Shibaev, head of the Soviet Trade Unions, in his talks with the head of the Australian Trade Unions, announced that the USSR would permit the emigration of all Jews who had been waiting at last five years for their visas (including the best-known “refusniks” Men-delevich, Slepak and Nudel), and also the release of Anatoli Shcharansky and eleven other Jewish dissidents. However, this was denied a week later by Jewish circles in Moscow.
- And on the very day when the USSR, in exchange for the two spies, got rid of

five undesirables, of whom two had not the least desire to leave the country, a Soviet Trade delegation appeared in Washington, seeking the "most favored nation" status. This once-off increase in the numbers of those permitted to emigrate made Carter resolved to suspend for a year the Jackson-Vanik amendment of 1974, which made American trade concessions to the USSR dependent on the latter's emigration policy.

From the released opposition activist Moroz, we have news that a high official of the KGB assured him that before the opening of the Olympic Games in 1980, an increased number of dissidents will be released from the camps.

As for the question of trade, one may concede that this is a matter relating exclusively to the two interested states (though one must not forget that it fosters the continuation of the Soviet-Russian imperium), while the phenomenon of the persecution of dissidents and racism in the Soviet Union is a problem that demands the concern of the entire civilized world. One can have no doubt that the arms race and the ever-more-evident Soviet superiority demands the rapid adoption of a universal preventive action. For it is becoming a real danger to the existence of the whole globe, or at least its existence in a condition fit for human life. Nevertheless, SALT-II in the proposed form does not remove this threat. On the contrary, by about 1985, *inter alia* as a result of SALT-II, Moscow will most probably be dominant in strategic weapons. (Even today, Soviet superiority in strategic forces and especially conventional weapons is regarded as a well-documented and proven fact).

Of course, the USSR does not fully appreciate the role of Congress and public opinion in the shaping of American foreign and defence policy. Spectacular deeds certainly do not make such a great

impression on every member of the Senate as they do on Carter and his Secretary of State. It is clear that one can take heed of Carter's arguments, but the change of saving 30.000 million dollars over 10 years is not a compelling attraction. The sum is hardly 25% of the annual military budget of the USA. One does not have to agree with Brezinski's thesis that the post-Brezhnev Soviet Union will be even more expansionist and dangerous, and hence it is bound to tear off the muzzle of SALT II. (It may even be postulated that the USSR will never observe the spirit of the agreement, but will have to accept it and respect it to the letter).

And even if it really turns out that after Brezhnev has vanished from the scene, Moscow becomes more aggressive, the question will be whether it will choose to ratify SALT-III other than on its own terms, or if it will even need SALT-III at all.

At present, it is buying SALT-II in great haste and for a ridiculously low price. In the forthcoming year, perhaps more perspicacious vendors may appear in the White House.

KSS/KOR Biuletyn Informacyjny,  
No. 4, 1979

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#### LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Sirs:

I have been on your press list for many years. I am a newsman and lecturer who writes, speaks and broadcasts frequently on foreign (international) affairs.

I also ran for Congress last November with strong support from the Ukrainian community.

I hope you will continue to carry me on your press list.

Thank you,  
Charles Wiley  
Parlin, New Jersey, USA

# John Diefenbaker Confronts Khrushchev

Excerpts of the speech by the then Canadian Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker at the United Nations General Assembly on Sept. 26, 1960.

JOHN G. DIEFENBAKER: I turn now to a subject dealt with at great length by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the subject of colonialism. He asked for and advocated a declaration at this session for "the complete and final elimination of colonial regimes".

Since the last war seventeen colonial areas and territories, comprising more than 40 million people, have been brought to complete freedom by France. In the same period fourteen colonies and territories, comprising half a billion people, have achieved complete freedom within the Commonwealth. Taken together, some 600 million people in more than thirty countries, most of them now represented in this Assembly, have attained their freedom — this with the approval, the encouragement and the guidance of the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth and France.

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 result?

I say that because these facts of history in the Commonwealth and other countries invite comparison with the domination over people and territories, sometimes gained under the guise of liberation, but always accompanied by the loss of political freedom. How are we to reconcile the tragedy of the Hungarian uprising in 1956 with Chairman Khrushchev's confident assertion of a few days ago in this Assembly? Mr. Khrushchev said:

"It has been and always will be our stand that the peoples of Africa, like those of other continents striving for their liberation from the colonial yoke, should establish orders in their countries of their own will and choice".

That I accept — and I hope that those words mean a change of attitude for the future on the part of those he represents.

What of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia? What of the freedom-loving Ukrainians and many other Eastern European peoples which I shall not name for fear of omitting some of them? Mr. Khrushchev went further and said:

"Complete and final elimination of the colonial regime in all its forms and manifestations has been prompted by the entire course of world history in the last decades"...

There can be no double standard in international affairs.

I ask the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to give to those nations under his domination the right of free election — to give them the opportunity to determine the kind of government they want under genuinely free conditions. If those conclusions were what his words meant, for they must apply universally, then indeed will there be new action to carry out the obligations of the United Nations Charter: then indeed will there be new hope for all mankind.

My hope is that those words of his will be universally acceptable and that he will give the lead towards their implementation here and now.

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# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



The 20th Anniversary of the Assassination of S. Bandera is marked in Munich by Ukrainians from various countries of the free world. (See Contents)

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2. Ukrainian bishops and clergy, old and young assembled in prayer;
3. B. Mailat, Rumanian leader and ABN representative speaking at the commemorative celebrations;
4. Prominent guests at the tributary ceremony;
5. J. Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the ABN President, addressing the audience during the commemorative ceremony;
6. The burning of the Russian Communist flag before the apartment where Stepan Bandera was murdered.
7. Youth marching to pay their tribute.

Munich, Germany — 13th of October, 1979.

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## **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

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Jaroslav Stetsko

# We Accuse Moscow and Remind the Free World

*On the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Assassination  
of Stepan Bandera*

October 15 marks the 20th year since the assassination of the leader of the Ukrainian liberation struggle Stepan Bandera, the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Stepan Bandera was murdered by an agent of the KGB, Bohdan Stashynsky, on the territory of the German Federal Republic by means of a poison gun. The murder was carried out on a directive of the Soviet Russian government of N. Khrushchov and on the explicit order of the KGB chief, Alexander Shelepin, which were approved by the head of the Supreme Soviet K. Voroschilov. *We accuse the government of the USSR, the Central Committee and the Politburo of CPSU of genocide and murder, a policy and practice which is being conducted systematically to this day.*

A similar assassination, also planned and ordered by the Soviet government, took place in 1957 when the Ukrainian exile politician and academician, Prof. Dr. Lev Rebet was murdered, also by Stashynsky. According to the testimony of Stashynsky before the German Federal Court in Karlsruhe, an assassination attempt was also to be carried out against the former Ukrainian Prime Minister and current head of the OUN and the ABN — Jaroslav Stetsko.

The German Supreme Court in October 1962 convicted the assassin Stashynsky for his complicity in the murder to 8 years imprisonment, while the actual guilt for the assassination was ascribed to the Soviet Russian government, specifically to Alexander Shelepin, the former head of the Committee for State Security (KGB). Such criminal methods of liquidating leading members of the liberation movements of the captive nations by the Soviet Russian government have not changed to this day, neither on the territory of the so-called USSR nor in her satellites, where the security services are under the direct control of the KGB. The same applies to the persecution and liquidation of such leaders in the free world, who oppose Russia's colonial rule. A latest example of this was the assassination of the Bulgarian author and contributor to the BBC in London, Georgi Markov, by the KGB controlled Bulgarian secret service. The murder weapon was a poisoned needle at the tip of an umbrella. Bandera's assassin Stashynsky, in 1962 told of plans of precisely this nature when he testified about the potential assassination of Jaroslav Stetsko. He literally said: "We may well have used a poisoned needle released from a device by air pressure which would leave no trace behind."

The recent kidnapping of the Lithuanian sportsman Vladislavas Ces- siunas who sought political asylum in Germany is a stark reminder of the impunity with which the KGB continues its operations on the territory of sovereign Western states. Yet it appears that the German government is more interested in helping the Kremlin to cover up this sordid affair.

## ASSASSINATIONS CONTINUE

In the last several years the KGB was involved in the murders of the following Ukrainian activists: the artist A. Horska with an axe; R. Palleckij; two Ukrainian Catholic priests Luckiy and Luchkiw, as well as the

composer V. Ivasiuk, were hanged; the author H. Snehirov was murdered in a hospital; a member of the leadership of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists, M. Soroka, was murdered on the eve of his release from 25 years imprisonment. There are hundreds of unknown others.

Most recently, members of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group in Kyiv — Lev Lukianenko, M. Rudenko, O. Tykhy, M. Marynowych, V. Ovsienko, and others have been sentenced to terms of up to 15 years imprisonment and exile by Russian occupational courts.

Hundreds of Ukrainian authors, artists and scientists, were sentenced to brutal terms of imprisonment of 12-15 years in 1972 on the sole grounds that their works contained Ukrainian Patriotic and Christian elements. Among these are: I. Svitlychny, I. Hel, I. Kalynets, E. Sverstiuk, V. Stus, S. Karavanskiy, and many others who still languish in prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric asylums.

Unprecedented is the persecution of Y. Shukhevych, the son of the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), Yuriy Shukhevych has been sentenced several times for a total of 30 years imprisonment because he refused to denounce the legacy and ideals for which his father fought and died. Numerous members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) are routinely sentenced in secret trials for upto 15 years isolation in high security prisons, while some of them have been secretly executed.

#### GENOCIDE THROUGH RUSSIFICATION

The 25th Congress of the CPSU passed a resolution regarding "further improvements in the education and training of students in public schools", which in fact directed that all schools in the non-Russian republics are to increase the teaching of the Russian language as the "language of friendship and brotherly relations of the peoples of the USSR". As a result of this resolution, the colonial Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR decided in November 1978 that in the period 1979—85 the Russification processes will be intensified and "upcoming generations are to have a complete knowledge of the Russian language". Consequently, beginning in 1980, the Russian language will be introduced in the first grades of all public schools in Ukraine. This move has alarmed the population of Ukraine and calls for the maintenance of the mother tongue have already been issued. Among the many protests, it was pointed out that in the next school year the Russian language will assume a dominating position not only in the public schools but also in the kindergartens at the cost of the Ukrainian language instruction. This situation is already evident, compounded by the fact that in the larger centres in Ukraine most schools already provide instruction exclusively in the Russian language.

It has become clear that the current leadership of the USSR is in fact continuing and intensifying the Russification and assimilation of the former Russian czars. Today, the policy objectives of the czarist Minister of Education, D. Tolstoj are being realized. Tolstoj had stated in 1870 that "our goal in the education of the non-Russian peoples ..... is their Russification and assimilation with the Russian nation". Further proof that the policy of assimilating the non-Russian peoples is being stepped-up systematically, was offered this May at an academic conference in Taschken, Turkestan, where the Minister of Education of the Soviet Union presented in his speech precise party directives concerning increased Russification programmes beginning at the kindergarten level.

## MILLIONS IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS

According to a recent document signed by Ukrainian political prisoners: M. Matusewych, Z. Antoniuk, V. Marchenko and the Russian dissident, Yu. Orlov, there are currently five million citizens (2% of the Soviet population) in Soviet Russian prisons, labour camps and in exile. In the document, written in April 1979 out of a Perm concentration camp Yu. Orlov states the following: "The nationality policy being conducted by the USSR is reflected in the composition of the inmates of the camps. Accordingly the inmates of the camps in the Urals and Mordovia are composed of 40% Ukrainians, up to 30% Balts and ca. 30% other nationalities. The major burden of the struggle against the arbitrariness in the camps today, as in the Stalinist camps, falls upon the shoulders of Ukrainians. If the sea of unemployed is considered to be a typical evil of the capitalist system, then the equally strong contingent of human beings who are condemned to forced labour must be considered as a typical evil of the totalitarian socialist system".

## OLYMPIC COINS MADE IN GULAG

One of the most shameful moments of this century must surely be the consent of the free world to hold the Olympic Games in Moscow — the centre of horrible genocide and murder, the capital of the vast and most brutal colonial empire in the world, and the administrative centre of concentration camps, psychiatric asylums and Russification policies. To add to this sad spectacle, it has become evident that the medals and souvenirs of these Olympic Games are being produced by the forced labour of political prisoners whose work norms are being increased through punitive isolation, torture and lower food rations. The sale of these Olympic items to western tourists will provide the USSR with lucrative profits. Facts concerning this were revealed at the International Sakharov Hearings in Washington this September by M. Scharygin, recently released Ukrainian political prisoner whose 10-year imprisonment provided him with insights into the production of these items.

We appeal to the free world, for the sake of its own honour and dignity, to take the following position concerning the Moscow Olympics: as long as human beings are being imprisoned in Russian prisons, concentration camps, psychiatric asylums or exiled for their political or religious beliefs, as long as the assimilation of the captive nations robs them of their national, linguistic, ethnic, and cultural identity and as long as due to the Soviet Russian colonial policies, priests, artists, writers and freedom fighters are being murdered and hanged, no athlete of the free world should set foot on Moscow's Olympic stadiums.

## A SPIRITUAL REVIVAL

Today we are witnessing in Ukraine, as in other subjugated nations, a spiritual and ideological renaissance of the young generation in a national and religious sense. The ideas of materialism, Marxism and Leninism are dead. The youth strives for the ideals of God, of their nation and fatherland, for spiritual values, for an understanding of the great epochs and personalities of their nation's past. "*Back to our traditions*" — is the revolutionary slogan of the current struggle, a slogan which is not only confined to Ukraine.

The self-realization of a nation's traditional, spiritual, cultural, ethical, social and political values, and the spontaneous struggle for them in all

spheres of life in opposition to the forced foreign bolshevist concepts is typical of the current phase of our liberation struggle. This is a struggle between two world-views, two philosophies, two opposing concepts of the natural order, two conflicting concepts of culture, a fight between differing concepts of social and economical order, where the idea of nation is opposed to the philosophy of imperialism, religion against atheism, individualism against collectivism, heroic humanism against barbarism and terror, the idea of man as a God-created being versus hatred and the trampling of human dignity.

As freedom fighters behind the Iron Curtain have stated, we live in the age of liberational nationalism which is diametrically opposed to imperialism, chauvinism, racism and totalitarianism. In view of this, the ideals of national liberation and demands for the dissolution of the Russian empire must become an integral part of the foreign policies of the West, just as Marxism/Leninism has become an integral component of the foreign policies of the Soviet Union.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS CANNOT BE ATTAINED WITHOUT NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The human rights of the subjugated nations in the Soviet Union cannot be realized unless they gain their complete national sovereignty and independence through the decolonization of the Soviet Russian Empire. Any hope for a possible democratization and liberation of the Soviet Russian empire is a delusion. The maintenance of an empire is synonymous with the rule of force over other peoples and thus excludes any possibility of respect for their individual human rights. History knows no example of respect for individual human rights coupled with the denial of national independence and the right to national identity.

S. Bandera gave his life in the struggle for the national independence of Ukraine and for the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire, and consequently, also for the national and human rights of all oppressed peoples in this empire. The fact that he has become a symbol for this struggle is signified by the extensively used term "Banderivtsi" to designate all those who fight for their national liberation, as a precondition for the realization of their human rights. We advocate the idea of national revolutions of the enslaved nations through which Russian colonial imperialism and communist tyranny will be destroyed from within. Our concept of freedom is, therefore, not based on any models of a global nuclear war but on the principle of national revolutions as the only possible alternative to precisely such an apocalyptic war. National uprisings within the Russian empire provide the only possible means to secure peace, not the current policies of "detente" which will sooner or later lead to a catastrophic global atomic conflict.

The approaching 80's provide all indications of notable changes in the Russian Empire. The majority of the population of the USSR consists of oppressed non-Russian peoples: Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Turkestanis, Georgians, Armenians, N. Caucasians, Siberians, Azerbaidjanians, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks, and others. We must also take into account the oppressed peoples in the so-called satellite states: East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Albania, Bulgaria and Rumania. The forces of the dominating Russian nation, of which its own members reject the Communist system, constitute less than a third in a sea of oppressed peoples. These proportions are also reflected in the

composition of the armed forces which constitute the Warsaw Pact. We must not forget that there is no such phenomenon as a "Soviet nation" behind the Iron Curtain, but rather a ruling Russian nation which through Communist tyranny dominates numerically stronger oppressed nations. This Russian colonial empire is today a monstrous anachronism in an age when decolonization and the dissolution of former imperial complexes is the order of the day.

#### NATIONAL LIBERATION AS A SIGN OF OUR ERA

In the same measure that Russia's Imperial drive proceeds towards the conquest of new lands, grow the weaknesses of the empire and the number of its enemies within its specific spheres of influence as well as globally. There are no signs that the opportunistic forces of the West will again come to the assistance of this colonial empire as they did during the last two world wars. The idea of national liberation among the oppressed nations coupled with their fervent patriotism and unconquered religious belief, is gaining strength. National uprisings, which will occur sooner or later will bring an end to the reactionary, totalitarian, bolshevik rule of terror. In our era, when numerous former colonial nations and regions on all continents have been granted sovereignty and have been admitted to the United Nations, there can be no justification for the existence of this Russian Empire which enslaves nations with 1000 year old cultures and traditions. The western world cannot afford to remain silent and unconcerned about the struggle of Ukraine, Latvia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovakia, Turkestan or Hungary. A decisive moment in the fight against Russian imperial rule and communist tyranny is in the offing and the free nations of the world have a duty to draw the necessary conclusions in this situation.

