

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



A Wave of Arrests in Ukraine

Journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil, who already spent 18 months in Russian prison, literary critics Ivan Dzyuba and Ivan Svitlychny, and 13 other Ukrainian intellectuals were recently arrested for their activities in defense of the right of the Ukrainian nation

Vyacheslav Chornovil

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International Anti-Bolshevik Crusade on the Rise

The strongly worded speech by the confessor of the faith, the Archbishop Major of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, His Beatitude Josyf Slipyi, which was echoed throughout the world last fall, as well as the self-assured multithousand-strong anti-Russian demonstrations, which were held at the same time across Canada under the banners of ABN testify to the vitality and the timeliness of the great Ukrainian revolutionary concept calling for a world crusade against the misanthropic and genocidal Russian empire, which must come simultaneously and hand in hand with the processes of the national liberation revolutions of all the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism.

Why have the mighty speech of Cardinal Slipyi and the demonstrations in Canada evoked such publicity in the world? Dozens of cardinals deliver great speeches every day and large demonstrations are constantly taking place somewhere.

First of all, the Archbishop Major exposed the evil, anti-Christian regime which is in power in the Russian empire, accused it of committing grave crimes against human and national rights and, last but not least, implicitly called on the whole Christian world to launch a new crusade against this terrible kingdom of Satan. We shall add that not only Eastern-rite Catholics should crusade against the Russian evil, but all Christians regardless of their religious denomination, as well as the adherents of other religions — Judaism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and others. As long as the Russian empire will continue to exist, an empire which uses militant atheism and the anti-religious Marxist doctrine as its moving force, so long must the concept of heroic and sacrificial struggle of theistic religions against the terrible Russian empire be the order of the day. This struggle is long and merciless. It is being conducted in spite of temporary delays or weakening of this legitimate world movement opposed to the Russian Communist totalitarians.

Cardinal Slipyi, the great confessor of the faith, who suffered for it in Siberian prisons and concentration camps and to some extent in the Vatican "prison" as well, is an unbroken champion of the idea of the world anti-Communist crusade, i. e. first and foremost an anti-imperial crusade. And we are marching with him and behind him, as heretofore, under the banner of ABN.

The wave of anti-Bolshevik demonstrations which swept Canada, in the vanguard of which were the nationally-minded revolutionary students and which were attended by emigres stemming from all nations subjugated by Russia and Communism, proved that the idea of a world front under the slogan "Freedom for nations, freedom for individuals!" is not only alive, but that it is growing stronger and is hitting the empire with an ever greater force.

The spontaneous and organized single front of all emigres from nations subjugated by Russia and Communism, which manifested itself so dramatically in recent weeks in Canada, must in the near future join forces in Canada, the USA, Great Britain, Australia and other countries, so as to compel, in a coordinated form, the Western governments to change their attitude toward Russia, to stop being on friendly terms with her and to begin helping the subjugated nations in their national liberation struggle.

Croatian Resistance Rocks the Tito Dictatorship

The continuous political crisis in which the Tito regime finds itself from the beginning and the Yugoslav formation since its forceful reestablishment in the final phase of World War II, reached its preliminary summit in December 1971.

The reasons for this crisis are not to be found only in the general dislike of the population for the Communist system, but also in the permanent tensions among nationalities. The Croat and the Slovene nations, the Bulgarian population of Macedonia and the Albanian Kosovars put up resistance within the limits of their possibilities as much against the Communist system as against the Yugoslav formation. In particular, the resistance of the Croatian nation has clearly gained in intensity at the end of 1971 and has plunged the Tito regime into its deepest crisis so far.

In Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, it came to mass demonstrations of Croatian students. Other segments of the population also joined in these demonstrations. The unrest spread to the whole country. Everywhere, the Croats demonstrated for the freedom and independence of Croatia. The national liberation revolution was on the verge of breaking out. The Tito regime considered its very existence threatened.

Tito and his accomplices resorted to ruthless countermeasures in order to save their Communist dictatorship and the Yugoslav federation. The generals of the Yugoslav army, most of whom were Tito's former comrades-in-arms from the guerrilla war against the Independent State of Croatia, reassured their commander-in-chief of their loyalty. From this alone one can deduce how serious the situation in Yugoslavia was, and how serious it still is.

Even Tito himself publicly threatened to use his army against the Croatian nationalists. He also brought up the possibility of a foreign, no doubt Russian, invasion, should he and his regime fail

to restore order in Yugoslavia. Tito described the present situation in Yugoslavia as being similar to the situation in the Czecho-Slovak formation prior to the armed intervention of August 1968. Thereby he obviously wanted to voice the opinion that the strivings for independence of the Croatian nation, just as those of the Slovak nation at that time, may provoke a Russian intervention and an invasion.

Tito even considered himself forced to purge the Communist Party in Croatia of unreliable elements. He accused its leading officials of negligence in combating the Croatian strivings for independence and pressured them into relinquishing their posts "voluntarily". Thus, almost the entire provincial leadership and other leading officials of the Communist Party in Croatia resigned in order to prevent their expulsion from the Party. Also the Prime Minister of the "autonomous" Republic of Croatia (within the framework of the Yugoslav federation), Haramija, was forced to relinquish his post.

Finally the police managed to quell the mass demonstrations in Croatia with great effort and brutality and to restore order in the Tito dictatorship. However, one cannot speak about a consolidation of conditions. The situation in Croatia, as well as in other countries of the Yugoslav formation is very tense. A revolution can break out at any time.

The extreme crisis in which the Tito dictatorship and the Yugoslav formation find themselves is striking proof of the fact that Communism is not in the position to solve either the social or the national problems. The subjugated peoples in the artificial state formations, as well as in the multi-national USSR, are striving not only for a change of regime, but also for their own independent statehood.

Istropolitanus

James K. Anderson,
Editor of the V. F. W. Magazine

Ukrainians Want to Be Free of Moscow's Domination

(A speech delivered on October 24, 1971, in Madison Heights, Mich., commemorating the anniversary of the proclamation of the Ukrainian State in 1941.)

In the less than three years since I left Detroit much has happened on the foreign and domestic scene; events which probably will have serious implications for all of us in the decade of the seventies and possibly well beyond have occurred.

President Nixon soon will be journeying to Peking, an absolutely unheard of move a few months ago. But before that he will visit Moscow, another almost inconceivable move. The United States is advocating the admission of Red China to the United Nations, though with Nationalist Chinese strings attached. As each day passes, the Russians become an even greater military threat. The Mediterranean may soon become a Russian lake in fulfillment of the old tsarist dream. The war in Vietnam is grinding to a close. In this terribly misunderstood war, the United States has sustained nearly 500,000 casualties, 45,000 of them dead and some 1,600 Americans are held prisoner or are missing in action and are presumed to be captives.

Added to all of this is the severe economic crisis at home, the threat to financial stability abroad, the mounting crime rate, the ever-rising use of drugs, attacks on the functioning of the very system itself that one hears on every hand, the radicalizing of convicted felons to the point that each prison is a virtual time bomb waiting to explode and the countless other social problems that take so much of the nation's attention. Coupled with all of these is the war weariness of the American people who no longer can see any point, if they ever could, in getting into a fight without winning it.

It may well be that in the United States we tend to over-estimate our own crises because they do impinge on our everyday lives. At the same time we overlook or ignore, even if it is ever mentioned, the situation of our adversary, the USSR. There, the captive peoples, led by the Ukrainians, are becoming ever more restive. Dissent there — unheard of a few years ago — is real and it no longer can be silenced.

Repression of intellectuals is now being widely exposed, though certainly nothing is new in their fate, except that instead of being shot forthwith they are condemned to a living death or sent off to insane asylums. Minorities such as the Jews are clamoring to leave that prison of nations. The Soviet economy, with its chronic shortages — for the masses anyway, however, not for the Communist upper classes — is just barely creaking along.

I might say here parenthetically that while many in the West may resent what may seem like excessive publicity given the plight of Soviet Jewry to the exclusion of others in the Soviet Russian empire — how many of your loved ones would like to join you here — it is my feeling that exposure of the Communists for what they really are can only help the free world. Not only are the Communists unmasked as anti-Semites, and therefore true to Karl Marx, but their entire system of oppression of non-Russian peoples is called into question. And as far as I am concerned anything that weakens Soviet Russian imperialism in any way strengthens the United States and thereby the entire free world. And in

the long run a strong United States can only benefit the captives of Moscow.

If one group is hindered in the exercise of its religion, — and what of the Ukrainian Catholic Church? — is discriminated against in the retention of its cultural values and is denied the full rights of citizenship, are not all the others?

Earlier I mentioned American domestic concerns. It may well be that as some have predicted with the liquidation of the Vietnam War this country will return for the next few years to the isolationism of Fortress America. I sincerely hope this does not come to pass, but it may materialize out of frustration over the Vietnam experience.

It is because of this possible inward turning that Ukrainians in the free world — as well as Armenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Poles, Slovaks, Czechs and all the other peoples whose ancestral roots are in Moscow's grip — will have to redouble their efforts to maintain interest in the fate of Russia's captives. This has to go beyond pious pronouncements of political leaders, important as they are. It is vital that grass roots sentiment be developed and nurtured outside of large industrial areas like Detroit, Pittsburgh or Chicago, but in the small towns that dot the land, where public opinion really counts. In the over-riding concern for domestic problems, the cause of all the captive peoples must not be allowed to wither away. I can't urge you too strongly to work within non-Ukrainian organizations, church, veterans, civic, labor, patriotic or in any others that influence public opinion purely on the local level. For all of us the next few years may prove to be the most critical since 1917-1918 when the Ukrainian National Republic was established and 1941 when Mr. Stetsko and his loyal band proclaimed the re-establishment of the Ukrainian state, only to become a Nazi victim for his heroic role.

Unquestionably, the nationalities problem in the Soviet Union is becoming a major internal concern for Moscow. One only has to recall the serious rift that occurred two years ago when the Tatars were put on trial in faraway Tashkent for simply demanding their rights as a nationality. And what happened to one of their most outspoken supporters and vigorous champions of civil rights in Soviet Russia, Gen. Hryhorenko, with the Ukrainian name? He was put in an insane asylum again. Just wanting your rights according to Soviet law in the prison of nations is a symptom of madness.

Less than a year ago the secretary of the party in Chernivtsi, Havryliuk, was forced to recognize Ukrainian unrest in his domain, Bukovyna, where Ukrainians comprise 70 percent of the population.

He singled out for criticism people like yourselves who write home or even travel there to visit families left behind. Among the people in the Chernivtsi area, he wrote, "individual signs of national narrowmindedness can be ascertained today from time to time".

In other words the Ukrainians want to be free of Moscow's domination. While this worthy denied there is a basis for complaints, he explained that propaganda carried out against it will be in the Ukrainian, Russian and Moldavian languages though he insisted there is no russification in Bukovyna. But "certainly the Russian language has made strong inroads into our reality, into the lives of the Bukovyna citizens. This is a progressive manifestation of great historical importance. A reflection of the objective process of rapprochement between socialist nations, it favors and speeds up the solution of the complicated tasks of the construction of Communism." Emphasis on the youth in this campaign is a sure sign that the young people have not been deluded. When men like this

talk of "proletarian internationalism" they mean submission to Russian hegemony. At the same time they forbid contacts with ethnic brethren even in other Communist states. You will recall that at the time of the Czecho-Slovak crisis, Ukrainian-language publications from eastern Slovakia where there is a 50,000-strong Ukrainian minority, were forbidden to be shipped to Soviet Ukraine. You will also recall that Petro Shelest, one of the hawkiest of Kremlin hawks, was one of the most vigorous in his demand that action be taken against Czecho-Slovakia lest its pristine liberalism infect the Ukrainian people in his captive domain.

One of the most notable developments in Ukraine in recent years is the underground press. Through this medium the West has become well informed about events. A recent edition of *Ukrainskyi Visnyk* tells of the expulsion of Leopold Yashchenko from the Ukrainian Institute of Art, Folklore and Ethnography for protesting injustices and the pressure against the chorus *Homin* which he directed. Singers left the group to avoid being fired from their jobs. In another account, it was reported that the militia conducted regular roundups of singers who have revived the custom of singing old folk songs at homes and apartments on New Year's. Some were students later harrassed in their studies at the Kyiv University.

A group of bandurists presented a concert of old songs and a patriotic demonstration nearly developed. They were forced to move from Kyiv and they and their relatives were fired from their jobs.

The KGB actively prevented the formation of a chamber orchestra in Kyiv, contending that its director was "undependable" and his project was under the influence of "nationalists". An art exhibit was closed after two days. Thousands had attended its opening. Ancient iconography apparently was too much for Moscow's quislings in

Kyiv. There is no reason to believe that other instances of this cultural genocide are not taking place among the other nationalities.

Last spring at writers' congresses in the various republics, the party was faced with the dilemma essentially of how to make propaganda interesting and the tendency of writers in the republics in Central Asia to draw on events of the past as themes for their novels. This does not set well with the party since the cultural bureaucrats would prefer that events of the days before Communist rule be ignored or put in an unfavorable light. Historic topics made up half the novels published in the Turkman republic. Significantly the portion of the speech given by Oles Honchar, author of the banned "Cathedral", dealing with censorship was suppressed.

Returning to the Ukrainian underground press, I think it is important to cite the recent case of an arrested and imprisoned scholar, Bedrylo. Entitled "To the Peoples of the World" his letter described a fire in Kyiv during the October Revolution. As the flames engulfed one man, he screamed "Down with Colonialism in the Ukraine; long live free Ukraine". Just knowing of the incident was enough to land Bedrylo in prison.

"Reach out your helping hand to me, but not only to me but to other people in my fatherland as well, who have fought for freedom, friendship, independence and joy," Bedrylo wrote.

Lists of those arrested as carried in the underground publications include not only Ukrainians, but friends — Russians, Jews and members of other nationalities who have joined with them. So anxious or so ignorant are the KGB agents that books published legally have even been confiscated. On the other hand, banned books have been ignored.

Valentyn Moroz, of whom you know and whose work "Chronicle of Resistance" the V. F. W. Magazine pub-

lished last winter, wrote of KGB agents who confiscated even children's books, saying "we will sort them out later". In his young son's diary the KGB found the words "Mauser pistols and eight shells". Moroz tried for hours to convince the KGB the notation was a childish fantasy.

One of the really amazing developments in all these protests is that the people are not afraid to sign documents addressed to the Politburo or the party leadership. One contained 150 signatures and another 64. While youthful intellectuals are in the majority — a good sign because it shows that the spark of freedom is not dead after all these years — many elements of society are represented. They have a daring contempt for the KGB. They attack russification. One young defendant in Dnipropetrovsk could prove the Ukrainian language had been banned from the schools there. The antipathy toward anti-Semitism in the face of a revival of it is another healthy sign among these young people.

In their thirst for freedom, they have turned to the United Nations for help, a futile move as long as a person like Professor Nedbailo can receive an award for espousing human rights from that body. Some have even sought help from Communist parties in the West.

The KGB is clever, however. It has adopted, according to the underground Ukrainian press, the tactic of organizing its own underground press. This has taken the form of anonymous letters denouncing the dissidents which are sent to major cultural or political figures. This was done in the case of Ivan Dzyuba, whom you all know. It was done against Ivan Franko's granddaughter, Zynoviya. When Chornovil was being attacked by the KGB, warnings were sent out accusing him of responsibility for Hryhorenko's arrest. Charges against Miss Franko were that she had stolen packages intended

for the prisoners in the Mordovian camps and had pocketed money that was to be sent to them. Similar accusations have been made against others too. Thus the KGB is going beyond its role of police and is attempting to discredit intellectuals in the eyes of their compatriots. All of these incidents are proof of the concern this active resistance is causing.

Let us return to the subject of the Ukrainian language. In their spring congress the Ukrainian writers recognized this problem. Even those who toe the party line slavishly attempted a defense of the rights of the language and urged that its use be encouraged. The party apparently is realizing that resentment against the suppression of the Ukrainian tongue — especially in the cities — is too strong to be ignored. The Ukrainian minister of education, A. M. Marynych, in his first public speech, being appointed to that office last March, told writers "in the coming school year a deeper teaching of the Ukrainian language and literature is going to be introduced in some schools in the republic".

On the nationalities' scene, however, there are some disturbing developments. Most threatening at the moment perhaps is the growing discussion of "integration" of the nationalities. This word "integration" until recently had pretty much been avoided after Stalin's death. One such suggestion of "integration" has come from a professor at the University of Yakut. Confusion over "integration" and "rapprochement" of the nationalities has its roots in Leninist doctrine and other writers on nationality questions attempt to skirt the essentials of the problem, the basic ethnic, historical and cultural differences among the captive peoples from the Russians. Regardless of how the subject is approached, it is highly apparent that the nationalities' issue is a major one and certainly not as Communists contend a figment of the imagination of

"bourgeois nationalists". Attacks on "imperialists" and "revisionists" only prevent an honest and realistic discussion of the nationalities' problem.

While we are all aware of the troubles and the persecution which Moroz has been experiencing, as well as the 200 and more other Ukrainian writers, the prisoners of conscience, languishing in the Moldovian camps, there is another I would like to mention, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi whose letter protesting the Czecho-Slovak invasion was published in Munich last summer. In his letter he described the Soviet occupation of Czecho-Slovakia as creating "a state of moral dehumanization and degradation, as was typical of the people of the USSR during the era of Stalin's personality cult". There is

much more, too much for us to repeat here today, but can you imagine the courage it must have taken to write those words?

There is also Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, who has been in prison since the end of World War II. He had represented Ukrainian nationalists in trials in Poland before the war. He had committed no crime for which the Poles could punish him, so they turned him over to the Russians who had no such qualms.

Let us hope that in the coming years all in the West will have the same courage when it comes to facing up to the challenges thrown down by Moscow and not allow the current era of "a search for peace" to degenerate into a "search for peace at any price".



ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko (left) informing the Governor of the State of Michigan William G. Milliken about the plight of political prisoners in the countries subjugated by Russia. (Detroit, Mich., October 24, 1971.)

Soviet Russian Penetration into Sinkiang

Sinkiang is also known as Eastern Turkestan.¹⁾ About 2,000 years ago, during the Hun Dynasty, Eastern Turkestan was conquered and became a part of the Chinese Empire known as the Western Dominion. Later, from 1711 to 1799, under Emperor Ch'ien Lung, the present vast regions north and south of the Tien Shan ranges were incorporated into the Chinese dominion. These new regions, together with the Western Dominion, were renamed the New Dominion, which in Chinese means Sinkiang.

Sinkiang is bordered on the northeast by the Mongolian People's Republic; on the west and north by the Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union which is historically known as West Turkestan²⁾; on the southwest by Kashmir and the narrow strip of Afghanistan; on the south by Tibet, and on the southeast by the People's Republic of China.

Sinkiang has an area of about 633,802 square miles.³⁾ The area is larger than France, Germany and Britain combined. Physiographically, Sinkiang consists of two mountain-ringed basins separated by the east-west-treading Tien Shan. The Dzungarian basin in the north has an elevation of 600 to 1,500 feet and receives summer rainfall that makes Dzungaria ideal for grazing land. The Tarim basin, south of the Tien Shan, has an average elevation of 2,500 to 3,000 feet. It is much more arid than Dzungaria, and its centre is occupied by the sandy Takla Makan desert. At the eastern end of the Tarim basin lies the salt lake, Lop Nor.⁴⁾

Agriculture, animal husbandry, and mining are the three most important economic pursuits of the country. The most important agricultural products are wheat and corn, rice, cotton, fruit, sorghum and beans. Animal husbandry

is concentrated in the north, where the steppes provide excellent pasture. Sheep raising is the most important branch, followed by the raising of horses, goats, cattle and camels. Animal products amount to over 70 per cent of the total exports. Raw silk from the Khotan and Yarkand areas is also of considerable importance.

Sinkiang has important mineral resources for modern industrial development, having considerable coal deposits, important oil fields and gold centers. Other minerals are copper, silver, lead, jade, sulphur, saltpeter and alum. The principle petroleum centers are Tushantze, with a refinery, and the new oil fields of Karamai, 100 miles north of Tushantze.

Sinkiang is multinational. Capital — Urumchi. Population — (1957 est.) 5,640,000. The dominant ethnic group, the Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic-speaking people, numbered 3,640,125 persons in 1953 and comprised 75 per cent of the original population. They live chiefly in the irrigated oases along the northern foot of the Tien Shan and around the fringes of the Tarim Basin.⁵⁾

The second largest ethnic group is the Kazakhs, also a Moslem Turkic people, related to the Kazakhs of the Kazakh SSR in the Soviet Union. They numbered 475,000 in the 1953 census.⁶⁾ They live in the northern half of Sinkiang, known as Dzungaria.

The Chinese are the third largest ethnic group, numbering about 300,000, residing mainly in cities and towns. Despite their small number, however, they hold most of the responsible government and other official positions in Sinkiang. The Chinese Muslims, who differ from other Chinese only in their religion, numbered 200,000 in 1953 and are also settled principally in the north, just northwest of Urumchi.⁷⁾

The Mongols number 120,000 in Sinkiang and are occupied mainly as livestock herders. Other national groups in Sinkiang include the Sibo and Solon of the Kulkja area, descendants of Tungus warriors settled there by former Chinese emperors to guard the frontiers.

Since the revolution of 1917, Soviet Russia continued the same Tsarist Russian policy in regard to the Orient. This policy already was stipulated in the political testament of Peter the Great: the southern boundary of the Russian empire should be the Indian Ocean and the eastern boundary the Chinese Sea. By reconquering Turkestan, Soviet Russia reached the frontiers of India, Afghanistan and Persia. From then on Russia regarded Turkestan as the sally-port to the Islamic countries.⁸⁾

After the conclusion of the Sino-Soviet Agreement in 1924, Soviet Russia sent an envoy to Urumchi to negotiate the reestablishment of five consulates in Sinkiang. Governor Yang Tsen-hsin agreed to this on the condition that five Chinese consulates be opened in Turkestan. In October 1924, Soviet Russian consulates were opened at Urumchi, Tarbagatai, Ili, Altai and Kashgar while Chinese consulates were opened at Tashkent, Andijan, Alma Ata, Zaisan and Semipalatinsk.⁹⁾

In 1927, Soviet Russia began the construction of that part of the Turksib Railway which runs from Semipalatinsk through Sergiopol and Alma Ata to Tashkent. The whole length of this line was about 900 miles and was completed in April 1930. For more than 400 miles this railway runs almost parallel to the border line of Sinkiang.¹⁰⁾ Several other roads also were built which connected the Turksib Railway with Ili in Northern Sinkiang and Kashgar in the south. Through this communication network Soviet Russia planned the economic penetration into Sinkiang, because via the Trans-Siberian and Turksib railway was the quickest way to go to Sinkiang from

China. This, of course, gave Soviet Russia a measure of control through the issue of visas.¹¹⁾

The internal political situation in Sinkiang after 1930 also gave the Russians a good chance to invade the country. On July 7, 1928, the Governor of Sinkiang Yang Tseng-hsin, who ruled the country since 1911, was assassinated. In 1927 he made some economic concessions to the Russians, but he prevented Russian economic influence from developing into Russian political domination. The Russians suspected him of aiding the Basmachis,¹²⁾ and, possibly on the orders of the Soviet Russian Consul-General in Urumchi, he was assassinated.¹³⁾

Chin Shu-jen, Commissioner of Civil Affairs succeeded Yang Tseng-hsin as governor. The growing Soviet Russian control of foreign trade in Sinkiang was detrimental to the interests of local merchants and cotton growers. The tilled land was taken from Moslems and given to the Chinese. As a result of these unjust acts, the opposition of Moslems gave rise to an all-out Moslem uprising.¹⁴⁾

General Ma Chung-ying,¹⁵⁾ a Tungan Moslem leader in Kansu, was called on for help, and, in 1931, Ma led his troops into Sinkiang and assumed the leadership of the insurrection.

In order to gain further concessions, Soviet Russia now openly came forward on Chin's side enabling 10,000 men of the North Manchurian Chinese army, who had been defeated by the Japanese and interned in Siberia in 1932, to be "repatriated" to Sinkiang. They reinforced Chin's government, but on April 12, 1933, a coup d'etat engineered by his own Chief of Staff resulted in his downfall. Sheng Shih-tsai, a commander-in-chief of Heilungkiang, succeeded him as Border Defense Commissioner. He ruled Sinkiang for 11 years until his removal in July 1944.¹⁶⁾

In the meantime, General Ma Chung-ying gathered a large force and estab-

lished his control as far as Kucheng, 120 miles east of Urumchi. The Tungans in the north were ready to join forces with him in an attack on the capital, while Moslem chiefs in the south either openly proclaimed their allegiance or were secretly in communication with him. Fearing to lose the control in Sinkiang, Russia smuggled into Sinkiang 7,000 Russian troops disguised in Chinese military uniforms and equipped with tanks, artillery and aircraft. In battle General Ma's troops were badly demoralized by gas bombs dropped by the Russian airmen. Ma, himself, was wounded in both legs and was forced to withdraw.¹⁷⁾ The following passage from the former Russian official, Alexander Barmine, reveals Russian penetration into Sinkiang:

The great province of Sinkiang in Western China was another object of our attention... At the moment when I started the new thrust, "the Politburo decided to give full aid to the Governor of Sinkiang who was besieged in his capital by a number of rebel Moslems, incited, in our opinion, by the British. The job of sending arms to Sinkiang was left to me. It turned out a very difficult task.

The capital of the province was already menaced by the rebels. The Politburo ordered two brigades of G.P.U. troops with air units of the Red Army to clear the roads and liquidate the rebellion. Meanwhile, on the order of the Politburo, we shipped a number of planes and bombs to the borders of Sinkiang. There they were stuck for some time, as the road to Urumchi, capital of Sinkiang, was blocked by the rebels. Finally the command of the Red Army Air Force operating there took charge of this shipment. They "delivered" our cargoes, consigned to the Governor, by dropping the bombs on the rebel forces gathered round the capital, and by landing the planes right on the airfield of the besieged fortress. I was instructed to send the bill for the

bombs, as well as the other goods to the Governor.

Breaking through Urumchi, the Soviet troops swept the rebels before them. Soon the pro-Soviet governor of Sinkiang was firmly established in power.

According to Stalin's plan, Sinkiang was to become a sphere of exclusive Russian influence and to serve as a bulwark for our power in the East. We had to equip 10,000 Sinkiang troops completely, from boots to Koumintang insignia. Soviet advisers, who actually exercised the authority of ministers, were placed at the Governor's elbow. A commission headed by Stalin's brother-in-law, Svanidze, was sent to Sinkiang to draw up a plan of reconstruction for the province. My trust was instructed to send engineers to build roads, airdromes and hangars all over Sinkiang.¹⁸⁾

After General Ma's defeat, an armed unit of the Russian Army, more than 3,000, dressed in Chinese uniforms and known as "Altai Volunteers", was stationed at Hami guarding the approach from Kansu, and Sheng was kept firmly under Russian control. First, the army and police were modernized under Soviet Russian experts; forts and barracks were erected, and a college of Law and Political Science was founded in Urumchi. The instruction was run on the Soviet Russian style and great attention was given to Marxist ideology and anti-imperialist propaganda. The advanced students were sent to Tashkent and Alma Ata for specialized training. Many of them returned to Sinkiang with pro-Soviet Russian sympathies. In each town, cultural clubs were opened which became the centres of Soviet Russian propaganda and proved a great help in increasing Soviet Russian influence.¹⁹⁾

A great number of Turki, Uzbek and Tartar police and army officers were sent to Russia for special training. After their return, the Russians placed them in key positions in Sinkiang. Tar-

tar and Uzbek Communists and agents were sent into Sinkiang from West Turkestan with instructions to make propaganda toward strengthening the feeling of national and cultural kinship between the Turkic peoples of Sinkiang and those of Western Turkestan.²⁰⁾

The purges in Sinkiang were synchronized with similar purges within Western Turkestan.²¹⁾ Many of the Turki and Uzbek leaders, including landowners, officials and Mullahs were arrested and disappeared.

A loan agreement was concluded between the Russian and the Sinkiang governments for \$ 2,000,000 covering the construction of two branch railways running into Sinkiang from West Turkestan, the destinations of the two lines being Ili and Tahcheng. These branch railways were the extensions into Chinese territory of the Russian Turk-Sib (Turkestan-Siberian) railway which extends in a generally southern direction from Novo-Sibirsk and skirts the western border of Sinkiang, passing through the important cities of Semipalatinsk, Alma Ata, Nizhni-Novgorod and Moscow. It passes along the shores of Lake Balkash in Central Asia where the Russians are developing an important copper industry.²²⁾

During the period from 1930 until 1942, Sinkiang thus had been a Soviet Russian satellite²³⁾ in everything but name and between 1944 and 1949 Russia was behind every serious revolt of the native peoples in Sinkiang in an effort to establish an independent Eastern Turkestanian Republic,²⁴⁾ a Soviet republic they envisioned as being similar to those five Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union. A change came immediately after the advent of Communism in China, although Russia continued political and economic penetration until 1955.

The Chinese Communists assumed control of Sinkiang in late September 1949. Moscow was still greatly interested in the economic and political exploitation of Sinkiang. After lengthy

negotiations with the new rulers of China, the Sino-Russian Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Aid was concluded on February 14, 1950. Two supplementary agreements were added: one confirming Russian rights in the Manchurian railways and in Port Arthur and Dairen, with a pledge by the Russians to abandon these areas by 1952; the other promising a Soviet credit of \$ 300,000,000 to China. Subsequent agreements establishing Sino-Russian joint-stock companies for Chinese civil aviation, mineral exploitation in Sinkiang, and the operation of the Changchun Railway revealed the application to China of the notorious 50-50 companies' device which had been used so successfully in the exploitation of Soviet Eastern Europe.²⁵⁾

Both Moscow and Peking enthusiastically hailed the establishment of these joint-stock companies, while *Pravda* and *Izvestia* quoted "the people of Sinkiang" as saying that "without the assistance of Soviet Russia the work of developing the national wealth could not even begin."²⁶⁾ The same source also declared that the outside help was necessary for successful reconstruction of China and stressed the fact that Sinkiang was the best area in which to start such cooperation.

The Chinese were able to consolidate their power fully in Sinkiang only two or three years after the establishment of the joint-stock companies. It was constantly disturbed by local rebellions, which were more anti-Chinese than anti-Communist in character. According to the Urumchi radio, there were 120 attacks on government forces in 1950 alone.²⁷⁾

Footnotes

1) The word "Turkestan" is of Persian origin and means "land of the Turks". The term "Turkestan" is regarded by the Central Asian Turks (or Turanians) as an expression of their own nationalistic aspirations, and hence its usage has been forbidden by both the Russian and Chinese overlords.

2) In accordance with the ancient Roman principles of divide and rule, Soviet Russia, in 1924, partitioned Turkestan into five Soviet Republics, namely Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Turkmenistan and Tadzikistan. In this way Russia made out of one people five peoples and nations, out of one Turkish language five languages, out of one territorial frontier five frontiers, out of one historical development five different historical processes, and out of one culture five cultures. There was only one thing which the Russians could not achieve, and that was to make out of one Islam a five-fold Islam, for they could not split up Islam into various bits and pieces.

3) **The World Almanac** (1963), p. 337.

4) **Encyclopedia Britannica** (1964), 20: 715.

5), 6) and 7) **Ibid.**

8) Veli Kajum Khan, "Moscow and the Islam," **ABN Correspondence**, 6: 9, March/April 1955.

9) Cheng, Tien-fong. **A History of Sino-Russian Relations**. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1957. p. 1688.

10) and 11) **Ibid.**

12) The Basmachi Movement is a liberation movement of the Turkestani people which came into being in response to the removal of the Turkestani Government of Kokant by the Russians on February 12, 1918. The Turkestani nationalist forces withdrew, fighting, to the mountains and steppes. On May 19, 1922, the famous Enver Pasha, the head of the Basmachi movement, offered an ultimatum to Lenin to withdraw the Russian troops from Turkestan territory within a fortnight. In 1923, the Basmachi expelled the Russians from parts of their country and a congress was convoked by them in April 1923 in Samarkand and the independence of Turkestan was declared. From 1923 to 1942 the Basmachi fought underground. This fight is continuing even now, adapted to the present conditions, of course, in order to spare forces and fighters.. The Russians called these fighters for freedom "Basmachi" which means "robbers" which be-

came an honorable name for all Turkestanis.

13) N. L. D. McLean, "Sinkiang Today", **International Affairs**, 24: 379, July 1948.

14) Cheng, Tien-fong, **A History of Sino-Russian Relations**, Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1957, p. 169.

15) General Ma strongly opposed Soviet Russian imperialism in Sinkiang and he hoped to create a Pan-Islamic state in Central Asia.

16) Li, Chang, "The Soviet Grip on Sinkiang", **Foreign Affairs**, 32: 493, April 1954.

17) **Ibid.**

18) Alexandre Barmine. **One Who Survived**. New York: Putnam, 1945. p. 231-32.

19) N. L. D. McLean, "Sinkiang Today", **International Affairs**, 24: 382, July 1948.

20) **Ibid.**, p. 382-83.

21) During these purges Faizeilla Kho-djaev, the President of Uzbekistan, and many members of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, as well as nearly half of Uzbek Government, were found to be bourgeois nationalist at heart and had been working against the policy laid down by the Central Committee in Moscow.

22) "Some Facts About Soviet Economic Influence in Sinkiang Province", **China Weekly Review**, 71: 327, Feb. 2, 1935.

23) Stanley Karnow, "Sinkiang: Soviet Rustlers in China's Wild West", **Reporter**, 30: 37, June 18, 1964.

24) Anthony Harrigan, "Sinkiang: A Sino-Soviet Trouble Spot?", **Military Review**, 43: 4, May 1963.

25) Oleh S. Fedyshyn, "Soviet Retreat In Sinkiang, Sino-Soviet Rivalry and Cooperation, 1950-1955", **American Slavonic and East European Review**, 16: 128, April 1957.

26) **Pravda and Izvestia**, April 5, 1950 pp. 4 and 3.

27) **New York Times**, March 23, 1951. p. 4.

(To be continued)

"Faith Manifests Itself When There Are Martyrs"

(Ed. Note — During his second illegal trial, Valentyn Moroz resolved to boycott it — to keep silent, not to answer. Therefore he submitted the following letter entitled "In Lieu of Concluding Remarks" to the judges in a written form prior to the beginning of the proceedings, which were held behind closed doors.)

I shall not cite the (Criminal) Code and attempt to prove my innocence. I am not being tried for any crime, and you are well aware of this. We are tried depending on the role which we play in processes objectionable to you. There are people for whose arrest you have more formal legal grounds than for my arrest. But you find it convenient for these people to be at large, for they lower the tone of the Ukrainian renaissance, slow down its speed, usually without understanding this. You will never touch these people. Even if they should find their way to you accidentally, you would endeavour to release them immediately. You have come to the conclusion that Valentyn Moroz is raising the temperature of processes undesirable to you in Ukraine. Hence, it is better to separate him from his environment by bars. This would be completely logical, were it not for one but . . .

Beginning in 1965 you placed several dozen men behind bars. What have you achieved by this? I shall not talk about the tendency; no one as yet has managed to stop it. But were you able to liquidate at least its concretely material manifestations? Did you arrest, let us say, the flow of unofficial literature, out of the reach of censorship, which already has the name "Samvydav"? No! This proved to be beyond your power. "Samvydav" grows, enriches itself with new forms and genres, accumulates new authors and readers, but what is most important — it took root so widely and deeply that no increase in the staff of informants, no Japanese magnetophones will help. Your efforts have led to nothing and

that which you have undertaken could be called "martyshkyn trud" in Russian. But, the point is not that "martyshkyn trud" is work which makes no one cold or hot, work without any results. One cannot say this about your work — it has already produced an effect which can be felt, only this effect is completely opposite from that anticipated by you. It has become apparent, that you have not frightened (people) but aroused their interest. You wanted to extinguish the blaze, but instead of this you added oil to it. Nothing contributed as much to the animation of public life in Ukraine as your repressions. Nothing attracted the attention of people to the processes of the Ukrainian renaissance as your trials. Frankly speaking, it was these very trials which showed the general public that public life was being revived in Ukraine. You wanted to conceal people in the Mordovian forests, but instead of this, you thrust them into an enormous arena — and they were seen by the entire world. The majority of the activists of the Ukrainian renaissance became activists by the very atmosphere of awakening aroused by your repressions. In short, enough time has passed in order to finally understand: repressions primarily hurt you. Nevertheless, you continue to hold trials . . . Why? In order to carry out a plan? In order to calm your official conscience? In order to give vent to your anger? Most likely because of inertia. You introduced into the present post-Stalinist stage of the Ukrainian renaissance that without which it had been immature and half-baked: you introduced the element of

sacrifice. Faith manifests itself when there are martyrs. You gave them to us.

Each time, as soon as something living appeared on the Ukrainian horizon, you threw a stone at it. And each time it became apparent that it was not a stone, but a boomerang. It returned without fail and hit... you. What happened? Why don't repressions give the usual effect? Why has the tested weapon turned into a boomerang? Times have changed — this is the complete answer. Stalin had enough water to extinguish the fire. You find yourselves in an entirely different situation. You happen to live in an epoch when the reserves have been exhausted. But if there is a shortage of water, it is better not to aggravate the fire with it. For then it burns even better — even a child knows this. You have taken a stick into your hands in order to scatter the bonfire — but instead you only revived it. You lack the strength to do more. This means that the social organism in which you live has entered such a phase of development where repressions now produce the opposite effect. And each new repression will now become a new boomerang.

Placing me behind bars on June 1 (1970), you have again cast a boomerang. What takes place next — you have already seen. Five years ago I was seated in the dock — and a shot was fired from there. Then I was placed behind barbed wire in Moldavia — and a bomb was ejected from there. Now again, understanding and learning nothing, you are starting everything from the beginning. Only this time, the boomerang effect will be much more powerful. In 1965, Moroz was an obscure lecturer of history. Now he is well known...

And so Moroz is gulping down prison cabbage (soup). As the Jews would say: What are you going to gain by it? The only kind of Moroz who could be of any really great use to you, would

be a submissive Moroz who would write a statement of repentance. This would really be a stunning blow to all conscious Ukrainianism. But you will never see such a Moroz. If, by placing me behind bars, you are counting on creating a vacuum in the Ukrainian renaissance, then it is absurd. Understand at last: there will never be a vacuum again. The abundance of spiritual potential of Ukraine is sufficient enough to fill any kind of vacuum and to give forth new public figures, both in place of those who are in prison, as well as those who have departed from public activity. The 60s resulted in a considerable livening of Ukrainian life. The 70s are also not going to constitute a vacuum in Ukrainian history. The golden era when all life was squeezed into the official framework has passed beyond return. There already exists culture outside the Ministry of Culture and philosophy outside the periodical **Voprosy filosofii**. Now phenomena which came into the world without official permission will exist permanently and with each year their flow will increase.

The court will try me behind closed doors. Just the same it will become a boomerang, even if no one hears me, even if I remain silent in a cell of the Vladimir prison, isolated from the world. Silence is sometimes louder than shouting. And even having destroyed me, you will not be able to silence it. It is easy to destroy, but have you ever considered the following truth: the annihilated sometimes have more significance than the living. The annihilated become a banner. The annihilated are the flint from which crystal fortresses are erected in pure souls.

I am well aware of how you will respond to this: Moroz thinks too much of himself. But here the question is not of Moroz, but of every honest person in my position. Besides, where people are prepared for slow death in the Vladimir prison from some com-

plicated chemical — there is no room for petty ambition.

The national renaissance is the deepest of all spiritual processes. This phenomenon is multiplaned and multi-layered. It can manifest itself in thousands of forms. No one will be able to foresee them all and weave such a wide sweep-net to encompass this process in all its breadth. Your dams are strong and promising, but they stand on dry ground. Spring floods have simply evaded them and discovered new river-beds for themselves. Your turnpikes are closed. But they stop no one, for routes have long since developed beside them. The national renaissance is a process with practically unlimited resources, because national sentiment lives in the soul of every human being, even one who, it would seem, has long since died spiritually. This manifested itself, for example, in the course of debates in the Union of Writers, when people of whom nobody expected this, voted against I. Dzyuba's expulsion.

You are stubbornly repeating that people who are behind bars are simply criminals. You close your eyes and make it appear that no problem exists. Well and good, on this unwise position you can while away another ten years. And then? For these new processes in Ukraine and in the entire (Soviet) Union are only beginning. The Ukrainian renaissance has not become a mass movement yet. But do not rejoice that it will always be so. In the epoch of massive literacy, when there are 800 thousand students in Ukraine, and all have radios, in such an epoch everything which has social significance becomes general. Is it possible that you do not understand that soon

you will be faced with mass social tendencies? New processes are only beginning, and your repressive measures have ceased to be effective. What will happen next?

There is only one way out: to renounce the antiquated policy of repressions and to find new forms of coexistence with new phenomena which have already established themselves irreversibly. Such is reality. It appeared without asking permission and brought new things which demand a new approach. This gives food for thought for people called upon to attend to the affairs of state. But you are still amusing yourselves by tossing a boomerang . . .

A trial will be held. Well, we shall fight. It is at this time, when one has written a statement of repentance, another requalified himself to a translator that it is necessary for someone to give an example of firmness and in one blow to wash away the depressing impression which arose following the departure of some people from active public life. The lot has fallen on me . . . It is a difficult mission. It is not easy for anyone to sit behind bars. But not to have respect for oneself is more difficult still. Therefore, we shall fight!

A trial will be held, and everything will start all over again: new protests and signatures, new material for the press and radio of the entire world. The interest in what Moroz has written will increase tenfold. In short, a new portion of oil will be added to the fire which you want to extinguish.

This is subversive activity. But do not search for my guilt here — it was not I who placed Moroz behind bars; it was not I who cast the boomerang.

Desecration of Cemeteries in Ukraine

(Another document from Ukraine, which is currently being circulated there in mimeographed form, has been channelled through to the West. This is the protest declaration of Vyacheslav Chornovil, against the barbarous destruction of the graves of Ukrainian soldiers at the Yanivskiy cemetery in Lviv by local authorities. Below, we reproduce the complete text of the declaration.)

Kyiv

**To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR, Com. Lyashko,
the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Com. Ovcharenko,
First Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR, Com. Tronko,**

DECLARATION

It is difficult to imagine anything more savage, more inhuman, or more dreadful than to dishonour the dead. It would probably be more compassionate to shoot a person outright, than to demolish his grave with a bull-dozer later and to cast out his bones from the ground...

That, which is now taking place at the Yanivskiy cemetery in Lviv, almost in the center of Europe, can be gauged only by the most brutal Asiatic Middle-Age standards. Under the direction of specially appointed persons, a bull-dozer levels the graves of the Striltsi (Ukrainian Sich Riflemen during World War I — trans. note) and the navy's shovel turns over the human remains. They say that this is being done under the sanction of the head of the Lviv Oblast Executive Committee, Telishevskiy. I do not know what administrative qualities this person has, that he was entrusted with such a responsible position, but just one of these absurdities is sufficient to demote this barbarous functionary to a swineherd.

Let us consider what is happening. Firstly, the dishonouring of the graves by a direct enemy is a blasphemy rejected by the civilized world. Death levels opinions and ideologies. And death demands respect. In the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR, there is Article 212, which anticipates criminal sanctions for the desecration of graves. Secondly, these youths from Halychyna, who lived at the end of 1918 and laid down their lives in the struggle with Polish legionaires, defended Halychyna from colonial enslavement by feudal Poland — are they the enemies of the Soviet government? It is not known where they would be found now, if they had not died in those days. They would perhaps be in the army of the UNR (Ukrainian National Republic) or perhaps in Ch.U.H.A. (Red Ukrainian Army of Halychyna). To the point, those who appreciate quotations will discover positive words about the Striltsi in Lenin's works. Why should they, who died over 50 years ago, be taken vengeance upon now? For the fact that they saved Halychyna from Polish oppression? We, who do not acknowledge solidarity with the Pilsudski followers*), with pacification, with Bereza Kartuzka**), see that even the Poles, having occupied Halychyna and hating their enemies, the Striltsi, did not scoff at their graves. Even during Stalin's time, no thoughts of the outright destruction of these graves came to mind although they did ridicule them. What apex have we now reached with you?

Currently, there is much talk of the infiltration of bourgeois ideology. I do not think that all the bourgeois publications and radio stations combined could

*) Polish chauvinists, followers of Joseph Pilsudski, premier and virtual dictator of Poland until 1935.

**) Renowned Polish concentration camp for political prisoners.

master such strong anti-Soviet propaganda as did one bull-dozer in Lviv, which cut down the heads of the Striltsi crosses.

After the burning of the State Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR in 1964 and the political arrests for the open expression of convictions, it is difficult to name an act in the future, which would so greatly undermine the authority of Soviet government, as this current outrage in Lviv. The results are already evident. Thousands of Halychyna residents, during the past few days, have passed by the desecrated and devastated graves. Confusion and indignation has arisen among the population. Rumours are being spread about the intentions (also far from humane and perhaps even provocative) — to respond by destroying the graves of the leaders of parties, armies, and so on. Will we stoop so low, as to introduce a state of siege in cemeteries?

I refrained from individual appeals to Party and Soviet leaders after the incident in 1967, when for honest remarks about the violations of the norms of socialist legality, I was first thrown behind bars, and then transformed from a critic and journalist into a railroad worker. But today, I cannot be silent. In the name of humaneness, I appeal to you to intervene in the acts of the provincial petty despots and stop this destruction of the graves of the Striltsi, to restore that portion of graves that were demolished, and transfer the corpses of people buried on their bones. By doing so, disassociate yourselves from this crime which is presently occurring in Lviv.

Vyacheslav Chornovil

City of Lviv, Spokiyana Street 13.

16. 8. 1971.

A Hobbel

Religion in Red China

Mao Tse-tung, writing on the "New Democracy", in January, 1940, said that "Communists may form an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal united front for political action with certain idealists and even with religious followers, but we can never approve of their idealism or religious doctrines". However, in "On Coalition Government" in April, 1945, Mao accepted the idea of religious freedom. "So long as adherents of religions keep the laws of the government, the government will grant them protection, and everybody's freedom either or have, or not to have, a religion shall remain free of pressure and wry looks".

A promise of religious freedom in all "liberated areas" was made by the Communists in 1947 and repeated by Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh in the spring of 1949. It was written into the Common Programme adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative

Conference (CPPCC) on September 27, 1949. Article Five said: "The people... shall have freedom of thought, speech, publication, assembly... religious belief and the freedom of holding processions and demonstrations" (New China News Agency (NCNA) October 10, 1949). But on October 3, 1950, in an editorial on the Christian Reform Manifesto, the **People's Daily** said: "... religious belief must be detached from foreign aggressive and reactionary activities. The People's Government... will never tolerate these subversive activities".

This affected three of the major religious groups, the Buddhists, the Muslims and the Christians, who were not indigenous and maintained many links with their churches in the rest of the world. The official policy towards Buddhists and Muslims tended to be more circumspect than that towards Christians, however, as the Chinese

were anxious to conciliate the many national minorities in China, a large number of whom belonged to these faiths. Also they were anxious to impress Asian and African countries in which these faiths predominate.

In February, 1951, the Assistant Director of the East Educational Department insisted that "education must be independent of religion, and religious activities must not violate the law". (Shanghai Radio, February 16, 1951). Missionary schools, colleges and universities were seized and used as meeting halls, cinemas, or storehouses. The reason most frequently given was inability to pay heavy fines for alleged infringements on various laws.

Anti-religious propaganda and pressure has increased over the last 20 years, despite opposition and unrest, particularly in Muslim areas. During the Cultural Revolution, Red Guards launched attacks on religion throughout China.

An article in Red Flag, No. 8, 1969, attacked Russian "Communist Christianity", and said that "Scientific Communism and religion are antagonistic. The struggle for . . . Communism . . . and the building of the Kingdom of Christ on earth are incompatible with each other, like fire and water". It claimed that in China the authorities consistently advocated protection of not only the freedom to believe, but

also the freedom not to believe. It added: "We can never approve of (believers') idealism or religious doctrines. We must repudiate idealism, monasticism, and all kinds of religious superstition". (NCNA, August 6, 1969).

In spite of the basic Communist aim of replacing religion with a belief in "scientific atheism", religion is still tolerated within narrow limits. All the main churches have been brought under control through representative bodies, the various "patriotic" associations, which are used to ensure participation in political campaigns, and as "proof" of religious freedom, useful in attempts to influence other countries.

But though all direct foreign links have been cut, uncooperative clergy removed, and most places of worship closed while the few others are used only on special occasions, there is evidence that large numbers of believers have not given up their particular faiths.

Since the end of the Cultural Revolution there has been little information about the state of religious affairs in Red China (even religious festivals have received only a brief mention), but there is no doubt that all believers are expected to follow the Communist Party line of "building Socialism", and destroying or combating anything that stands in the way.



Ukrainian students during a mournful demonstration in memory of Mykhailo Soroka and Alla Horska at Chicago's Civic Center, October 31, 1971.

V. Moroz's Health in Peril

Sad and outrageous news has reached us from Ukraine that the Russian murderers have brought the health of Valentyn Moroz to a very critical state. As early as December 1970 he was transferred from a Mordovian concentration camp to the dreadful Vladimir prison, where he contracted a liver ailment in June 1971 and is now confined to the prison infirmary. The state of his health is constantly deteriorating. It is not to be excluded that the Russian cannibals are purposely ruining his health. Moroz has a deficiency of hemoglobin — an oxygen-carrying

pigment of the blood. In the prison infirmary he does not receive adequate medical care, nor proper nourishment. He is prohibited from receiving any kind of parcels from his family and friends, which could be instrumental in improving his health.

The plight of Valentyn Moroz must be made known immediately to the governments of the free world, to the various aid societies and to the public opinion in order to rescue the life of the great hero and patriot of the Ukrainian nation.

Political Prisoners in Mordovia Go on a Hunger Strike

Eight political prisoners who are confined to Camp No. 17-A of the Mordovian concentration camp complex went on a hunger strike on December 10, 1971, as a sign of protest against the harsh conditions of camp life and in order to mark the International Human Rights Day. The following political prisoners were involved: Mykola Bodnar, aged 32, a Ukrainian, philosophy instructor at the Uzhhorod University; Henadiy Gavrilov, aged 34, former officer, a sailor; Vladlen Pavlenkov, aged 42, teacher; Yuriy I. Fyodorov, aged 35, former investigator at the MVD; Ivan Kandyba, a Ukrainian lawyer from Lviv, previously sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment; Aleksander Cherkovskiy, aged 24; V. A. Abankin and Nykolay Ivanov, a historian.

Released from the Mordovian Concentration Camps

In August and September 1971, Mykhailo Horyn, a linguist and psychologist from Lviv, and Mykhailo Masyutko, a literary critic and teacher, who were sentenced in 1966 to six years of imprisonment, were released from a concentration camp. They served their terms of unjust punishment partially in the special Vladimir prison and in the forced labor camps of the Mordovian ASSR.

Bohdan Horyn, an art critic, who was convicted together with his brother Mykhailo, has been forced to do manual labor after his return to Ukraine.

For Mykhailo Masyutko, the conviction of March 1966 was already his second sentence, for he was arrested

in 1937 for the first time and sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment which he spent in Kolyma. While serving his sentence, Mykhailo Horyn was confined for six months to the prison's isolation ward. Together with Ivan Kandyba and Lev Lukyanenko, who are in Russian captivity since 1961, he wrote a letter to the United Nations in which he protested against the poisoning of the prisoners' food and several letters to the KGB in which he condemned the brutal conduct of the concentration camp administration in its treatment of an old woman with a heart condition, the mother of one of the Ukrainian political prisoners who came to see her son in the concentration camp.

O B I T U A R I E S

ARCHBISHOP SERHIY OKHOTENKO

(1889 - 1971)

Archbishop Serhiy, the Primate of the Byelorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, died in Adelaide, Australia, on October 2, 1971, at the age of 82, and was buried at the local Greek cemetery.

Archbishop Serhiy Okhotenko was born in the Zhytomyr region of Ukraine. He was a monk at the Epiphany monastery, and then performed priestly duties. He was sent to a concentration camp by the Russian authorities, but was later released. Eluding imprisonment during World War II, he served as superior of the cathedral in the town of Melitopil. In 1943 he was consecrated bishop of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Kirovograd Cathedral. When the Byelorussian bishops living in Germany deserted their Byelorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church after the war and joined the Russian Church in

Exile, the Byelorussian clergy and faithful turned to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church for assistance. The Synod of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church responded favorably and in 1948 in Constance the Synod of the Byelorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church raised Bishop Serhiy, a Ukrainian by birth, to the dignity of Archbishop and Primate. Ever since Bishop Vasil was appointed administrator of the Byelorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the USA and Canada, the late Archbishop Serhiy lived in Australia, where he cared for the Byelorussian as well as the Greek parishes.

The funeral rites were attended by the Greek Bishop Spiridon, the bishops of the Byelorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Greek Church, the Byelorussian, Ukrainian, Greek and Croatian clergy and hundreds of people.