#### WHERE IS THE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL COUNTER-OFFENSIVE OF THE WEST?

We do not demand that western soldiers fight and die for our freedom and independence. The current international situation, however, demands that the West take measures to save itself from the red flood. Here the maxim "he who helps us helps himself" is applicable. It must not be forgotten that the enemy's weapons are in the hands of our people who can turn them at the appropriate moment against their oppressors. Primarily, we ask that no more aid be given to our and the free world's enemy as has been repeatedly done on the political-psychological, economic, technological and even military level in the past. There can be no repetition of the silence and inaction by the West while uprisings in Hungary or Ukraine, or revolts in Soviet Russian concentration camps are brutally put down by the Russians.

The constitution of the USSR states that the government and the Party are compelled to support all so-called "wars of liberations", insofar as they aid the communist world revolution, with all possible means. This is being done systematically to the extent that the USSR provokes and even begins such wars in Africa, Latin America, Asia and in the Near East. In contrast to this, the constitutions and laws of western states do not even allow that the imprisoned members of the Helsinki monitoring groups, who have renounced their Soviet citizenship, be granted citizenship of those western states, e.g. the USA for which they formally applied.

Today, Russian troops are stationed under various guises in Angola, Ethiopia and Cuba. Terrorists falsely labelled as "freedom-fighters" are

being trained in the USSR for the disruption of Western states and their social and legal order. What in turn has the West done in support of the liberation struggle of the captive nations? Despite various resolutions and conventions of the United Nations concerning decolonization, national self-determination, and independence, the West has not seen fit to utilize instruments on a political or diplomatic level with respect to the USSR.

An example is public law No. 86—90 adopted by the United States on July 19, 1959 regarding the captive nations. This Act obligates the US Congress to give its active support to the liberation of Ukraine and all other nations enslaved by Russian Imperialism and Communism. How has the US implemented this law?

The UN declaration concerning “decolonization and the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples” adopted by the UN General Assembly on Dec. 14, 1960 and the “Action Programme” for the full implementation of the declaration adopted by the same body in 1970, should be directed by the Western powers at the Soviet Russian empire and all steps taken toward the establishment of independent democratic states in place of the present imperial conglomerate.

On Dec. 20, 1976, 107 member states of the UN General Assembly voted not only for the right of independence for the African state of Namibia but also declared its support for Namibia’s “armed liberation struggle” terming it just on international, legal, moral and political grounds. It is only correct and just that the same principles be extended to Ukraine, a nation of 53 million, with 1000 year old traditions and a centuries-long independence struggle and to all other nations oppressed by Russia. We demand that the Ukrainian national liberation movement be given recognition through the accreditation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) at the United Nations on the same legal basis and with similar status enjoyed by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). Such recognition should be also extended to analogous organizations of the other captive nations.

*(Statement at the Press Conference held on October 11, 1979 in Munich, Germany, before the international press, radio and television.*

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**

## Proclamation of Ukrainian Catholic Patriarch

*Concluding remarks of His Beatitude Patriarch Joseph Slipyj at the banquet held at the Cavalieri Hilton, Rome on Sunday, September 23, 1979.*

Your Excellencies, Reverend Fathers, Venerable Sisters, Honorable Gathering,

With this banquet we conclude the celebration of our great anniversaries which we held in preparation to the happy celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the acceptance of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine. God grant that all of us live to attend it. We thank you for your sincere greetings, your attendance, and all that you did here to make known in Rome and the entire world to its farthest corners, the Ukrainian name and assert Ukrainian rights and the truth. God bless you.

This banquet is one of the high points of our celebrations. At it you had the opportunity to express your thoughts and desires — you had an occasion to talk from your heart. The conclusion from your expressed sentiments is but one: our Church through her suffering in Ukraine and despite forceful incorporation into the Moscow Patriarchate, exists as a Particular Patriarchal Church. Her status as a Patriarchal Church is the only possibility to revive Christian life in Ukraine, to separate herself once and for all from the Moscow Patriarchate, and abolish the tragic consequences of the Pereyaslav Treaty. Patriarchal status will serve as a defence against the ambition of the Moscow Patriarchate and the incorporation of our Church into the Latin Church. Remember that a Patriarchal status does not perish because it is not tied to my person. We have achieved it and it exists and with it, with God's blessing, courageously face the future. God is with us.

Thank the good Lord for all the blessings of the past and may our profound gratitude gain God's blessing for us in the future.

Blessed be Thou Christ, our Lord, who gave us this food and all goods at this time. Fill us also with Thy Holy Spirit and be with us for the rest of our lives. Amen.

† Joseph I Patriarch and Cardinal

## VIOLETION OF AGREEMENTS PROTESTED

### TELEGRAM

Your Holiness  
Pope John Paul II  
Vatican

On behalf of fighting Ukraine, I respectfully express our sorrow and indignation regarding the manner in which the recent nomination was made to the sede vacante in the Philadelphia Archeparchy. This nomination was made without the knowledge and consent of His Beatitude Patriarch Joseph I of the

Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. We consider it a violation of the agreements concluded in the Union of Brest and the decree of Eastern Churches promulgated by the Second Vatican Council, and the rights of the Particular Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.

Yaroslav Stetsko  
Last Prime Minister of Independent Ukraine and Chairman of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement

## **Ukraine Is Not Socialist**

*Excerpts from the Press Conference of Valentyn Moroz with the Ukrainian Press  
— May 7, 1979 — New York*

I am happy to be able to finally meet the Ukrainian press. Today, I have come home. I feel as if I were attending a celebration.

I am touched by the presence of the Byelorussian press. After my release in 1969, I also began to fight for the Byelorussian cause. My essay "Moses and Dathan," is an answer to the Byelorussian writer, an author of the regime, Eudoxia Los. Although my answer to her also encompasses Ukrainian problems, the Byelorussian question has always been of interest to me and to Ukrainians.

Q: Is there any new information about the proposed creation, by Father Romaniuk, of a Committee for the Defense of Religious Rights?

A: I know Father Romaniuk and I know about his efforts to revive the religious movement in Ukraine. As far as the creation of a Committee, I have no concrete information, since for the last few months I was in solitary and had no contacts with other prisoners. Since Father Romaniuk was sent into exile on January 12th, it is not possible for me to have more precise information about this question.

Q: Could you please write essays or short memoirs suitable for Ukrainian youth?

A: From the first days of my stay here, I saw that a great part of my attention and my writing should be directed towards the Ukrainian youth in America. As a matter of fact, the work I have just spoken about, is directed more towards youth than towards anybody else. My works contain not theses, but slogans, not logic, but passion. Youth reacts and understands this language.

I also think that it would be a good

idea for the Ukrainian press to attend all the events at which I speak. Sometimes reports of press conferences, given for American correspondents, only cite parts of my speech and do not use the rest. In these unused parts, one can find things suitable for the Ukrainian press.

Q: Is it true that the administration of Soviet Russian camps is trying to send Ukrainian political prisoners to as many different camps as possible, and if so, why? Is there cooperation among political prisoners from different areas of Ukraine, and is there cooperation among prisoners of different nationalities? Is there slave labor in the camps? Is there free correspondence? Is there access to reading material? Are there changes, in comparison with the Stalin era? There are political prisoners that are well known. Are there many that are not well known and what is their number?

A: The scattering of political prisoners through various camps is common practice. However, in camps not of the severe regime, the authorities cannot forbid prisoners to meet, and prisoners roam the entire camp. As far as the Vladimir Prison is concerned, there was a concerted effort not to put Ukrainians together or Jews together. This was an avowed policy. For a long time I demanded to be put together with Ukrainians, but was not successful. When I asked to be put in the same cell as Shukhevych, the doctor (naturally a member of the KGB) said: "Is Shukhevych a Jew? If so, you will be put together. If he is a Ukrainian, they will not put you with him." Political prisoners of different nationalities cooperate well in the camps. I can say that, traditionally, Ukrainians have had very good relations with Lithuanians.

ians, both in the old and new camps. The Lithuanian group, like the Ukrainian, was always very active and visible. In the camp where I was, relations with Lithuanians were good; there were never any problems. One can also note the cooperation between Jewish and Ukrainian prisoners. As an example, take my relationship with Ari Vudka. Vudka speaks Ukrainian well, and although we never met, we corresponded and exchanged ideas. Now it seems that I will finally be able to meet him, after many years, after a long acquaintance. The question of differences between political prisoners from the different areas of Ukraine has not existed in Ukraine for a long time. It is true that the dissidents from the Dnipro region are brought up on the ideas of the renaissance of the 1920s, while those from Western Ukraine are brought up on events that occurred there. But now there are no differences between them.

According to the rules of the camps, forced labor is obligatory. Solitary confinement is the punishment for refusing. Further refusals are punished by transfer from camp to prison. We organized many protests of this regulation, since work is supposed to be voluntary for anyone who has the status of political prisoner. However, the administration does not take this into account.

Let me give you an example about correspondence. I have been told about the thousands of letters sent to me by Ukrainians in the free world. In 1975 I received 12 Christmas greetings from England and Australia and several letters. This is all I have received in nine years. Such a state of affairs should not be tolerated by American authorities, for in such cases letters are not private matters but encroach upon relations between states, since they are stamped with the official national stamp. I would not consider this a private matter and would interfere and react strongly.

There was an opportunity in the camps to subscribe to reading matter. This is called "Books through the Mail". But of course these books are published by Soviet publishers. Books published in Poland cannot be obtained. We would sometimes receive the newspaper "Our Word"; this only happened when someone in the camp administration got careless and thought that since it was printed in Cyrillic, it came from Kyiv.

Q: What is the status of the Ukrainian language in colleges in Ukraine. Do children of political prisoners encounter difficulties in being admitted to higher education or in obtaining positions?

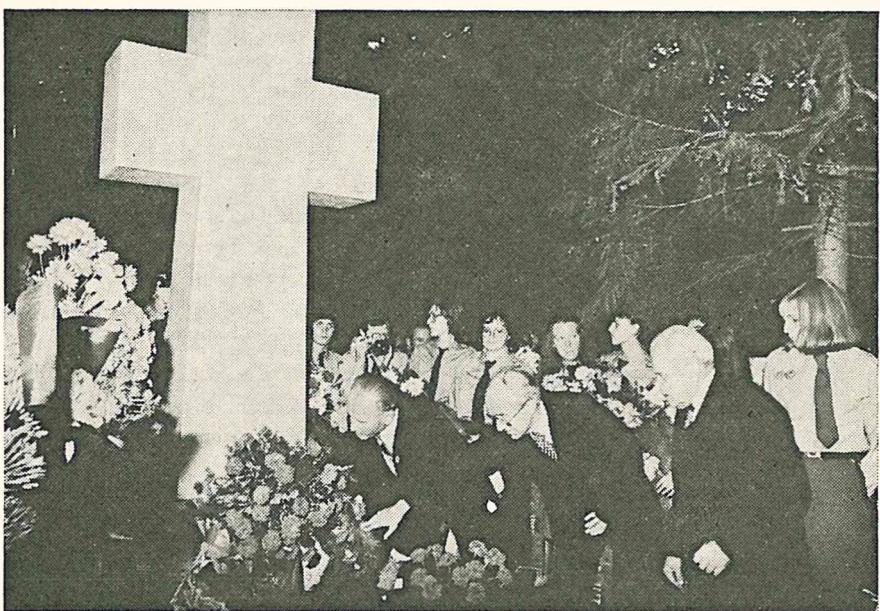
A: The question of language is two-faceted. On one hand, language is the most treasured possession. We all know this and need not discuss it. A Ukrainian, without a knowledge of Ukrainian cannot fully call himself a Ukrainian. But we cannot take this idea to its extreme. Berladianu who says that the occupants [of Ukraine] must be chased out of the country with bayonets, writes in Russian, because in Odessa the intelligentsia is brought up to speak Russian. In Ukraine there are many people who speak and write in Russian. In Kyiv, (but not in Lviv) it was a common thing to hear two dissidents talk to each other in Ukrainian and then turn around and speak to the taxi driver in Russian. This is a very natural phenomenon, in light of three hundred years of assimilative pressures.

Every one knows that any attempt to raise the question "Why do we not talk in Ukrainian?" can mean the loss of a job. If the question is pursued consequences can be even harsher. This spreads fear. Only the generation of the 1960s was able to break away from this fear and begin a new era. Despite everything, language still remains the rallying point, since it is the visible mark of a nation, that which distinguishes a native from a foreigner. I would like to give you an example from a

kindergarten in the scientific town of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The members are all scientists, trained in the pure sciences (nine tenth of them physicists and chemists). They began to protest that the language spoken in the kindergarten was Russian. They protested for a long time and finally won; the school began to be run in Ukrainian. At the University in Lviv, when I was studying there (at the time the situation was even more difficult) we protested many times when a lecturer came in and asked in what language he should lecture. There were arguments and discussions and we fought for the Ukrainian language. After the XXth Party Congress in 1956, when the secret letter about the cult of personality was read to the lecturers und student activists (those actively engaged in Komsomol work) one of the professors, taking this opportunity, said that many errors were committed in the area of language during the era of the personality cult, during the time of Stalin, and that from

now, all the subjects, with the exception of Russian literature, will be taught in Ukrainian. Spontaneously all began to applaud; such was the reaction of the elite of the Komsomol, if one can use the word elite in relation to the Komsomol. There are great differences as to the language used in various universities. In Lviv, where I studied, almost everything is in Ukrainian. It is the same throughout Western Ukraine. In the Dnipro region the situation is different. In Kyiv the lectures are in Ukrainian, since there are many conscious Ukrainians there; actually Kyiv is in a category by itself. However, in Donets or Odessa, most of the lectures are given in Russian.

Although the Crimea was incorporated into Ukraine for economic reasons, the government does not want to see the consequences of this incorporation. Ukrainian there was introduced into the schools as just another subject. There were some protests even about this on the part of [Russian] chauvinists, who felt that there was no need for Ukrainian. Some of my stu-



*At the grave of S. Bandera on the 20th Anniversary of his assassination by a Russian Communist agent in 1959.*

dents were from the Crimea and they fought for the Ukrainian language and forced the creation of a chair of Ukrainian language. Ukrainian is being used in radio broadcasts and a Ukrainian newspaper is being published side by side with a Russian. But in accordance with ancient Russian tactics, while all this is being permitted, everything is being done [by the authorities] to prevent any effects or results.

The question about children of political prisoners is very important. I pray to God that my family will be here soon; I have news that they will be coming shortly. My son, whom we will greet together, was already a dissident at the age of eight; he was arrested at the same time I was, placed in a car and questioned. This is how children of dissidents are treated: they have no chance of being admitted to schools and are victims of constant provocations, as was the case with Vins' son. My son was subject to similar provocations and I received a letter from the KGB, informing me that he was not behaving himself. The best answer to this kind of treatment of children would be a strong reaction on the part of the free world. The most important thing that Moscow fears is publicity; I consider this an axiom. For example, Moscow became very nervous at the time of Helsinki, when the agreement was being discussed at length. Moscow wants that an agreement be signed, but that no discussions take place. If a discussion is dragged out for months, Moscow becomes very uncomfortable, because one begins to see that the emperor has no clothes.

Q: Please comment on whether the Orthodox Church in Ukraine is Ukrainian, or does it have a Russian character?

A: I feel that we talk too much about the Russian Orthodox Church and not enough about the Ukrainian Independent Orthodox Church, with ancient traditions, which should be tolerated in the same

manner as the traditions of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. I belong to the generation of faithful who sincerely want a Ukrainian Church — with two different rites — but Ukrainian. I see no difference between the two churches. For a nation religious unity is a very important thing. Although my parents and I belong to the Independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church, I have much respect for Patriarch Joseph. I will also tell him that I look ironically upon the difficulties he is encountering from some circles regarding his investiture as Patriarch, for in my opinion, he has earned the title of Patriarch through his heroic stance over many years.

Q: Would it be possible to influence the American government to react somehow to the Russification of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine.

A: I only want to mention two things that are very important in this case: the radio and the official organs of the American and other Western governments. The radio is extremely important and exerts great influence because almost everyone in Ukraine listens to it. Therefore, it is necessary to do everything possible for broadcasts to be meaningful and interesting to the people. Official organs of the American and other Western governments can also be very important and we should do everything possible to obtain some influence with them and become recognized as a pressure group. They can also do much to halt Russification and to help the situation in Ukraine.

Q: Do Ukrainian mass demonstrations held in the free world help the Ukrainian political prisoners and do religious demonstrations affect the growth of religious life in Ukraine?

A: I can only tell you that the help of Ukrainians abroad is an immense factor in Ukraine. Besides giving information about Ukrainian happenings in the free world, these demonstrations raise the level of consciousness and faith [of Ukrainians in

the Soviet Union], two things that are very difficult to preserve in light of 300 years of Russification. It is also very difficult to uphold nationalist positions in view of the cosmopolitanism that exists both in the East and the West and which is exploited by empires. If a Ukrainian in Ukraine learns that in the West Ukrainian life is flourishing, this has a very supportive effect. It can be likened to the feeling that a knight has when he realizes that behind him is another knight and not just empty space; he does not have to be afraid.

Q: I would like to ask your help in our work, especially by writing articles for the American press about the differentiation between Ukrainians and Russians.