PETRAS DAUZVARDIS

(1895 - 1971)

Petras P. Dauzvardis, the Lithuanian Consul General in Chicago, died there on September 26, 1971, at the age of 75. He represented the interests of his countrymen in the USA and vigorously condemned Russian occupation of his homeland, in particular on the observances of February 16, 1918, when Lithuania declared its independence from Russia, and June 13, 1940, when the Russians returned.

Mr. Dauzvardis came to the United States at the age of 19. He received his law degrees from Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. and John Marshall Law School in Chicago. In

1925 he returned briefly to Lithuania to work in the Foreign Ministry. That same year he became the vice consul of Lithuania in New York and moved to Chicago in 1937 as full consul, becoming consul general on August 11, 1961. He was member of the Consular Corps of Chicago, the American Society of International Law, Georgetown Alumni Association, Chicago Rotary Club, Council on Foreign Relations, Association of Commerce and Industry, and of numerous Lithuanian organizations.

P. Dauzvardis lectured extensively throughout the USA at universities,

colleges, clubs, radio, TV, on Lithuania and the Lithuanian nation and wrote numerous articles on this topic for encyclopedias, magazines and other publications. He was listed in the International Blue Book and "Who's Who".

For his unaffected patriotism, Mr. Dauszvardis was twice decorated by the

Order of Gediminas, one of Lithuania's highest decorations. He also received Ukraine's Cross of Petlyura, the Captive Nations Eisenhower Proclamation Medal, the Counselor Medallion (Loyola University) and many other citations and awards.

PROFESSOR STANISLAV MECIAR

(1911 - 1971)

A prominent representative of the Slovak cultural and political life, Professor Dr. Stanislav Meciar, Vice-President of the Slovak Liberation Council, died in Buenos Aires (Argentina) on November 23, 1971, at the age of 60.

In the independent Slovak Republic Professor Meciar held the post of director of an important cultural institute and was professor of Slovak literary history at the University of Bratislava. He was also active in politics and as an author.

In the spring of 1945, when the Russian Red Army was marching towards Bratislava, Professor Meciar went abroad to work there for

the freedom and independence of Slovakia. As an emigrant, he was engaged in important activities in the political and cultural fields. For years Professor Meciar edited the Slovak newspaper, **Slovenska Republika** (Slovak Republic). He also published several scholarly works in the field of Slovak literary history.

On February 19, 1968, on the occasion of Professor Meciar's visit to Munich, the Central Committee of ABN held a reception. Discussions with the great Slovak patriot were held in a very cordial spirit.

The death of Professor Meciar is a great loss for the Slovak independence movement.

Alla Horska Murdered by Official Executioner

According to reports from Ukraine, the late Alla Horska was not buried in the heart of Kyiv, in particular at the Baykovyi cemetery where only widely known persons are buried, but far beyond the city at a new cemetery. The occupation regime purposely issued such directions in order to prevent mass commemoration of her memory. Nevertheless, eyewitnesses confirm that **the grave of Alla Horska is continuously covered with wreaths and flowers**. Students, workers and countless of her friends often visit the grave alone or in groups. They sing mournful

songs, light candles and so forth at the grave site.

In Kyiv and across Ukraine credible reports are circulating that **Alla Horska was killed by an official Bolshevik executioner**. This conclusion was made on the basis of the assertion that both blows in the head, which caused Alla Horska's death, were inflicted by a professional.

The Ukrainian nation will dearly avenge itself upon the Russian executioners for the crimes committed against the unforgettable and fearless Ukrainian patriot.

Prof. Dr. Andrija Ilić,

Secretary General of the Croatian Liberation Movement

Croatian Nationalists, Dr. Branko Jelic and Moscow

On many occasions in recent months some of my foreign friends asked me about the adventure of Dr. Branko Jelić, which is the subject of some West European newspapers and news agencies. One of our Byelorussian friends ironically told one of my colleagues: "Congratulations! You Croats collaborate with Moscow!"

I am calling the action of Dr. B. Jelić an "adventure". This is not only my opinion but also that of all the members of the Croatian Liberation Movement (which is a global Croatian nationalist organization, founded by the late Head of the Independent State of Croatia Dr. Ante Pavelić) and of the majority of other Croats outside this Movement.

Very often we have read statements of Dr. B. Jelić who tried to convince his readers that he was the closest associate of Dr. Ante Pavelić, and in some articles he tried to convince us that he was the real brain behind the Ustaša Movement. This is far removed from the truth. In 1929, as a nationalist, he pretended to be a follower of Dr. Ante Pavelić but he never was his equal or a member of the leadership. He had ideas of his own and secretly wanted to be a leader. But to be a leader you have to have followers, and Dr. Jelić had none.

At the outbreak of the Second World War he found himself in the USA from where he was expelled. Why? He never gave proper reasons. During the war he was interned by the British at the Island of Man. The Croatian people were really lucky not to have him in their midst during the period of the Independent State of Croatia.

He came into the present situation by a very unwise political step. Namely, he offered collaboration to the Croatian Communists who on behalf of

the Yugoslav Communist Party are in power in Croatia. This was a terrible mistake because he should have known that there is no Croatian Communist Party but only individual Croats by birth who as Communists serve the Yugoslav Communist Party.

When the Croatian Communists refused to have anything to do with him and ridiculed him as a political nonentity he entered into back door conversation with Moscow which is eager to get rid of the present non-Cominformist Yugoslav Communist regime. As a result he became famous in the West and various newspapers write about him. Only those who write about him should bear in mind that in his adventure he stands alone like a poor solitary sparrow on the roof of an empty nebulous castle and that the Croatian people are not willing to change the Belgrade yoke for the Moscow one but to fight for the complete freedom and independence of Croatia.

Those who know the history of Russian imperialism, the idea of Russian "Messianism" and of Moscow becoming the "third Rome" know very well that Russia waged many wars in order to conquer Constantinople and come to the "warm" Mediterranean Sea.

In our days the Russian fleet is provocatively cruising in the Mediterranean but it does not feel at home. Because of tactical political differences with Belgrade and implications which could arise from the Yalta Agreement, Russia does not dare to invade Yugoslavia. Therefore, she wants to create a Czecho-Slovak atmosphere according to which the Serbian Cominformists would invite her to "save socialism" in Yugoslavia and get hold of the Croatian Adriatic coast.

But Moscow is aware that the Croats do not want any Yugoslavia, and in

case of Croatia's separation from Serbia she wants to have someone who would invite her to "save socialism" in Croatia. Dr. B. Jelić with his fellow-travellers is this someone.

Those who still think that Moscow made an alliance with the Croatian Ustašas (under which name the Communist propaganda means all Croatian nationalists) should read the book by André Guérin "Les commandos de la guerre froide" (The commandos of the cold war) and its summary in Moscow's newspaper *Novoye vryemya* (The New Time). There they will see that Moscow regards Dr. Ante Pavelić and his successor, Dr. Stjepan Hefer, who is the President of the Croatian Liberation Movement, and Ustašas in

general, as very dangerous enemies of Russian imperialism.

The Croatian Liberation Movement is an equal member of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the European Freedom Council, the British League for European Freedom and the World Anti-Communist League, and has a long-standing record in the common struggle for freedom and independence of all the enslaved peoples. Nobody will ever succeed in destroying this alliance of the Croatian nationalists with the oppressed peoples and all those who like freedom, least of all those who try to interpret the adventure of ambitious and isolated Dr. B. Jelić as an alliance of the Croatian Ustašas with Moscow.

THE CROATIAN PEOPLE DO NOT WANT ANY YUGOSLAVIA

The Croatian people at home and abroad most strongly condemn the impertinence of the Yugoslav diplomatic representatives in the free world in "celebrating" November 29th as a "Yugoslav national holiday".

The Croatian Liberation Movement, as the voice of the oppressed Croatian people, feels it its duty to tell the free world the truth so that no person of integrity may be deceived and believe the Communist propaganda which wants to present to the outside world that Yugoslavia is a state created by the will of the Croatian people and other enslaved nationalities in it.

These are the facts:

1. After 23 years of untold oppression and persecution in the royal Yugoslavia, on April 10th, 1941, the Croatian people unanimously proclaimed and restored their historical Independent State of Croatia and forever renounced any Yugoslavia.

2. The Croatian army bravely fought against the Serbian royal and Communist guerrilla bands who, by most inhuman means, sought to destroy the newly created state of Croatia.

3. On November 29th, 1943, a group of Yugoslav Communists under the chairmanship of the agent of Moscow and international Communism, Josip Broz Tito, met in Jajce — a town in the Croatian province of Bosnia — and proclaimed a new Yugoslavia which the Croatian people never recognized.

4. It is the greatest shame of the 20th century that towards the end of World War II at the Yalta Conference the victorious Western Powers together with Soviet Russia recognized this unlawful act of Tito and after the war handed the Croatian people to his dictatorial and bloodthirsty rule.

5. Immediately after the war Tito's partisans massacred the disarmed Croatian army near Bleiburg in Austria and on "death marches", hoping that there will be no more opponents of Yugoslavia.

However, the Croatian people did not forget this and today they are fighting against Belgrade for freedom and national independence. Tito's deceitful "amendments" will NOT stop this fight.

November 1971.

The Croatian Liberation Movement

"Never Condone Those Who Killed Them"

Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau called the Ottawa attack by a Hungarian on Premier Alexei Kosygin "a very humiliating event for Canadians."

Others see it differently.

No one condones the tactics and atrociously bad manners of 27-year-old Géza Mátrai who jumped the 67-year-old leader shouting "Freedom for Hungary".

Civilized people do not behave this way but give Mátrai credit. He reminded the entire world of Hungary's suffering under Russian ruthlessness and cruelty on this 15th anniversary of the Hungarian revolution. and, by all indications, a self-centered world needs reminding.

Oppressed and exploited by a Russian imposed Communist regime that stifled all vestiges of freedom, terrorized by a ruthless political police, AVH, the Hungarians finally exploded in October 1956.

On Oct. 23, anti-Russian and anti-Communist demonstrations burst forth in various parts of the country. In Budapest crowds of students, workers and intellectuals marched towards the parliament demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the dismissal of the Stalinists and democratic methods of government. They demanded that one-time liberal Imre Nagy, premier after the death of Stalin from July 1953 to 1955, be restored to power to replace premier Georgi Hegeđús.

"It was a spontaneous national uprising, due to long-standing grievances which had caused resentment among the people," according to an official U. S. report.

Only a few days earlier, a similar revolt in Poland saw pro Russian Edward Ochab, first party secretary replaced by Wladyslaw Gomulka.

The rest is history.

At first the Hungarian revolt was successful.

Hegedűs was replaced by Nagy who immediately demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops, proclaimed the country neutral and withdrew it from the Warsaw Pact. Political prisoners, including Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, were released.

Khrushchov waited for the reaction of the West. When he realized that there would be no serious opposition he sent in his tanks and crushed the rebellion in a bloody massacre. An estimated 40,000 Hungarians were killed. A similar number were deported to Russia. More than a quarter of a million fled to the West.

The West, and especially the United Nations, looked on helplessly. What blossomed like a rose, promising the liberation of all of Eastern Europe, died in Budapest's boulevards and back alleys.

"Resentment and resistance continue," says a former Hungarian freedom fighter, "but it is less obvious, more discreet. Hungarians don't want to commit suicide . . . again."

Were the Hungarian sacrifices 15 years ago in vain?

I don't think so. October 1956 will always remain a grim reminder of Russian Imperialism and the total failure of Communism.

"Those Hungarian students and workers and women and fighting children," wrote Archibald MacLeish recently, "have done more to close the future of Communism than armies and diplomats have done before them".

"In Europe's isolation today, we have only one way of being true to Hungary," wrote Albert Camus, "and that is never to betray, among ourselves and everywhere, what the Hungarian people have died for, never to condone among ourselves and everywhere, even indirectly those who killed them."

East German Campaign against Symonenko

Communist Newspaper in West Berlin Attacks ABN and WACL; Lies about the CIA

The East German Communists are once again making sharp attacks on Ukrainian emigrés and their friends. In this they are using their lackeys in the Western part of Berlin, the Socialist Unity Party (SED) and the New Left student movement. Both groupings have enough money available (roubles!) and an influential press. Thus for example the **Berlin Special Service** is published — the leading Marxist organ of the Outer-Parliamentary Opposition, friendly to Moscow and Bolshevism — with a Berlin and West German part. This publication is distributed in large numbers to West German secondary schools and universities.

The **Berlin Special Service** of September 8, 1971, published a dirty attack against national emigrant organizations, against the USA and those circles in West Germany, which sympathize with East European emigrants. Above all this slanderous article attacked the Ukrainians and the Independent Worker Party. The Independent Worker Party published in the August number of its organ, the **Reich Worker's Newspaper**, two resolutions, in which the persecution of Ukrainian opposers of Communism and Ukrainian resistance fighters was protested against. (Moroz, Karavanskyi, Alla Horska, Lev Lukyanenko, Ivan Kandyba i. a.) One resolution was directed to the UN Secretary General U Thant as an open letter.

This action by German workers against the worker-hostile policy of the Russian colonial imperialists brought about the rage of the East German Communists, who described the Germans showing friendship to the Ukrainians as "Neo-Nazis". To quote word for word from the article in the **Berlin Special Service** of September 8,

1971: "Recently contacts were sought with the international anti-Communist organizations, which are dominated by emigrants of the Kerenski variety, such as the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the World Anti-Communist League, both organizations kept going by the CIA, in which representatives of the former Social Democrats in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia as well as other socialist countries are important. The predominant note in the propaganda of the Independent Workers' Party: A Free Europe from Kyiv to Lisbon!"

This article is just teeming with lies and slanders. What has the long since rotten corpse of Kerenski to do with the ABN and WACL? Kerenski was well known to be a Russian bankrupt politician of Marxist trend, a friend of Lenin (both came from the same province), who tried to prevent the national independence of Ukraine in 1917 and 1918, with treacherous means. Without Kerenski there would have been no Lenin, without Kerenskism no Bolshevism! The spirit of Kerenski of all people is supposed to be alive in the anti-imperialist Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, in an organization which has no room for Russian colonialists? It is simply absurd — the Russian Communists don't even believe it themselves.

Even the reference to the CIA is treacherous. The CIA is certainly an honourable institution in the USA, but the ABN and WACL are not dependent on the money of foreign police and anti-espionage organizations. The Communists must actually know how large the readiness to make sacrifices and to provide help is of national emigrants! ABN is not a branch of the CIA, but the **Berlin Special Service** is surely one of the Communist Party of

the Soviet Union — the smear article mentioned at the beginning proves it

Thirdly, the reference to former Social Democrats in the Baltic countries, who are supposed to have great influence in ABN and WACL. This too is not true! Certainly there are many sincere opponents of Communism and Russian colonialism among emigrant Social Democrats from Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, but they are not in leading positions in ABN and WACL.

The reason for the attacks by the East German Communists and their lackeys in West Berlin is perfectly clear: they are angry about the cooperation between anti-Nazi Germans and East European emigrants, who are also anti-Nazi (and anti-Marxist) minded. That an honourable alliance between German and Ukrainian, German and Hungarian, German and Slovak anti-Communists and anti-colonialists exists, makes the Bolsheviks and Russians raving mad, because it runs counter to their plans of infiltration. Moscow wants to **isolate** the free, national, Christian emigrants in the Federal Republic of Germany, but the Independent Workers' Party and the groups in sympathy with it have cut across this.

It is above all the German-Ukrainian friendship which makes the Russians boil with rage. The article in the **Berlin Special Service** mentioned already claims that the German anti-Communists, above all the young ones, sympathize with "opposition movements" in the oppressed countries in East Europe. Word for word: "They seek out people who are not openly reactionary, such as the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Symonenko, who died in 1963, after whom a club of supporters of the Independent Workers' Party was named in Munich".

This article in a Communist newspaper, which may be published freely in democratic Germany, will not weaken the forces of the anti-Communist and anti-colonialist front — on the contrary. Among the West German youth

in particular the basis of this front is growing, which has come into being under the official battlecry: "Carry on the struggle against all oppressors of the nations of Eastern Europe!" Who are these oppressors? The Russians in the Kremlin and the Communists of every country!

In front of me just now lies the latest edition of a school newspaper from West Berlin, entitled, **Rebel**, No. 2. On page two of this excellent campaigning newspaper we find an article entitled: "European liberation struggles past and present". The following events are among others mentioned:

- The liberation struggle of the Ukrainians of 1918 against the Soviet Russians.
- The struggle of the Caucasian nations against the Soviet Russians 1924.
- The resistance of the Baltic nations against the Russian occupation of 1940.
- The Ukrainian tragedy 1941 - 1950.
- The suppression of the Polish revolts 1943 - 1956.
- The liberation struggle of the Hungarians 1956.
- Revolts in Poland 1956 and 1970.

Thus thinks and feels a different German youth! Their struggle is not in vain. Those allied to the nation of a Vasyl Symonenko need not fear for victory!

A Memorial Plaque for Communist Pioneers in West Berlin

As a consequence of the appeasement policy toward Moscow, a memorial plaque for Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg was erected by the city administration of West Berlin. The inscription on the plaque glorifies these champions of Communism in Germany as "Champions of Peace, Democracy and Socialism".

Bishops as Scapegoats

The secret talks carried on since March 1971 between the Prague government and the Vatican over a normalization of relations between state and church in Czecho-Slovakia have been unsuccessful.

The emissary of the Vatican, Monsignor Cheli, had at first received the impression that the government might make a gesture of good will and raise the ban on the building of churches, while in addition Prague was ready to release confiscated savings-books containing church savings. Then in the summer, the Ministry of Education published new directives for religious instruction making even more difficult the nevertheless voluntary registration of children. Both parents now have to submit a written statement, and only priests who have received the placet of the state — those who are thus subservient to the Communist regime — can give religious instruction. At the educational conference held before the beginning of the school year, the teachers were directed to ensure that the school was once more to be used to spread large-scale propaganda and that parents must be convinced that religious instruction was incompatible with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Although the union of "Peace Priests" had met such a lamentable end in 1968 in Czecho-Slovakia, a successor organization was now founded again under the name "Pacem in Terris", with the same objectives as the previous union: a kind of priests' trade union, designed to reach and influence from the pulpit also those who did not want to have anything to do with the Communist Party.

The activity of the Slovak bishops living in exile in the West, who felt encouraged in their resistance to the Vatican's Ostpolitik by the conduct of

the Ukrainian Eastern-rite Catholics, made no little contribution to the break-off of the preliminary talks being carried on between Prague and Rome. The Czecho-Slovak government had therefore demanded from the Pope that he should first see that the "nest" of Slovak separatists in the Vatican — who had not only their own theological seminary but also their own newspaper, and who influence to a large extent the broadcasts from Radio Vatican — should be removed. The Communists regard Bishop Hnilica as their greatest enemy. Together with the church dignitaries Grutka and Rusnak living in America, he never misses any opportunity of serving the aim of bringing an independent Slovak state into life again.

This newly arising tension in its relations with Prague is extremely undesirable to the Vatican, since it cannot fail to have an effect on the other Eastern states. But it is difficult for the Pope to discipline the Slovak bishops after his disagreement with the Hungarian Primate Mindszenty and Cardinal Slipyi — all the more so, as new signs of impatience towards believers are announced daily from Czecho-Slovakia. (*Chamer Zeitung*, Nov. 18, 1971)

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Piazza Palach

In Rome a square was named after the student Jan Palach, who burned himself on January 16, 1969, at Prague's Wenceslas Square as a protest against the occupation of CSSR. The square with a memorial to Jan Palach will now be called "Piazza Jan Palach martire della Liberta" — Martyr for Liberty. (*Stern*, January 2, 1972)

13,000 at the Unveiling of T. Shevchenko Monument in Buenos Aires, Argentina

On December 5, 1971, an unusually successful unveiling of a monument of Taras Shevchenko, the greatest poet of Ukraine, took place in Buenos Aires with the participation of 13,000 persons, one third of whom were young people, from Argentina, the USA, Canada, Europe, Paraguay, Uruguay and Brazil. The monument is the work of sculptor Leonid Molodozhanyan. It is situated at the intersection of the streets El Libertador and Durregeira in the Tres de Julio Park.

The monument was consecrated by **Metropolitan Mstyslav** of the USA, the spiritual leader of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and **Bishop Andriy Sapelyak**, the Apostolic Exarch of Ukrainian Catholics in Argentina. The ceremony was opened by **Dr. Vasyl Ivanytskyi**, chairman of the T. Shevchenko Monument Committee. The speakers included **Alfred P. Bissonet**, the Canadian Ambassador, **John Davis Lodge**, the American Ambassador, **Prof. Anjelo Battistes**, **Dr. Eduard A. Garcia**, **Col. Lisandro Seguro Levalle**, **Joseph Lysohir**, **Mrs. M. Bek** and **Mrs. S. Stetsko**. Messrs. Hayvas, Malashchuk, Vasylyshyn and Lysohir placed an urn containing the soil from the grave of T. Shevchenko in Kaniv (Ukraine), at the base of the monument.

In the afternoon a song and dance concert organized by the "Prosvita" Association took place in the Coliseo Theater, while in the evening the different delegations were guests at a banquet at the Sociedad Rural Argentina.

The banquet, which was attended by more than 1,000 people, was opened with a prayer and the blessing of food by Metropolitan Mstyslav. Leonid Hil was the master of ceremonies. Short speeches were delivered by **Dr. Vasyl Ivanytskyi**, **Metropolitan Mstyslav**, **Bishop Andriy Sapelyak**, **Prof. Dr. Evhen**

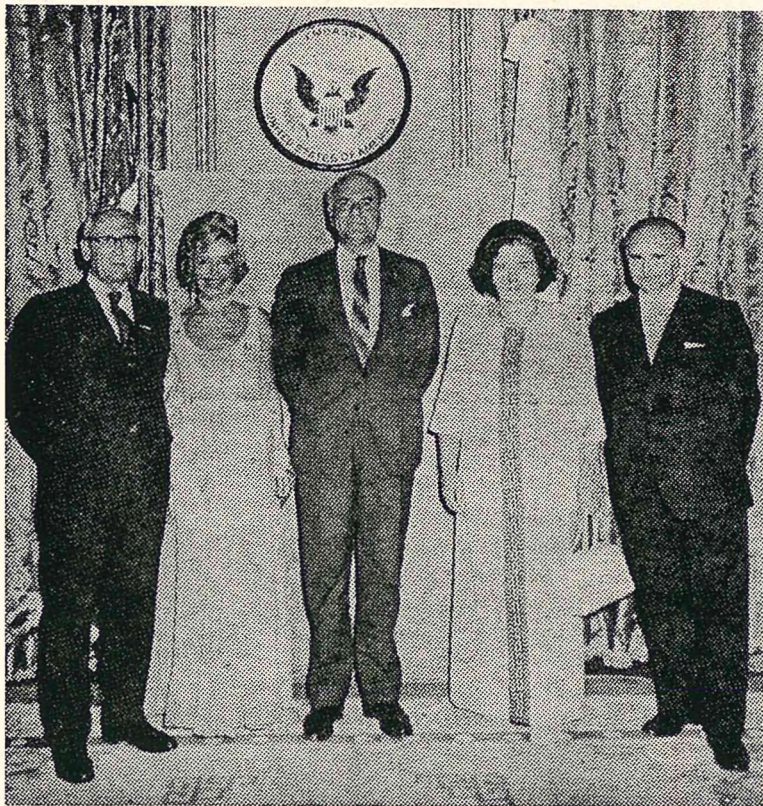
Vertyporokh, from the Shevchenko Scientific Society, **Dr. Roman Moroz**, from Ukrainians now living in the USA, former residents of Argentina, **Rt. Rev. Myroslav Kharyna**, first chairman of the Providence Association (USA), **Joseph Lysohir**, chairman of the Ukrainian National Association (USA), **Antin Batyuk**, chairman of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association (USA), **Volodymyr Mazur**, chairman of the Ukrainian National Aid Association (USA), **O. Kowal** (Belgium), head of the world Executive Board of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) and **Dr Bohdan Futey**, representing CESUS (World Conference of Ukrainian Students).

The above festivities were preceded by a representative concert in honor of T. Shevchenko, which was held on December 4, 1971, in Coliseo Theater. The program featured **Halyna Andreadis**, an opera singer from the USA, the dance ensemble "Kalyna" from Toronto under the direction of **Semen Dzuhan**, the dance ensemble of the "Prosvita" Association in Argentina under the direction of **Yuriy Dymitrevych**, a mixed choir "Kalyna" from Toronto under the direction of **Paranya Harasymchuk** and the Slovenian choir "Hallus" under the direction of **Julian Savelli**. **Maestro Antin Kopytovych** conducted the orchestra and **Gustavo Palilla** was at the piano.

The events were widely publicized in the Argentinian press. Unusually favorable reports appeared in the three Buenos Aires dailies: **La prensa**, **La nation**, and **Clarín**, of December 6, 1971.

On December 9th, John D. Lodge, the U. S. Ambassador to Argentina, received the Ukrainian delegation, the representatives of the subjugated peoples and their Argentine friends at his residence. Excerpts from his welcoming speech appear on p. 29.

At the U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires. From left to right: Mr. and Mrs. R. Malaschuk, Ambassador J. Lodge, Mrs. S. Stetsko, Mr. Omelan Kowal.



Every great period in world history has had its emigration and its refugees. Christ himself can be considered a refugee.

In the past century peoples were displaced from Poland and Lithuania, as well as Ukraine. Which of us does not know the name of Kosciuszko? Of Ivan Mazepa? Of Lafayette? And what of Chopin? Through his music, his mazurkas and polonaises, the Europeans learned about Poland. With his revolutionary music, he spoke more powerfully than anyone of his people's sufferings after the Polish and Lithuanian insurrection of 1830, a noble effort at freedom from the Tsarist yoke.

Chopin was a great messenger of his people and on the horizon rose the voice of another messenger; it was the voice of a people, the voice of liberty and of the future: that of Taras Shevchenko.

Recall the words graven on the monument to his memory, a few yards from here, near the monument honoring the founder of the United States:

"With the Ukraine shall rise her people and the fog of all oppression. And the splendid truth shall shine, and the sons of those still enslaved shall find in freedom."

This evening we honor the memory of the great Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko. As I remarked to you at the unveiling of his magnificent monument last Sunday: "While Ukrainian hearts still beat and the memory of this great poet vibrates in our hearts, Ukraine lives." You, the representatives of captive European nations, will live as long as you remain faithful to your martyrs, your heroes and your poets. That you will do so, is my conviction!