A: In connection with this, I want to ask the Ukrainian press to protest against the fact that the film "Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors", recently shown on television, is being called a Russian film. I saw the film, which was beautiful and sad. I regretted that I could not be in the Carpathians to listen to the beautiful Hutsul music. However, although the actors spoke Ukrainian and the credits were in Ukrainian, it was introduced as a Russian film. I think our reaction and protests to this should be strong.

Q: Both foreigners and Russians constantly emphasize two facts about Ukraine; the foreigners tell us that an independent Ukraine is unrealistic because the young generation [in Ukraine] has grown up, not only under Russian occupation, but under communism; the Russians tell us that within the Soviet Union the nationalities have become so mixed that presently it would even be difficult to draw national boundaries. All the nationalities of the Soviet Union have merged into one and it is too late to talk about nation-states. I would appreciate your thoughts and the opinions of other political prisoners on this question.

A: I must state very forcefully that

when it is said that youth in Ukraine is socialist — do not believe this. The youth flies Ukrainian flags on Ukrainian holidays and puts buckets on Lenin's statues. The young people in Ukraine, on the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth put the Order of Lenin around a dog's neck and he ran around with it through Ivano-Frankivsk. The youth of Ukraine tells this story about Khrushchev's visit to the United States: the American President gave Khrushchev a cow, a dog and a sheep. After six months the cow came back and said that everyone was milking her and not giving her anything to eat. The dog came back six months after that and said that everyone was lying and stealing, and that he had nothing to do. They waited a long time for the sheep; finally they inquired why he was not coming back; the sheep said "I enrolled as a member of the Communist Party and became the head of the collective farm." Such are the stories that are being told by the young people in Ukraine. From the above comments you can judge for yourself how much loyalty to the regime this group has. The youth of Ukraine writes for the samvyday, which you have the opportunity to read in the West. The samvyday is not the product of the creativity of just some individuals. There are thousands and thousands of people who think similarly, although not all of them can express themselves in writing.

Ukraine is not socialistic. Under conditions of oppression, living in an empire, a valuable person will always have a national orientation.

Although Moscow is trying to spread throughout the world the conception of a single Soviet people, this is a big lie. In Georgia, according to the 1970 census figures, the number of Georgians increased; in Lithuania the number of Lithuanians increased; in the Central Asia Republics the number of nationals is increasing. Under such circumstances one can hardly

talk about one Soviet people. In relation to this question I want to draw your attention to two processes taking part in the Soviet Union, Ukraine included. On one hand the movement for the liberation of nationalities is growing, while on the other hand, Moscow is increasing the processes of Russification. Since those two tendencies are increasing, I think that, in connection with this, in the 1980s there will be interesting events, which might even lead to an explosion.

Q: Did you have an opportunity in the Soviet Union to work as a researcher and to read Western literature?

A: To be able to read and write cost me much patience and much struggle. Everything I wrote was always being taken away from me. In 1977 I went on a hunger strike for two months and eight days, demanding that the notebooks taken away from me be returned. These are the means I had to use to get back my notebooks.

It was very difficult to read and write [in prison]. Let me give you a small example: in a communal cell criminals are purposely kept together with the political prisoners; the criminals want to listen to the radio all day and it is impossible to read under such circumstances. It was very hard to get placed in a cell with other political prisoners and no radio. It was with great difficulty that I was able to work and write; I have a finished book about Stefanyk (240 pages), a novel, several short stories, humorous sketches, and much material that needs editing. I will be very happy to have an opportunity to meet with Stefanyk's son.

Q: In the 1950s the criminals were used in the camps to blackmail and abuse the political prisoners. Is the situation still the same?

A: The use of criminals to terrorize the political prisoners is a common and on-going practice. I and others were subjected to this. It was only after I was stabbed by a

criminal, that I was placed alone in a cell. At this time they did not want to keep political prisoners, but only criminals in the Vladimir Prison; in addition, almost all of these criminals were psychologically ill. The criminals are widely used by the authorities to destroy political prisoners.

The prisoners who are physically incapacitated, according to law, do not have to work. However, they are intimidated and told that if they do not work they stand to lose much. In the camps, where there are mostly criminals, the incapacitated political prisoners are forced to work; we do not allow this in camps where there is a majority of political prisoners. It seems that the Soviet system is such that if one gives in, everything is lost. If one starts a good and effective protest, then one can gain much. Let me give you an example from the camp where I was sent: there were many protests and hunger strikes, which frightened the authorities, who agreed not to punish anybody who did not go to work. Every hunger strike is a blow to the authorities, since it becomes known in the West; this does not please the KGB, and the authorities stop bothering the prisoners, as long as they remain quiet. However, lately there have been less protests in the camps.

Q: Is there any discussion in Ukraine about Khvylov and his slogans?

A: The renaissance of the 1960s consisted in the discovery of the Ukrainian renaissance of the 1920s. It was a search for roots. It is then that the name of Khvylov, and also the names of those whose works were being printed again, (Chumak, Pluzhnyk, and many others) became known to the young generation. They read their works with great enthusiasm and passion and their names are not forgotten in Ukraine. Of course there are different types of young people. There are those who only look at television, but there are those, among the elite circles of Ukrainian youth, who know all the writers of the 1920's

renaissance. In the 1960s the publication of Antoronych's poetry had much influence and if the poetry of Yuriy Lypa could have been published at that time, there would have been a real explosion. But it was not possible, especially due to his poem "Alcatraz". As a matter of fact, I myself saw Khvylovych's works in Kyiv; he is known and he is remembered. The Soviet Russian press, through its constant criticism, does not allow him to be forgotten.

Q: Why did the Ukrainian Herald stop being published through the samvydav?

A: It is very sad that the Ukrainian Herald can no longer continue to appear, like the Chronicle in Moscow or the Chronicle in Lithuania. I, together with another person, whom I cannot name because he is still in Ukraine, initiated the appearance of the first issue which was put together at the end of 1969 and appeared dated January 1, 1970. The Ukrainian Herald, however, was not put together along the same lines as the Chronicle in Moscow, which could continue its appearance even after the editorial staff was arrested. The Ukrainian Herald was planned to be a magazine of substantial size, with materials containing different views. For this reason, after the arrests, it was difficult to continue publishing the Herald along the same lines. Actually, the Herald did not stop appearing because the "Memoranda" issued by the Ukrainian Helsinki group, is a serial publication, which took over the role of the Herald. However, I have emphasized in my discussions with Ukrainians in the camps that cessation of the Herald was a mistake, for its continued publication should be a matter of principle. If I was still in Ukraine I would make great efforts for the Herald to appear again. It seems also that the Ukrainian Helsinki group puts more emphasis on disseminating its material in the West and considers secondary samvydav material to be distributed in Ukraine. I cannot give you more

details, since I have not been in Ukraine for a while, but my information came from Lukianenko and Tychy.

Q: Can you tell us about the fate of children of political prisoners?

A: Moscow tries to use the children of political prisoners for its own ends. At the smallest opportunity the government can take away "parents' rights". This has happened to Nadia Svitlychna, whose children were almost placed in a children's home. I think that during the International Year of the Child the Ukrainian community should strongly protest against such actions.

Q: Does a Ukrainian Independent Orthodox Church exist? Has it spread to the Western parts of Ukraine and Halychyna or is it concentrated only in Volyn?

A: I think that maybe my previous answers about the Church were not understood. When I spoke about the Ukrainian Catholic Church, I spoke about the existence of an underground church, with priests who perform the rites secretly and are arrested periodically. When I spoke about the Ukrainian Independent Orthodox Church I spoke about the memory of the existence of such a church. I am not aware that it now exists as an organized entity; however, many Ukrainians in Volyn and the Dnipro region do not consider that they belong to the Orthodox Church.

Q: You state that the youth in Ukraine is not socialist. What are their political leanings: republicanism, monarchy, the hetmanate? How far is traditionalism and conservatism evident in Ukraine?

A: Monarchism in Ukraine, like in the rest of the world, is not popular. This is unfortunate, since monarchism is one of the cornerstones of traditionalism and spirituality. We are told that monarchies do not go hand in hand with progress; however, all the nations that have achieved the greatest progress — England, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark — are monarchies. They do not seem to be in a hurry to dispose of them. They know

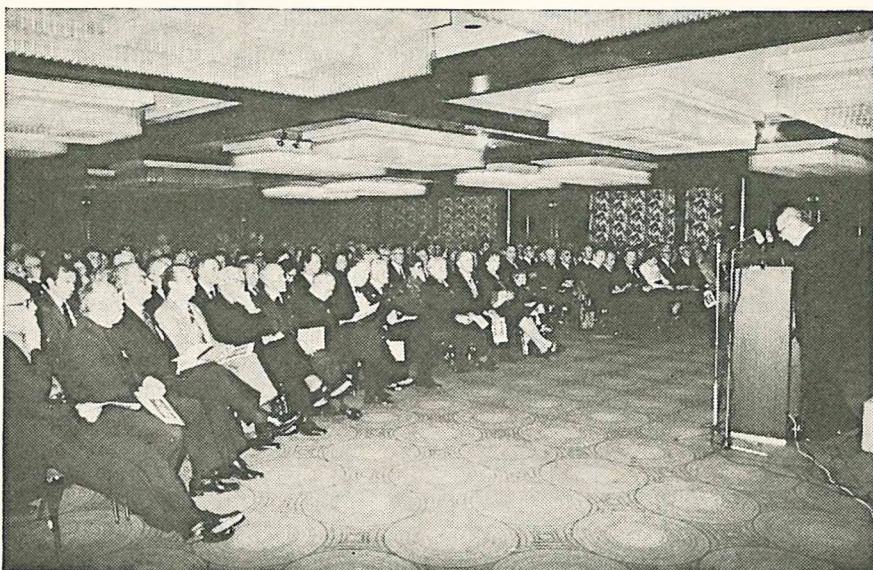
that monarchy represents safety and is a symbol of traditions. Although now the king is not an absolute monarch, he is the symbol of traditions. Although now the stand this splendidly. It is too bad that monarchism is not popular in Ukraine. I, personally, am for a monarchy and I really think that we cannot accuse the English of having little political sense. England is an example that is worthy of imitation, and I am not referring to absolutism. Dictatorship and monarchy do not go hand in hand and we see more dictatorships in republics.

Conservatism and traditionalism are evident in Ukrainian youth. Many people think like Kalynets, when he wrote about the wind of statehood blowing from Halych. Of course there are some anarchical elements among the young, but I think that this can be explained by their youth. I myself read Lypynsky extensively, and I know that he is read by Ukrainians, who also read Chyzhevsky's History of Ukrainian Philosophy, Terletsky's History of the

*Ukrainian State*. The young people who read it are the best ones, the ones who are seeking their roots. I think that in time in Ukraine there will be a renaissance of traditionalism, since presently everyone is searching for roots.

I will tell you something interesting about Lithuania. [This search for traditionalism] has gone even further there and we can only rejoice about this. There are many government and Party functionaries that are seeking out artists and ordering from them old Lithuanian crests. This return towards the past is not being considered as anything criminal. I will be very happy when such a phenomenon will take place in Ukraine.

Sometimes in the 1960s a book entitled *Armed Forces of the Ukraine* was published. It was greeted with enthusiasm, because it contained Ukrainian insignia, heraldica and flags of different regiments. All this points to the interest, on the part of the youth, towards Ukrainian regalia and reliques.



*Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the ABN President addressing the audience during the commemorative celebration on the 20th Anniversary of the assassination of Stepan Bandera, Ukrainian national hero.*

Q: Are there any remains of traditions of the UNR? What do you envisage the agricultural order in a future independent Ukraine to be?

A: There are many different views among the dissidents regarding a social platform, although there are no differences on the national question. All the dissidents support the platform of independence. I can only say that all the dissidents favor private property, for they understand that nothing can be accomplished without this. The kolhosp is also extremely unpopular in Ukraine, especially among the youth, who know it does not even exist in the socialist countries. It is hard to say what will be the final social platform of the dissidents, but is moving away from socialism and more towards democratic theories, those in existence in the free world.

The traditions of the UNR are certainly not forgotten in the central parts of Ukraine and they are a living memory that is passed on from parents to children. These traditions are sometimes retold as legends, but nevertheless they are remembered. Since I come from Western Ukraine, I was raised on the traditions of the OUN and the UPA and was not exposed to the traditions in other different parts of the Ukraine.

Q: Should we not now start some sort of action demanding the remease of Yuriy Shukhevych? Also, please clarify your statement about political consolidation with a platform of freeing political prisoners?

A: I am still not certain as to who should be the next political prisoner for whose release we should work. Of course, we would like to work for all of them; but we are practical people who understand that to accomplish something, we need a slogan and a name. At the present, three names are appropriate: Shukhevych, Lukianenko, Rudenko. I think that the Ukrainian community should decide on a priority, although we should demand the

release of all. Much has already been written about Shukhevych, and many people have already demonstrated on his behalf. The demand for his release would be appropriate from the point of view that he has been sentenced because of his father. I think that we all together should decide about this; I have not been here long enough to make such a decision.

I realize that any attempts at Ukrainian political consolidation have to proceed slowly, so as not to obtain the opposite results. I do not want to create still another Ukrainian group. Since I am an author and not an organizer or a general, I hope that my writings will stimulate Ukrainian consolidation. I want to take this opportunity to express my desire to meet at first with the Ukrainian people, with the entire Ukrainian community, be it in Detroit, in Toronto or in other cities. I want to talk to as many people as possible, in parks and not in small rooms. Afterwards, I will be very happy to meet with representatives from various organisations.

Q: Should the campaign for the release of Ukrainian political prisoners be tied into demands for Ukrainian independence or only to demands for human rights?

A: I do not think that one can separate human rights from national rights. My opinions in this matter are also shared by Lukianenko and Shukhevych, with whom I spoke about this. There can be no other democratic rights without national rights. England had democracy at home, while in Ireland totalitarianism reigned. To be able to hold on to one's colonies, one must destroy all human rights in the colonies. If human rights are introduced, then the next day the colonies stop to exist. The holiest of human rights are national rights and the holiest human feeling is the feeling of nationalism.

I think that the KGB is very surreptitiously propagating the idea of emphasizing human, rather than national rights.

The KGB does not do this itself, but through people who think in this manner. Similar things are being done in camps, where the KGB looks for well meaning people who in fact are only marionettes for the KGB.

I wish to make a comment about articles in the European press, which stated that the Ukrainian dissident was greeted by the Ukrainian community with more enthusiasm than the other dissidents. This is a compliment to the Ukrainians, who consider the Ukrainian dissident not only as a dissident, but something more. It is a tribute to the Ukrainian community, which invested the question of Ukrainian independence with religious fervor. I see it again and I am touched by the degree of burning dedication among Ukrainians.

Q: A Jew, who recently came to the United States from the Soviet Union informed me that presently all the members of the KGB are Russian. Is this true?

A: It is true that Moscow does not trust a Ukrainian, even if he is a member of the KGB, or a high Party functionary. I think that it was the Russian writer, Damian Bednyi, who said to Charles Snow that one cannot trust Ukrainians, no matter who they are. I want to give you an example about Ukrainians: when I came here, I saw a copy of "Instead of the Last Word". I did not know what it was and then realized that it was my statement to the Procurator and to the Court, which I wrote and gave to them. As you see, even in the offices of the Procurator and the KGB, there were some people who decided to send this statement to freedom. Can Moscow really trust Ukrainians?

I do not know about the latest acts of removing Ukrainians and Jews from the KGB. I only know that the KGB in Ukraine is not controlled by Ukrainians. In this respects things are much better in Armenia and Georgia. If a Georgian KGB member would see some anti-Soviet activity, he would not report it, if this was

being done by a fellow Georgian. I asked a Georgian dissident, the poet Kobalia: "How did you distribute these leaflets?" "Well, I gave them out to the people" he replied. "Suppose there was someone from the KGB there?" He replied: "We're only afraid of the Russians in the KGB. A Georgian KGB member would just tell us to stop and then walk away." Kobalia wrote a poem in prison and gave it to a Georgian KGB member to send to Georgia. We can only be envious of such an arrangement, which is evident only in Georgia and in Armenia. This is not the fact in Ukraine.

Q: Could you please comment on the eradication of the Ukrainian scientific language, especially in connection with the liquidation of Ukrainian medical and other scientific literature?

A: In the 1960s, when the renaissance came, there began a struggle for translations of scholarly journals into Ukrainian. The outcome was that the older journals, those published in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s are still being published in Russian, while the newer ones, for example *Biochemistry*, which began publication in the 1960s, are being published in Ukrainian. Then, in the 1970s, during the arrests, all this was stopped. I can only say there is a constant struggle over the language, but even if Ukrainian is used in the scientific journals, there are many Russian words inserted throughout.

I think that some kinds of protests, which are mounted in relation to political prisoners, should be started in defense of the Ukrainian language. The Ukrainian language must remain Ukrainian and not be allowed to merge, almost imperceptibly with Russian.

Q: (Statement by Byelorussian representative) I briing you, Mr. Moroz, greetings from the American Byelorussian community. We bow our heads before your suffering and struggle on behalf of the Ukrainian people. Your work *Moses and*

*Dathan*, has been translated into Byelorussian by Prof. Adamowicz, and will soon be published; it is also being transmitted through the Voice of America. I would like to invite you to meet with the Byelorussian community and ask to help us in our common struggle".

A: I am happy to see here Byelorussian guests. I did not know whether *Moses and Dathan* ever reached Byelorussia. It is addressed to the Byelorussian as well as the Ukrainian people. I am very happy to learn that it was translated into Byelorussian and is doing something to aid the Byelorussian cause. I wanted my work not only to be of help to the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, but to other subjugated nations within the Russian empire. Please convey my greetings to the Byelorussian community, with whom I will be happy to meet in the near future.

Q: What is your position on the article in the Ukrainian Encyclopedia dealing with the theory that the Ukrainian SSR is the successor state of the UNR.

A: In Ukraine presently there is no government. Ukraine now has only an administration, while on the other hand, Poland has a government. The Polish have a national saying: "Let there be a Red Poland, let there be a White Poland, but let there be a Poland." Ukrainians cannot say the same thing, because they are ruled by corporals and sergeants. I want to make an appeal that we do everything possible to have a representative of Free Ukraine in the United Nations. Our argument is based on the fact that the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is not a government delegation, but only the delegation of an administration; administrations are not entitled to membership in the United Nations. If the Palestinians, who are an organization without a territory, have the right to representation in the UN, then we, a nation of 50 million, have a greater right.

*Translated by Marta Sawczuk*



Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, WACL honorary chairman, addressing the opening session of the APACL Executive Committee meeting held in Tokyo July 28-29.

## Those Poor Prisoners

When, during the war, on the Soviet side of the front appeared a military unit of Asian or Caucasian recruits, the Germans organized a real circus — they designated one sniper and brought closer one mortar unit. The sniper shot one of the Asians and all his friends assembled at once around him. The Germans just waited for this to happen. Then the mortar unit went into action, resulting in the Soviets having to take many wounded to field hospitals..

All, absolutely all former prisoners, after leaving the Soviet Union, keep talking about prisons and camps, about fellow prisoners and camp inmates. Constantly and repeatedly. All appeals to senators, diplomats, the United Nations, and the churches; all demonstrations and hunger strikes — all of it centers around the prisoners. However, to talk about unrelenting Soviet aggression and traditional diplomatic treachery — there is not enough time left over. All our efforts are directed to find out the most cruel cats — lieutenants of investigation services, colonels of prison guards, professors of psychiatry. Assuredly, this is an ugly horde. But, in operational perspective it is nothing dangerous; the rockets can remain in their silos, and the money saved on the B-1 bomber can be given to American professional beggars.

The red cardinals threw us out to the West in quantity and quality and we, in our Babel-tower noisemaking, often politically quite semi-literate, or even openly pinky, most likely once and for all time truly compromised the political emigration from the Russian empire by becoming deadly boring... Even now, all you hear about is indignation about old towels...

I remember, how one very well known political prisoner was ending his protestations. He kept sending his many-page memoranda to all prestigious and not so

prestigious institutions, with pathetic accusations against world atheism, world injustice, always finishing them off with words, "...and, therefore, I am asking for an additional CARE-package." How much effort, how many dangers on the road to Western tribunals, and once there, in self-justifying anger, we are trying to move foreign hearts with reports about inhumanly unjust cancellations of our communist party cards...

Large and small committees, large, medium and quite small movements. A particular satanic smell is coming from one of them; the "Komitet Pomotschi Sovietskym Spiw-witchyznianykam" — Committee of Help to the Soviet Landsmen — KPSS. Funny, the same letters are carried by "Kommunisticheskaya Partia Sovietskaho Sojuza" — KPSS — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union... And all those micro-demonstrations confusing already confused reporters... For instance, the New York Jews managed to organize a hundred thousand strong demonstration on Fifth Avenue, but did it spare Israel a slow cooling-off of American public opinion? And the local gays gather their thirty-five thousand to march in exactly the same way. How can we possibly match them in numbers and organization? Who can we influence or frighten? And everywhere sheep gather together separately from the rams...

My friend, a professor at a great American university, slavic expert, anti-communist and author of anti-Kremlin books, got into a fight with his son because he joined the US Army. And, when it came out that he had joined the Green Berets, his family locked him out of the house for good. But we, in order to preserve the good will of such "allies" (and the professor is one of the best), in order to find

"understanding", in order to "avoid Belinkov's mistake" — are wholeheartedly agreeing with spineless American liberals and, together with them, are cursing the rightists more than the leftists, the white racists more than the black ones, we tolerate student hooliganism and, in defending our prisoners, we are using their arguments, even their rhetoric.

Defense of all political prisoners... Really, all of them? Well, tell me, who are those poor Chilean martyrs, who deserve the same defense efforts as Shuchevych or Superfin? What are they suffering for? Maybe for the same kind of deeds as my neighbors in Vladimir prison, the generals of Beria? Who knows their names? What jobs did they have when Allende was in power? And are present terrorists, such able executioners of sportsmen and children? Even the United Nations declared their acts "political"! And wasn't Lenin a political prisoner? And Stalin? German Führer Adolf Hitler was a political prisoner too! And Gomulka? And Bela Kun? And Husák? And how many "fideles" and "idi amins" are now behind bars, planning their future cannibalistic moves? I think, it's better for me to join the thieves union!

Do not scorn me, gentlemen dissidents!

Defense of heterodox prisoners of conscience. Beautiful formulation. And so absolutely defenseless in front of KGB cynicism, "We punish you not for heterodoxy, but for hetero-activities!" Real prisoners of conscience are probably only the religious ones. What about Kuznetsov and Zossimov with their almost hijacked planes? Should we leave them without a defense? What about those whom they catch crossing frontiers? What about those, who distributed leaflets? We are talking about activities — brave, courageous, but are they beyond heterodoxy (different thinking)...? Should we turn away from Brazinskaus? Tens of thousands of Germans are being killed with machine gun fire at the Berlin Wall, in Batumi every day some would-be

border-crossers fall into the hands of the KGB. They are killing us anytime and anywhere they wish to do it, and we are afraid to mention one killed stewardess!

Save the sick prisoner! Help the delicate woman-prisoner! Well, and if he or she isn't sick yet? Shall we rescue sick Volodymyr Ossipov, and leave Volodymyr Bezuhlyj in the hungering Vladimir prison just because he isn't terribly sick yet?

True, they are looking for a way out — in the free world, in the camps and abroad. In Amnesty International they are shuffling files. Again politicals? Counter-revolutionaries? Who should be given preference? A pale youth with feverish eyes is blubbering about "the just Plechanov way" or "the right Trotsky way" to overthrow the world bourgeoisie — and that's a real political. And the Lithuanian freedom-fighter, who fought against two mighty armies — Soviet and German — during World War II? A long camp sentence, five years of "carcers" alone, injuries from camp uprisings, and now what, should he be considered a "bandit", the way the KGB is calling him?

Well, let's decide on a real problem — Yurij Shukhevych. What was he sentenced to thirty years for? During the war he was just a kid, too young to be a freedom-fighter, but he is "thinking differently". What's more, he refused to renounce his father, Commanding General of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — UPA — a real "banderivets". Well, what slot to put him in — the clean or dirty one? Should he be defended, or is he a bandit?

We should demand and threaten, not meekly entreat! We need to have a minimum of senile cries and a maximum of iron in our voice!

And what happens when we will be victorious? Moscow might screech a little bit, but it will let all prisoners go. Many thousands with official signs "especially dangerous to the state" and maybe even a good hundred thousand of those so-called

real criminals from Archipelago. What would we do then? Should we sing in unison, "You are the victor. O, Galilean!" Or maybe we should begin to love the Soviet Union? And the Kremlin — will it love us? Will we return in marching columns to Russia? Should we bathe with our joyous tears the party cards returned to us? And what about reduction in the number of tank divisions waiting over Europe's frontiers? Will the Soviet rockets reduce their range? Will Soviet African and Asian "safaris" be stopped? Maybe, they will even let Ukraine secede from the Soviet Union? Or, maybe, after talks with Turkey, they will also let the ancient Armenian nation re-emerge in freedom?

Well, gentlemen, after the "prison question" disappears, those problems shall present themselves and those problems shall conquer our hearts and minds. If we lose now our shiny armour our law-defenders' togas, and our martyrs halos, who shall we become?

Do not worry. The "prison" problematics shall not disappear. If, suddenly, the political prisoners should die out, like dinosaurs, the red cardinals shall teach their actors with more persistence and talent than ever, how to suffer for the "right" socialism and how to send appeals to UN-servants on behalf of their generals... The Kremlin likes it, when a dissident vegetates on a miserable camp ration and in iambuk pentameter sends his curses against South African racists. The Kremlin likes it, when the prisoner, after exhausting all available appeals, suddenly receives a food package from some foreign communist nest. You see, where the real helpers are?! Besides, only very few know about camp methodics, practices of tear floods and wails for help. With long-term inmates and politicals it's easier. Success of a cosmonaut — hundreds of letters; Khrushchev raises some question — thousands of letters about it; some smart reporter printed a "sharp" article — postal bacchanalia. And all re-

turn addresses — numbers, from the camps. What will it be now — Eurocommunism?

We, self-adoringly believe, that we grew into a power, which forced the Kremlin to look at us with fear in their minds. But couldn't the red cardinals find enough experienced ways to get rid of us, once and for all, without leaving a trace? Valery O. crossed the Norwegian border. In those times in the fifties, Moscow enjoyed some measure of trust in the world. They wanted Valery back. So, during one night, one night- mind you, they prepared the case about Valery being a murderer. Tens of officers of the KGB and MVD created a thick file with numerous testimonies by reliable witnesses, with material proof, photos of the murdered man, Valery's fingerprints, with statements from medical and ballistic experts, even with transcripts of interrogations of Valery himself, although he was never in their hands before! They crowned this masterpiece with a report from the militia about Valery's flight from his guards, resulting in infraction of the Norwegian border... And all those documents were scrupulously and chronologically assembled as if it had all happened months ago... Norwegian authorities were overwhelmed. Valery was returned to the Soviets. But when they got him behind KGB bars, he wasn't accused of any murder. They even let him read his own "case"! The KGB officer, one of the authors, wanted to show-off, and Valery — well, he had a sense of humour..

Couldn't the red cardinals go to this little bit of effort to provoke, simulate or outright compose similar stories about any one of us? Would they have very much trouble in burying Sakharov ceremoniously in the Kremlin wall, at a time when he was still talking to them privately? Who injured Arkady Belinkov in Italy — an Italian negligent chauffeur, or an experienced KGB racing driver? If it weren't for Stashynsky's confession, Bandera and Rebet wouldn't have become martyrs, they would

have just died from heart attacks... They can either liquidate in a clean way, or they can do it in a "wet" way, as they did with Michaelis — no one knew for sure, but everybody got the wind and became scared! The presence of political prisoners supports terror inside the Soviet Union, occupies reporters' time, and fills up space on the pages of the Western press. And the presence of not yet arrested dissidents creates the impression of "some changes". The existence of "peaceful ways" paralyzes action, bold or desperate. "When salutary evolution is possible, why risk your life?" In addition, it creates angry suspicion, "I am in prison, and Peter somehow enjoys freedom", or "Chaim, the engineer, long since lives in Israel, and I am sentenced for Zionism."

No, we haven't as yet learned to defend ourselves and to defend our comrades!

I am not going to humiliate any decent prisoners (even the weak ones) and the dissidents (even the leftist ones). In the end, the pale juvenile and the redneck partisan are getting the same sour, rotten bread. I think that dissidentism is a courageous demonstration of not participating in evil-doing. But, how to become a participant in the good, without waiting for big revolutions and lucky breaks? There are people, who do not write books, are not creating new philosophies, do not organize underground cells of resistance. They do not contemplate being invited to presidents' White Houses. But — to assemble children of prisoners around a modest Christmas tree; to send a package into the depths of a Siberian mine; to bring a semiliterate peasant mother to a rare camp visit; to send the prisoner books, magazines, a nice birthday card for a day forgotten even by him — this is almost a samaritanian sacrifice, heroic modesty and... danger, danger no less deadly than the danger of noisy protestors and demonstrators. I salute them!

On the first day of World War I, a

German submarine U-9 sank three English line cruisers. One after another. Because, instead of an immediate, tenacious attack on the submarine, the English halted to help pick up the crew of the previously torpedoed ship, which resulted in them being hit by following torpedoes. From that day, in all naval manuals appeared a cruel sentence, printed in red ink, "During battle action, the navy's ships do not halt to save crewmembers".

Many people found it painful, that, in defending Ginzburg, his chief Solzhenitsyn, used only a few words. But Ginzburg was not a novice — he knew what he was doing. Solzhenitsyn, the old soldier, the hardened prisoner, in a soldierly way just took off his soldier's cap. If this is not a game but war, losses are unavoidable and no one knows whose fate might be the worse yet...

From stupid teenagers, the war sculpted cold-blooded and manly fighters. They learned to retaliate for every loss with murderous fire. They learned how to organize "asian wakes", knifing a battalion of amateurs, without a single shot being fired. They learned to put off their moans for later.

And we — we didn't learn.

Some time before the Yom Kippur War, I had a chance to show Israel to one of the fresh newcomers from the Soviet Union. He was doubly "fresh" because in a very short span of time he experienced both the so-called "Small" and "Big" Zones; they sent him to a criminal camp just for his application for emigration to Israel. His hair, cut to almost nothing, didn't yet have time to grow back... He asked me, if they drafted people to the army here (in Israel). Already knowing Israeli customs, I told him that he was the lucky one; they placed me into "Home Defense" because of my age, but he, being young, will have a chance to serve in the Army! But my remarks missed the point completely, he said: "I wouldn't like to

join the Army! They'll send me to the front, there will be shooting and by chance, one could hit someone of ours!" "Ours?" — I trembled with indignation and anger. "Who do you consider ours, you dog? The Russian interventionists? I, for myself, would not use my last bullet on Arafat himself, in order to get one of such 'ours'!"

So, who and where is ours? And who is the enemy?

Enemies? And suddenly I realized that in Soviet Russia there are no enemies! Meaning that there might be some left, but certainly not from dissidents' milieu; not from the third emigration can be recruited any assault battalions of the first line nor rear guards to cover the retreat... Opponents, heretics, dissidents, opportunists, revisionists, critics of all colours. Ideology, religion, national demands, moral non-conformism, technocratic ambitions, scientific scepticism — any one you might wish, you can find everyone in this anti-Soviet choir — but not enemies! There are no enemies!

You can find enemies neither in Solzhenitsyn's books and novels, nor in Voynovich's, nor in Galych's, nor in Grossman's. There are sufferers, martyrs, apostles, but no enemies! I found just one in Maksymov's book, and this one was a hunchback! With great embarrassment, self-justifiably, the Nobel-prized author describes the criminal dreams of tortured prisoners — about foreign bombers in Russian skies.

An Italian, who becomes a fascist, doesn't deserve any mercy; an inhabitant of Kioto, who put on the uniform of "Japanese militarism" — the same. A German in a brown

shirt of Nazism should be destroyed. But, somehow, the Russian, Soviet enslaver, secret policeman or convoy soldier — he is not to be touched! And the world should patiently wait until the above-mentioned Russian machine-gunner or tank crewman changes his mind, becomes a good man, starts believing in God, is re-born in spiritual enlightenment... So, for some the golden tresses of Orthodox priesthood, for others the cradle of socialism, even if a completely miscarried variant, still for others the camp for political hostages, endeared to everyone of us.

But they call us their enemies and don't even hiccup! I remember, how during a "trial" they were releasing one very old prisoner. As a teenager, he fought in Denikin's Army, then in World War II, as a Cossack in the Cossack Division of the German Army, he fought the Soviets at Balaton Lake in Hungary. He never lost his military bearing and Vlassov's vocabulary, not even in the camp. The order for his release came from such high quarters that at the camp level no one dared to change it. But, just for the record, they asked him some questions: "Do you confess to what you were doing?" — "Yes, and I am proud of it!" Then: "What can you say about the accusations against you?" — "I am bearing them as medals of valour!" Enough. They read very fast: "Released from imprisonment". His answer, "You shall be sorry for that".

Now, Amnesty International, what have you to say to that? We should all, gentlemen dissidents, borrow from him such manly posture and such enmity.

In the sixties, some stubborn prisoners were called into the office and asked this

## GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

by

**Prof. Vasyl Pliushch**

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attractive question, "And against China, would you fight?" As for me, I found a way around it. "Yes, but not under your colors!" But the majority just drowned in philosophical, religious and other deceits and self-deceits, in dozens of doctrines and futurologies just to avoid the possible next question, "And against Russian brothers, would you fight?" I can answer for all of them: They shall not!

In an essay of the late Yuzovsky entitled "Journey to Zlazova Vola" there is an unforgettable episode. A few hundred arrested persons were unloaded at a rail-platform just opposite a death camp. Suddenly, one of the camp inmates came running to this crowd and shouted, "This is Auschwitz! Half of you will be cremated at once!" The crowd started a turmoil, noise, screams, almost a riot. Behind the back of this camp inmate, appeared an SS-man, in lacquered boots. If he had hit the inmate over the head, or used his O-8 gun on him, everything would be quite understandable considering the times and the place. However, he didn't hit the prisoner,

he didn't shoot him, he didn't even look at him. He just said to the rioting crowd, smiling benignly, "Who are you listening to? Who are you believing? Just look at him!" And the people looked at the two men, there they were, one, an elegantly uniformed, cleanly shaved, military man, and the other a hopelessly dirty inmate, with a drawn face and thin throat, unwashed, in rags. The first one was smiling quietly — the second was grey from fear, with terror-stricken eyes... The crowd felt secure, even good humoured. And the crowd started walking... toward you know where...