Young People "Welcome" Brezhnev to Paris

During L. Brezhnev's week-long visit to France in November, 1971, young Ukrainians (members of SUM and OMUF) prepared a "warm welcome" for the Russian dignitary. They painted 3,000 anti-Brezhnev posters and hung them along the route travelled by Brezhnev, and distributed 10,000 leaflets and a large number of blue and yellow balloons with inscriptions embarrassing to Brezhnev. They also drafted a letter to French President Pompidou with a request to protest against the unprecedented genocide of the Ukrainian people and their culture. The letter was also signed by the following prominent Frenchmen: Prof. Pasqual from the Sorbonne, philosopher Gabriel Marcell, writer Andre Troyat, French deputies and politicians Jan-Marc Dufour, C. Choven, Pentini, Gen. Vanuxem, Madame Suzanne Labin and Monique Durceau, and writer and scholar Jules Romains.

On the eve of Brezhnev's arrival, the Ukrainians were joined by the Georgian, Hungarian and Rumanian youth. The latter brought a special issue of **Catacombs** — a non-denominational periodical of the Church of Silence, containing many articles and photos

on the persecution of all churches. That night all posters of "Franco-Soviet friendship" were pasted over by anti-Brezhnev posters, covered with dead skulls and warning against the Russian beast of prey, and two rows of flags lining the Champs Elysées from the Place de la Concorde to the Arch de Triomphe were set ablaze.

On the next day the young people appeared on the Champs Elysées again, wearing chains, carrying signs and placards, singing the national anthems and distributing leaflets to the people who crowded on both sides of the boulevard. During the demonstration four Ukrainians and four Georgians were detained by the police and released after their documents were checked.

In connection with the Brezhnev visit, numerous Ukrainian organizations sent letters to President Pompidou, in which he was asked to intervene on behalf of the Ukrainian political prisoners, in particular V. Moroz, K. Zarytska, D. Husyak, S. Karavanskyi and Archbishop Velychkovskiy, and two communiques were distributed to the French press.

Police Measures in Connection with Brezhnev's Visit to France

Prior to the arrival of Leonid Brezhnev in France, the French police received instructions to banish to the Island of Corsica over 60 aliens from Paris and the vicinity, including nine Ukrainians, and to take under surveillance several dozen other activists. The banishment took place on October 25, 1971, two days before Brezhnev's arrival in Paris. All in all 49 persons were sent on a forced vacation, while others had to report to the police commissariat twice a day for the duration of the visit.

In mid-May, i. e. far in advance of the visit of the Russian leader to France,

the Soviet Embassy in Paris informed the French authorities that Ukrainians (the followers of S. Bandera) were planning to assassinate Brezhnev during his stay in Paris and that two people from Munich were due to arrive in the French capital for that purpose.

The provocative denunciation of the Russian Embassy was taken into consideration and transmitted (most likely by the Embassy itself) to the German police, who divided the allegedly suspicious or "dangerous" persons into two groups: some were only visited and checked by the police, others were forced to hand over their personal do-

cuments and to report to the police three times a day.

A denunciation-provocation of the Bolshevik terrorist apparatus — the KGB — served as the sole "material evidence" for so-called democratic police. The measures taken by the French and German police point to the fact that in these countries there is a narrow and limited understanding of human rights.

In the countries of continental Europe the policy of coexistence, favorable to Russia, has an influence on domestic policy. An unfavorable pressure of the parties in office could be felt with respect to anti-Russian manifestations with the intention of stifling them or eliminating them altogether. The attitude of various Socialist and Communist parties influences the government of West European states to the degree that dictatorially totalitarian developments and strong sympathies for the Russian imperialists and chauvinists could be discerned (in particular in West Germany).

The freedom-loving emigres living in these countries should boldly take up

the issue of the defense of their human rights and uncompromisingly expose the genocidal nature of Russian imperialism and the harmfulness of those circles which sympathize with the imperialists and combat the national liberation movements and their emigrations in free countries. In West Germany, in particular, we notice respect for the Russian aggressive fist. There, the German voices which defend the nations subjugated by Russia are very weak. The institution of the Captive Nations Week or a more massive activity of ABN are almost impossible at the present time, since the sympathy for the Russians, or rather the fear of Russian power, is so widespread. The Germans still value brutal force alone and therefore the forces striving for the liquidation of Russian imperialism, totalitarianism and Communist dictatorships have little effect in present-day Germany.

Consequently, we condemn the actions of the French and the German police which have used undemocratic means of persecution toward freedom-loving emigres from nations enslaved by Russian imperialism.

"The Law of the Strongest . . ."

He will go — the Red Tsar — to decorate the tomb of the UNKNOWN SOLDIER, who was BETRAYED BY LENIN at BREST-LITOVSK . . . He will eat and drink at the ELYSEE (the palace of the French President), and will sleep in Grand Trianon, this Conqueror of Prague.

Could this be the story of the New Western Society?

At a time when tiny ISRAEL is ceaselessly requested to evacuate the deserts it occupied as the result of a war which was enforced upon it, and represented a real threat to its very existence, NONE of the Western Powers EVER dared to request Russia to withdraw from the 20 countries it conquered and occupied and keeps now under its colonial yoke and merciless

exploitation by resorting to deportations and bloody repression.

The LAMB is forgotten. The WOLF is honoured . . .

BUT YOU FRENCHMEN must remember JAN PALACH, and the MILLIONS OF VICTIMS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM!

DEMAND the withdrawal of Russian troops and military bases from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Ukraine, Georgia, Poland, the Baltic states, Byelorussia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Turkestan.

Respect Human Rights.

Stop Eastern colonialism.

Freedom - Equality - Fraternity - Peace with Justice! The Free Georgians

(Text of a leaflet distributed in Paris during Brezhnev's visit.)

Protests Mar Kosygin's Visit to Denmark

On November 30, 1971, prior to Kosygin's visit, a small group of anti-Communists — among them well-known Danish authors and other personalities — staged a demonstration at the Soviet Embassy in Copenhagen. Posters and red roses wrapped in barbed wire were placed on the embassy wall in protest against the imprisonment of non-Communists in the Soviet Union. The police interfered and three persons — among them the ABN representative in Denmark, Mr. Erik Dissing — were arrested. The action was followed with great interest by the Danish press.

On December 2nd, on the arrival of the Soviet Prime Minister, demonstrations took place at the airport, and in the evening Danish Jews demonstrated in front of the Soviet Embassy against persecution of the Jewish population in the Soviet Union.

On December 3rd, the Common Committee of East Exiles in Denmark or-

ganized the main demonstration against Kosygin. About 350 East-European refugees and Danish anti-Communists, headed by the president of the Common Committee of East Exiles, Mr. Ernő Eszterhás, marched in a torchlight procession from the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen to the Soviet Embassy. The demonstrators protested against the political persecution in the Soviet Union, against the crimes of the Soviet government in East European countries and against Russian imperialism. They demanded freedom for all illegally imprisoned persons in the Soviet Union and freedom and self-determination for the peoples subjugated by Russia.

In front of the embassy, Mr. Eszterhás delivered a short speech. He said that Prime Minister Krag of Denmark had a strange predilection for ominous visitors. Some years ago he invited the hangman of Ukraine and Hungary, Khrushchov, and now we have another one: Kosygin, the Prime Minister of the land of concentration camps and terror, the USSR. Mr. Eszterhás urged Prime Minister Krag to raise the problem of political persecution in his negotiations with Kosygin and called on the Danish population to tell Kosygin that it does not want his visit. The demonstration was covered by the entire Danish press and many foreign reporters and TV companies.

On December 4th, Kosygin went to Aalborg in the northern part of the country to spend the weekend in North Jutland. There he was received with new demonstrations. Kosygin was followed by anti-Communist students and other young people who demanded freedom for all nations subjugated by Russian imperialism. In Aalborg the demonstrators succeeded in getting very close to Kosygin, who complained to the Danish Prime Minister, Mr. Krag, of having been annoyed by the demonstrators.



Copenhagen, August 18, 1971.

Members of the Common Committee of East Exiles in Denmark protesting the visit of the Soviet Russian fleet.

An Open Letter to Alexei Kosygin

There is today in European politics a growing desire to break away from the rigid pattern which has been characteristic of Europe during the last 25 years. Both in the East and in the West politicians are increasingly absorbed by plans and ideas which can contribute to a relaxation of the existing bloc formations.

In particular the leaders of the Communist countries have become fervent spokesmen for the need to normalize and relax the tensions in Europe, of the need to establish normal relations across national borders, and of the need for contacts between governments of different social and economic systems.

In line with this attitude you have, through the joint proposals of the Warsaw-pact countries, made yourself the spokesman for an all-European security arrangement in Europe for the purpose of ensuring peace in our part of the world.

It is our firm belief that a security arrangement in Europe only will be of lasting value if it is based on communication and understanding between nations. It can only be achieved by the peoples of Europe meeting and learning to know each other better. Only a free exchange of thoughts and ideas across national borders can establish the primary basis for peace and friendship among the nations of Europe.

Serious obstacles exist, however, for the realization of the ideas on relaxation of tensions and a rapprochement of which you have spoken so fervently.

After World War II physical barriers were built all along the western borders of the Communist countries,

preventing free traffic across these borders. In the West the barriers were called the "Iron Curtain". In the Communist countries they were called "Anti-imperialistic security measures". The building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 was, as you will know, only the completion of this impenetrable wall, so that today there exists an uninterrupted barrier from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea.

This division of Europe has been a tragic one, and the cause of a great deal of suffering, especially in Germany, where the barriers divide a nation and its capital and separate husband from wife and brother from sister.

In the years of 1970, with an increasing amount of travel and contacts across the borders, these barriers stretching across Europe seem anachronistic.

In particular harmony is found wanting between the existence of the Iron Curtain and your own proposal for a normalization and relaxation of tensions in Europe.

We, therefore, ask you most earnestly to let actions follow words! Demonstrate to the world your desire to normalize relations with Western Europe! Tear down the Iron Curtain! Dismantle the barbed wire fences! Tear down the watch towers and the machine gun nests along the borders of your country! Order your troops not to open fire on fleeing countrymen!

By taking such a step, you would be demonstrating by action the readiness of the East-European countries to work for cooperation and peace in Europe.

On behalf of

THE NORWEGIAN FREEDOM COUNCIL

Mrs. Liten DAHLSTROM

Mr. Torbjorn JELSTAD

International Human Rights Day in London

The Human Rights Day observances in London were organized by the International Human Rights Day Committee which arose on the initiative of MAOZ (Association to Aid Soviet Jews) and which united seventeen organizations representing the British, Byelorussians, Croats, Estonians, Jews, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians, the European Christian Mission and others.

The action commenced with a public meeting and a press conference in the building of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain on December 10, 1971. The meeting and the press conference were opened and directed by **Mr. John Graham**, chairman of the British League for European Freedom. **Nina Karsov**, who was subjected to persecution in Poland for her activities on behalf of the Human Rights Declaration, **Julius Telesin**, **David Markham** and **A. Anatoliy (Kuznetsov)** were asked to take their seats at the presiding table.

Nina Karsov, of Jewish nationality, who spent some time in prison in Poland for her anti-Communist activity was the first to speak. She criticized the indifferent attitude of the Western world to the persecutions in the USSR and called for at least a moment of spiritual communion with political prisoners in the USSR. **Julius Telesin**, a Jew and a Zionist, who escaped to freedom in March, 1970, was the next to speak. He characterized the Russian prison of nations in a very revealing light, rejecting all supposition that the present time is possibly better than the Stalinist. **David Markham**, a writer and poet, made a short declaration of solidarity with the political prisoners in the USSR. **A. Anatoliy (Kuznetsov)** delivered a longer address, very critical of the Russian system, and expressing support and admiration for all fighters for freedom, in particular the Ukrainians.

After the meeting and the press con-

ference, a large group of people, carrying placards, gathered near the buildings housing the Russian Embassy. Smaller groups, predominantly youth, headed for the Russian "Intourist" office at Oxford Circus, the "People's Bank", and the Russian press agency "TASS". Others went to distribute leaflets in the busier sections of the British capital.

In connection with the Human Rights Day, 21 persons (Ukrainians, Jews, Latvians, Lithuanians and Byelorussians) went on a 24-hour hunger strike in order to emphasize their demands to extend the Human Rights Declaration to the Russian prison of nations and to express solidarity with the eight political prisoners in a Mordovian concentration camp, who went on a hunger strike the previous day for the sake of the same demands. They were joined by three young Ukrainians, currently in Brixton Prison on charges of conspiring to cause a dangerous explosion, and ten other persons.

The Committee issued three petitions on which signatures were collected in the streets of London. One of them was addressed to British Prime Minister Edward Heath, urging the government to raise the issue of the political prisoners in the USSR in the British Parliament, and then at the next session of the UN in New York. The second petition was addressed to U Thant, Secretary General of the UN, calling for UN intervention in order to stop Russia's barbarous persecution of political prisoners. The third petition was addressed to N. Podgorny with a reminder that the practice of confining political prisoners to prisons, concentration camps and mental asylums constitutes a gross violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and an affront to human dignity.

The demonstration near the Russian Embassy and the "Intourist" lasted un-

til 10 p.m. Friday and from 10 a.m. until 6 p.m. Saturday, December 11th. At 2 p.m. Saturday, a 6-men delegation of the Committee took the signed petitions to No. 10 Downing Street.

An extensive commentary about the demonstration was broadcast on the

BBC radio and a special radio program was beamed behind the Iron Curtain.

The Committee published 35,000 illustrated leaflets with portraits of various political prisoners, including Svyatoslav Karavanskyi and Valentyn Moroz.

Kosygin's Visit: The Week of Mourning in Winnipeg



A demonstration of the Winnipeg Branch of ABN to protest the visit of A. Kosygin to Canada and the maintenance of friendly relations with the Russian empire, which was held on October 23, 1971, with the participation of the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Slovaks and Czechs.

Telegram

To the Honorable
Pierre Elliott Trudeau
The Prime Minister of Canada
Ottawa, Ontario

On behalf of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Winnipeg Branch, we are very disappointed that you are inviting Mr. Kosygin to visit Canada.

We strongly protest this action, because he is the symbol of Russian imperialism and tyranny.

The USSR government sent thou-

sands of innocent people from Ukraine, Byelorussia, Hungary, Lithuania, Estonia, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Poland and thousands of Jewish people to the slave concentration camps in Siberia.

We proclaim the week of October 17 to October 24, "The Week of Mourning", in Winnipeg, and will hold a special mourning service at the Cenotaph on Memorial Blvd. in Winnipeg.

Yours truly,

Rev. Semen Izyk

President of ABN, Winnipeg Branch

Demonstrations in New York and Chicago

On October 23, 1971 a demonstration was staged in front of the U.N. Headquarters in New York under the slogan: "Liberation for Ukraine" and "Freedom for V. Moroz". It was attended by 1500 young people, members of various Ukrainian youth and student organizations, and older members of the community. The demonstration was initiated by the Organizations of the Liberation Front and the American Friends of ABN. The speakers included: Mr. Ivan Vynnyk, the chairman of the demonstration, Mr. M. Spontak (AF-ABN), Prof. Ivan Vovchuk, Yuriy Voloshyn (students), President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians Joseph Lysohir, Osyp Zinkevych and Kvitka Semanyshyn. A choir of girls, conducted by Mrs. Stepaniak, opened the official part with singing of the Ukrainian and American national anthems and ended it with the hymn "Bozhe Velykyi" and "My Country". Several floats represented subjugated Ukraine in the form of living figures and attracted the attention of TV cameras and correspondents.

Members of the Jewish Defense League were also present during the demonstration.

On the initiative of the Ukrainian student organization TUSM a demonstration was held at the Chicago Civic Center Plaza on October 31, 1971 to protest the Russian-instigated murders of Mykhailo Soroka and Alla Horska and the arrest of Bishop Vasyl Velychkovskyy.

The demonstration was preceded by a hunger strike of numerous students.

A student carrying a cross headed the column of marchers. Then two black coffins draped with blue-yellow Ukrainian national flags were carried. Further down, dozens of Ukrainian flags and placards could be seen. The demonstrators marched as far as State Street and returned to Picasso Plaza, where a memorandum was read in U-



Chicago, Ill., October 31, 1971

krainian and English. Mrs. Slava Stetsko briefly addressed the demonstrators.

On November 1st, Mrs. Stetsko was interviewed by Mr. Vasyl Palahniuk on the Evening Forum Radio on the subject of Ukraine's liberation policy and the recent events in Rome. On November 3rd, Mrs. Stetsko was interviewed by Mr. Stella White on local radio.

Children Demand Kudirka's Release

As reported by *The Washington Post* and *The Sunday Star* of November 28, 1971, more than 60 Lithuanian children and about a dozen parents and teachers from Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington staged a demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1971. They protested the ten-year imprisonment of Simas Kudirka, the Lithuanian seaman returned to the Russians in 1970 after an abortive attempt to defect to the U.S.

The group tried to petition the Russian Embassy for the sailor's release and to deliver a Christmas package for him. Security officers refused to let them come closer than 500 feet from the Embassy. Later three children and Mrs. Stanley Gecys were allowed to call at the gate, but there was no answer.

From Chile to Uruguay: Does the Way to Communist Dictatorship Lead via the Non-Communist Left?

It is generally accepted that in Latin America the "ultra-right" regimes are the ones which unintentionally will bring about or at least promote the creation of left-wing dictatorships. Yet it has also been shown that the way can also lead via the non-Communist left, which is unable to maintain its own position against the extreme Communist left and thus fails. And this path is even of greater current interest and more directly relevant for the continent than the supposedly so representative "answer to the right-wing dictatorship". In Chile it was the democratic left-wing government of the Christian Democrat Frei which prepared the way to the Socialist-Communist coalition, and not a right-wing regime, which never existed in this country.

Of course, what does "left-wing" mean in Latin America? Politically seen, neither the workers (as far as they are not the leaders of the Communist Party-controlled trade unions) nor the peasants or farm-workers are left-wing, but a part of the professional classes, millionaires, the upper-middle class.

On the other hand the leaders of the non-Communist left, intimidated by the slogans of their extremist "partners", often attempt to "flee forward", and change, when they are legally voted into office, into real "Trojan Horses". Thus in 1954 this happened with Jacobs Arbenz in Guatemala, in 1964 with the rich Goulart in Brazil and recently with the Chilean millionaire Allende.

In Chile, the Moscow-orientated Popular Front under the formal leadership of Salvador Allende has taken office with only 36 % of all votes cast.

Moscow was anxious to set up a similar combination for the November elections in Uruguay, which this time, however, besides the Communist Party, included the pro-Chinese Socialists and Castroists, a mosaic of splinter groups from the two large traditional parties and the Christian Democratic Party. The chosen figure-head is the wealthy and business-minded retired general Liber Seregni, who is to stand as the candidate for the presidency, seconded by large landowner, newspaper publisher and banker Carlos Quijano as candidate for the vice-presidency.

Although the Latin American Left believes that the Soviet Union can be made to work for them, Moscow has its leaders firmly in its hand, with the help of the Communist Party. The opportunity of financing the election campaign, which every time becomes more expensive, and the costs of which the traditional parties in the underdeveloped Latin American economy are not capable of meeting, offers the Communists a unique chance to obtain office legally through a Popular Front, by aiding such a coalition with money from the Soviet Union.

These tactics are especially visible in Uruguay. The two large parties, the Colorado and the National (Balncó) Parties, are in serious financial difficulties, for the normal suppliers of finance — industry and the agricultural producers — are themselves experiencing a serious crisis and are not in a position to make money available for an election campaign. A victory for this new edition of the classical Soviet Popular Front, as was inaugurated in the Thirties in France with Leon Blum, is, it is true, not probable in the elec-

tions this year, but not to be excluded. Uruguay under a Communist-controlled Popular Front would be — in addition to the present government in Chile — of the greatest importance for the Soviet Union, for Moscow would then have available, in addition to the Cuban base in the Caribbean, important bases both in the Atlantic and the Pacific, (as early as February 22, 1968, the USSR had set up its first all-the-year-round research station on the Island of Waterloo, under the name of Bellinshausen), which amounts to a direct threat not only to Argentina and the route round Cape Horn, but also to South Africa and the Cape of Good Hope. At a time when the Russian fleet is being built up, when as many as 200 Russian ships, supposedly for fishing purposes, are at the same time also sighted in the Southern Atlantic — the strategic importance of a possible election victory by a Popular Front under

long-distance control from Moscow, is not to be lightly dismissed. It has not been clearly recognized today that the ship and not the tank is the weapon which imparts the enormous impetus to Russian diplomacy enjoyed by it everywhere at the moment.

Whereas the Soviet Union displays an accentuated interest in Latin America — diplomatic relations exist with all South American countries with the exception of Paraguay — the United States, in view of unilaterally understood priorities, remains more and more in the background of events on this continent. Under these circumstances the — by the uninaugurated damned as — "Move to the Right" can scarcely be interpreted as anything else but an expression of the need for self-preservation, the ultimate logic of a society, which, despite catastrophic deficiencies is still freer than the offered Communist alternative. (FKD)

Cardinal Slipyi Proposed as Man of the Year

Sir:

For *TIME's* Man of the Year for 1971, I propose Josyf Cardinal Slipyi, Archbishop Major and Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. His contributions to mankind and to the Church are many: Prince of the Church, teacher, scholar, confessor of the faith, defender of persecuted Churches in the Soviet Union, promoter of freedom and justice for captive peoples.

For 18 years, Josyf Slipyi was incarcerated in Communist slave labor camps, both for his faithfulness to the Catholic Church and for his staunch belief in God-given rights that men and nation can live in peace, with liberty and justice for all. Following his release from prison and arrival in the Vatican City in 1963, Cardinal Slipyi built St. Sophia church and established a cultural and educational center in Rome for theology and the humanities.

His activity at the October Synod of Bishops received world-wide attention,

where he eloquently pleaded for freedom and justice for 46 million Ukrainians. His undaunted presentation at the Synod of the persecution of religion in the Soviet Union strengthened man's belief that all peoples, including Ukrainians, are entitled to freedom of worship. His plea received world acclaim and respect (*TIME, Religion, November 15, 1971*).

I strongly believe that *TIME's* consideration and eventual nomination of JOSYF CARDINAL SLIPIYI as MAN OF THE YEAR for 1971 would be a just honor and tribute to him for his enduring faith and his fearless leadership. He has demonstrated, in words and in deeds, that freedom and justice are inherent to all, regardless of race, creed and nationality. Josyf Cardinal Slipyi came from Ukraine; his spiritual strength, his work and his leadership serve as an inspiration to all of us.

Respectfully
Orest Szczudluk

News and Views

Time Is Running Out

The "correlation of forces" has now changed. The military-technical base of the USSR is no longer inferior to that of the US. Soviet military momentum is now such that unless the U.S. rapidly increases its own level of spending, the USSR will have across the board military superiority by 1975. Most of our professional military leaders, such as Admiral Hyman Rickover, concede that they have superiority now in many categories of military power. Their ICBM force of over 1600 launchers vs. 1054 for the US is only the most dramatic example of such superiority. The most significant may well be their level of spending on military-related research and development (R&D). Beginning about 1968 the "crossover" occurred, when Soviet R&D spending exceeded our own. According to the best estimates, it now exceeds ours by some 40-50% per year — or \$ 3 billion annually. Given the added Soviet advantage of secrecy, which generally prevents us from learning about new Soviet weapons until they make the prototype and testing stages, this will make the US increasingly vulnerable to the kind of technological surprise that could make a Soviet first strike against us militarily feasible.

The New "Ostpolitik"

The growing political rot is best illustrated in Europe by West German Chancellor Willy Brandt's so-called "Ostpolitik". It is interesting that ten years ago, on June 17, 1961, this man spoke in West Berlin as follows:

"To ask us to approve the dismemberment of Germany means the expectation that we should destroy our own honor. It is the suggestion that we should betray our aim of German uni-

ty and freedom. He who gives his hand to such a betrayal does not belong to us... to sign the two so-called peace treaties would mean signifying German agreement with the illegal dismemberment of our country; it would signify that we have given up our demand for self-determination."

Yet here is this same Herr Brandt now betraying every one of his own words. The Berlin agreement, along with the Warsaw and Moscow Pacts signed by West Germany in 1970 will, if ratified by the West German Parliament, formally recognize the dismemberment and division of Germany, leave standing the Berlin Wall, and deny forever the principle of East Germany. The US Government has given the treaties its blessing — all part of the policy of "negotiation rather than confrontation," which the Soviets plainly regard as the highway toward the dissolution of NATO.

The truly incredible thing is that, even at this late date, the bulk of Americans persist in living in a fool's paradise. While we bask in the reassuring radiance of upcoming Presidential visits to Peking and Moscow, while we comfort ourselves with the happy idea that an Arms Control agreement will soon make it possible for us to reduce even further our already greatly slashed military expenditure, while we look with satisfaction at a world in which there at least seem to be no major East-West crises, while we relax in the spirit of "detente" being pushed by the world-travelling Soviet leadership, and while we ignorantly conclude from all this that the Communists, this time, have really changed (the "death of ideology" one newspaper columnist proclaimed!), time is running out on us with chilling speed.

The Vice President, at least, seems to understand. In an interview with Alan Drury, printed in **Look Magazine**, October 19, 1971, he said this:

"We're talking now about our grandchildren, or at least about the next generation. Then is when the blow will come from the Soviets. By that time we will be so weak that we will not be able to respond unless we are willing to launch massive retaliation that could blow up the world. They have been extremely clever in never forcing a crisis. Their method is to work around us and weaken us on every side

without forcing a confrontation. Again I say it scares me because these fellows in the Senate and in the House who oppose our foreign policy are doing things to this country which cannot possibly be reversed unless we soon start to do them. They will soon be irreversible."

One might take issue with Mr. Agnew only on the part about the "next generation". If present trends continue the crunch will come much sooner than that.

Frank J. Johnson
(Washington Report, December 20, 1971)

Victims of Communism Honored

São Paulo, Brazil -- The Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) promoted a religious homage to the victims of communism around the world, on the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia.

The communist-dominated areas were represented by delegations wearing their colorful national costumes. The following peoples were represented: Albanians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Chileans (for the first time in such sad observance), Chinese, Croats, Cubans, Czechs, Estonians, Georgians, Germans, Hungarians, Koreans, Latvians, Lithuanians, Macedonians, Poles, Rumanians, Russians, Serbs, Slovaks, Tibetans, Ukrainians

and Vietnamese. Numerous personalities of the political and military life of São Paulo were also present.

The huge gothic Cathedral was filled to capacity by a throng of more than 4,000 people. Hundreds more who could not enter the church remained outside, where a large TFP standard (12 meters high) was displayed along with the banners of the Captive nations. After the Mass a military band played taps and the Brazilian national anthem.

When leaving the Cathedral, Professor Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira was enthusiastically applauded by the multitude.

The TFP promoted similar Masses in several other cities.

Latin Americans against Dialogues with Communists

Under the pretext of economic development and trade, several Latin-American Presidents are adopting a policy of "filling gaps" and holding dialogues with Communist countries, that Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira has termed "an overthrowing of ideological barriers". These governments, however, are not doing anything more than following the rash precedent set by Nixon, by deciding to visit Communist China, though Red dictators give ob-

vious signs of going on with their imperialist plans of exporting their "Communist revolution" and the so-called "thoughts of Mao Tse-tung".

Thus, the Presidents of Argentina, Colombia and Ecuador, without taking into account the dangers of the increasing Communist infiltration and agitation, nor the Reds' real aims, invited the Marxist Allende, President of Chile, to visit their countries.

(TFP Press Release)

The Massacre of Balts at Norilsk

J. Berger, who spent 21 years in a Russian concentration camp and, being a Polish citizen, returned to Poland after his release, published his memoirs in London. In them he also describes the tragedy of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian officers after the Communist Russian "liberation" in 1941.

The Russians rounded up over 1000 officers (250 Estonians, 400 Latvians and about 400 Lithuanians) for alleged "courses to raise qualifications" and sent them off to Moscow. Upon their arrival they were immediately disarmed, imprisoned and transported to Norilsk. There they were put on trial, although formally there were absolutely no grounds for this. All protests were of no use. The court condemned 400 of them to death. The sentence was carried out within 5 to 10 minutes.

Norylsk lies far to the north beyond the Arctic Circle. It reminds us of other similar Russian crimes — Katyn, the site of the execution of 200 Polish officers, and Bazar, the site of the execution of 359 Ukrainians. The sole reason for the executions was that they were officers of national armies of their respective homelands.

Refugees from Red China

The movement of refugees from Red China in recent months is characterized by an influx of young people. In May (1971) 350 refugees from China, in June 456 and in July 870 persons were registered in Hongkong. Many disenchanted Red Guards have reported to the admission camps in Hongkong. Informed observers stipulate that alongside the registered refugees there is a four times as high "hidden figure", as well as that for every refugee who reaches Hongkong, there are about 25 refugees who lose their lives during the flight or who are comprehended by Red Chinese border security units. It should be considered a novelty today that the faithful

adherents of Mao's party line are also fleeing to the British Crown Colony in large numbers. The following reasons are offered: dissatisfaction with the regulations in the Communes, fear of prosecution for deeds performed in connection with the "Cultural Revolution", fear of "voluntary service" in one of the paramilitary organizations or of transfer to a military village.

pah (DINK)

24,000 Seek Asylum

Over 24,000 refugees from Communist-ruled states have asked for political asylum in Italy in the last six years, according to the report of the Office for Refugees in Padriciano, near Trieste. Topping the list of political refugees are those from Yugoslavia (12,090), Hungary (4,115) and Albania (2,449).

Soviet Russia's Ambassador Protests Free Flags of Subjugated Nations

On June 28, 1971, the Soviet ambassador to Canada was reported to have protested the display of the flags of free Ukraine, Armenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, and Poland at the Ethnic Mosaic pavilion, part of the Montreal Man and His World exposition. According to news stories, Ambassador Boris Miroshnichenko, after inspecting the Ethnic Mosaic exhibit prior to public viewing, protested to the office of Mrs. Margaret Dvorsky, the pavilion's curator, threatening to take the matter up with the Canadian government, if need be.

Mrs. Dvorsky advised the Ambassador that "this is a free country and this is an international exhibition devoted to culture, not politics; our pavilion is concerned with ethnic folklore and culture".

A formal protest in turn against the Soviet action was sent to External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp by the Canadian Citizenship Federation.

(The Ukrainian Quarterly)

Psychiatrists Fail to Censure the Russians

As reported by **The Washington Post** of December 3, 1971, the delegates to the Fifth World Congress of Psychiatry meeting in Mexico City "have decided not to take an official stand on charges that political dissidents are confined to mental hospitals in the Soviet Union. The efforts of individual American psychiatrists and several European psychiatric associations, who wanted to see condemnation of the Soviet Union have not only resulted in a widespread reaction to keep politics out of science, but also in breastbeating among Western psychiatrists themselves."

We are not condoning the unethical practices which occur from time to time in Western countries, but these are isolated instances and are in no way to be compared with the Russian practice of confining completely healthy people to mental asylums for their opposing political or religious views, in order to discredit them in the eyes of the community and to destroy them physically and mentally. Such mental asylums in the Soviet Union are usually operated by the secret police and their personnel are agents of the KGB, whose task it is to render the individuals entrusted to their "care" harmless to the regime.

Tirana's Mission: A Blind Agency of Mao Tse-tung at the United Nations

Contrary to the binding international obligation for all United Nations members concerning the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms set forth in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the present Albanian Stalinist regime since its establishment by force (1944), has deprived the Albanian people of the above mentioned rights and freedoms.

Moreover, the Albanian Stalinist regime represents the most brutal and inhuman aspects of Communist rule among East-Central European countries. According to a United Nations survey, 80,000 of Albania's 1,710,000 citizens were thrown into concentration camps between 1945 and 1956, and some 16,000 died there; some 12,000 are still being held in forced labor camps for political and ideological reasons.

Nonetheless, such a regime which does not possess any legal, political or moral right to represent Albania and her people, was admitted to the United Nations (1955) through a so-called package deal between the Western powers and the USSR.

During all these years the so-called Albanian delegation has not brought up for discussion at the UN sessions any problem of specific interest to Albania and her people. Instead, the said delegation has concentrated all its efforts at first on blindly serving the political and ideological aims of the Soviet Union within this world organization, and after the official Moscow-Tirana break back in 1961, it became an equally subservient mouthpiece of Maoist China's destructive policy toward the United Nations Organization.

Therefore, we reemphasize that the so-called Albanian delegation at the UN as in the past is misrepresenting the vital rights and interests of the Albanian state and people by becoming a blind tool of foreign powers' imperialistic aims and interests within the United Nations.

(Shqiptari I Libre)

Agents of the Russian Secret Service in the UNESCO

According to the reports of the London newspaper, **The Sunday Telegraph**, the Russian secret service has channeled a considerable number of its agents to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

From Behind the Iron Curtain



ALBANIA

Another Religious Condemned to Death

According to our information, the former parish priest of the Catholic community of Tirana, **Dom Shtjefen Kurti**, has been condemned to death. After the suppression of religions in Albania, Dom Kurti had been sent to a forced labour camp where, owing to his old age, he had been put in charge of the distribution of bread to the inmates of the camp. It seems that he had given more than the usual ration of bread to somebody who was ill, and it was for this "crime" that he was condemned to death. (**The Albanian Resistance**)

Congress of the Communist Party

On November 1, 1971, the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Albania opened with the detailed report of its Secretary General, Enver Hoxha. The report lasted 6 hours and the next day it was distributed to the population.

As domestic policy, Hoxha has announced the launching of a new constitution "that will give a better idea of Albania's socialist reality". The present constitution dates from 1946.

The economic situation and the five-year plan (1971-1975) have been illustrated in detail by the Prime Minister, Mehmet Shehu, who said Albania will grow out of its agricultural-industrial state into an industrial-agricultural country. (*Lettre d'Albanie*)



BOHEMIA

Memorial Plaque for Russian Occupiers

On a building in Prague, where previously Russian occupying soldiers had

been accommodated, a memorial plaque was unveiled in December 1971 in memory of the Russian invasion in 1968. It expresses the "gratitude" of the nation for the intervention. Russians feverishly try to secure their imperialistic hold on enslaved nations even by means of symbols.



CROATIA

Croats Fighting for Their Rights

The Western press reported on the struggle of the Croats for their national rights and independence. The **Neue Zürcher Zeitung** wrote about the "emancipation fever in Croatia". Two assistant professors of Zagreb University, Dr. S. Djodan and Dr. M. Veselica, who were too active in the campaign to rebuild the Yugoslav union republic on the national basis, were expelled from the Communist Union. The Croats demanded that Croatia be granted more rights in the state sense.

The case of two former national leaders, namely the erection of a monument for one of them, is also linked with this struggle. Both assistants belong to the **Hrvatska Matiza**, a national cultural and patriotic organization. The head of the Croatian Parliament called their activity a counterrevolutionary movement. Tito intervened in the affair, warning against the threat of the Croatian independence movement. The Praesidium of the Party resolved to take a decisive stand against nationalism. The Party leaders of the Croatian Communist Party, explaining the movement in question to the population, said that as the result of the redrafting of the Yugoslav constitution the old Croatian dream will be realized. In practice this means that within the framework of Yugoslavia the Croats

cannot demand more than wider autonomy. They must be satisfied with "quasi-statehood" with a socialist content.

On this issue there is no difference among the Communist systems. All of them, with the Russians at the head, i. e. the ruling nations, talk about "nationalism" and "chauvinism" of the subject or subjugated nations which are demanding their rights while they never call their own imposition of will and domination "nationalism" or "chauvinism". They do not call it imperialism either.

Student Strike in Zagreb

In November 1971 a strike of students took place in the Croatian capital Zagreb. The striking Croatian students demanded that the proceeds from tourism in Croatia be used for the benefit of this country alone and not distributed to the other countries in Yugoslavia. Almost the whole tourist trade in Yugoslavia is concentrated in Croatia and Slovenia.



GERMANY

Communist Spy Honoured with Distinction

Professor Klaus Fuchs, a Communist spy, who in 1950 was sentenced in England to 14 years of imprisonment for betraying atomic secrets to Soviet Russia, has been awarded the "Patriotic Golden Order of Merit" by the "State Council Chairman", Walter Ulbricht, in the "German Democratic Republic" (Russian Occupation Zone of Germany). Since his pardon and deportation from England in 1959 Fuchs has been living in the "German Democratic Republic".



LATVIA

Former Partisan Sentenced to Death

Cina, the organ of the Latvian CP, reported that the Supreme Court of the

Latvian SSR at Cesis sentenced Peteris Čaks on the grounds that in the autumn of 1944 he had evaded the draft into the Red Army and gone underground and that in the spring of 1945 he had joined an "armed anti-Soviet gang", the members of which had described themselves as "political fighters" and hid in the forests. Čaks had later left the forests and moved to a settlement where he was not known. But it had soon become clear that he was hiding an automatic pistol. (**Cina**, Aug. 7, 1971).

(Peteris Čaks was evidently one of the partisans who in the Baltic States were generally known as "forest brothers" and who were supported by the rural population until the individual farms were liquidated and forcibly collectivized at the beginning of the fifties).



RUMANIA

Writers Critical of Centralization

At a literary round-table discussion in Cluj, Mr. Dumitru Radu POPESCU, chief editor of the Cluj literary magazine **Tribuna** (he visited Britain and the U.S.A. last year), criticized the fact that "the status of a writer living in a provincial town does not always equal that of a writer living in Bucharest". The Iasi writer CORNELIU STEFANACHE criticized the excessive centralization in the Writers' Union and the disadvantageous situation of provincial writers.



UKRAINE

Russian Drive against Ukrainian Intellectuals

News has reached us from Ukraine about intensified persecution and repressions of Ukrainian intellectuals. In the last few months a number of handwritten leaflets on this subject have been circulating, which provide information about intellectuals who have

become victims of reprisals by the KGB and the party officials.

Prof. Karpenko, a Doctor of History, was dismissed from work at the Lviv University. He was allegedly accused of a too critical projection of Stalin's personality cult and its effects, which he supposedly emphasized in his lectures. Prof. Karpenko was also removed from work at the Institute of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR (the Lviv branch) for an objective appraisal in his research works of the significance of the Western Ukrainian National Republic.

University lecturer **S. Zlupko** is subjected to constant persecution because he dared to have his own opinion about particular periods in the socio-political and economic development of Ukraine in the 19th century. His doctoral dissertation on the socio-economic thought in Ukraine of the last century has been lying about for many years at the Institute of Economics of the AS Ukr. SSR and somehow its turn to be defended never comes.

Under pressure from Russian chauvinists, an able lecturer, **Obuzhivskiyi**, was forced to leave the department of political economy. His doctoral dissertation was approved by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, but Moscow refuses to give its approval.

Among the Lviv and Kyiv circles of Ukrainian intellectuals, rumours are circulating about the spying and informational activity at the Lviv branch of the Institute of Social Sciences of the AS Ukr. SSR of M.S. Hurlad, who allegedly wrote denunciations against various intellectuals in the occupied Ukraine. As the result of her denunciations, in 1970 alone, 18 commissions (including a special commission of the Central Committee of the Party) visited the Institute. They examined a number of cases and demanded that particular intellectuals be dismissed from work. Among the dismissed is **Prof. S. Shchurat**, who was the head of

the Literature Department. A well-known KGB agent, **Neborachenko**, was appointed in his place with instructions to oust undesirable people from the Institute. On the basis of Hurlad's denunciations a reprimand was given to research associate **Kurchev**, who allegedly concealed his past, when he was joining the Party. In addition, a prominent intellectual, **Hryhoriy A. Nudha** (born in 1913 in the Sumy region), a member of the Writers' Union of Ukraine and a research associate at the Institute, is also persecuted. Nudha is blamed for the fact that he allegedly had been repressed after the war and had spent some time in prison because he happened to be taken captive by the Germans. In spite of the fact that H. Nudha had been completely rehabilitated, he is being reminded of his former past. H. Nudha is the author of numerous works about the world significance of the Ukrainian song.

An employee of the Literature Department of the Institute, **Valo**, a native of Boryslav, was interrogated numerous times, only because her brother is allegedly living in Australia.

On the basis of a decision of the special meeting of the Lviv Oblast Committee of the Party, **Prof. Lukiya L. Humetska**, head of the Philology Department, as well as **Markiyan Yuliyanych Smishko**, a well-known archeologist (born in 1900), were dismissed from work, and later transferred to other jobs.

Destruction of Cemeteries and Art Treasures

Information from Lviv tells of further destruction and filling with stones of military graves at the Yanivskiyi cemetery.

Last year a well-known historic sculpture was destroyed near the church of St. Mary of the Snows, erected in the times of King Danylo of Halych. The sculpture was removed at night by uni-

formed KGB agents. One of the leaflets literally says the following: "The unique pictures of the Museum of Ukrainian Art, which are stored in the Armenian Cathedral without proper temperature and humidity controls are literally in a wrecked state... An attack on monuments of the Ukrainian past is being intensified with each day."

Yuriy Shukhevych — Subject of Continuous Persecution and Terrorization

News has reached us from the town of Nalchyk in the Caucasus, where Yuriy Shukhevych, unbroken by years of Russian concentration camps and prisons, has been forced to live, that the KGB had arrested him again several months ago.

For the Russians, any freedom-loving Ukrainian individual, in particular anyone who actively defends the national and human rights of the Ukrainian people, becomes a life-long enemy of their insatiable, totalitarian empire.

Dozens of Acetone Tanks Burn

Travellers arriving from Ukraine via Hungary reported that on the first weekend of December 1971 they witnessed a huge fire on the border between the Ukrainian SSR and the Hungarian People's Republic near the Chop railroad station. To extinguish the blaze, fire engines from the Soviet side with markings "Mukachiv", "Uzhhorod", "Pecheryn", "Berehiv", "Chop" and others were brought in to Zakhonia on the Hungarian side. Many people from the nearby kolkhoz "Prykordonnyk" were mobilized to fight the fire. As was later revealed, tank cars with acetone and liquid diesel fuel were deliberately set on fire. The long train of tank cars still travelled on the Hungarian side of the railroad. Several blazing tank cars were uncoupled, but the others could not be dragged too far away and the whole train was engulfed

in the fiery sea. The fire spread to various buildings and small gasoline tanks. From the early evening hours until midnight a huge fire was burning in the vicinity of the Chop railroad station.

Prior to this incident, an even greater fire broke out in the Kharkiv region where "for unknown reasons" hundreds of thousands of cubic meters of natural gas were consumed by flames.

The report about the fire near the border station of Chop, which serves as a link between the USSR and the satellites, was confirmed by the Russian newspaper *Izvestia* of December 5, 1971, in the article entitled, "The Tale of Courage". Only a few details were provided: "When the first three tank cars started burning, the Hungarian engineer could not take the train very far from the junction. The fire spread to several more tanks containing acetone. As the result of explosions the fire spread for 200 meters around..."

"In the Name of the Virgin Mary"

The German Catholic Information Agency reported on November 30, 1971, that a director of one of the committees, a manager of a transportation company and a school principal were tried in Kyiv. They were accused of providing a truck and a school bus in harvest time for transportation of pilgrims. The people were going on a pilgrimage to the Pochaiv Monastery, the center of veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Pravda Ukrainy accused the functionaries of "elementary ideological shortsightedness, political immaturity and lack of principles." At the same time the paper raised the question whether atheist propaganda can function at all when "leading officials give their approval for pilgrimages in the name of the Virgin Mary..."

Book Reviews

Lev E. Dobriansky: **U.S.A. AND THE SOVIET MYTH**. Introduction by William G. Bray, M. C. Published by The Devin-Adair Company, 1 Park Ave., Old Greenwich, Conn., 06870. 274 pp. Price \$ 6.50

The author of this book, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Professor of Economics at Georgetown University, with a Ph. D. from New York University, is one of the leading experts on Eastern Europe in the U.S.A. He is President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and strategy staff member of the American Security Council. His book, "U.S.A. and the Soviet Myth" is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Roman Smal-Stocki (1893-1969), Patriot, Scholar, Christian and Friend of all the Captive Nations.

In this book, Prof. Dobriansky disproves errors and illusions about the USSR, so widespread in the U.S.A. and in other countries of the free world, points out the facts and problems, drawing attention to their interrelation and significance, clears up misunderstandings and suggests possible solutions. The author informs his readers about the Russian and the non-Russian revolutions on the territory of the former tsarist empire and suggests that the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, or more precisely, the Russian Bolshevik *coup d'etat* served the purpose of restoration and modernization of the already disintegrated Russian empire. He brings out in this study convincing evidence for the fact that the USSR is the forcibly restored Russian empire in modern form.

Prof. Dobriansky also acquaints the readers of his book with the strivings for independence of peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism. He draws attention to the resistance of these peoples and throws light upon

the world political significance of their revolutionary liberation struggle.

Special attention is accorded by Prof. Dobriansky in his book to the Ukrainian question, for Ukraine is not only the largest subjugated nation in the USSR, but in the Russian Bolshevik sphere of power generally.

Prof. Dobriansky's work, "U.S.A. and the Soviet Myth" is an interesting and topical book with very convincing and impressive argumentation. It is written in a light, generally accessible style. The book also contains an ample bibliography on the problems connected with this broad subject.

Dr. C. E. Pokorny

Edward L. Delaney: **HARVEST OF DECEIT**. 20th Century FACTFINDER. P.O. Box 2003, Sacramento, Calif., 95809. 213 pp.

The well-known American journalist, Edward L. Delaney, a courageous fighter for truth and freedom, points in this book to the fatal errors of the U.S. foreign policy since Franklin D. Roosevelt:

"Our several Washington administrations from Roosevelt to Nixon — riddled with communist collusionists — contrived to deceive the American people regarding the real winner of World War II. The only winner in that war was Soviet Russia. It is over 26 years since the 'armistice' intended to end hostilities in Europe. In flagrant violation of that agreement, the Soviet Union maintains a massive military force in East and Central Europe. That, of course, necessitates the continued maintenance in Europe of a large U.S. military 'peace' army to prevent further westward aggression of Soviet communism."

The author also informs his readers in this book about the various crimes

committed by the Russian Bolshevik dictatorship. Thus he writes the following:

"Our President's aid to the communist cause was especially disappointing and disheartening to the militant freedom fighters of the Ukraine. Millions of their people had been starved to death by a Moscow-created famine. Others were being slaughtered by agents of the NKVD or transported to the frigid slave camps where they would dig in the mines and eventually die.

"For centuries the Ukrainians have been devoutly Christian. Their religious heritage helped to sustain them during the periods of their greatest persecution. Therefore a primary objective of the atheistic over-lords in Moscow was to confiscate the churches, banish the priests, bishops and religious teachers or simply liquidate them by a bullet in the head. All private schools were closed. Only the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin were to be impressed on the minds of the youth."

Edward L. Delaney, who lived in Slovakia during World War II, also sheds light on the darkest chapter of World War II, the guerrilla operation called "Slovak national uprising" by the communists.

"There never was a 'Slovak national uprising'. There was a bloody, Soviet-communist instigated guerrilla operation in the Banska Bystrica area of Slovakia. Please note this was in the Republic of Slovakia — not Czecho-Slovakia. For over six years, from mid-March 1939 to mid-May 1945, when the communist forces, with the aid and benediction of our Washington administration, took over regime in Prague, there was no such country as Czecho-Slovakia. The Republic of Slovakia was officially and diplomatically recognized by 27 countries, so it existed as a political entity."

In connection with the restoration

of the Czecho-Slovak state formation the author ascertains the following:

"It is deliberative deception and falsification of the historical records when politicians, editors, political writers and others speak of the 'communist take-over' of Czecho-Slovakia in the early part of 1948. Czecho-Slovakia was part and parcel of the Soviet colonial empire when their troops entered Prague — without firing a shot — in the second week of May 1945; not three years later, as the apologists for Roosevelt's perfidy would have the credulous believe."

The author also sheds light on communist infiltration in the White House and in various departments of the U.S. government, the catastrophic effects of the Morgenthau Plan and the call for unconditional surrender, the abandonment of Berlin and Prague to the Russians, the murder of General Patton, the forced extradition of prisoners of war to the Russians, the division of Europe and generally the catastrophic policy of various U.S. presidents in relation to communism and Russian imperialism.

"As a result of Roosevelt's disgraceful aid to the communist cause, millions of people have been deprived of their freedom and their natal countries incorporated in one or other of the Soviet-communist combines."

Edward L. Delaney's book, "Harvest of Deceit" (as well as his earlier books) should be read by very many people in the free world, so that the free world would at last become aware of the danger facing it.

Dr. Ctibor E. Pokorny

Protest against Peking

Three young members of the Jewish Defense League have torn down the Red Chinese flag from the mast at New York's Rockefeller Center. By this act they wanted to protest the anti-Israel stand of the Mao regime.



Above: The symbolic burning of emblems and flags of the Communist Russian and the former Hitlerite empires during an anti-Kosygin demonstration in Toronto, Canada, on October 25, 1971, in which 14,000 persons participated.

Below: 36-hour hunger strike by Ukrainian youth in Munich, Germany, on January 29-30, 1972, to protest the reimprisonment of Valentyn Moroz and the new wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals. Simultaneous demonstrations took place in Bonn and Hamburg.



REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

Second Revised and Extended Edition
Library of Congress Card Catalog No. 70 - 100979

Edited by **Slava Stetsko, M. A.**

Foreword by **Ivan Matteo Lombardo**

Revolutionary Voices



This book contains articles and protests to various Soviet Russian officials which were written by Ukrainian intellectuals who are at present incarcerated in Russian concentration camps, including recent works by Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, sentenced by the Russians to 14 years imprisonment for voicing his opinion.

The Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, Chairman of the European Freedom Council, states in the foreword of the book:

"Autocratic machinery has always prevailed in Russia, either at the times of the tsars or in the present so-called Soviet Union, and it is there that the source of responsibility rests. From the Okhrana to the KGB, there is no solution of continuity. The tradition of reaction and repression is being spelled by incarceration, terror, persecution and by the extirpation of all liberal and human ideas, because they are alien to the imperio-colonialistic mentality . . ."

"Among the colonized and repressed peoples, the Ukrainians are singled out by the Moscow overlords as those to be hated most and are most severely dealt with for their national and political consciousness, for the moral and cultural heritage they cherish to the utmost."

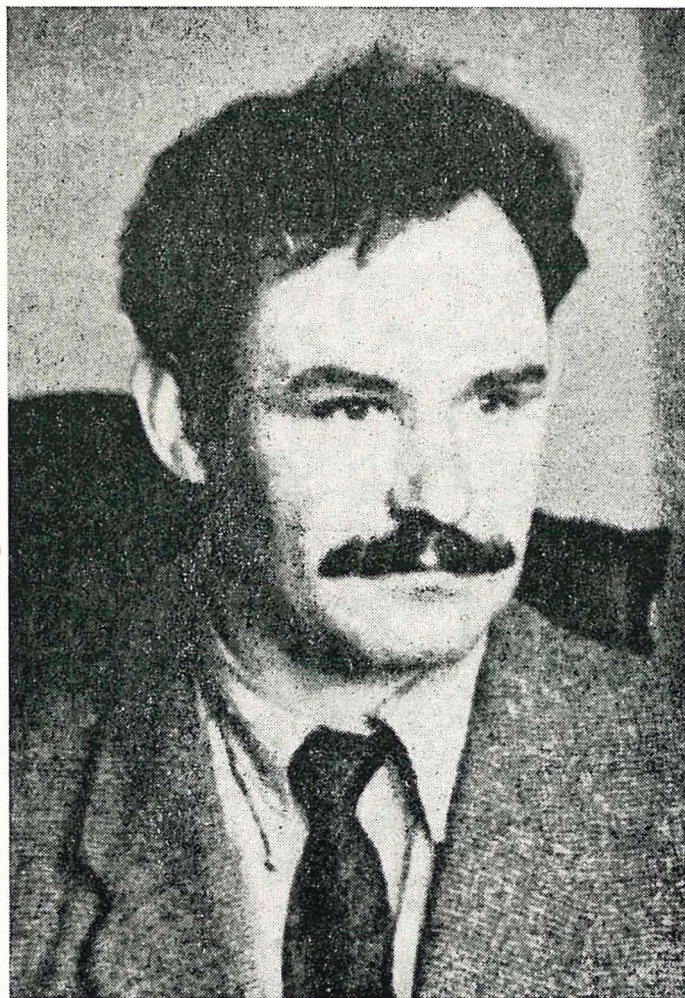
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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Ivan Svitlychnyi

Russia Preparing a Show Trial for Ukrainian Intellectuals

Ivan Svitlichnyi, Ukrainian literary critic and writer, was first arrested and detained for 8 months in 1966-67, and was barred from publishing his articles in Ukraine. He was arrested for the second time in January 1972, in Kyiv, for his activity in the field of Ukrainian culture.

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ABN in Defense of Freedom Fighters

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) calls on all national liberation organizations of nations subjugated by Russia in the entire world to join in a common front with Ukrainians in their defense of Ukrainian intellectuals, the creators of culture of other nations and all fighters for national state independence and human rights, persecuted by barbarous Russia.

The cultural leaders recently arrested in Kyiv and Lviv — Ivan Svitlychnyi, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Ivan Dzyuba and others — are widely known for their works in defense of human and national rights.

The CC ABN appeals to all state, political, church and civic leaders of the free countries of the world, in particular to the anti-Russian and anti-Communist circles, to youth and various patriotic organizations, to the combatants, to the International Red Cross, the International Commission of Jurists, the International Court at the Hague, to the UN Human Rights Commission and the European Council in Strassbourg, and Amnesty International, to become active champions of the creators of culture and all the political prisoners — the fighters for national and human rights — imprisoned by the Russian tyrants.