One of my Polish friends was in the process of being deported from the United States. He tried to prove that he couldn't live in the same country as Gerek and that he was being persecuted in Poland. But, in response to the standard question of American officials, "Were you beaten?", he honestly answered, "No." Well, we had a saying back in the naval academy, "A word isn't a bird. They catch it — and out you go..."

We were not shot with a parabellum, or Makarov pistol. There were even times when they didn't beat us. Just like this SS-man.

We try to preach, we try to predict, we even try begging the mankind, crowded on this rail-platform. But right there, next to us, the eager West sees smiling, good-natured diplomats, cosmonauts with two rows of white, shiny teeth, elegant musicians. We — prisoners, not beaten, but pitiful in our silence and pitiful in our rhetoric, repugnant in our mutual quarreling, unpleasant in our hunt for available jobs, in our affectatious erudition about privileges, loans and gifts. One girl translator can manage to describe us, completely, in ten minutes to the Western listeners and viewers.

And, in the meantime, the still free world calmly walks past us toward crematoriums and gas chambers...

(Translated from Ukrainian by  
Zena Matla-Rychtytska)



Demonstration at the site of Bandera's assassination in Munich, October 13, 1979.

## "Blame the Jailer"

An editorial July 31 examining the citizenship provisions of the new Constitution of the Soviet Union has drawn a strenuous response, published as a letter to the editor August 9, from Igor Lobanov, assistant press attache of the Soviet Embassy.

Mr. Lobanov said, in part: "If you play just another anti-Soviet game, say that openly and do not cover yourself with the fig leaf of unbiased journalism. Say that you are against the exchange of people and information which is increasing between the Soviet Union and Canada as it is envisaged in the Helsinki Accords."

We think Mr. Lobanov's challenge is a good one. But he should aim it at the people who keep putting obstacles in the way of free movement. He should aim it at the Government he represents.

In the Soviet Union and the countries it dominates by its massive armed presence in East Europe it is always difficult and often dangerous to invoke the Helsinki Accords. In Czechoslovakia signers of Charter '77, which simply calls on the Government to respect the Helsinki promises, are arrested, harassed, attacked by "persons unknown" in the streets at night and left, badly beaten, in some lonely roadside ditch. In East Germany devout Communists are put under house arrest, if they are lucky, for daring to ask their Government to respect either the Helsinki commitments or its own constitution.

If Mr. Lobanov wants to find the real opponents of free movement of people and information he might get some help from a story in The Globe and Mail August 10, on the hardships suffered by Lidia Vins, 72, and her family at Soviet hands. The family, some of its members in Canada and some in the Soviet Union, was finally reunited in Canada in June after a separation of 50 years. Mrs. Vins and her son Petro came here from Soviet prison camps to which they had been sentenced, Mr. Lobanov will be interested to learn, for

joining groups set up in Ukraine to monitor observance of the Helsinki Accords.

Mr. Lobanov points out, correctly but irrelevantly, that there is a close similarity between provisions of Soviet and Canadian citizenship laws that make the child of citizens a citizen even if born outside the country. He does not, of course, mention that, unlike a Canadian, a Soviet citizen who moves to another country and is accepted as one of its citizens has no assured right to renounce his original citizenship. He may apply. But the law leaves the state with a long, flexible list of pretexts for turning his application down. And this means that the Canadian-born child of people who are Canadian citizens, but whose application for renunciation of Soviet citizenship was rejected, may be classified, under Soviet law, as a Soviet citizen.

None of these legalisms, of course, would be much of a problem if the Soviet Union would treat its citizens in a civilized manner in the spirit of Helsinki. If Soviet citizens were free to leave the Soviet Union at will, as Canadians, Americans, Britons, Frenchmen, Italians, West Germans (but not East Germans) and so many others are free to leave their countries, unsolicited citizenship would be a bonus at best and meaningless at worst.

Unsolicited Soviet citizenship is a threat only because the Soviet Union is run like a jail. Once inside, and given a number, you are no longer free to leave at will. And that impedes the free movement of people in two directions. Some cannot get out. Others, fearing that they would be unable to get out, dare not go in.

There is one more problem. It's hard to put into tactful, diplomatic language for Mr. Lobanov, but we'll try. The Soviet Union lies, cheats and breaks its own laws, systematically.

The Soviet constitution enacted by Stalin in 1936 was a relatively liberal, enlight-

ened document. It promised most of the basic human rights. Yet even the Government of the Soviet Union recognizes, perhaps less readily than it once did, that life under that constitution and its author was hell, a living hell even for those lucky enough to be allowed to live. And long after Stalin was dead and denounced, Soviet citizens were still being harassed,

imprisoned or transported for daring to claim the rights his constitution promised.

The Soviet Union insists its new citizenship law changes nothing, that Soviet authorities will go on doing as they have always done. Of course they will. That's what's so frightening.

*Globe and Mail, Toronto*

## Human Rights Violation in Byelorussia

*Yauhen Ivanovich Buzinnikau*, 40, a worker in Construction Group No. 4 of the Chemical Construction Industry, was arrested on May 18, 1978 in the city of Svetlogorsk, Gomel oblast in Byelorussia. He is being detained in the oblast investigative prison in the city of Gomel. From June 20 to 30, 1978 Buzinnikau was held for psychiatric analyses at the Gomel oblast psychiatric hospital but, it is presumed, was found normal. Charges against Buzzinikau include: a) corresponding with dissidents and spreading by letter news to them discrediting the Soviet way of life; b) listening to and disseminating foreign radio broadcasts; c) an alleged request to reprint a work by Mykola Rudenko.....

In January of 1977 Buzinnikau visited Sakharov in Moscow and then corresponded with him. After that the KGB set up surveillance of him; he was refused permission to travel to his job, and was examined several times by a psychiatrist. He also wrote to A. Ginzburg, V. Nikipelov and others. This correspondence apparently seized by the KGB, is being used as the basis for his indictment.

Buzinnikau had been sentenced twice previously, the first time at the age of 18 for an attempt to cross the state border. He has since spent 12 years in prison.

*Svetlana Mikhailovna Misiuk*, an eighth-grade student, in the village of Hnieucyca (Gnevchytza) in Ivanovo raion of Brest oblast, was severely beaten in October (1977). The schoolmistress, Lidia Pola-

kevich, grabbed the girl by the hair in the teacher's room and beat her in the presence of two other teachers until Svetlana fell to the floor unconscious. The girl was revived by seltzer water bought at the school lunch-counter. The ordeal continued for two hours. While it was going on, the school administrator, Piotr Fomich Polakevich, chased students away with a stick in order to prevent them from hearing the screams. Svetlana's crime was that she comes from a religious family and is herself a believer. After Svetlana regained consciousness, Polakevich threatened that if she told anyone about the incident, she would be charged with libel and that, in any event, no one would believe her because she had no witnesses. An official from Minsk, said that the girl had no witnesses and that news about the incident should not be circulated.

*Aleksandar Krutko*, 71, of Tsyntsavichy, Minsk oblast of the Byelorussian SSR, is threatened with confinement in a mental asylum because he wants to join his children in the United States.

Krutko has spent 18 years in Soviet Russian captivity. Since his release from a labor camp in the early seventies, he has been harassed and abused by the local authorities for his desire to emigrate. In a labor camp in the early seventies, he has the United States, Krutko states that it would be better to die than to go to such a "hospital", because he knows quite well what kind of "hospital" awaits him.

## Fair Information On All Dissidents Needed

In recent years, Western reaction to the plight of Soviet Jewry and Soviet dissidents has been, in general, unprecedented. Readers of the Western news media have been exposed to a flood of detailed reports on the activities, arrests, trials, imprisonments, even the families of the Russian dissidents Anatoly Shcharansky, Aleksandr Ginzburg and Yuri Orlov. Because of such responsible reporting, these individuals have emerged from a closed society as living people rather than as nameless, bloodless forms.

Much less attention, however, has been focused on the non-Russian dissidents — the Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians and Baltics. With few exceptions, these political prisoners have merited only scant attention from the West. Consequently, there is no widespread appreciation of their inescapable plight.

Few Westerners realize that Ukraine, with its population of 50 million, is the second largest republic of the Soviet Union. It was the scene of massive arrests of intellectuals, workers and religious believers in 1965-66, 1972 and 1977-78, and that the severe repression continues. Fewer still are aware of the following facts: Prison sentences handed out to Ukrainian political prisoners are particularly harsh; they average twice as long as those handed out to Russian dissidents and Soviet Jews; Ukrainians, moreover, are denied their right to emigrate. Even though many pursue this right with unsurpassed tenacity, to date only a handful of Ukrainian dissidents have been permitted to leave the Soviet Union. Ukrainians account for 50 percent of Soviet political prisoners but constitute only 20 percent of the total Soviet population, as Nobel laureate and Moscow dissident Andrei Sakharov estimated in 1977.

In light of this, one question needs to be posed: Why is the plight of Ukrainian and other non-Russian dissidents less newsworthy in general than that of Russian dissidents and Soviet Jews? Normally, one might explain this neglect by the absence of detailed and reliable information. This, however, is not the case. Fairly extensive information on most non-Russian dissidents can be found in the underground journal of the human-rights movement in the Soviet Union, *A Chronicle of Current Events*. For more than a decade, this dispassionate, uncensored journal has offered essential source material for concerned writers.

Nor are the stories of Ukrainian dissidents any less important or any less moving than the widely publicized instances of Soviet Russian dissidents. A few cases may illustrate this point.

Born in 1946, Dr. Mykola Plakhotnyuk graduated "with distinction" from medical school, worked in a children's sanatorium, then in a Kyiv medical institute. He was dismissed from his job in 1970 for his association with, and defense of, Ukrainian writers who were illegally repressed for their political beliefs. In January 1972, he was arrested during a campaign of repression that swept Ukraine and other Soviet republics. Prior to his trial, psychiatrists at Moscow's Institute of Forensic Psychiatry recommended that Dr. Plakhotnyuk be confined indefinitely as an "especially dangerous person" in a special psychiatric hospital in Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine. Amnesty International, the Nobel Prize-winning human rights organization, has stated: "What is known about Dr. Plakhotnyuk makes clear that he is detained for political rather than medical reasons and gives ground for serious concern about his well-being." Leonid

Plyushch, mathematician-cyberneticist and Ukrainian dissident, who was permitted to emigrate to the West only after an intensive Western campaign on his behalf, was imprisoned with Dr. Plakhotnyuk in the same hospital. At the time of Mr. Plyushch's release from that institution in January 1976, he described Dr. Plakhotnyuk's health as "very disturbing." He further observed that frequent injections with neuroleptic drugs made political prisoners in the Dnepropetrovsk psychiatric prison unable to walk or sit and caused them extreme pain. In August 1976, Dr. Plakhotnyuk was transferred to another special psychiatric hospital in Kazan, in the Russian Republic.

In January 1978, the Kyiv regional court reportedly refused for a second time to grant Dr. Plakhotnyuk a discharge from his indefinite psychiatric confinement. It should be emphasized that even if Dr. Plakhotnyuk is released from the special psychiatric hospital, he will, according to a court ruling, then be forced to stand trial as a person criminally responsible for the anti-Soviet activity attributed to him.

The plight of Dr. Plakhotnyuk is particularly tragic. Lost in the web of the Soviet gulag, subjected to arbitrary legal and psychiatric rulings, forcibly fed debilitating drugs, he faces a real danger of growing mentally ill.

The Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk, a Ukrainian Orthodox priest, is another case in point. Father Romanyuk has spent 17 years in Soviet prisons for his beliefs. Like countless other Ukrainian dissidents, he has committed no criminal or political offense in the commonly accepted sense of these worlds. His only crime was that he protested the injustices in the arrests and trials of Ukrainian intellectuals in the 1960's. To preserve their rich national and cultural heritage, these intellectuals produced creative works that glorified Ukraine. But because they asked for a halt to the forced cultural assimilation and a recogni-

tion of Ukrainian identity, they were labeled "bourgeois nationalists" and "extremely dangerous people." Although their activity was invariably of a nonviolent nature, they were subjected to extreme criminal punishment.

Three years remain of Father Romanuk's most recent 10-year sentence for protesting the imprisonment of Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian historian, one of the five dissidents recently exchanged here for two convicted Soviet spies. Mr. Moroz had been imprisoned since 1965 for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda with only a brief interval of freedom. Such courageous acts as his 145-day hunger strike in Vladimir Prison in 1974 to protest the appalling conditions there made him a symbol of intellectual integrity for Russian and non-Russian dissidents alike.

The plight of Ukrainian dissident Petro Ruban should be of special interest to Americans. In a telegram to President-elect Carter, dated Jan. 3, 1977, Andrei Sakharov summarized his case: "The artist Petro Ruban has been sentenced to eight years in prison and five years in exile on a trumped-up charge. The real reason is that he made a souvenir as a gift to the American people on the 200th anniversary of their independence: a wooden book cover inlaid with a design of the Statue of Liberty."

The lawyer Lev Lukyanenko is still another Ukrainian dissident deserving Western attention. In 1976, Mr. Lukyanenko completed a 15-year sentence for his active defense of national and human rights in the Ukraine. In his prison memoirs, former Lithuanian dissident and current US resident Simas Kudirkas underlines the heightened moral awareness and courageous behavior of Lev Lukyanenko. He describes him as an individual of firm character with an original cast of mind who inspired different kinds of prisoners through his unyielding advocacy of prisoners' rights. This same individual was sentenced by

Soviet authorities in 1978 to still a second term of 15 years for human-rights advocacy in Ukraine and other Soviet republics. Although his second trial in July 1978 occurred only days after the heavily publicized trials of Russian dissidents Shcharansky and Ginzburg, it received remarkably little immediate attention in the West.

In jails, prisons, camps, psychiatric hospitals and in exile, Ukrainian dissidents retain their convictions and act courageously. Following his 1972 arrest, Dr. Plakhotnyuk was sent to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry for diagnosis. There he went on a hunger strike to protest the brutal way patients were treated.

Despite spiritual and physical pressures inconceivable to most Westerners, imprisoned Ukrainian dissidents manage to persist in their views. Their moral integrity precludes any recantation of beliefs. Semen Gluzman, a Ukrainian-Jewish psychiatrist, born in 1946, is such an individual. He has been persecuted for protecting his professional integrity by openly defending the sanity of Ukrainian dissidents Petro Grigorenko and Leonid Plyushch, two victims of the political abuse of Soviet psychiatry. Interned in a strict-regimen camp in the Perm region. Dr. Gluzman has actively protested the inhuman and illegal conditions of detention that exist there. Because of his tireless efforts, camp authorities finally agreed to provide medical care for the seriously ill Ukrainian dissident, Ivan Svitlychny. All attempts by the KGB to reeducate Dr. Gluzman have proven unsuccessful. Pleas from his family to reconsider his values and to respect the camp authorities have been answered in a carefully reasoned letter. In that document, he explains his understanding of "true moral values."

Official efforts to reform another imprisoned Ukrainian dissident, Valery Marchenko, have similarly failed. Suffering from a chronic kidney disease, Mr.

Marchenko was taken by authorities to Kyiv, the scenic capital of his native Ukraine, for a visit with his mother. The purpose of the meeting was to offer him freedom in return for the recantation of his beliefs. In a revealing letter to his mother, written shortly after their visit, he wrote that seeing her in tears produced an indescribable pain in his heart, but that it was impossible to "cancel himself out spiritually for the sake of a biological existence near his mother."

Added to the intense spiritual pressures of imprisonment are the high physical costs. The conditions of prison confinement are particularly harsh and degrading for political prisoners. Inadequate medical services and the use of hunger and cold as disciplinary actions measurably decrease their life expectancy. Document No. 17 of the Moscow Helsinki Group reports that "almost all prisoners develop cardiovascular, kidney or digestive tract ailments." Witness the case of Oleksander Serhiyenko, an art teacher from Kyiv arrested in the 1972 campaign to repress dissent. Despite a history of chronic pulmonary tuberculosis, this Ukrainian intellectual was transferred from a Perm labor camp to a cold, damp punishment cell in the notorious Vladimir Prison. His participation in hunger strikes in order to support prison protests left the young Dr. Semen Gluzman with serious heart problems in November 1976.

Though the names of Ukrainian and other non-Russian dissidents, in general, remain virtually unknown and their stories untold, their particularly severe and inescapable plight is not without significance for the West. Igor Shafarevich, the world-renowned mathematician and Russian dissident, explains in a 1975 statement to Western supporters of Leonid Plyushch: "The symbolic fate of Plyushch is a lesson that can help you better comprehend your own life and evaluate your future, the future of your children, your country and of all mankind... The

range and impetus of your endeavor is a ray of hope in our bitter age."

Decisive and unambiguous official Western statements in defense of human and national rights are important, but they need public support. By reporting wisely and responsibly when stories of non-Russian dissidents are timely and important, the Western news media can raise public awareness of their inescapable condition. By ignoring the plight of non-Russian dissidents, the news media only deny the West an understanding of the range and scope of Soviet Russian repression. "Indifference to oppression in other countries," as Patricia Derian, US Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Af-

fairs, has observed, "weakens the foundation of our democracy at home... It is part of our responsibility to speak out on their (political prisoners') behalf, to give them what support we can and to at least supply an echo for those brave voices in those dreadful and frightening circumstances." Ukrainian dissidents wait with hope and anxiety to learn that their voices have been heard.