The CC ABN calls for mass actions to protest Russian terror and to obtain the release of Valentyn Moroz and all the other imprisoned cultural leaders, as well as all fighters for national state independence and human rights.

The CC ABN denounces the infamous secret mock trial of Valentyn Moroz and his confinement of 14 years to a harsh prison and hard labor camp as well as his systematic poisoning in the Vladimir prison, in order to break his will and his creative ability.

All the nations subjugated by Russia have a tragic experience with her genocidal policy toward the peoples which she enslaves and with the extermination of their national substance by various means.

Therefore, the crimes committed against the Ukrainian cultural leaders, not only move the Ukrainian community to the depths of its soul, but also inspire to a joint action, utilizing all methods, of the emigrations of all nations subjugated in the Russian prison of nations.

January 1972

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

EFC Defends Arrested Writers

The Ukrainian historian, Valentyn Moroz, sentenced to 14 years imprisonment (now in Vladimir gaol) for publishing essays on cultural and historical problems, is critically ill and is being slowly poisoned by the KGB in order to break his willpower and force a declaration of repentance from him.

In January 1972, over 100 Ukrainian cultural leaders — defenders of human and national rights — were arrested in Kyiv, Lviv and other cities, including poets, writers, artists, literary critics and scientists, among them the well known authors Ivan Svitlychnyi, Vyacheslav Chornovil — author of The Chornovil Papers — Yevhen Sverstyuk.

Unable to put these Ukrainians on trial for violating the Constitution, the KGB decided to link them with a Belgian student tourist, Y. Dobosh, and to accuse the latter of association with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists abroad, which they falsely represent as being in contact with Western intelligence services. Such are the measures adopted by Russia against Ukrainians and others nationals who are fighting for human rights and national independence.

The monstrous era of Stalinism is returning, recalling similar accusations and the torture of prisoners to force false confessions from them. Will the new persecutees, like those executed before them by order of Stalinist courts, be rehabilitated, demonstrating once again how such charges are but pure inventions?

The EFC:

- *Defends Human Rights and the right of all nations to independence;*
- *Condemns Russian terrorism, wholesale persecution, and the imprisonment of freedom fighters;*
- *Appeals to national, civic, church, youth and other organized bodies in the free world, namely to: International Red Cross, International Commission of Jurists, International Court at the Hague, United Nations Commission on Human Rights, European Council of Strassbourg, Amnesty International — to strive to set free all political prisoners in the Soviet Russian empire, from the writer V. Moroz to the Belgian student Y. Dobosh.*

Executive Board of the European Freedom Council (EFC)

Bonn, March 11-12, 1972

Russia Commits New Crimes in Ukraine

Mass Arrests and Repressions to Stifle Dissent

On January 14, 1972, the world press reported that the Russians launched a new wave of repressions and persecutions in Ukraine. About 100 well-known Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested in Kyiv, Lviv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, Poltava, Chernyiv, Kharkiv, Uzhhorod and Chernivtsi. They were accused of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". Among the arrested are:

Vyacheslav Chornovil — Born in 1938 in the Cherkasy region, Chornovil graduated from the Kyiv State University. A journalist and literary critic, he began writing articles and reviews in Kyiv and Kharkiv periodicals. He also wrote for various Komsomol newspapers. As a reporter for the state-owned television, he attended the 1965-66 trials of Ukrainian intellectuals and was confronted with the lawlessness of the Soviet Russian legal system. Under the influence of these trials, he compiled the case histories of 20 of these intellectuals. The work was subsequently smuggled to the West and published in many languages under the title "The Chornovil Papers". Chornovil was dismissed from work as a result. Arrested on August 3, 1967, he was sentenced to three years but was released after 18 months. Banned from writing, Chornovil was employed as a railroad worker. Last September he protested against the desecration of graves of Ukrainian soldiers in a Lviv cemetery.

Ivan Dzyuba — Born in 1931 in the village of Mykolaivka, Dzyuba graduated from the Donetsk Pedagogical Institute with a degree in philology and later studied at the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. Literary critic and writer, he published a collection of articles on such literary figures as Skovoroda, Shevchenko, Lesya Ukrainka

and others. His famous treatise "Internationalism or Russification?", addressed to the party and government organs of Ukraine, was subsequently smuggled to the West and published in several languages. One of the most articulate essayists in Ukraine's modern literature, Dzyuba is widely read in Ukraine and abroad. He was one of the witnesses at the trial of Valentyn Moroz, but refused to testify because the trial was held behind closed doors.

Yevhen Sverstyuk — Born in 1928 in Volhynia, Sverstyuk, a literary critic and essayist, began to write in 1959. His literary critiques, essays and reviews appeared in Kyiv periodicals and newspapers. After the wave of arrests, repressions and general muzzling of many young writers in Ukraine in the late 1960s, Sverstyuk's name disappeared from the pages of literary magazines published in the Ukrainian SSR. Some of his articles were published in the Ukrainian periodical *Dukla* appearing in Priashiv, CSSR. It was there that Sverstyuk published an essay on Mykola Zerov, eminent Ukrainian poet and literary critic who died in Siberia during Stalin's reign. Sverstyuk's article on Oles Honchar's novel "Sobor" (Cathedral) was published in the West.

Ivan Svitlychnyi — Born in 1929 in the Luhanske region, Svitlychnyi completed Kharhiv State University in 1952. A literary critic and writer, Svitlychnyi worked in the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. His articles and literary reviews, notably on such writers as Chumak and Symonenko, were published in periodicals and newspapers of the Ukrainian SSR. Arrested and detained for 8 months in 1966-67, Svitlychnyi was barred from publishing his articles in Ukraine.

Some of his articles were published in Poland and in Priashiv. Recently, he worked as a translator of French poetry. Some of these translations appeared in Kyiv in 1970.

Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets — A poetess and instructor of Ukrainian literature and language at the Lviv Polytechnical Institute until the summer of 1970 when she was fired and placed in a textile factory, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, 31, is a graduate of the Lviv University. Her poetry is intended primarily for children. She became known in the West through her protest to the chief justice of the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR against the cruel 14-year sentence imposed on historian Valentyn Moroz in November 1970. She is the wife of Ukrainian poet Ihor Kalynets.

Stephania Shabatura — A prominent rug designer and nationally renowned artist, Stephania Shabatura is 33 years old. As recently as December 1971, her works were exhibited in Kyiv. She was among the intellectuals who wrote letters of protest to Soviet authorities in defense of Moroz.

Leonid Ivanovych Plyushch — A mathematician and engineer, Plyushch was a staff member of the Institute of Cybernetics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR. He is the author of numerous published theoretical works. In 1968 copies of his letter to the newspaper **Komsomolska Pravda** were circulated in Ukraine, in which he denounced the newspaper's attacks on the Russian dissident Alexander Ginsburg and protested against the silence of the press in such matters as, for instance, the artificial famine in Ukraine in 1933 and its defamation and slander of literary figures such as B. Pasternak, Ivan Dzyuba, O. Solzhenitsyn and others. In 1969, L. Plyushch signed a collective protest letter against the Russian invasion of CSSR. After this he was harassed by the KGB, threatened with repressions, questioned in Kharkiv in the case of Bakhtyarov and his house was searched.

The Reasons Behind the Arrests

Russia, in her quest for world domination, has always dealt brutally with anyone who stood in her way. Ukraine was one of the first victims of this Russian imperialist expansion. She is being forcibly subjected to total Russification; her cultural heritage is being destroyed; her churches are being forced to function in the underground. All this is done to eliminate dissent and artificially create a so-called "Soviet people". Despite many years of such pressure, Ukraine has not succumbed, and because of this she remains a threat to the Russian expansionist plans.

The recent wave of arrests is but a link in a long chain of repressions which have occurred in Ukraine through the years. Many are still serving their 25-year sentences in Russian prisons or concentrations camps, although the maximum penalty is now allegedly 15 years. In this category are the Ukrainian poet and translator **Svyatoslav Karavanskyi**, the lawyer **Volodymyr Horbovyi**, a citizen of CSSR, the Red Cross volunteers **Kateryna Zarytska** and **Odarka Husyak**. The Ukrainian lawyers **Lev Lukyanenko** and **Ivan Kandyba**, who twice protested to the UN Human Rights Commission against the poisoning of his and his fellow-prisoners' food at the Vladimir prison by the prison authorities, are serving their 15-year sentences simply for demanding their constitutional rights. Others convicted in their case in 1961 received between 12 and 10 years. The list can be extended indefinitely.

The most glaring example of Russian arbitrariness is the secret trial of **Valentyn Moroz**, a Ukrainian historian born in 1936, which was held in Ivano-Frankivsk in November 1970 and at which Moroz was sentenced to 9 years of hard labor and five years of exile. His only "crime" was writing four essays critical of the Russian repressive policies in Ukraine and forced Russi-

fication of Ukrainian cultural life. This is already Moroz's second conviction. He was released in 1969 after serving four years for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Currently detained in Vladimir prison, he is reportedly suffering from an acute liver ailment.

Many of the people who were arrested in January are the ones who vigorously protested against the illegal trial and sentence of Valentyn Moroz. As in previous cases, the only "crime" that these men and women have supposedly committed was their opposition to the forcible Russification of Ukraine and the planned destruction of the Ukrainian cultural heritage. To this may be added their endeavours in defense of the rights of nations and the dignity of individuals in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Simultaneously, arrests of intellectuals and students have occurred in the Baltic republics, in the Caucasus, in Central Asia, in Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Croatia. The main targets seem to be people who are in some way connected with underground publications, which in recent months have had a great influence on technocrats and university students. In Ukraine, the most

prominent of these publications is the **Ukrainskyi Visnyk** (The Ukrainian Herald) of which five issues are known to have appeared.

But in stifling opposition to her rule, Russia does not stop at arrests and repressions. She goes as far as murder. A prominent Ukrainian artist and patriot, **Alla Horska**, who actively protested against the 1965-66 secret trials and convictions of Ukrainian intellectuals, was killed by an official KGB executioner on Nov. 28, 1970, in Vasylykiv near Kyiv. **Vasyl Symonenko**, a brilliant poet who allegedly died of cancer in 1963 at the age of 29, was also a victim of the KGB.

The above violations of human and national rights are a direct result of **Russian colonialism and imperialism** in the non-Russian nations within the USSR and the satellite states. The United Nations should not stand idly by when one or more of its members disregard the very principles on which this organization was founded. It should combat **Russian colonialism**, maintained on the use of **brute force alone**, just as it has been combating Western colonialism in various parts of the world, for the world cannot remain half free and half slave.

*The Ukrainian poet
Ihor Kalynets
and his wife, Iryna,
who was recently
arrested in
Lviv.*



John Kosiak,
President of the Byelorussian Congress Committee of America

The Present Situation in Byelorussia

The rapid growth of Soviet Russian militarism is posing a formidable threat to independent countries today. Soviet Russia, using the official camouflage of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is the largest existing empire in our time. It rules over many highly civilized nations and national groups within the territory of the USSR. However, this does not satisfy the present rulers of the Kremlin. They are preparing for further conquests, aimed at domination of the entire world. Russian armed interventions in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956, and in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 are only recent examples of their aggressive aims.

However, it seems that the present activities of the Soviet Russian army and navy around the globe are more eloquent.

At this time the Soviet army has the strength of about 4 million men. Its naval force in the Pacific consists of 50 warships and 100 submarines. Its naval forces in the Mediterranean are quantitatively larger than the US Sixth Fleet in this area. Soviet naval exercises of last spring, named "Ocean", held in all oceans, included 200 warships. A Soviet fleet consisting of 15 warships is stationed permanently in the Indian Ocean. Its fleets of special destination, heavily equipped with electronic equipment, but camouflaged as fishing boats, are permanently engaged in secret activities around all continents. The submarine fleet of Soviet Russia is numerically larger than that of any other country. The Soviet air force is composed of thousands of airplanes. During the last few years the Russians put into orbit around the earth over 439 satellites with unknown loads and functions. A Soviet stratospheric station is orbiting our planet. Russia has 1,510 ope-

ration intercontinental ballistic missiles. No other country has an equal number of those missiles. It is quite reasonable to assume, that all most important centers of the free countries have Soviet Russian intercontinental ballistic missiles, with atomic or hydrogen warheads, directed at them.

In Egypt Russia has stationed over 10,000 specialists, primarily in military affairs; in Algeria she has 1,500 men, and 1,000 men in each of the following countries: North Vietnam, Cuba and Syria.

The USSR has stationed its armies in the satellite countries as follows: 20 divisions in East Germany, 5 divisions in Czecho-Slovakia, 4 divisions in Hungary, and 2 divisions in Poland.

All industry and production in the Russian empire is geared to the growth of its military strength.

The recent expulsion from the United Kingdom of 105 members of the Soviet diplomatic personnel due to their espionage activities, indicates the intensity of Russian preparations for world domination.

These few facts give a clear warning of the great danger approaching the free countries at the present time.

Soviet Russia created its present immense military strength, in a great part, due to the exploitation of conquered, non-Russian countries. Byelorussia is one of those victims.

The Byelorussian people were not always enslaved. They restored their independence in modern history during World War I. The First All-Byelorussian Congress convened in December, 1917 in Miensk. It took the position of separation from the Russian Empire and the restoration of an independent Byelorussian state. Therefore this national constituent body was dispersed by the Russian Bolshevik army. How-

ever, on March 25, 1918 the Council of this Congress proclaimed the independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic on the ethnographic territory of the Byelorussian people. Ignoring the right of self-determination of nations, Soviet Russia conquered Byelorussia and created a fictitious state, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR) on January 1, 1919. In 1921 the territory of BSSR was limited to 6 counties of Miensk province, with a population of 1,200,000. All the rest of Byelorussia, with a population of approximately 12 million, was divided among Russian SFSR, Poland and Latvia. Byelorussia was partitioned several times by the Soviet Russian government. At present about half of Byelorussian ethnographic territory belongs to the BSSR; a larger part is incorporated in the Russian SFSR, and some areas are part of Poland, the Latvian SSR, and the Lithuanian SSR.

All policy of the Russian government toward Byelorussia today is directed toward exploitation of its natural resources and population. At the same time Russia is trying to destroy all ethnic and cultural distinctions of Byelorussia. It is striving to assimilate the Byelorussians, transforming them into Russians, and to turn Byelorussia into a mere administrative province of Russia.

In 50 years of domination the Russian government has accomplished a great destruction of the national Byelo-

ussian life. Starting with 1927, thousands of Byelorussian intelligentsia were annihilated. The main segment of Byelorussian peasants, about 2 millions, were shot or deported to the concentration camps of Siberia at the time of the collectivization of agriculture. Waves of mass terror passed through Byelorussia at certain intervals of time. They annihilated the newly maturing, nationally conscious generation of Byelorussians. After World War II, the Russian detachments of political police, called "Smersh", investigated the entire population of Byelorussia. They annihilated around one million "unreliable" Byelorussians. In this way Soviet Russia, during its rule, exterminated over 6 millions of Byelorussians.

Basically, the Soviet Russian government is using a policy of genocide toward the Byelorussian nation. At this time it is trying to transform the population of Byelorussian cities and towns into Russians, by sending many Russians there for permanent settlement. At the same time, many Byelorussians, mostly educated youth, are transferred to other ethnic territories of the USSR. Even the last censuses, conducted by the Central Statistical Administration at the Council of Ministers of the USSR, in 1959 and 1970, despite their partiality, clearly prove the expressed statement. The newspaper *Zviazda* of April 17, 1971, published in Miensk, gave the following figures:

	1959	1970	increase %
Population in the USSR	208,827,000	241,720,000	15.9
Byelorussians in the USSR	7,913,000	9,052,000	14.5
Population in the BSSR	8,056,000	9,002,000	11.9
Byelorussians in the BSSR	6,532,000	7,290,000	11.6
Russians in the BSSR	660,000	938,000	42.2
Byelorussians in the Kazakh SSR	106,000	198,000	87.0

It is evident, that the number of Byelorussians in the BSSR increased less than the total population of the BSSR. The same relationship exists be-

tween the increase of Byelorussians in the entire USSR and the increase of the total population of the USSR. However, the number of Russians in the

BSSR increased by 42.2%, and the number of Byelorussians in the Kazakh SSR increased by 87.0%.

It is obvious that Byelorussians living in the eastern part of Byelorussia, annexed to the Russian SFSR, under the conditions of Russian terror, are listed by the census as Russians. Therefore, the results show a small total number of Byelorussians in the USSR. On the basis of the pre-revolutionary censuses in Tsarist Russia, it is possible to conclude that there are in the USSR at this time approximately 18 million Byelorussians.

All important positions in the BSSR are held by Russians. To create a misleading impression, several Byelorussian communists are kept in prominent positions, but, without any policy making power.

The Russian language has been introduced in the BSSR for use by the government, all scientific and cultural institutions, and schools. Only a part of the rural elementary and high schools is allowed to use the Byelorussian language for instructions.

80% of newspapers published in BSSR are in the Russian language, and only some 15% in Byelorussian. The same relationship exists for magazines and literary books. All scientific and technical literature in the BSSR is printed in Russian only.

In Byelorussia, the schools, institutions, "kolkhozes", museums, libraries, cities, streets, etc. are named in honor of Russian communist and tsarist dignitaries, writers, etc.

The Russians are the ruling segment of the population in Byelorussia. They represent the Byelorussian people before foreigners, giving a false impression that Byelorussians are the same as Russians. Those Russians organize their own clubs, choirs, folklore entertainments, etc. throughout Byelorussia pushing aside the Byelorussian ethnic culture.

Buildings are erected in typical Russian pseudo-classical style. But the destroyed monuments of old architecture would give proof of the independent style of Byelorussian architecture.

The eastern part of Byelorussia, with the cities of Smolensk, Bransk, Roslau, Nevel, etc. annexed to the Russian SFSR, is treated as an integral part of Russia. Nothing Byelorussian is allowed in this part.

In the USSR statistical information on economic exchange between the Byelorussian SSR, the Russian SFSR and other republics is not published. Therefore it is impossible to research the volume of economic exploitation of Byelorussia by Russia.

Soviet Russia is a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was adopted by the United Nations. However, its communist government is completely ignoring this Declaration in its relations to the population and to all the non-Russian captive nations.

Despite the huge devastation and severe oppression by Russia, the Byelorussian people exist. Byelorussians fought for their independence during World War I. During World War II, the Second All-Byelorussian Congress convened in Miensk in 1944. This Congress annulled all ties of Byelorussia with Russia, and approved the proclamation of the independent Byelorussian Democratic Republic, according to the declaration of 1918. The Byelorussian National Defense fought for the liberation and independence of Byelorussia.

We are sure that in the future, when a favorable international situation exists, the Byelorussians will fight again, with weapons in their hands, for their liberation. Only by the liberation of Byelorussia, and all the other nations enslaved by Russia, and the limitation of the Russian state to the ethnographic Russian territory, will the present global threat of Russian aggression be avoided.

The Real Reasons Behind the Croatian National Upheaval

In the last 2 years, the world press has written a great deal about Yugoslavia and her dictator — Josip Broz Tito — who in some quarters of the Western world, thanks to this press, was made a "hero" of so-called "national Communism" and even a leader of the "third world". On the other hand, very little was written about Croatia and the plight of her people.

In order to understand properly the present troubles in Yugoslavia, one must make a few historical remarks on what Yugoslavia really is and when and why she was created.

The very word Yugoslavia has a geographical meaning. Its first part "yugo" means "south" and the second part derives from "Slavs", i. e. Yugoslavia means a country of Southern Slavs. This, however, does not correspond to the facts because the Bulgarians from Bulgaria and the Bulgarians from Macedonia, who are also Slavs, do not belong to Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia is a country of six major nationalities with their own national consciousness: Slovenes, Croats, Montenegrins, Serbs, Albanians and Macedonian Bulgarians, and of various national minorities: German, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Ukrainian, Rumanian and Gypsy. There are five languages: Slovene, Croat, Serb, Albanian and Bulgarian (the "Macedonian language" is an invention of Belgrade!); two alphabets: Latin and Cyrillic; and three religions: Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Moslem.

In size, Serbia is approximately one fifth of Yugoslavia and her population makes up about a quarter of the entire population of Yugoslavia. Yet, from her beginning in 1918 and until our days, Yugoslavia is ruled from the Serbian capital, Belgrade. State adminis-

tration, army, diplomacy and most important of all — money — are in Serbian hands.

Now a few words about Croatia and the Croats.

The Croats and Serbs are not one people. The Croats came to their present homeland in the beginning of the 7th century from their original homeland in Transcarpathia, where they already had their own state under the name of White Croatia. As renowned soldiers, they had been invited by the Byzantine Emperor to help him in fighting the Avars and after their victory they founded a new state on the Adriatic shores.

From the 7th century until 1102 Croatia was a sovereign and independent state, ruled by Croatian princes and kings. The Croatian people accepted Christianity in the middle of the 7th century and thus became the first Christian Slav-speaking people. In 1102, the Kingdom of Croatia entered into a personal union with the Kingdom of Hungary. However, the Bosnian Croats were against this union and later proclaimed a Croatian Kingdom of Bosnia. When in 1463 the Turks conquered Bosnia, the Bosnian aristocracy accepted the Moslem religion.

In 1527, after the death of the last Hungaro-Croatian King Ludovic II, the Kingdom of Croatia entered into a personal union with Austria which lasted until 1918. During the period of the two personal unions, the Croatian people never lost their identity, nor did they renounce their historical state right. The Croatian Moslems from Bosnia and Hercegovina also preserved their national identity and the Croatian language.

In 1918, the entire territory of the historical Croatian state was annexed

by Serbia against the will of the Croatian people and in violation of their right to self-determination. The new state, in fact an enlarged Serbia, was called the "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes". In it the Croats were second class citizens, exploited, persecuted and forced to emigrate.

When in 1928, the Croatian national leader Stjepan Radic protested in the Belgrade Parliament against the economic exploitation of Croatia, he and two other Croatian national representatives were shot dead and two others were seriously wounded by a Serbian national representative Punisa Radic. A few months later, King Alexander Karadjordjevic renamed the state "Yugoslavia", and on January 6, 1929, he proclaimed his personal dictatorship, which resulted in murder, persecution and imprisonment of Croats and Bulgarians from Macedonia.

When World War II broke out, the Croats refused to defend their prison, Yugoslavia, and on April 10, 1941, proclaimed their own independent State of Croatia. It is not true that this state was created by the Axis Powers, but it was created by the unanimous will of the Croatian people.

The entire Croatian people welcomed this proclamation and for four years their army defended their state against the guerilla bands of Draza Mihajlovic, who wanted to destroy the Croatian state in order to restore royal Yugoslavia, and against Tito's bands, which wanted to create a Communist Yugoslavia under Serbian supremacy.

The Croatian army was never defeated by either of the two rival aggressors. However, towards the end of the war Soviet Russia, Great Britain and the USA agreed in Yalta not to allow the existence of the Independent State of Croatia, which they simply gave to their "Yugoslav ally", Tito, disregarding the will of the Croatian people.

When the war ended, the Croatian army refused to surrender to Tito's

Communists because they never defeated it and Tito's Communist Party of Yugoslavia had no right whatsoever to claim Croatia for Yugoslavia. Therefore, the Croatian Government, which in 1943 signed the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War, ordered the Croatian army to march to Austria to meet the Western Allies and to surrender its arms to them, fully convinced that the Geneva Convention would be honored and that the Croatian soldiers would be sent to Western camps for prisoners of war. The Croatian army was followed by hundreds of thousands of Croatian civilians who feared reprisals by Tito's Communists. In Austria, the Croatian soldiers laid down their arms and the British High Command extradited them to Tito's Communists, who in the most atrocious way murdered about 200,000 of them and about the same number of Croatian civilians. Many thousands perished on "death marches" from Austria to the Rumanian border.

This terrible, genocidal, mass murder was committed in obvious violation of the Geneva Convention and international law. The Yalta agreement is a pitiful piece of international injustice. As far as the Croatian people are concerned, this infamous agreement means a collective death sentence against the Croatian people, whose only "crime" was to have courage to get rid of the murderous royal Yugoslavia, to proclaim their own State of Croatia and to defend themselves against biological extermination by Mihajlovic's and Tito's aggressors.

After the war, Belgrade continued its rule over Croatia in the same way as it ruled during royal Yugoslavia: the Croats continued to be second class citizens; army, diplomacy and money were concentrated in Belgrade in Serbian hands.

Nearly all income from tourism in Croatia goes to Belgrade. The Croatian workers have no jobs at home and at present nearly one million of them

must work in Western Europe to help their families. They are also exploited because the hard currency they earn abroad is helping the bankrupt Yugoslav economy.

A few years ago, the discontent of the Croatian people became visible and audible, and Belgrade was faced with a dilemma: either to tighten the screws of centralization or to loosen them and do something to pacify the Croats. Tito himself chose the latter solution and gave permission to his subordinates in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, Dr. Savka Kucar-Dapcevic and Miko Tripalo, to allow the Croats to sing their national songs, to publish articles about the Croatian history and culture and to promise them economic concessions. For this purpose, many discussions about possible amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution were held at the highest level. This, in fact, was done, but the concessions themselves were never granted.

However, the Croatian people were not satisfied with words and promises and on November 22, 1971, the Croatian students shocked Belgrade and the world: they went on strike! The basic demands which they put forward were:

1. Croatia should be proclaimed a state.
2. The Croatian soldiers must serve in Croatia.
3. The Admiralty must be in Croatia with its command in Split.
4. Croatian money should remain in Croatia.
5. Croatia should have her own Air Force.
6. Croatia should apply for membership in the United Nations.
7. All foreign currency earned in Croatia must remain in Croatia.
8. The language spoken in Croatia must be called Croatian.

The Serbs, to whom Tito owes everything he is today, applied tremendous pressure to him and on December 1, 1971, he exploded and dismissed Dr. Savka Kucar-Dapcevic, Miko Tripalo

and some other high officials of the Communist Party of Croatia (which is only a branch of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia) accusing them of going too far and of having provoked the "nationalist and separatist" feelings among the Croatian people. He ordered the arrest of several prominent Croatian intellectuals, among whom were Professor Veselica, Professor Djodan and the editor of the **Croatian Weekly**. Moreover, many hundreds of Croatian students were arrested.

It is quite certain that persecution of these Croatian patriots will be severe, cruel and unscrupulous. Therefore, this should be the concern of all legal international institutions and of all those who signed the Declaration of Human Rights. The black legend about the Croatian people which has been spread throughout the free world by dishonest Yugoslav propaganda should not stop all honest people who like freedom, democracy and truth to find out for themselves what is going on in Tito's crumbling empire and to protect the innocent people who suffer because they want to enjoy basic human rights.

The Croatian people have suffered much at the hands of the Great Serbian imperialists, who do not want to lose their colony, Croatia, and they fear that after Tito's death Belgrade will use force to keep Croatia. There are two most dangerous pretenders as Tito's successors: Alexander Rankovic, the organizer and former chief of the secret police (UDBA), and Milovan Djilas, who as Tito's best wartime friend once said that the Croats must be killed in order that Yugoslavia may live. Among the Yugoslav Communists who want to preserve Yugoslavia, there are two principal factions: the pro-Russian and the anti-Russian. However, the Croatian people do not want to swap the Belgrade yoke for the Russian one. Therefore, in the interest of the free world, the Western powers should carefully keep an eye on all of

Moscow's tricks in that part of the world and should not watch in silence Russia's arrival on the hot Croatian sea.

Recently the world witnessed the plight of the people of Bengal and their brave fight for national freedom and independence. Bangladesh is free now and will never again be a part of Pa-

kistan. Croatia is the European Bangladesh and she does not want to be a part of Yugoslavia, but a free and independent state.

Through centuries Croatia was one of the foremost bearers of the European spirit and she intends to continue her role and to contribute to Europe's revival and future greatness.

Defend the Unsubdued!

Moscow has struck again. It has again thrown Ukrainian patriots in jail — those who on their own Ukrainian soil desire liberty for the Ukrainian people, those who are fighting for the Ukrainian language, the Ukrainian culture, the Ukrainian identity, i. e. for all those things which are enjoyed by every free nation.

But the Ukrainian nation is deprived of all this, because the Russian occupying power does not tolerate it. And those who are demanding it are arrested, confined to prisons, concentration camps or insane asylums.

Valentyn Moroz, the fearless fighter for the right of the Ukrainian people to an independent life, has become known to the entire world. "We shall fight!" — he told the Russian bandits to their face.

And just recently news spread around the world that Russia has arrested 21 Ukrainians, among them some widely known — Ivan Svitlychnyi, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Yevhen Sverstyuk and Ivan Dzyuba.

New names are continually being added to an endless list of the arrested, the imprisoned, the banished and the tortured to death fighters for Ukraine's liberty.

The Ukrainian people are carrying on a struggle for the right to live freely on their own land, just as they fought in the past with the same enemies of Ukraine. The new generation of Ukrainians is taking up the struggle, following boldly and courageously in the footsteps of its parents.

Let us stand united with those who are fighting on Ukrainian soil.

Let us rise in defense of those whom Russia is persecuting, arresting, destroying. Let us stand up in defense of the **Ukrainian people**.

We urge all our organizations and all our members to take part in the campaign in defense of those imprisoned and persecuted for their views.

Let us engage in this action all national groups, all our fellow-citizens, the press, radio, television, the parliamentarians, and various local Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian organizations.

Our action must be so loud that the whole world and all of Ukraine will hear us, that those behind bars and barbed wire will hear us. And that the enemy will hear and feel it.

Let us give fitting assistance to those who are fighting.

Let us all join the action.

January 1972

The World Ukrainian Liberation Front

"Conscience"— or Jail ?

The Associated Press story from Moscow didn't get into most newspapers. The brief item wasn't very exciting on a day of major news.

The story said:

"Valentyn Moroz, a teacher in Ukraine, recently finished a six-year sentence in a prison camp on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Friends in Moscow reported Sunday he has been sentenced to 14 more years for the same offense.

"Moroz, about 35, was tried in Lviv, near the Polish border, they said, adding that two pieces he wrote were used in evidence against him: one an autobiographical account of life in a Soviet labor camp."

That story is months old. Just recently, the Associated Press had another:

"A man serving in a labor camp for protesting the 1968 Soviet-led invasion of Czecho-Slovakia has been sentenced to another three-year term for calling the Soviet Union a police state . . ."

This time, the subject was Vladimir Dremlyuga, 31, of Leningrad.

And there are many more such cases.

Americans are sometimes surprised to read of such minor items, let alone such major revelations as the Political Diary papers excerpted in the Sunday Jews on Aug. 22, 1971.

Together with notes on "that crazy" Russian dissident, Maj. Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko, and the ordeals of literary titans Solzhenitsyn and Pasternak in collecting awards, they offer a sort of human, comic relief to the view of the Soviet Union as a brooding, oppressive Communist monolith.

While the so-called crimes generally are "proven" to be crimes against the people, the offenders are not political prisoners of the usual — espionage, sabotage or treason — variety. Fre-

quently, in fact, the guilty are avid and confirmed Communists.

Their sin, instead, is conscience. Those imprisoned or harried are found to have pushed too hard for a measure of autonomy within the Soviet system or to have championed a cause that has fallen out of fashion in the eddying Soviet political tide.

Smuggled manuscripts and unofficial publications were assembled last year into a pathetic — and frightening — dossier for the United Nations Human Rights Commission to expose the Russians' internal war against other nations and those individuals of conscience who strove to remedy Communist ills.

The dossier, published by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians under the title "Violation of Human Rights in Ukraine - Documents," detailed such complaints as:

- Discrimination based on national origin within the USSR.
- Forced Russification.
- Persecution of churches.
- Arbitrary arrests and deportations.
- Secret trials.
- Subjection of people to "cruel, inhuman and degrading" treatment.
- Denial of freedom of movement, thought, conscience, religion.
- Denial of freedom of opinion and expression.
- Denial of peaceful assembly and association.

The publication substantiated its charges with a number of illustrations.

A favorable review of the book "Sobor" ("The Cathedral"), by Oles Honchar, cost S. Y. Shyinin his Communist Party membership and brought his dismissal from the newspaper *Zoria's* department of propaganda and agitation.

An evening of poetry reading in Ukraine was daubed as being nearly in the class of a counterrevolutionary venture by "the Russian carpetbaggers" in top party policy positions.

A Dnipropetrovsk director was fired for staging a Ukrainian play.

Valentyn Moroz, the man mentioned in the Associated Press dispatch, refers bitterly in a 1970 monograph, "A Chronicle of Resistance in Ukraine", to the Russification as a "Kulturkampf" — a pointed reminder of Hitler's methods in the hands of Slavic tyrants.

Expulsion from the Communist Party is serious punishment for intellectuals in the Soviet Union. They can be jailed (with or without labor); like Moroz, or just cast loose — a situation in which they can find no employment and no outlet for their genius.

In Moroz' case, his cause has been taken up by the U.S. branch of Amnesty International, which may plead for him before the United Nations.

But for many others, party expulsion — an innocuous sounding punishment — places the disgraced individual into a sort of limbo.

The state, in its all-embracing paternalism, will not let him starve. Yet the work he will be permitted to find may not pay him enough to let him eat properly.

Letters from Prague to the West German newspaper *Die Zeit* last winter told how Dr. Jan Kren, a prominent Czech historian, has been reduced to taking geological measurements, and how some others from the Communist Party College have been forced to work as warehouse helpers or bulldozer operators after their expulsion.

Party College Rector Milan Huebl wrote that he had been blacklisted and could find no work.

"I do not intend to discuss whether one can compare our situation with genocide committed against the intellectual elite," Huebl wrote. "But I know,

and this through my personal experience, that chosen people have been systematically broken and trampled underfoot."

Intellectuals in the Soviet orbit are forces to be watched, whether or not they are pro-party.

Two of the USSR's last three Nobel literature prize-winners, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and Boris Pasternak, are celebrated in the West but unsung in their own land.

In the recent case of Solzhenitsyn, who once spent eight years in one of Stalin's prison camps, there is a satisfying irony in a message of congratulations to him smuggled out of a forced labor camp south of Moscow.

The note, from a dozen inmates headed by Yuri Galanskov, said:

"Unfortunately, barbed wire and automatics in the hands of unthinking boys deprive us of the possibility to express to you personally the depth of our delight in your courageous work."

Within hours, it seems, the Soviet press agency began reviling the Nobel laureate as a man of "morbid self-importance" who "made of his loneliness not a tragedy but a business."

The Nobel award to Solzhenitsyn underscored another irony: a distinction in "telling it like it is." Whereas in the West this form of realism is acknowledged as a search for truth, in the Soviet Union it represents the laying bare of individual soul's torment, as Solzhenitsyn did in "A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch".

They don't all go quietly when packed off to prison. Andrei Amalrik, author of "Involuntary Journey to Siberia" and "Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?" (it won't, he said in the latter, anticipating a showdown with China), declaimed at his recent trial:

"I think I am a better patriot than those who shout about their love for

the fatherland but mean by that, love for their privileges . . .

"Everything that is going on now can only be explained by the cowardice of the regime which sees dangers in the spreading of any thought, any idea alien to the bureaucratic summit . . . Such trials are intended to scare people, and many will be scared — but even so the process of ideological liberation now under way is irreversible."

So, Amalrik gets tucked away; Yuli Daniel goes free. Daniel, whose imprisonment with Andrei Sinyavsky in 1966 touched off an international furor. Daniel, the writer and intellectual, was forbidden to visit Moscow as one of the terms of his early release. He, too, could end up as a tractor driver or minor writer, condemned to produce each day, but fated never again to be published.

One learns of how a Ukrainian, Vasil Makukh, burned himself to death in Kyiv in protest against Russification and persecution in Ukraine. That was in May, 1968, months before the tragic immolation of Jan Palach, the young Czech student who took his own life to protest the Russian invasion and iron grip on his country.

Amnesty International petitioned the UN Human Rights Commission on behalf of Ukrainian prisoners who were able to sneak word through of their plight:

"We, the Ukrainian political prisoners . . . were arrested for demanding improvements in the condition of Ukrainian workers and for defending the rights of the Ukrainian language, education and culture . . . Having failed to break us morally, the KGB (Soviet secret police) are trying to transform us biologically from intellectuals into primitives."

They told of life in the Vladimir prison. "Poison is also added to the food in the camp. We have done a number of tests and have proved this to be true . . . Food packages from home are

even more strongly poisoned . . . When we complained, we were transferred to separate cells . . . We live under electric lights all day with the exception of one hour each day when we walk outside."

"A Letter From the Creative Youth of Dnipropetrovsk" to the chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers was circulated in manuscript form. It cited the punishment of various writers, "accused of that fantastic 'Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism' invented in the building on Korolenko Street (KGB headquarters)."

"In fact, they were punished for their concern about the fate of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture," it said. "The question arises, why people of high principles are so easily disposed of, dismissed from universities, expelled from the party and dismissed from work. Are they criminals? Not really. Real criminals live quite comfortably."

"As it can be seen, killers and embezzlers — the moral scum — have a place in the party while honest and principled Communists are being expelled . . . so that the former may further embezzle, drink and violate party rules and Soviet laws."

The letter speaks of the "rotten ideology of the Great Russian bourgeois chauvinism" used to belittle the Ukrainian efforts and achievements ("How coarse this rude language is," was one published barb).

"Is it possible that those honest citizens of the Ukrainian SSR who perceived their people's tragedy, who cannot renounce their native language and cannot renounce themselves, are enemies? Regarding this, a great Russian writer, V. S. Soloukhin, said: "If I were born a Ukrainian, I would never want to be a Russian."

Editor's Note —

The principal difference between the intellectuals of Ukraine and other

subjugated nations and the Russian intellectuals lies in the fact that the non-Russian intellectuals are not only fighting for human rights but also for national rights. Regrettably, not one of the persecuted Russian intellectuals, with Solzhenitsyn at the head, has ever raised a voice in defense of the

national rights of Ukraine and other subjugated nations. The non-Russian freedom fighters support national liberation and human rights, while the Russian writers are only in support of limited human rights. They support the empire and oppose the liberation of the subjugated nations.

Russian Imperialism: The Main Enemy

Since the last WACL Conference in July, 1971, a new political situation has developed in international relations as a direct result of a fundamental switch in foreign policy of the U. S. Government toward Red China.

Consequently, this outstanding event was a primary cause of the definite re-evaluation of attitudes and actions on the part of certain governments as well as of political circles in the world. It appeared that the threat to world freedom arising from Red China's entry upon the international scene became the very painful awareness of all concerned and therefore some anti-Communist organizations have shown a tendency toward over-emphasis of that threat (i. e. from Red China) while at the same time apparently forgetting the very cradle and origin of this international evil, namely Red Russian imperialism.

The delegation of ABN takes the position that the free world dare not forget that the gravest possible danger to world freedom and the livelihood of the free nations, stemming from the menace of Russian imperialism under the guise of Communism, originated in Russia. Therefore, the concept of disintegration of the Russian empire as stipulated in the WACL Charter must not be substituted by other half-measures.

The ABN also feels it its duty to warn against the gravest consequences of ignoring realistic possibilities of the coming to terms of both the Russian empire and Red China in their quest for world domination. Political common sense clearly indicates that any effective political action cannot be conceived by separating from one another the menaces to the free world from the Red Russian empire and Red China and, as a matter of fact, from Communism in general. In addition, any action which ignores the relentless struggle for independence and freedom of nations subjected to Russian domination and the Communist yoke anywhere in the world is doomed to failure. Russian imperialism of every form and kind remains the main enemy.

Austin J. App. Ph. D.,

Chairman, Captive Nations Committee of Greater Philadelphia

Ukrainian Right and Struggle for Independence

The celebration of Ukraine's Independence fifty-four years ago and our protest against Soviet Russia's destruction of that independence, first in 1923, and the last time in 1945, and our pledge to work for the restoration of Ukraine's independence is in a very literal sense an implementation of America's official policy and what should be its active one.

Soviet Russia Still Persecutes Ukrainian Patriots

Last year the papers were full of the struggle for independence from Pakistan of the Bengali. The passion for independence of a linguistically different and unified people culminated in a bloody revolution and a great, if short, war. Now the Bengali are the independent Bangladesh. Curiously, in this struggle Soviet Russia was unequivocally on the side of the independence of the Bengali. Yet, while it was supporting Bengali independence and nationalism, Soviet Russia was arresting and imprisoning Ukrainians on suspicion of nationalist activity". According to **The New York Times** of January 14, 1972, "Soviet Arrest 11 in Ukraine Reported For Anti-State Acts". The alleged anti-state acts were nothing more than an expression in favor of Ukrainian independence. We read that seven of the eleven were arrested "in Lviv (Lemberg), the main city in western Ukraine and generally considered one of the strongest centers of Ukrainian nationalism". One of them, we read, a former television journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil, had once before, in November, 1967, been sentenced to 18 months in a labor camp,

"for compiling an underground account of secret police methods used in round-

ing up about 100 Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965 and 1966. About 20 of those arrested then were eventually tried in secret in 1966... They were sentenced to labor-camp terms ranging from six months to six years."

These arrests show on the one hand that Soviet Russia, which promotes liberation for every tribe in Africa and what of Asia is not yet smothered by Communist tyranny like North Korea and North Vietnam, resorts to brutal police methods to kill every germ of independence in Ukraine and its other captive and satellite nations. On the other hand, the arrests happily prove that the spirit of independence in Ukraine, and hopefully also in the other captive nations, is by no means dead. We may hope with the Ukrainian poet, Vasyl Symonenko, who at twenty-nine seems to have been murdered by the Russians,

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

Another, Jan Palach, on January 19, 1969, exclaimed, "Better to die in flames than to live under the Russian colonial yoke!"

The Reality of History Requires Ukrainian Independence

It is fashionable nowadays to tell people, especially the oppressed ones like the East Berliners, to accept realities. Well, there is also such a thing as a reality of history. It is a reality of history that any culturally homogeneous, culturally developed and courageous people will sooner or later achieve its independence. It cannot be kept a colony forever by no matter how powerful and brutal an empire which

tries to keep it captive! More and more actively in the last hundred years, the Ukrainians have struggled to liberate themselves from Russian imperialism, and more and more, especially under the frightful Soviet Russian tyranny, they have given living testimony to Patrick Henry's words, "Give me liberty, or give me death!" The Ukrainians, fifty million of them, mostly God-fearing Christians, among whom martyrs of Independence keep witnessing Patrick Henry's words, will one day again be an independent, sovereign nation. We are working not so much to insure this independence, which we consider inevitable, but to have it come soon. It is long overdue now!

Concerted World Public Opinion Might Move Even the Kremlin

The sooner independence is granted, the less will be the grief and hardship, the less the danger of a frightful war. We Americans, and in fact also the Charter of the United Nations, recognize that justice requires self-determination, and self-determination for the Ukrainians means independence. It will come, but it can come belligerently through insurrection and war, or peacefully, through the pressure of world public opinion.

Even the mighty and brutal Red tyrants of Moscow cannot ignore world public opinion for long, when that opinion is right and when it is universal, loud, and insistent. We saw last year that within a few weeks of worldwide Jewish and news media protests the mighty Soviet government commuted the death sentences of convicted Jewish skyjackers!

If the governments of the free world, and the communications media and more groups would demand the liberation of the captive nations, including Ukraine, if whenever Soviet Russian officials demand the liberation of Portugal's colonies or denounce America for being in Indo-China, our governments and media would shout back,

"Before you Soviet Russians preach freedom, get out of East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Ukraine," Red hypocrisy would be deflated and the liberation of the captive nations would move toward realization.

When Moscow Denounces Western Colonialism, the West Should Denounce the Worse Russian One

But no U.S. Government, even though it was America which under Wilson and Roosevelt promulgated the principle of self-determination, has properly rejected Communist hypocrisy and impudence in the matter of colonialism. For example, in September 1969, President Nixon appealed "for the help of the U.N. members — including Russia" in negotiating a peace in Vietnam. How did Soviet Russia respond. With an impudent "Nyet." Within twenty-four hours Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko said, "We pride ourselves on the fact that the Soviet Union's assistance is multiplying the capabilities of Free Vietnam," and demanded, as *U.S. News*, Sept. 29, 1969, reported it,

"Withdrawal of all troops from occupied territories and 'discontinuation of all measures to suppress liberation movements'"

What impudence for the Soviet Russians, whose tanks have just suppressed the Czech and Slovak "liberation movements," and who in 1966 had sentenced to hard labor 100 Ukrainians for their "liberation movements", to tell the United States not to block liberation movements! But did President Nixon, or Senator Fulbright, or for that matter any of the current presidential candidates or the prime ministers of the free world, say to Moscow, why are your tanks shooting down the "liberation movements" in Czecho-Slovakia and in East Berlin and in Hungary, and why are your labor camps, starvations, and firing squads killing off the "liberation movements" in Ukraine?

Western Statesman Should Talk the Way Stevenson and Diefenbaker Once Did

But the Western leaders did not force the Communist hypocrites to come to terms with their own tyranny and colonialism. Only Adlai Stevenson, once as U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations, on November 21, 1961, said what Western leaders should say all the time:

"We are told that the peoples of the Soviet Union enjoy the right of self-determination... How did this right work in practice? An independent Ukrainian Republic was recognized by the Bolsheviks in 1917 (Dec. 17, 1917: "The Soviet of People's Commissars of the Russian Republic recognizes, without any limits or conditions, and in all respects, the national rights and independence of the Ukrainian Republic...") ... In July 1923, with the help of the Red Army, a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was established and incorporated into the USSR."

One other time a Western statesman, the then Prime Minister Diefenbaker of Canada, asked, when Khrushchev wanted states formed "of their own free will and choosing",

"What of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia? What of the freedom of the freedom loving Ukrainians and other Eastern European peoples?" (Toronto, Nov. 22, 1961).

That is the way all Western leaders should talk to Soviet Russia, if public opinion is to achieve liberation of the captive nations without war. But they have not done so.

The Wilsonians, Rooseveltians Like Hitler Did Not Want a Free Ukraine

And especially as regards Ukraine, some Western and many American leaders have talked as if they did not want an independent Ukraine, as if they really believed that the Ukraine

is and should be a part of Mother Russia, as if the USSR is a bona fide voluntary federation, like the United States, of self-determined states. One can only be shocked at this obsession of ignorance, which for example, the former Secretary of State Dean Rusk exhibited on August 27, 1961. He wrote:

"The United States Government's position is weakened by any action which confuses the rights of formerly independent peoples or nations (he meant the so-called satellite nations like Hungary, Poland, etc.) with the status of areas, such as Ukraine, Armenia, or Georgia, which are traditional parts of the Soviet Union. Reference to these latter areas places the United States Government in the undesirable position of seeming to advocate the dismemberment of an historical state..."

Even at the end of World War I, when the Wilsonians with a messianic fury ruthlessly dismembered historical Austria-Hungary into hardly viable independent nations less than a fourth the size of Ukraine, they did not want to apply self-determination to imperialist Russia. Wilson's Secretary of State, Lansing, instructed the American Mission to negotiate peace, on October 20, 1919, "On the basis of past investigations the Department is disposed to regard the Ukrainian separatist movement as largely the result of Austrian and German propaganda seeking the disruption of Russia."

This fateful Wilsonian and Allied mistake of considering Ukraine an integral part of Russia and opposing its independence was repeated by Hitler when in World War II he cleared it of the Soviet Russians. He did not accord it independence from Russia until too late (1944). That mistake may have lost him the war, and the same mistake by the victors, if not corrected soon, may plunge the world into a nuclear third world war.

Many Americans Want Free Satellites but Hesitate to Dismember USSR

Unhappily, just as Wilson, Dean Rusk, and Hitler wished to consider Ukraine an ethnic and cultural component of Russia, so do a majority of Americans still. While they clearly want Hungary, Poland, and other satellites liberated from Soviet Russian tyranny, they tend to feel that liberating Ukraine would be a dismemberment of Russia the way in 1945 the Morgenthauistic victors dismembered Germany. They do not want to dismember Russia vis-a-vis Germany. In their hearts they, along with important factions in our government, accept the Soviet Russian empire as a sort of "police system to keep law and order". In April, 1963, the U. S. Arms Control Agency instructed whom it may concern that "The break-up of the Russian Communist empire" would be "catastrophic for world order".

This shocking reasoning nullifies the principle of self-determination for which America professed to fight in two wars, which its intervention turned into world wars. If the world favors the freedom and self-determination it moons about and has anchored in the United Nations Charter, then the Soviet Russian empire must somehow be broken up, the USSR must be dissolved, and the colonial components must be freed, and of these the Ukraine is the most important one.

Dismembering the USSR Does Not Dismember the True Russia

Dissolving the USSR does not mean dismembering Russia proper. We want a strong and healthy Russia, but a Russia of Russians, not one of a majority of enslaved non-Russian nationalities, a Russia brought down to its own proper size. The Soviet Russian empire, now the USSR exclusive of the satellites like Hungary, is an immense area of 8,647,172 square miles, more than the U. S., Canada and Mexico together.

It is almost three times the size of China, and of Australia, and six times the size of India.

It has a population of 235,000,000 but of these only 110 million are Russian, the other 125 million are Ukrainians, Balts, Byelorussians, Armenians, and others. They speak their own languages and have their own culture. They are no more Russian than the Poles are Russian, or the Arabs are Turks, or the Irish are British. These peoples want their independence and have a right to it.

These captive peoples inhabit 2,053,781 square miles of land that has been theirs for centuries. But if they and their lands are separated from Russia and given independence, Russia will still be three times their size with 6,595,391 square miles. This is twice as large as the continental United States. It would have a population of 110,000,000 ethnic Russians. It would therefore still be by far the largest and the strongest nation in Europe, about as populous as Germany and France combined.

That is the rightful Russia which liberating the captive nations will establish. It will have nothing to fear from any country in Europe, but it will also no longer be a threat to Western Europe or to world peace. Russia, once its captive nations are liberated, as the Wilsonian principle of self-determination and the Atlantic Charter absolutely require, will not be threatened by anyone and will have no cause to threaten anyone else. Thus, the only serious danger of a third world war or of a nuclear war will have been removed.

Independence for Ukraine Commanded both by Ideals and Expedience

There are valid reasons for believing that dissolving the USSR, i. e. liberating the captive nations, is the only guarantee of avoiding a nuclear war. And among the captive nations, the most

important is Ukraine. In population and natural wealth, and in cultural and ethnic development it is second only to Russia itself.

Mr. Harry Schwartz, of the editorial board of **The New York Times**, said on June 30, 1970:

"In stressing the weaknesses of the Soviet Union... among all the captive nations, Ukraine is certainly the most formidable opponent of the Russian system... there exists a vast resistance among Ukrainian intellectuals, youth and other strata of the Ukrainian people."

He added that "by and large the

Western world knows little about the struggle of the Ukrainian people".

The Ukrainian people have a right to national independence. I hope that America which has crusaded over half the world to liberate oppressed peoples and secure self-determination for them will earnestly begin to work for the long overdue independence of Ukraine and will help mobilize world public opinion for this independence, so that it may come soon, and come without war and bloodshed. But above all, let us all become a part of the world public opinion that demands the independence of Ukraine and let us not stop until it is won.

Dr. Ctibor Edmund Pokorny

Msgr. Dr. Joseph Tiso and His Work

(On the 25th Anniversary of His Martyrdom)

25 years ago, on 18 April 1947, the President of the Slovak Republic, Msgr. Dr. Joseph Tiso, was executed in Bratislava after a "people's democratic" show trial.

Communists and opponents of the independence of Slovakia have succeeded through slander in casting a shadow in the eyes of public opinion in the free world over the memory of Msgr. Dr. Joseph Tiso and the Slovak Republic represented by him. Accordingly incorrect ideas still prevail in some circles of the free world on the personality and historical role of this Christian Slovak statesman.

In the Slovak nation, however, Msgr. Dr. Tiso and his policy, his ideas and his work could not be brought into discredit. Not only the Slovaks living in the free world honour Msgr. Dr. Tiso for what he performed in the founding and development of the modern Slovak state and the defence of Christian civilisation against godless Communism, but also the Slovak nation in its enslaved home. Especially impressive was the expression given to this attitude of the Slovak people during the

scandalous show trial against the President of the Slovak Republic and after his execution, 25 years ago. The "people's democratic" rulers, however, never succeeded in killing Tiso's spirit.

Tiso's spirit lives in the Slovak people and inspires them in their resistance and struggle for freedom. This was also clearly shown during the Dubček era early in 1968 in Slovakia, when mass demonstrations took place with pictures of Msgr. Tiso and symbols of the Slovak Republic for a free and independent Slovak state.

Msgr. Dr. Joseph Tiso dedicated his life to the service of the Catholic Church and the Slovak people. He worked actively in politics, as well as fulfilling his priestly duties. He was active in leading positions in the Slovak People's Party. This was a national-conservative and Christian-social party, founded before the first world war. Its founder and leader was the Catholic priest Msgr. Andrew Hlinka. After the first world war the Slovak People's Party carried on the struggle of the Slovak people for self-determination in the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

After the death of Msgr. Hlinka in August 1938, Msgr. Tiso took over the leadership of the Slovak People's Party.

When Slovakia declared its independence during a conservative revolution on 14 March 1939, Msgr. Dr. Joseph Tiso was confronted with a difficult task, being responsible for the development and defence of the independent Slovak state, as its head.