"Walter Parchomenko, recently a fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University, currently does human-rights research in Washington, D. C."

*America/August 11, 1979*

## Ukrainians give helping hand to Vietnamese

The "Ukrainian Catholic Immigration Service", situated at 418 Aberdeen Street, Winnipeg, was formed among the faithful of our Winnipeg Archdiocese, for the purpose of aiding victims of religious, national or political persecution, for Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians that wish to settle in Canada.

Our newly-formed Immigration Service will undertake as its first task the aiding of the migration to Canada for a certain number of Vietnamese refugees, who, in order to save themselves, fled from Communist slavery in their country, only to remain stranded by the thousands in tragic circumstances — in boats on the high seas and almost without hope of finding a country which would extend to them a brotherly hand. One such country which is willing to accept a certain number of these victims of Communist terror is Canada, with the stipulation that its citizens obligate themselves to provide for the refugees both morally and materially

for the duration of one year. Through information and consultation with the Canadian Immigration Authority, the Ukrainian Catholic Immigration Service, in the name of Christ, wants to help our faithful in this country to organize such aid for the unfortunate victims of Vietnamese Communism.

We are very happy with this truly Christian initiative among our faithful, and from a sincere heart we bless their noble endeavor. We are convinced that Ukrainians in Canada, who are deeply concerned about atrocities of all sorts, religious and national persecutions in their native country, will sincerely and generously support this great Christian initiative.

In this intention we send our fervent prayer to the All-Mighty and beg of Him to generously bless this task favorable to God and all those who extend their brotherly hand to those in need.

*Winnipeg, September 3, 1979  
Maksym Hermaniuk, Metropolitan*

# Political Abuses of Psychiatry in Romania

## *Short Review of Psychiatric Abuses in Romania*

Testimonies of political prisoners in Romania who were imprisoned in the period 1948—1964 indicate that medically unjustified administration of neuroleptic drugs, electro-shock treatment and insulin shock treatment occurred in a number of high security prisons in Romania as a method of deliberate punishment for extracting self-incriminating statements.

The most known prison for the use of the above treatment was that of the "Re-education centre" of Pitesti, which specialized exclusively in the treatment of political prisoners during the beginning of the 1950s. This prison was closed down in 1954. Amongst the other prisons where similar treatment was reportedly administered to political prisoners were Aiud, Fagaras, Caransebes, Gherla and Jilava.

Political abuse of psychiatry took new forms from 1965 onwards. In that year a new decree was introduced, Decree Law 12/65, entitled "On Medical Treatment of Dangerous Mentally Ill Persons". Information available to Amnesty International indicates that Decree 12/65 has been used since then to obtain the confinement of dissidents to psychiatric institutions. In most of such cases known to *Amnesty International*, the confinement to psychiatric hospitals has not lasted longer than a few months. However, it appears that the psychiatric confinement of dissidents for longer periods lasting up to 5 years has occurred in some cases since the beginning of the 1970s.

Evidence shows that in the early 1970s special psychiatric hospitals, including Poiana Mare and Dr. Petru Groza, were created. Confinement of prisoners of conscience to these hospitals was in most cases based on Article 114 of the 1964 penal

code. This article allows the psychiatric treatment of criminal offenders who are "mentally ill and a danger to society". According to former prisoners of conscience, the number of non-violent political offenders confined to the special psychiatric hospitals in Romania increased significantly after the establishment of these hospitals.

Prisoners of conscience known to *Amnesty International* who have been confined to psychiatric hospitals in recent years were mainly neo-Protestant believers, members of the Hungarian minority who had publicly criticized the official treatment of their rights and dissenters who had criticized the human rights situation in Romania.

Recent reports on persons confined to the psychiatric hospital of Dr. Petru Groza over the period 1975 to 1977 allege that out of 400 prisoners confined during that period, 150 were political offenders and the rest common criminals. Many of the latter were seriously mentally ill. The majority of non-violent political offenders (if not all) are reportedly subjected to psychiatric treatment in the Dr. Petru Groza hospital on a court order on the basis of article 114 of the Romanian penal code, rather than on the basis of Decree 12/65.

The men's section has 8 members of staff on each floor; two are female nurses, 4 are male nurses, one assistant-in-chief and one chief nurse. There are only a few psychiatrists for all 400 patients in the hospital. The director of the hospital is Dr. Ioan Pricop. Dr. Mircea Tocutiu is responsible for the inmates of the women's section and the ground floor of the men's section. Dr. Ardelean Horia is in charge of the first and second floors of the men's section. Approximately 30 auxilliary medical personnel are employed in Dr. Petru Groza — male and female nurses, an accountant,

a secretary, a chemical engineer who is in charge of the laboratory, two telephonists, a painter, a few drivers and persons who look after the buildings, gardens and pigs.

The medical rooms are poorly equipped and do not contain even basic equipment necessary for the day to day treatment of patients. Each floor has showers and toilets which are normally cleaned by the patients on an irregular basis. They always smell and are always dirty and wet. The unhygienic conditions contribute to the pulmonary and skin diseases, widespread throughout the hospital. Reportedly blankets are dirty and are not washed sometimes over a period of months. Sheets are changed irregularly. Inmates of the psychiatric hospital often complain of very poor food. It has been alleged by POCs that often the food is served with drugs which makes them either very sleepy or unusually active and agitated. Food is served three times a day. Breakfast is at 0700 and consists of 30 mg. of bread with tea or coffee made from powdered milk which is tasteless and watery. Lunch is at 1330 and consists of a variation of the following: soaked potatoes, vegetables, hard beans, maize and canned food and noodles with bread. Dinner at 1830 consists normally of the left-overs from lunch with powdered milk or tea. No fresh meat is usually served — only canned food or pieces of fat in a soup represent the substitute. Margarine and marmalade are not always available for breakfast or dinner. Eggs and fresh fruit are served only rarely. It is alleged that the clinic's own production of fruit and meat is used exclusively for the benefit of the personnel and of the inspectors from the Ministry of Health, who visit the hospital once a year at the most.

From the accounts given by former prisoners of conscience interned in Poiana Mare, it appears that the director is an official of the Securitatae and has often

been directly responsible for psychiatric maltreatment of prisoners of conscience and the decision as to the length of the treatment. Dr. Enache was in close co-operation with Dr. Olaru, the director of the Forensic Commission in Craiova, who diagnosed a number of prisoners of conscience as mentally ill and ordered the internment in Poiana Mare.

The biggest pavilion in the Poiana Mare psychiatric complex is Pavilion O. The ground floor has 3 rooms for inmates and the first floor 8 rooms. Most of the prisoners of conscience were kept in rooms on the first floor. Other rooms in the pavilions included the dining room, room for the doctor on duty, room for the medical assistant, and treatment room for the administration of drugs and medicine. In both pavilions O and 1 the rooms accommodate up to 25 inmates. Prisoners of conscience were as a rule allocated to separate units in the smallest possible groups, together with mentally ill persons charged with crimes such as murder and robbery. The number of inmates in 1977 was reportedly around 400 in the two men's and two women's pavilions, evenly distributed among the four pavilions. The number of political prisoners, as estimated by released prisoners of conscience, was approx. 30 persons for each pavilion between 1975 and 1977.

Windows are barred with heavy iron and each individual pavilion is encircled by a metallic fence up to four metres in height, topped with barbed wire. According to former prisoners of conscience, the right to outdoor exercise was given only to those inmates who had passed the initial period of intensive injecting and had shown themselves to be responsive to the process of "re-education" by making an effort to maintain friendly relations with the staff.

## The New Constitution — Hard Questions for Ukraine

Representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic had a difficult time at the seventh session of the United Nations Human Rights Committee, held here last month. Composed of 18 internationally recognized jurists from various countries, the Committee is an outgrowth of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ratified by 59 nations. It was established to monitor the progress of member states in guaranteeing their citizens the fundamental human rights proclaimed by the document. Kremlin spokesmen proudly point out that the Soviet Union, together with the Ukrainian and Byelorussian SSR, which have independent status in the world organization, were among its first signatories.

The focus of the exchanges between the Committee and the Ukrainian delegation, headed by Yury Kochubei, was the recently adopted Ukrainian Constitution. In his report, Kochubei declared that the Constitution "in practice protects and guarantees the fulfillment of all of the provisions of the Covenant." Indeed, he said, newly enacted legislation "concretizes the provisions of the Constitution and testifies to the further development of Socialist democracy."

*Romania* and East Germany backed his claims. Other members of the Committee, however, posed a series of questions that reflected serious doubts about Ukraine's performance in the area of human rights.

The representative from Great Britain, for example, asked if there is a division of responsibility between the Ukrainian SSR and the Soviet Union in implementing the Covenant. He was also interested in knowing whether Kyiv could adopt standards that differed from Moscow's. These were reasonable questions, since the Ukrainian SSR is ostensibly a sovereign state, but at the same time a part of the "unitary, fe-

derated, and multinational" USSR. The British delegate also wondered about the trials of Ukrainian human rights activists and the long prison terms meted out to them. Other countries, he noted, find this treatment difficult to understand and reconcile with the Covenant's provisions.

Jordan's representative on the Committee expressed concern that the word "political" was missing from the long list of rights that Ukrainian citizens were said to enjoy. The delegate from Ecuador pointed to gaps in Kochubei's report, especially in such areas as freedom of association, freedom to join political organizations, the right to strike, and the right to express critical views. Tunisia asked why atheistic propaganda was authorized, but not religious propaganda.

West Germany inquired how the Ukrainian government would look upon citizens wishing to monitor observance of the Covenant's provisions in Ukraine. Kochubei could not have failed to miss the reference to the Soviet Helsinki groups, most of whose members, like Anatoly Shcharansky and Mykola Rudenko, have been tried and sentenced to harsh prison camp terms as "criminals."

Yet perhaps the most interesting queries were those of the Canadian delegate, who broached the subject of Ukraine's constitutionally guaranteed right to secede from the USSR. Observing that in his own country there was a secessionist movement in Quebec, he asked what practical steps Ukraine could take to exercise its secession rights. Another delicate question involved the crime of "parasitism," officially recognized in USSR and often used against dissidents. How is parasitism possible, asked the Canadian jurist, if the state guarantees everyone work according to his training and abilities?

The Norwegian member followed up on

the sensitive issue of nationalism. Is there a nationalist movement in Ukraine, he wanted to know, and if so, why does it exist? He was interested, too, in the right of Ukrainian citizens to express patriotic sentiments. Finally, Yugoslavia requested information about the powers of the so-called Comrades' Courts in the Ukr. SSR.

Kochubei preceded his responses by remarking that the questions themselves had been prompted by a terrible misunderstanding. It seems that many of the legal acts and other pertinent documents were made available to the Committee members only in the Ukrainian language. According to the chief Ukrainian delegate, such delicate questions would never have been raised had the jurists not been besieged by linguistic difficulties (an interesting argument in the light of the Soviet contention that Ukrainian has "long since entered into the international arena"). Nevertheless, Kochubei still found himself facing the unpleasant task of satisfying the international panel's curiosity.

He addressed himself first to the matter of secession. Ukraine, he said, has the right to withdraw from the USSR, but such a move has never been discussed because the Federal state has been successful in solving many difficulties, particularly economic ones, arising from World War II. Moreover, any move to secede would have to be decided by a popular referendum. He neglected to mention, though, the case of the Ukrainian lawyer Levko Lukyanenko, who was charged with "treason" and sentenced to death in 1961 precisely for exchanging views with his colleagues about the possibility of Ukraine's secession from the USSR. One of the problems that engaged Lukyanenko and his friends was the lack of any mechanism, including a popular referendum, for exercising the right of secession. Lukyanenko's sentence was eventually commuted to a 15-year prison term that he served fully — only to be sentenced again in 1978 to 10 years in a labor camp

and five years of internal exile for his activities on behalf of the Ukrainian Helsinki group.

Kochubei's approach to nationalism generally was equally interesting. He explained that in Ukraine people who called themselves nationalists were those who "sowed discord." They had collaborated with Hitler's Fascists, he said, and some of them had fled to the West, where they continued to cause trouble. The Ukrainian people, he added, consider the nationalists aliens. Kochubei's views on nationalism and self-determination would probably receive a warm reception among Iran's ayatollahs. How the Kurds and other national minorities would respond is, of course, another matter.

The remainder of what Kochubei had to say about civil and political rights in the Ukrainian SSR will be strikingly familiar to readers of the Soviet press: Oppression cannot exist in Ukraine because the Revolution of 1917 eliminated class antagonisms; privacy of postal and telephone communication is guaranteed and inviolable; a variety of jobs exist for everyone; parents are free to provide religious instruction to their children; emigration and travel abroad is restricted only in cases bearing on state security; and every citizen is free to express his opinion.

Kochubei concluded by insisting that any citizen could monitor observance of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights if he did so within the confines of the law. How narrowly restricted those confines really are is evidenced by the fate of the 18 Ukrainians who banded together to monitor the Soviet Union's compliance with the Helsinki Agreement: Eleven of them are either in labor camps, under arrest, or in exile.

The findings of the United Nations Human Rights Committee will be presented sometime in the course of the just-convened General Assembly session.

*The New Leader*

## Bandera Assassination Date Receives Mass Press Coverage

A press conference held in Munich, Germany, to mark the 20th anniversary of the assassination of Stepan Bandera attracted dozens of reporters and resulted in an extensive series of articles in the Western press.

The conference held on Oct. 12, 1979 in the Plaza Hotel, was chaired on behalf of the Ukrainian Information Service by Mr. B. Schuper with Yaroslav Stetsko, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and president of ABN as main speaker (Mr. Stetsko's presentation at the conference is printed on pp. 1-5). Also present at the conference was Stepan Bandera's son, Andriy, who came to Munich from Canada to mark the assassination date.

The press reports centred around Mr. Stetsko's demand that the Ukrainian Liberation movement be recognized through accreditation of the OUN at the United Nations on a similar basis as the PLO, and his call for a boycott of the 1980 summer olympics in Moscow. "Ukrainian nationalists demand the same rights as PLO" was the lead line of a 3 page dispatch by the *Associated Press* which was distributed throughout the world. Besides this item, individual papers presented feature articles in which they outlined the case presented by Mr. Stetsko for the de-colonization of the USSR and the establishment of independent, democratic states in place of the Soviet Russian empire. The *Berliner Morgenpost* (Oct. 14) quoted most extensively from Mr. Stetsko's statement under the heading "Exiled Ukrainians accuse the Kremlin". The article which began with a subheading "Opposition to the Russian prison of nations" reported on the OUN demand for UN recognition and went on "...the former prime minister of Ukraine who was purged by Hitler and thrown into a concentration camp, and then led a struggle against both Hitler and Stalin

said: For us in Ukraine Marxism is a dead issue, in the West, people are still taken in by it. Our people know that Marxism is only a cover for Russian colonialism. He appealed to the West to end the destructive course of detente with the Russian colonial empire and to support instead the growing national movements in the Soviet bloc because they alone can stop this terror". The article which also featured a 1956 photograph of Yaroslav Stetsko and Stepan Bandera also quoted Bandera's son who stated that the former chief of the KGB, A. Shelepin, should have been arrested when he visited the West German trade union association in 1974, because the German supreme court had held the USSR government and Shelepin responsible for the assassination of his father. The article also presented the various cases of continuing murders by the KGB both in the USSR and abroad, notably the "umbrella murder" of the exiled Bulgarian author Georgi Markov in London in 1978.

During the press conference the case of kidnapped Lithuanian canoeist Vladislavas Cessiunas was cited as a further example of KGB operations on the territories of sovereign Western states. Within several days, the forced return of Cessiunas to the USSR made world headlines.

The fact that the KGB regularly applies murder in its drive against all forms of opposition and dissent was the central theme of a feature article by Wilfried Ahrens of the *Münchner Merkur* of Oct. 12. Ahrens described in detail the recent hanging death of the young Ukrainian composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk in Lviv as an example. Ahrens quoted Mr. Stetsko: "The demonstration of 10,000 Lviv residents at Ivasiuk's funeral is only one of the many signs that Ukrainians have not ended their opposition and their hope for independence.

The "Augsburger Allgemeine" (Oct. 15) also devoted a major article on its background section to the theme of continuing KGB assassination against emigre leaders of the captive nations. It carried Mr. Stetsko's revelation that just recently the security service of the OUN had uncovered several plans for further, more concealed murder attempts in the West.

The press conference was also covered by the 3rd German Television network, which aired its report and a separate interview with Mr. Stetsko in two evening broadcasts on Oct. 12. Reports about the

press conference and the other activities which were held in conjunction with the 20th anniversary of Stepan Bandera's assassination were beamed behind the Iron Curtain by *Radio Liberty* and *Radio Free Europe*.

In addition to the extensive coverage recently received by the released dissident Valentyn Moroz, these series of articles indicate that at least some sectors of the press are beginning to pay more serious attention to the question of the continuing struggle for freedom and independence of Ukraine and other captive nations.



Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the ABN President answering questions at a press conference held in Munich, West Germany on Thursday October 11, 1979 at the Plazl Hotel on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the assassination of Stepan Bandera by a Russian Communist agent. Seated to his left is Andriy Bandera, the son of the assassinated Ukrainian national hero. (Photo: Associated Press)

## In Defense of Ukrainian Patriarchate

### Press Release

Approximately three thousand Ukrainian Catholics from communities scattered throughout the world — North and South America, Europe and Australia — thronged to Rome to attend the celebrations of three-fold anniversaries in their Church: 1) the fiftieth anniversary of the Synod of Ukrainian bishops held in 1929 in Rome and the founding of the Ukrainian Theological Academy in Lviv, 2) the fortieth anniversary of the episcopal consecration of our present Patriarch, and 3) the tenth anniversary of the opening of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome. They came in great joy and high expectations for the recognition of the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate by the Holy Father because for the first time in many decades the Seat of Saint Peter is presently occupied by a non-Italian Pope, in the words of His Holiness Himself, by a Slav whose Church in His native Poland, similar to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine, bears the brunt of Russian pressure and harsh control. Who, then, could better understand the tragic plight of the Ukrainian Catholic Church than the Pope who, as a Polish bishop, personally experienced the importance of a united stance of bishops in a given country against Russian communist efforts to strangle a given Church?

To prevent the incorporation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church into Russian Orthodoxy or its Latinization, the Primate of the Ukrainian Church with the agreement of all his bishops proposed that the status of this Church be raised to the patriarchal level. *The Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches* recognized that the rights of the Major-Archbishop are equivalent to that of a Patriarch, but the subsequent actions of the Roman Curia were contrary to that concept. In the meantime the entire Ukrainian nation recognized His Beatitude as

the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

In the words of Patriarch and Cardinal Joseph Slipyj, the Ukrainian Catholic Church exists "as a Particular Patriarchal Church" and this historical fact can never be eradicated. We take this opportunity to read the entire text of His Beatitude's statement. (Statement on page 7)

To scholars of eastern spirituality and mentality, it a self — evident fact that Eastern Churches will never submit to Latin practices and laws. This is very clearly recognized by large numbers of Latin rite clergy among them the Very Reverend W. von Straaten who stated at one of the anniversary functions: "Truly the recognition of the Ukrainian Patriarchate represents a fundamental and necessary ecumenical step towards bringing about equality within the unity of the Church. In recognizing your (Ukrainian) Patriarchal rights one gives witness to the fact that the Catholic Church — truly one and universal — respects the Particular rights of the individual Churches.

The hopes and expectations of the Ukrainian pilgrims and the entire Ukrainian nation were shattered by the latest move of the Vatican Curia — the method of the nomination of Rev. Dr. Myroslaw Lubachivskyj, the Metropolitan of Philadelphia, which was made without agreement or consultation with His Beatitude Patriarch Joseph. This is another transgression of the rights of the Ukrainian Church and it aroused a wave of indignant protests throughout the world. However, this painful act does not shatter the confidence of Ukrainians in the final victory of their cause for it is the cause of God which must triumph.

*Issued by Eva Piddubcheshen,  
Dr. Wolodymyr Kosyk and  
Mr. O. Koval, M. A.  
Rome, September 26, 1979.*

## Secret Seminary in Lithuania

According to the Lithuanian underground journal "Perspektivos" the existence of an underground Catholic seminary was hinted at during a press conference organized by Lithuanian dissidents for foreign journalists in Vilnius on February 10.

Two young men who had tried to enter the official seminary in Kaunas told journalists that the KGB interfered in the annual selection of students, forcing the Church authorities to reject the majority of applicants. Those who are regarded as potentially hostile to the Soviet regime are crossed off the list. The authorities try to ensure that those who eventually graduate and become priests will be loyal to the state. Every applicant and student is at some time summoned by the KGB and asked to „cooperate” by supplying information on the other students and staff.

However, one of the speakers stated that there were about 15 underground priests, who have been secretly trained and ordained, and that there had been an increase in the numbers being secretly trained for the priesthood. "You are no doubt aware," he remarked, "that the present pope also studied at a secret seminary in Cracow during the German occupation. Why should Lithuanians not follow his example?"

The believers hoped that the underground theological courses would force the government to increase the number of students at the Kaunas seminary, but fear

was also expressed that the KGB would prefer to infiltrate or discredit the "unofficial" courses and secretly ordained priests.

The "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church," (No. 37) sees the ordination of former seminarist and KGB informer Ricardas Jakutis as an attempt by the KGB to discredit secret ordinations. Jakutis had been expelled from the seminary in 1977 for blatantly immoral behavior, but is now acting as curate in a church in Nemencine. KGB-inspired rumors alleged that one of the exiled Lithuanian bishops — Steponavicius or Sladkevicius — must be responsible. It turned out, however, that the person responsible for Jakutis' ordination was Msgr. Ceslovas Krivaitis, a senior clergyman frequently criticized by the Lithuanian chronicle for his "obedience" to Soviet government wishes. Msgr. Krivaitis had used his good offices to recommend Jakutis to the late Bishop Matulaitis-Labuktas, who then ordained him.

The chronicle feels that all those who took part were either wittingly or unwittingly in a KGB provocation, which was intended to shock ordinary believers, discredit the idea of "unofficial" ordination and mislead the Vatican into supporting only the official seminary. Instead the Vatican is asked to assist the Catholic Church in Lithuania in creating better conditions for underground theological education and activity.

### REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE

the protest writings of  
**VALENTYN MOROZ**

edited and translated  
by John Kolasky

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Toronto, Canada M5A 1R7

## Symposium on the OUN Held

On September 28-30, a unique symposium on the history of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was held at Montreal's Concordia University. The symposium, held on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the formation of the OUN, was sponsored by the university's Department of Political Science. It was the first of its kind to have taken place at a major North American academic institution.

### 22 papers presented

During the three day symposium 16 specialists, many of them active participants in the modern Ukrainian liberation struggle, presented 22 papers which dealt with the general history and development of the Ukrainian nationalist movement after the First World War, as well as with specific aspects of the OUN itself. The first group of topics was introductory in nature: Dr. A. Bedriy presented a general outline of the 50-year history of the OUN and of some of the problems related to its study. Mr. O. Pytlar, Dr. V. Bolubash and Dr. R. Kukhar respectively explored the historical, psychological and philosophical basis of the emergence of the OUN in Western Ukraine.

A second group of papers dealt with some of the key figures who played a leading role in shaping the OUN as an ideological political and, above all, as a revolutionary organization. These papers, presented by Prof. Y. Kelebay, Mr. O. Pytlar and Dr. M. Klymyshyn — focussed on Dmytro Dontsov, a leading nationalist theoretician and ideologue, and on Evhen Konovalets and Stepan Bandera, two leaders of the OUN who were assassinated by Soviet Russian agents. Dr. B. Stebelsky spoke on the formation of nationalist philosophy and its practical and theoretical application within the youth cadres of the OUN.

The third group of presentations explored specific aspects of OUN activity: Mr. S. Rychtyckyj explored the actions of the OUN in 1940-41 and the re-establishment of Ukrainian independence on June 30, 1941, following the outbreak of the Soviet-German war. Dr. V. Kosyk described the co-operation between the OUN with other East European nations in the face of German and Soviet aggression during WW II, while Dr. M. Klymyshyn described the role of the clandestine task forces (Pokhidni Hrupy) which the OUN sent into Russian occupied Ukraine in 1942. Prof. L. Shankowskyj and Col. Y. Krokhmaliuk discussed the formation and struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and on General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynska. Mr. S. Golash prepared a paper on the underground printing presses of OUN—UPA.

The fourth series of papers dealt with the influence and expression of the Ukrainian nationalist movement on Ukrainian literature and culture in general. Mrs. A. Stebelsky explored the views of D. Dontsov on Ukrainian literature, Mr. O. Pawliw analized the works of Yevhen Malaniuk a nationalist poet and essayist while Dr. R. Kukhar provided a general overview of Ukrainian literature of the sixties and seventies within the context of modern Ukrainian nationalist traditions. Dr. D. Shtohryn presented a bibliographical study about the OUN in Soviet and their East European satellites' publications.

Dr. R. Senkiw and Dr. M. Bohatiuk dealt with the topic of economic and demographic issues relating to the Ukrainian liberation movement and presented some interesting projections for possible future developments in the 1980's.

### Further study needed

In spite of the scope and length of the three-day proceedings, the symposium in

effect dealt with the history of the OUN until the first years of the Soviet-German War. Thus the symposium can be said to have been an introduction to the study of the history of the OUN and the liberation processes it has spearheaded since 1929. The crucial stages of the OUN-UPA struggle against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia lend themselves as topics for separate symposia. In fact, even the papers presented at this meeting can be viewed as introductions to the many areas which deserve further study and research.

Attendance at the symposium was an average of 60 per session. For those who were unable to attend, the proceedings

will be published in book form early in 1980. The papers were presented in either Ukrainian, English or French, with English language resumés of each paper available to the listeners. Each session included a sometimes lively question and debate period during which many points pertaining to future research were raised. It is hoped that the symposium has provided the impetus for just such research.

Much credit for the symposium must be given to Prof. Lesli Laszlo of Concordia's Political Science Department. Mr. Laszlo, who presided over all of the sessions, showed stamina and perseverance admirable even for a veteran of such proceedings.

## Ancient Document Found

*AN ANCIENT SLAVONIC PSALTER FROM RUS': ST. CATHERINE'S MONASTERY, MT. SINAI, Volume I: Photoreproduction (Cambridge, Mass.: HURI, 1978), x, 181 pp., is available by sending cheque or money order for \$ 15.00 (US currency) to the Ukrainian Studies Fund — Publications, 1581-83 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA. 02138*

The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute has recently published in its Sources and Documents Series an *ANCIENT PSALTER FROM RUS'*. This work is the unexpected result of conferences and recent events in the everchanging Middle East.

Two distinguished Slavists, Professor Moshe Altbauer from Israel and Professor Horace G. Lunt from the United States had been meeting periodically since 1950. In 1968, soon after the Israelis occupied the Sinai peninsula, Professor Altbauer was able to travel there for the first time and to view the rich collection of Slavic manuscripts held in the ancient St. Cathe-

rine's Monastery at the foot of Mount Sinai.

One of these manuscripts was Sinai 6, an early Slavonic psalter from Rus'. This text dates from around 1100 and is one of the oldest Slavic manuscripts in existence. It certainly is the oldest text of the psalms which subsequently became the standard version in old Ukraine-Rus'. Prof. Altbauer and Lunt undertook a detailed linguistic analysis, supplemented it with excerpts of other manuscripts held in Leningrad and at Harvard, and urged the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute to publish the material.

The complicated legal and technical problems involved in reproducing such an ancient text were overcome and a handsomely designed volume which contains an introduction and photoreproduction of the text is the first result. Both the authors and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute are grateful to the late Most Reverend Archbishop of Sinai Grigorios II, and to the present Most Reverend Archbishop of Sinai, Damianos, who granted permis-

sion to reproduce the manuscript. The project was made possible because of a generous financial grant by Joseph and Anna Iwaniw of Long Island, N. Y.

The compilers of this volume have had distinguished scholarly careers. Moshe Albauer, a native of Halychyna, Ukraine, is Professor Emeritus of Slavic at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. In 1974-75 he was

a visiting research fellow at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. Professor Albauer is the author of numerous studies in Slavic linguistics and textology, and the editor of several other Sinai manuscripts. Horace G. Lunt is Samuel Hazzard Cross Professor of Slavic Languages and Literature and a member of the Committee on Ukrainian Studies at Harvard University.

## New Issue of Underground Periodical

The third issue of the underground journal, *Alma Mater* (July—September 1979), which started publication in February of this year, was received in the West. The journal is published by the "Free Press Initiative Group" and is apparently associated with the University of Vilnius. The new issue is 100 typewritten pages long and was published as a "protest gesture against the Stalin-Hitler... plot, which strangled Lithuania's freedom and independence."

The impact on Lithuania of *Pope John Paul II's visit in Poland* is discussed in an extensive article. Many Lithuanians travelled closer to the Polish border to be able to catch the Pope's visit on Polish television. The author of the article maintains that the Pope's visit and his speeches have raised the hopes among Lithuanians that "something would be done in Lithuania as well." They want "more concrete actions on the part of the Vatican" as well as a "more determined and less anonymous defence of the believers in Lithuania by the Pope and influential members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy." The papal visit has also given "food for thought" to the Lithuanian clergy who "collaborate" with the authorities or hope to gain from their "excessive loyalty." The rumours that Bishop Julijonas Stepanovičius, now subjected to internal exile, may have been appointed Cardinal has "infused everybody with joy."

Resistance to the new *Russification campaign* is urged in an appeal "distributed in Vilnius University on April 18, 1979." The appeal says that, "once the occupying power begins to narrow down the use of Lithuanian language, in the future they will try to push it out completely."

The experiences of the Lithuanian-born and Paris-based semiotician *Algirdas J. Greimas*, who visited Lithuania this May as part of the French-Soviet cultural agreement, are recounted in another article. Dr. Greimas' lectures attracted huge crowds, but the authorities scheduled them in small classrooms and tried to mislead the public in order to prevent large attendance. He was also not given access to the Lithuanian Folklore Archives.

The new *Alma Mater* also contains several poems, including a cycle devoted to the anti-Soviet Lithuanian guerillas, liberty sketches on topical political problems, and several articles.

Eugen Malaniuk

DAS

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BOLSCHEWISMUS

1978 — UKRAINISCHES INSTITUT  
FÜR BILDUNGSPOLITIK —  
MÜNCHEN e.V.

## Tokyo hosts 25th APACL Preconference Meeting

The 25th APACL Preconference Executive Committee meeting was held July 28—29 in Tokyo. It was chaired by Gen. Praphan Kulapichitr, APACL Council chairman, with more than 30 members, including Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, WACL honorary chairman, Dr. Juan Manuel Frutos, WACL Council chairman, and Prof. Woo Jae Seung, WACL secretary-general, participating. It was decided at the meeting to hold the 25th APACL general conference Nov. 20—25, 1979, in Honolulu under the theme "Toward a Free and Democratic Asia".

Executive Committee members of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) met in Tokyo, Japan, on July 28—29, 1979 to work out details of preparations for the 25th APACL Conference to promote effectively freedom and security in Asia and the Pacific.

Having reviewed the global situation, the Preconference Meeting states:

1. "That the Communists have stepped up their drive to communize Asia;
2. That there is growing unrest behind the Bamboo Curtain as a result of the general aversion against the Communist ways of life;
3. That the free peoples in Asia are increasingly aware of the urgency of freedom, democracy, peace and prosperity.

The APACL Committee is convinced that the anti-Communist movement in Asia is facing a crucial struggle for freedom and democracy as against Communist enslavement. The movement has to be carried out with tenacity and aggressiveness in order to ensure freedom, security, and prosperity.

The Executive Committee therefore resolved that the theme of the 25th APACL Conference will be "Toward a Free and Democratic Asia".

The Executive Committee calls upon the free world not to allow themselves to be deluded by the Communists fighting among themselves, while, in reality, they are engaged in continuous expansion. Free nations instead ought to act decisively in order to check and destroy Communism. The possibility of the Russians and the Chinese Communists joining hands for the "burial" of the free world cannot be brushed aside; grave consequences may ensue in such an eventuality.

The Executive Committee is further convinced that closer anti-Communist cooperation should be developed among Japan, Republic of Korea and Republic of China in order to keep Asia and the Pacific free. There are indications of the widespread need for a defence arrangement in Northeast Asia, and more effective cooperation among ASEAN countries. There is better prospect of peace in the Middle East. The Executive Committee urges all free nations in the region, including the USA, to act in concert to protect their common interests in terms of further economic co-operation, cultural exchange and mutual defence.

The Executive Committee announces that the 25th APACL Conference shall take place in Honolulu, Hawaii on November 20—26 of this year to further promote freedom and security for the Asian and Pacific region.

The Executive Committee expresses its sincere gratitude to the APACL Japan Chapter for its hospitality which has made this meeting successful."

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, WACL honorary chairman, was presented July 18 with the "Liberty Award" by the National Captive Nations Committee" of the United States.

# From Behind the Iron Curtain



## LITHUANIA

### Lithuanian Prisoners

*Cistopol.* *Viktoras Petkus*, member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, was transferred from the Vladimir prison to Čistopol prison. The Vladimir prison has been abolished as part of the preparation for the 1980 Olympics and transferred to Čistopol, which is remote and difficult to reach. The present address of Petkus is: 422950 Tatarskaya ASSR, Čistopol, Ue 148 St. 4.

*Ulyanovsk.* On January 20, 1979, *Ona Pranskunaitė* completed her term for the multiplication and dissemination of the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania* and was released. She returned to Kaunas in the evening by plane. The people of Kaunas met her at the airport with flowers; festive receptions were organized in several places. *Ona Pranskunaitė* was exhausted, but her mood was excellent.

*Potma.* *Petras Paulaitis*, "national martyr," writes from the prison camp. He has completed 32 years of imprisonment and has three-and-a-half years to go. He thanks all of his compatriots and pledges more sacrifice for "our common and just cause of liberty." Apart from influenza, arthritis and rheumatism, he is not complaining about his health. "For everything — *Deo gratias!* And in everything — *Fiat voluntas Tua!*"

The *Chronicle* adds that Paulaitis is "one of the noblest Lithuanian personalities" and asks Lithuanians abroad to keep publicizing his name as well as demanding his release. His address: Mordovskaya

ASSR, Stancia Potma, P/O Lesnoy 385/19-3.

*Potma.* On October 20, 1978, *Elena Lapienienė* paid a visit to her husband *Vladas Lapienis*, still imprisoned in the 19th Mordovian camp (together with Petras Paulaitis). Before and after the meeting, she was most thoroughly searched... for some 'anti-Soviet slip of paper!' It is difficult to understand how a state can tremble before a word of truth, inscribed on a slip of paper. *Lapienienė* was not allowed to hand her husband a parcel, although any prisoner who has completed one half of his term is entitled to receive a parcel.

*Vladas Lapienis* writes from the camp: "By the time I return from the mess-hall to my barrack, I sometimes eat a whole slice of bread...."

During the trial of *Lapienis*, the court used his wife's statement that "nobody prevents her from going to church" as a proof that Lithuania enjoys "freedom of religion." This is true, but for "more than ten years... she has been denied a more decent communal apartment, although... annual commissions admit that her apartment is utterly bad."

### The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, No. 37

The second part of excerpts and summaries from the most recent issue of the oldest underground journal in Lithuania describes various protest manifestations by Lithuanian Catholics, including a demonstration during the trial of Rev. S.

Tamkevičius in Vilkaviškis. KGB actions against religious believers are described. There is also a survey of large-scale violations of human rights in Lithuania.

### Documents of the Catholic Committee for the Defence of the Rights of Believers

*Document No. 6*, January 25, 1979. A statement to *Leonid Brezhnev*, describing the "barbaric destruction of valuable religious and art objects in Lithuania."

*Document No. 7*, January 25, 1979. A statement to the LSSR Procurator, protesting against the "discrimination of priests and believers," in connection with the trials of the Revs. *Alfonsas Svarinskas* and *Sigitas Tamkevičius*.

*Document No. 8*, January 26, 1979. A statement to *Leonid Brezhnev*, outlining the "crude discrimination against believers in Moldavia" and asking for his personal intervention" to stop the "persecution." The statement was written in reply to an appeal, sent to the Catholic Committee by the Moldavian Catholics.

*Document No. 9*, January 31, 1979. The LSSR procurator is asked to return to the Rev. *Virgilijus Jaugelis* the religious book *Krikščionis passaulyje* (A Christian in the World), seized by the Raseiniai militia.

*Document No. 10*, February 7, 1979. An account of how militia seized from *Julius Sasnauskas* a document in defense of *Viktoras Petkus*, addressed to the Presidium of the LSSR Supreme Soviet. Petkus is a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group. "What right do militiamen have to seize documents addressed to the LSSR Government?" asks the Catholic Committee.

*Document No. 11(?)*, February 10, 1979, addressed to the LSSR Procurator, defends the student *Mindaugas Judeikis*, who is "constantly persecuted" by *Algimantas Gyllys*, a KGB agent in the Lasdijai raion.



### New Helsinki Monitors arrested in Ukraine

Three more members of the *Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords* have been arrested during the summer. The arrests of the father-son team of *Petro* and *Vasyl Sichko* and of *Yuriy Lytvyn* have brought the number of imprisoned or detained Ukrainian Helsinki Monitors to eleven and action against other members appears imminent. The Ukrainian Group, one of five on USSR territory has been subject to the greatest repression by the Soviet KGB apparatus.

*Yuriy Lytvyn*, one of the more recent members to have joined the Group was arrested on August 6 in Kyiv on yet unknown charges. Lytvyn, a poet and writer has already served sentences of 13 years in Soviet camps and prisons, the last of which was a two-year term (1975-77) for disseminating Ukrainian nationalistic poetry. No further details on his arrest have reached the West to date.

### Protested Ivasiuk's death

*Petro Sichko*, 53, and his son *Vasyl*, 23, were arrested in July in Dolyna (Ivano-Frankivsk region) following a public confrontation with militia in Lviv at the graveside of the recently murdered composer *Volodymyr Ivasiuk*. According to the Lviv-based Komsomol newspaper "Leninist Youth" of July 19th, the Sichko's had placed sheets of "slanderous" poems dedicated to Ivasiuk on the composer's grave and proceeded to recite them. The sheets were promptly confiscated by vigilant komsomol "activists" and the Sichkos hustled off. Upon their return to Dolyna they were charged with conducting "anti-Soviet agitation".

### **"Reversible" schizophrenia**

Petro Sichko, a former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) had served 10 years for his participation in the Ukrainian underground when he was released in 1957 during the post-Stalin amnesty. Following his release he was denied steady employment and was continually harassed to renounce his past. The KGB pressure tactics included threats of impending his son's career. The son Vasyl who had began journalism studies at Kyiv University in 1975 was in turn approached to collaborate with the KGB and to become an informer. The refusal of both to comply led to Vasyl's expulsion from the University in 1977. In protest, Vasyl renounced his Soviet citizenship, requested that he be allowed to emigrate to the US and refused to be inducted into the army. This was found to be a sign of "reversible schizophrenia" and Vasyl was thrown into a psychiatric asylum for two weeks in January 1978. His father was told by a Dr. Chukhrin, chief psychiatrist of the Ministry of Health that upon Vasyl's reacceptance of his citizenship "this condition (schizophrenia) would disappear".

This whole sordid episode is detailed in a letter of protest by Petro Sichko to the United Nations which he wrote in April 1978. That same spring both Sichkos became members of the Helsinki Group and were under constant KGB surveillance until their arrests. The article in "Leninist Youth" suggests that their trial may be intended to be an "educational" show trial.

### **New member harassed**

Meanwhile, the newest declared member of the Ukrainian Group, Volodymyr Malenkovych — an endocrinologist by profession — has written an open letter to KGB boss Yu. Andropov complaining of numerous searches, interrogations, threats against him and his family since Dec. 1978. "I demand that this persecution campaign be stopped," he wrote. "I never concealed

my critical views about certain tendencies in our society, specifically about the remnants of Stalin's personality cult".

Malenkovych may well be the next on the KGB list to be arrested. However, the constant cropping up of new members in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group seems to indicate that the campaign of increased persecution has not brought the desired results for the KGB, and has on the contrary drawn attention to the Group and broadened its base of support.

### **Ukrainian inmates disappear from Russian psychiatric asylums**

A report of the Working Commission for the Investigation of Psychiatric Abuses for Political Purposes revealed that over one dozen Ukrainian inmates in psychiatric asylums have disappeared without a trace.

The report goes on to say that among the missing persons are also many non-Ukrainians. Relatives and friends were not told of their fates and they do not know their whereabouts.

The report also said that a special medical commission recommended on March 5 that Dr. Mykola Plakhotniuk, a Ukrainian, should be released from psychiatric incarceration. Plakhotniuk is confined in the Cherkaske oblast psychiatric asylum in Smila.

Below is the list of Ukrainians who are missing:

- Volodymyr Kolomyets of Bila Tserkva, philology graduate from Kyiv University. He was arrested on charges of anti-Soviet agitation. In 1976 he was confined in the Dnipropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Asylum. Further details are unavailable.

- Leonid Yefymov, of Ivano-Frankivsk, born in 1942. Arrested on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and listening to foreign radio broadcasts. In 1970 he was

confined in the Dnipropetrovske asylum. Further details are unavailable.

- Viktor A. Kolyshenko, born in 1942, an athlete and former employee of the Dovzhenko film studio. Unsuccessfully attempted to escape from the Soviet Union. In 1972 he was confined in the Dnipropetrovske asylum. No news about him has been heard since 1977.

- Oleksa T. Bondarenko, born in 1936, completed his higher education in the Crimea and later worked as a history teacher in Rostov-on-Don. He has been in the Dnipropetrovske asylum since 1969. Further details are unavailable.

- Mykola Kulish of Dniproderzhynske, born in 1941. He attempted to escape to Turkey in 1971. Until 1977 he was confined in the Dnipropetrovske asylum and since then no news about him has been available.

- Petro M. Myravyov, born in 1908. In 1959 he wrote a protest letter to Nikita Khrushchev. He was sentenced to undergo medical treatment. He was confined in asylums in Leningrad, Sychivka and Dnipropetrovske. He was also to have been confined in the Donetske asylum.

- Ivan Osadchuk, born in 1926. Attempted to escape to Rumania. He was confined in the Dnipropetrovske asylum until 1974 when he was transferred to an unknown location. Further details are unavailable.

- Vitaliy H. Onyshchenko, born in 1941, the son of Ukrainians who were exiled to the Ural Mountains. Attempted to escape from the USSR. He spent three years in a concentration camp in Mordovia and five years in the Dnipropetrovske asylum. In 1976 he was moved to Tashkent. Further details are unavailable.

- Petro M. Pochynok of Vilkhovets, Khmelnytsky oblast, born in 1929, lived in Trans-Carpathia. He is a war invalid and is blind. He has been persecuted for

his beliefs since 1949. He was confined in asylums in 1949-1950 and 1962-1966. Further details are unavailable.

- Ivan Prybyda, born in 1929. In 1960 he was arrested for his involvement in the Ukrainian liberation struggle. He was incarcerated in the Dnipropetrovske asylum in the early 1970s. Further details are unavailable.

- Vasyl H. Trysh, born in 1911, a collective farmer from the Ternopil oblast. He demanded justice in the collective farms. He spent the early 1970s in the Dnipropetrovske asylum and was eventually admitted to a local hospital. Further details are unavailable.

- Anatoliy Yavorsky, born in 1956. Attempted to escape to the West through Czechoslovakia. He was confined in the Dnipropetrovske asylum. Further details are unavailable.

- Latyshev (biographical statistics are unknown), was a teacher in the Chernihiv region. He was confined in the Dnipropetrovske asylum. Further details are unavailable.

#### **Osadchy's wife beaten up in Lviv**

The wife of former Ukrainian political prisoner Mychailo Osadchy was recently beaten up in Lviv by unknown persons. Information about the incident was contained in a letter written by Osadchy and received here in the West.

Osadchy wrote that his wife Oksana was publicly beaten and that she was reproached because exiled Stefania Shabatura visited her during a leave, for writing letters to political prisoners in reply to their greetings, for influencing her husband and for receiving packages from abroad.

Mrs. Osadchy is the mother of two children, 13-year-old Taras and 7-year-old Olenka.

## Book Reviews

*THE SHATTERED ILLUSION. The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada.* By John Kolasky. 200 pp. 6x9". Casebound \$15.00, paperbound \$7.95. Orders from individuals must be prepaid. PMA Books, 280 Bloor Street West, Suite 306, Toronto, Ont., Canada M5S 1W1

The author John Kolasky, a Canadian born teacher was a member of the Communist party of Canada and its related Ukrainian organizations.

In 1963, by virtue of his Party activities, Kolasky was selected to attend the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in Kyiv. It was while there that he discovered that official Soviet pronouncements about the rights of non-Russian peoples in the USSR did not conform to reality, but were in fact, hiding a brutal, old-fashioned imperialism.

Upon his return from the USSR in his first book *Education in Soviet Ukraine* (Toronto, 1968) was published, a massively documented indictment of Russification in Ukraine, for which he was consequently expelled from the Communist Party of Canada.

*The Shattered Illusion* is more than a mere history of the Ukrainian Communists in Canada. Kolasky vividly describes the interplay and conflicts with the Ukrainian nationalist organizations, the behind-the-

scenes manipulations by Moscow and the slavish ties and adherence to the Kremlin by the Communist leadership. He describes in detail the background and financial dealings of such communist front businesses as "Globe Tours" and "Ukrainska Knyha", the fringe benefits that the leadership obtained through these businesses — "men who began as revolutionaries opposed to the exploitation of labor become themselves employers of hired hands". Kolasky's aversion to the cynism of the leadership is expressed in the conclusion:

... "one by one, the Ukrainian communist leaders disposed of the many halls that were built by the honest labor and sweat of thousands of eager hands. The proceeds that rolled into the National Executive Committee swelled their trust and pension funds to provide them with security in their retirement. However, philosophically and morally, the Ukrainian communist leaders were left completely disillusioned. The organizations they had built rolled on inexorably to their inevitable end. They themselves ended up betrayed by the regime they supported, disenchanted with the ideology they had propagated and condemned by the followers they had misled, by the Ukrainian patriots they had defamed and by the Ukrainian nation whose subjugation and oppression they had so shamelessly acclaimed."

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

## "Kolyma"

*The following book review about "Kolyma" was written by Dr. Jaroslaw Sawka. It appeared in the US Military Journal Newsletter No. 5. "Kolyma — The Arctic Death Camps" was written by Robert Conquest and published by Viking Press.*

Kolyma is the huge labor camp complex in the Arctic Circle which, since 1932, has been used by the Soviet Russian government to exploit and exterminate millions of its subjects. In the early years, before 1937, its primary function was to extract gold with slave labor. In the later period, although gold procurement was desirable, the main function was to kill off prisoners. The extermination remained a main function until the flow of Western money ran out in the form of the Lend-Lease Program. Then gold again became top priority although the exterminations continued.

Kolyma was geo-economically well suited for both. Moscow made the conscious decisions as to which it preferred. When it needed gold, the treatment of prisoners was bettered. When a high prisoner "turn over" was desired, rations would be cut, warm boots and clothes would be confiscated, massive executions employed on any pretext — "unfulfilment of work quotas" being the favorite excuse for mass murder, forced marches through heavy snows and blizzards would accomplish the harvesting to oblivion of yet another crop of prisoners.

The first seven chapters describe the prisoner's experiences from the horrid ship's journey to Kolyma to the struggle for survival in the camps and mines against starvation, cold, disease, impossible work production quotas, sadistic guards and criminals ("urkas") with a license to kill ad lib. This is not easy reading, and even though Conquest handles the prose well, the emotional content is heart-rending. By the time one gets to the

chapter on "Women," one is no longer reading in a detached objective manner, but with a heartbroken spirit clinging and grasping for the slightest humanity in the midst of unprecedented brutality and savagery.

Comparing the Soviet Russian terror with that of the tsars, Conquest concedes to Solzhenitsyn that it isn't even a contest. He cites the fact that in the Serpantinka camp alone in 1938 more prisoners were executed "than the total executions throughout the Russian empire for the whole of the last century of tsarist rule."

For this documentation, Conquest relies basically on 17 first-hand accounts, along with lesser accounts, giving a total of 38 bibliographical entries. For estimating the death toll he uses the "Lloyd's Register of Shipping," 1936 through 1956 because Kolyma was supplied by sea and Lloyd's register contains "some knowledge of the number of ships in service, their capacity, and the number of trips made a year." His estimate is that Kolyma's death toll was at least three million (he cautions that this figure is a conservative underestimate).

It is disappointing that the author doesn't use any Ukrainian references (Ukrainians were overrepresented in Kolyma), however, there are pertinent mentions: "Of the 10 million 'kulaks' disposed of, half died of famine (Ukraine, 1932-33) and by execution, and the remainder... poured into the prison camps. Kolyma got its share... After the war... the new intake consisted of hard bitten, tough and united Ukrainian and other nationalists... In 1953, a very special group of prisoners arrived in Magadan. These were the survivors of the great labor camp rebellion which took place at Norilsk... Executions of 'ringleaders' followed on a mass scale. The rebellion's rank and file were sent for special punishment to Kolyma... shouting boasts

and sneering... even singing Ukrainian nationalist songs."

The most alarming chapter is the eighth, "A Clownish Interlude," which describes the disgraceful ignorance and denial in the West about Kolyma. The most blatant example is "the short stay in Kolyma of the vice-president of the US Henry A. Wallace, with a group of advisors headed by Prof. Owen Lattimore... in the summer of 1944." Wallace represents the ignorance, and Lattimore the denial. This chapter is so important it should be required reading for every Western politician who will ever deal with the Soviets. After their brief Potemkin-like tour of Kolyma, both men wrote glowing, favorable accounts about Kolyma and the Soviet system: Wallace in his book, "Soviet Asia Mission," and Lattimore in the National Geographic Magazine of December, 1944.

Years later when confronted with the truth, Wallace repented (however, as Conquest points out, the innocent dupe had already done his damage). Lattimore has reacted like a Stalinist hack, spouting in Pavlovian dog fashion that attacks on his integrity are the results of (the old standby), "McCarthyism." Lattimore laments that Elinor Lipper survived Kolyma to write her story; and worse, to criticize Lattimore's scholarship. This scholarship consists of such gems as presenting Stalin's purges as a "triumph for democracy" because "the purge of top officials showed

the ordinary citizen his power to denounce even them" and "that sounds like democracy to me." It is frightful to think that this type of scholarship had influence in the White House in those crucial years.

In a similar vein, Jean-Paul Sartre argued "that accounts of the Soviet labor camp system should be suppressed even if true, since otherwise the French working class might become anti-Soviet." Conquest's purpose for this chapter was "to instruct the public and to discourage potential future offenders."

In sum, the author has succeeded in fulfilling the promise he makes in his opening paragraph, i. e., "to establish the history and the conditions of the huge labor camp complex of Kolyma." This work should be read by all because as the author states: "There are still labor camps in Kolyma, as elsewhere in Russia..." and because the political system which created the camps is still running them, is unrepentant, and is locked in a vicious cycle where change would involve dehorrifying and dismantling the Kolyma complex thus threatening the traditional way in which the Soviet Russian government imposes itself on its subjects. All of this will remain a world menace until Stalin's heirs "publicly purge themselves of this guilt... break with this horror in their past" and thereby forsake being accomplices of the most barbarous reign in all history.

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Issue IV

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