The Slovak Republic represented by Msgr. Tiso found itself from the very beginning in an extraordinarily difficult position.

In foreign policy it was allied with Germany. In the given geographical situation and under the circumstances of political power at that time in Central Europe, there was no other possibility for Slovakia to be able to exist as an independent state.

Msgr. Tiso succeeded in preserving the independence of Slovakia in relation to the German Reich as well. Hitler respected the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic. This fact was also recognised by the Communists, although the Communist Party was banned in the Slovak state. A confidential report by the presidium of the illegal Communist Party of Slovakia, sent to Moscow in July 1944 (but published first in August 1969 in Slovakia) says, amongst other things, the following:

"The fact remains that this state (the Slovak Republic — C.E.P.) possesses an independence such as is possible for a small state and in particular in war."

"The regime controls its own internal affairs. The economy is in the hands of Slovaks. The German influence is large, but not so strong that independence is only a stupid mask."

"Hitler still today (July 1944 — C.E.P.) respects the independence of Slovakia and the German citizens have been behaving especially well."

Under Msgr. Tiso's leadership the Slovak Republic was developed into a modern social state. His social policies

were directed in accordance with the papal social encyclicals.

Msgr. Tiso's policies were also very successful in the cultural sphere. The six years of Slovak independence meant for the Slovak people a universal cultural development.

But what caused the greatest surprise abroad was the economic progress of the Slovak Republic. The Slovak government conducted a very successful policy of industrialisation. The balance of payments for foreign trade was constantly favourable. In the middle of the second world war consolidated economic conditions prevailed in Slovakia. They could only be compared with those of neutral states. Although the Slovak Republic took part in the war against Soviet Russia, economic conditions there were better than in neutral Switzerland. The Slovak crown was among the best currencies in Europe. The standard of living of the population in Slovakia reached during the years of its sovereign independence a level never attained before or after.

Msgr. Tiso and the Slovak government were anxious to keep their country out of the war. In accordance with this policy Slovakia took no part in the war until the outbreak of hostilities between Germany and Soviet Russia in July 1941. Even then Slovakia declared war only on Soviet Russia, and not on the Western powers.

For Slovakia entry into the war had fatal results. She fought as an ally of Germany, Italy, Finland, Rumania, Hungary and Croatia against Soviet Russia and lost the war.

In the course of war operations, the Russian Red Army succeeded in occupying Slovakia in the spring of 1945. When it had already penetrated near to the capital of Slovakia, Bratislava, it made an offer through an emissary. According to this offer, Msgr. Tiso was to appoint a new government including Communists, capitulate to Soviet Russia and declare war on Germany.

In return, the Slovak Republic was to continue to exist after the war and Msgr. Tiso to remain as president. Msgr. Tiso refused this offer, since he was not ready to collaborate with Communists.

Msgr. Tiso and the Slovak government went into exile to Kremsmünster in Upper Austria, as the Russian Red Army advanced towards Bratislava.

After the war the Archbishop of Munich and Freising, Cardinal Faulhaber, afforded him asylum in a monastery at Altötting in Upper Bavaria. Msgr. Tiso was however exradited by the American occupying army, in violation of international law, to the "people's democratic" government of the state, re-established against the wishes of the Slovak nation, by the Russian Red Army.

Although the entire Slovak Catholic clergy and the overwhelming majority of the Slovak people were on the side

of Msgr. Tiso, the "National Court", on the instructions of the Communist Party, condemned him to death in a show trial in Bratislava.

Msgr. Dr. Joseph Tiso took a courageous stand against his judges. He brilliantly justified his policies. He gave no signs of weakness. He could be forced into making no confession of guilt or expression of regret. He refuted the accusations against him. He was nevertheless condemned to death, because Moscow so wished it.

Msgr. Dr. Joseph Tiso left behind a testament (to the Slovak people) some hours before he was executed. In this testament, he declared that he considered himself primarily as a martyr for the Holy Church of Christ. He warned the Slovak people against godless Communism and urged it to remain true to its Christian belief.

The Slovak nation has remained true to Tiso's testament.



London, January 29, 1972.

100 members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), who staged a 24-hour hunger strike in front of the Russian Embassy in order to turn the attention of the British public to the recent wave of terror in Ukraine, are removed from the embassy grounds by the London police.

Soviet Russian Penetration into Sinkiang

Conclusion

By the Sino-Russian treaty, concluded on October 12, 1954, at Chinese request, Soviet Russia withdrew from the Sino-Russian joint-stock companies and the Sino-Soviet joint airlines in Sinkiang. Soon afterwards the province was transformed into the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region (SUAR) of the Chinese People's Republic.²⁸⁾ From about the same time, the Chinese government has been energetically developing Sinkiang.

What is the ultimate goal of Russian policy in Sinkiang? Sinkiang was never a Chinese province. Racially it is inhabited by a Moslem Turkic-speaking people, and the country was brought under remote Chinese control only comparatively late in the era of the Manchu dynasty.²⁹⁾ To Soviet Russia, Sinkiang is a legacy of Tsarist Russia.

Russia's expansionist drive for the conquest of Turkestan began in 1717. On the geographical and political significance of Turkestan, Tsar Peter I said: "Turkestan is the gateway to India. He who possesses Turkestan, possesses the whole of Asia."³⁰⁾ In keeping with Peter's theory, Count Nesselrode, tsarist Foreign Minister, declared in a Cabinet meeting in 1816: "As long as Central Asia is not ours, we cannot think about the conquest of Asia."³¹⁾ Later the tsarist minister Stolipin said: "Russians must be settled on Turkestanian land in order to increase the local Russian population and to make Turkestan a Russian Turkestan." As a result, the Turkestanis living in the north and the east of the country were not allowed to purchase land in other parts of Turkestan. Under this regulation of 1916, the Kirghizes and Kazakhs were not to purchase land in the Fergana district. In order to destroy the

unity of the Turkestanian tribes and their national aspiration the name Turkestan was replaced by Central Asia, then divided into two Governments General and these again into five Military Governments.³²⁾

Soviet Russia has picked up the policy of imperial expansion of Tsarist Russia. As early as 1919 the Soviet Russian government stipulated the significance of Turkestan as follows:

Turkestan is of colossal political importance for the liberation of the Near and Far East. In the history of the world Turkestan has played a part as the gateway of Asia to Europe. And now Turkestan is destined to be the gateway of Europe to Asia. From Soviet Russia, that is from the present centre of the world revolution, and via Turkestan, the idea of the socialist and political liberation of the working masses of the Orient, who have endured so much suffering at the hands of native and foreign slave-drivers, is to infiltrate into Asia.³³⁾

In keeping with the divide and rule principle of Tsarist Russia, Turkestan was divided into five Soviet Republics: Kazakhstan, Kirghistan, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, which in reality are nothing but administrative units of Moscow. In order to destroy the national unity of Turkestanians, who number over 17 million, the Russian government proclaimed the Turkestanian tribes — the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Tadzhiks, Turkmens and Uzbeks "peoples" and "nations", although they constitute a compact lingual, cultural and historical unity, namely West Turkestan.³⁴⁾

Thus, Turkestan with the territory of 1,541,239 square miles, became a

Russian colony, the Soviet Russian shopwindow for the Orient and the prime vehicle of direct Soviet Russian influence on the countries of the Orient.

Through Turkestan Russia has succeeded in setting up Communist rule in China. Under the pretext of bringing help for Communism in China, Sinkiang was completely Sovietized by means of commercial treaties, intrigue, propaganda and force of arms.³⁵) From Moscow via Turkestan and Sinkiang the idea of the socialist and political liberation of the working masses of the Orient was infiltrating into Asia.

Sinkiang is also of a great strategic importance to Russia. By virtue of its isolation, elevation and distance from United States bases, Sinkiang and its environs provide ideal sites for intercontinental ballistic missiles. The first Soviet Sputnik was launched from a "Rocket City" believed to be located somewhere in the Barsuki desert, north-west of the Aral Sea. The ill-fated U-2 flight, "downed" over the Sverdlovsk, is known to have crossed over the Aral Sea area. After that incident, Khrushchov referred to an earlier flight of April 9 by an unidentified aircraft and specifically mentioned the Pamir region adjoining Sinkiang.³⁶)

A "Physicists' Town" in the Pamir region which borders on southwestern Sinkiang and northeastern Afghanistan has been established by the Soviet Russian government, and special cosmic radiation observatories and laboratories are part of this complex.

The Chinese are in the process of erecting a series of industrial islands as far away from any sea approach as possible. Atomic-powered Polaris submarines would find it very difficult to reach targets in Sinkiang, located as it is midway between the Atlantic, Pacific, Arctic and Indian oceans. The Kazakh Republic adjoining Sinkiang is well supplied with power bases. The city of Karaganda is the second largest coal-producing area in the Asiatic part

of Soviet Russia. Chinese and Soviet Russian industrial complexes appear to be slowly shifting closer together — not further apart — a fact which suggests that such mutual fears and antagonism as may exist are being kept within bounds.³⁷)

The development of a transportation system, which is basic for economic, scientific and military exploitation of the region, began in 1952. The Chinese announced their decision to launch construction of a railway starting from Lanchow and terminating in Urumchi. The second objective was to extend this line from Urumchi to the Kazakhstan city of Alma Ata where it would link up with the Turk-Sib line.³⁸)

In 1958 the new Chinese plans called for the development of north-south lines within Sinkiang. The surveying began for the Turfan-Kashgar route to link both sides of the Tien Shan mountains. This projected 1,000 mile line will run through Kuche, from which rail links will be built to Khotan (south) and to Ining (north), the capital of the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou.³⁹)

The old caravan routes running across Sinkiang between China, Russia and India are being adapted to modern truck travel. Repairs and reconstruction are being pushed on nearly 2,000 miles of what is known as the "dry line" from Urumchi via Kashgar to Khotan. At the same time, secondary roads are being surveyed and constructed to serve the newly industrialized regions.⁴⁰)

The Moscow-Peking Rift Over Lebensraum

The ideology of "Marxist-Leninist Truth" is widely advertised as the source of the current struggle between Soviet Russia and Communist China. It has become entirely evident that the rift is concerned more with national interest than with ideology. It is the 4,000 mile border which the two Communist imperialist powers share. This bor-

der extends from the Sea of Japan in the east to the Pamir Mountain Range near India's northwest frontier.

Since the war, Peking's influence in the People's Republic of Mongolia has been rising while Moscow's role has been decreasing. Peking has re-established its dominance in Sinkiang which is an extensive transition area between the heart of China and the Soviet Union. Manchuria, another Chinese dependency which the Russians occupied after the Japanese surrender and stripped of whatever could be carried off, is again under Chinese control. The Communist ruled People's Democratic Republic of Korea appears to have been under the efficient guidance of Russian advisers from its establishment in 1948 until Chinese intervention at the end of 1950. It seems that since that time the Korean as well as the Japanese Communists receive their policy directives from their Chinese rather than from their Soviet Russian comrades.⁴¹⁾

Already during Stalin's reign, Russians found out that the Chinese Communists were not "real" Communists. To them, the only real Communists were those who would accept domination by the Kremlin. At first, Moscow planned to set up the buffer states of Manchuria, Mongolia and Sinkiang between China and Russia. Of course, Mao Tse-tung refused to approve this plan; then on June 1, 1951, using the occasion of the celebrations at Ulan-Bator to mark the so-called 30th anniversary of the Mongolian revolution, Moscow made the proposal that a Great Mongolian People's Republic should be created. This republic was to include the autonomous Buriat-Mongolian Republic, Outer and Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang. In this way, Moscow intended to consolidate its position by means of the bayonets of the Russian occupation army. This plan, to form a Greater Mongolian People's Republic, was the subject of considerable controversy at the Russian-Chinese

conference in 1952 and also during the negotiations of Bulganin and Khrushchov in Peking in 1954.⁴²⁾

To Moscow, Mao Tse-tung appeared nothing else but Ch'ien Lung, who planned to expand China from Turkestan to the Bay of Bengal.⁴³⁾ *Pravda* pointed out that Peking had published a history textbook containing a map that showed China's frontiers as including parts of the Soviet Far East—the Amur and Ussuri regions which Russia took from China in 1860, and which Soviet Russia retains, have a total area of 400,000 square miles.

The city of Vladivostok was, up to 1860, a Chinese settlement named "Haisenwei"; the Russians renamed it to "Vladivostok", which means "Ruler of the East". Peking also claims a large part of Khabarovsk Krai, parts of Kirghizia, Tadzhikistan and Kazakhstan as far as Lake Balkash which were taken by Tsarist Russia under unequal treaties. This reinterpretation of geography would, in effect, push the Chinese border as much as 300 miles into the Soviet Russian territory.⁴⁴⁾ Altogether it is a half million square miles with a present population of ten million.⁴⁵⁾

Perhaps the most important issue in this dispute between Moscow and Peking are the peoples subjugated by both Communist empires. Soviet Russian propaganda stresses the ties of kinship between Sinkiang Moslems and their relatives in the Central Asian republics and urges resistance against Chinese encroachment of their land. The Uighur broadcasts from Russian stations declare that "Sinkiang is our land, and sooner or later we will return to occupy it".⁴⁶⁾ Chinese took measures against Russian influences in Sinkiang. First they launched a tremendous campaign to Sinicize the province. Because of the Uighur predominance in the province, it was renamed the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region. Nearly two million Chinese people have been sent into the province, and thus

they constitute about **thirty per cent of the total** population. Officials suspected of pro-Soviet leanings were removed from the Communist Party and Government positions. The Communist Party municipal committee in Urumchi is more than sixty percent Chinese, and most of the department heads or deputies in the government apparatus are Chinese.⁴⁷⁾

Last year, Peking touched the softest spot of Russian colonialism. It raised the question of the subjugation of the satellite nations by the Soviet Russian slave empire. Peking knew very well that the desire for freedom will exert tremendous pressure against Russian colonialism in all the subjugated nations, and that these subjugated nations are anxious to start the journey toward freedom. The Russian press accuses Chinese students and missions stationed in the Soviet Union of disseminating anti-Russian propaganda among the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union. Chinese broadcasts frequently bombard Russian colonial imperialism and call the satellite states to oppose Russian colonialism. Very considerable attention has been given to the Communist leaders of the subjugated peoples to persuade their allegiance to the Chinese Communist Party. To the soldiers of the subjugated peoples stationed in the Far East, Siberia and Turkestan, they send convincing radio messages pointing out to them that Russia exploits their services for the conquest of new territories while Russian nationality soldiers live well in their already subdued countries. "Your place is there! in the sunny Ukraine, in Byelorussia, in Caucasia, Georgia, etc." The broadcast would conclude.

In any case, this Moscow-Peking rift over Lebensraum will be very important in the future but is not an actual threat at the present time. Both Russia and China know that they have to cooperate in the conquest of the remaining Free World. As for the subjugated

peoples and the remaining Free World, this Moscow-Peking rift will not bring much relief for them. Hoping that something good might come out of this means waiting to be buried. But there is the third force, the subjugated non-Russian peoples who are the Achilles' heel of the Russian drive for world domination. We are living now in an age characterized by the collapse of empires and by the victory in the world of the national idea, of the nation state as the principle of a world order. We are living now in the age of ideological wars. Ideas and not money make policy. Communism, as an ideological and socio-political system, must be opposed by antipodal and not by similar systems. In order to defeat Russian colonial imperialism, it is necessary to raise and to support, in practical policy, the idea of national liberation of all nations including those within the USSR, and not merely the satellites. The present day struggle is a struggle of the national idea which is realized in the form of a national independent state against the world imperialist idea which is defended by Russia in the form of the World USSR. It is the struggle of the idea of man's freedom against totalitarian slavery, of the idea of social justice against the greatest injustice which mankind has ever known.⁴⁸⁾

Victory over Russian colonial imperialism is possible provided the concept envisaging the disintegration of the Russian colonial empire and the restoration of the independent nation states of Byelorussia, Lithuania, Caucasia, Georgia, Turkestan, Ukraine and other countries subjugated within the USSR and in the satellite countries is adopted and vigorously supported.

²⁸⁾ Edmund O. Clubb, "The Sino-Soviet Frontier", *Military Review*, 44: 9, July 1964.

²⁹⁾ "Russia's Eastern Marches; Sink-

iang and Tibet", **Round Table**, 40: 334-35, September 1950.

³⁰⁾ Quoted in Baymirza Hayit. **Turkestan in XX Jahrhundert**. Darmstadt: Leske Verlag, 1956. p. 17.

³¹⁾ **Ibid.**

³²⁾ "Veli Kajum Khan on the Problems of His People and Its Relations to the Islamic World", **ABN-Correspondence**, 4: 102 July/August 1953.

³³⁾ Quoted in Baymirza Hayit, "Russia and the Orient", **ABN Correspondence**, 10: 7. March/April 1959.

³⁴⁾ Veli Kajum Khan, "White and Red Colonialism in Turkestan", **ABN Correspondence**, 10: 16. September 1959.

³⁵⁾ Peter Fleming, "Russia Has Secured Dominion Over the Province of Sinkiang", **China Weekly Review**, 75: 320, February 1, 1936.

³⁶⁾ A. R. Field, "Strategic Development in Sinkiang", **Foreign Affairs**, 39: 313, January 1961.

³⁷⁾ **Ibid.**

³⁸⁾ **Ibid.**

³⁹⁾ **Ibid.**

⁴⁰⁾ **Ibid.**

⁴¹⁾ Harold H. Fischer, "Communist Solidarity and Sino-Soviet Rivalry", **Current History**, 41: 132, September 1961.

⁴²⁾ A. Mykulyn, "Russian Aggression Against China", **ABN Correspondence**, 8: 11-12, 1957.

⁴³⁾ Anthony Harrigan, "Sinkiang: a Sino-Soviet Trouble Spot?", **Military Review**, 43: 3-4, May 1963.

⁴⁴⁾ "Communists Search for Lebensraum?", **Time**, 84: 40, September 18, 1964.

⁴⁵⁾ Stanley Karnow, "Sinkiang: Soviet Rustlers in China's Wild West", **Reporter**, 30: 37, June 18, 1964.

⁴⁶⁾ **Ibid.**, p. 39.

⁴⁷⁾ **Ibid.**, p. 38.

⁴⁸⁾ Jaroslav Stetzko, "United States of America and the Liberation Policy", **ABN Correspondence**, 10: 3, March/April 1959.

U. N. Called Impotent in International Peace

(Excerpts)

"I don't believe in the United Nations or its possibility of solving world crises," said (Jaroslav S.) Stetsko in an interview at the Statler Hilton Hotel where he met with members of the local Ukrainian community.

Stetsko, who travels about the world to unify anti-Communist advocates, regards the United Nations largely as a vehicle for "anti-United States propaganda by Communist-dominated countries".

The future of the Nationalist government in Formosa will depend upon the United States, said Stetsko, who has an "agreement" between an Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and his Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

The Bloc, he explained, represents 27 nationalist groups in the world, with

the largest number in this country, Great Britain, Argentina and Australia.

Nothing "positive" will result from President Nixon's planned visit with Red China's Premier Chou En-lai Feb. 21, Stetsko remarked.

Stetsko, who always speaks of the Soviet Union as the "Russian empire", was arrested often for Ukrainian liberation activities and was imprisoned in a German concentration camp from 1941-1944.

He thinks the possibility of a nuclear war launched by any world power as "suicidal" and even obsolete. "Now the style is political war, psychological war and partisan war", he said.

(**Buffalo Courier-Express**,
December 12, 1971)

An Appeal by the OUN Executive to the Entire Ukrainian Community

Following disturbing reports from the concentration camps of Mordovia and the Russian prisons about the treacherous murders of Ukrainian and other political prisoners and about the systematic poisoning of the creators of culture in order to break their will and their creative ability, or even to kill them physically, — a new wave of open Stalinist Russian terror is sweeping across Ukraine.

The shameful mock trial of Valentyn Moroz, the assassination by the KGB of the late Alla Horska, the murder of the late Mykhailo Soroka in a concentration camp, the recent arrests of the cultural leaders — Ivan Svitlychnyi, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Ivan Dzyuba and others — prove that Russia is reverting anew to the dreadful terror, which is the essence of her domination over the subjugated nations. Russia has not changed in any respect. The Russia of Ivan Kalita, Peter I, Catherine II, Nicholas II, Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchov, Brezhnev, the Russia of Malyuta Skuratov, Dzerzhynsky, Yezhov, Beria or Shelepin, Serov or Andropov is always the same.

An evolution of her terrorist system toward a system of freedom and respect for human and national rights is impossible. Her empire, her prison of nations, can only be maintained by brutal, barbarous terror and for some time — hand in hand with terror — by deception and promises of "paradise on earth" for those who let themselves be deceived. This had been the case with the so-called defense of the Orthodoxy from the Turks; this had been the case with Pan-Slavism; this had been and still is the case with the "defense of the proletariat of the whole world"; this is now the case with the "support of the national liberation wars and revolutions of peoples subjugated by Western imperialists"...

Deception and brutal force — this is Moscow's path. Worthlessness and baseness, a dagger and a Nagant revolver, treacherous murders and the breaking of wills and characters with the aid of the most perfidious methods and means of modern science, medicine, psychology and technology in order to "convert" its victim to its diabolical faith, to the service of the Russian antichrist — this is Moscow's path. Every free thought, every smallest manifestation of a different opinion, even prayer must conform to the ideas of the Russian satraps, executioners and barbarians. Anyone who does not think, who does not believe as the Russians do, who does not worship the same idols as the Russians do, must be imprisoned, tortured and annihilated. Homicide and genocide — the mass arbitrary murder of the entire nations — this is the historic path of Russia...

Ivan Franko, whom the Russians have also stolen for their Communism, wrote the following about Russia:

"A decaying bog among the countries of Europe, covered with
mildew, thick verdure!
The hotbed of stupidity and stagnation, oh Russia! Wherever you
erect your pillars,
There creeps deception, extortion,
the lamentation of the people, as
mildew from the wall.
You oppress and shout: "I'm granting freedom!", you fleece and say
"I'm promoting culture!"
You do not cut to pieces, flog, send to Siberia, you only suck the fluid
from the heart as a vampire.
Your filth only stifles the heart and the soul. Only a snake or slime
grow and get stronger within you,
The free spirit must either flee,
or dies alive in your grave!

The leaders of the free world do not want to understand this spirit of Russia, unchanged for centuries, failing to see that the Russian deluge will inundate them, if they fail to revive in their countries the patriotic spirit, the heroic style of life, militant Christianity and faith in God and morality based on it and on the service to the nation. It is a tragedy for the world that the Churches of the free world have also begun to collaborate with the genocidal and atheistic Russia, which invariably continues to persecute Christians and those who believe in God generally. Even the Vatican is silent when Archbishop Velychkovskyi is being tried, when Moroz is being tried, when Alla Horska is being murdered, when new victims for human rights, for creative freedom, for the rights which God has given to every nation, are being sacrificed at the altar of the Russian Moloch. The Vatican and other Western Churches were silent when the Ukrainian creators of culture wanted to express their patriotic, Christian ideas, views and convictions only in their thoughts, only in their words, only by pen, paintbrush and chisel... And for this they are imprisoned, for this they are murdered, for this they are tortured... The Pope, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Patriarch of Constantinople and others are silent when Valentyn Moroz, great in spirit, thought and faith, is brutally tortured for writing the following: "The Church — the mainstay of the spirit — must be preserved!" or "The main thing is to defend the Church!"... In these ominous times, it is more important for Western Churches to carry on a dialog with atheistic tyrants and perpetrators of genocide, with Kremlin's "Church" of Pimen, than to carry on a dialog with Christians and martyrs, a dialog with Velychkovskyi and Moroz.

There is no militant official Christianity in the West. There is only

consumable Christianity, just as there is a consumption-oriented society, a society of gain, a spiritless society of siesta and slumber...

And only with the coming of a hurricane, and it is already approaching, will come an awakening. The society will awake in flames.

The contemporary conscience of the mighty of this world respects force alone! **We must show them such force!**

We are counting first and foremost on our community, on the communities of nations subjugated by the Russians.

Thus, today, in view of V. Moroz's final plea, which is a document of his personal courage, worthiness, dignity, and heroic conduct as a Man,

— in the face of new repressions in Ukraine by vandalic Russia,

— in the face of resurgence of terror, more perfidious than the Stalinist one, even Stalin had not dared to excavate the graves of the Sich Riflemen*) in Lviv, as is said by V. Chornovil,

— in view of the subsequent attempt by the Russians to seal the lips of Ukraine, even on the level of the most modest freedom of speech, conscience, cultural creativity, linked with the nation's past,

— in view of the fact that in the free world the highest awards are granted for literary works, which are comparable in quality to the works of V. Moroz,

— and in view of the fact that the most prominent authors of the West, having familiarized themselves with the fragments of translations of literary and historiosophical works of the arrested Ukrainian creators of culture, state that the free world does not have such quality and the profundity of moral, ethical and artistic creativity,

— it is time, it is high time for a UNITED MIGHTY NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN OF THE UKRAINIAN SOCIETY IN GENERAL, OF THE

*) Ukrainian soldiers during World War I.

WHOLE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN EXILE, without regard to party and political convictions, confessions and views, of the entire Ukrainian independence-minded camp IN DEFENSE OF THE UNSUBDUED! At this crucial moment, every Ukrainian patriot must rid himself of all prejudices, and the SPIRIT OF THE COMMON STRUGGLE OF THE NATION must predominate, for our action is IN DEFENSE OF THOSE WHO ARE AT THE FRONT!

There are various types of heroes. There are heroes who carry arms. But there are also heroes without weapons, without rifles and machine-guns, only with their own will and burning with ideas, with a character which can withstand a tyrant, armed from head to foot. This is the highest quality of a hero and martyr.

V. Moroz's motto is — do not spare the body, so as not to kill the soul, as was said by Hryhoriy Skovoroda.*) "The spiritual death" (according to Skovoroda) occurs when a knight avoids a struggle and fails to carry out the inner duty imposed upon him. This is "a cruel death". Thus died the Zaporizhian - Cossacks says Skovoroda - having become tsarist noblemen, instead of defending the Sich, the liberty, the honor and the truth of Ukraine...

A warrior's weapon — Skovoroda teaches — is not only his sword. More important is the spirit which guides his hand, more important is God's attitude to the cause which the knight's spirit serves.

Such warriors, imagined by Skovoroda, are all the creators of culture of Ukraine imprisoned by Russia, who without arms, only with their spirit, their creative mind strive to serve in their vocation as Man, a creature like unto God. "With God even a (warrior's) short life fills long years... And a deed with God is in itself the highest award." ("The Alphabet of the World", an essay by H. Skovoroda.)

*) Ukrainian philosopher (1722 - 1794).

And V. Moroz says: "The point here is not Moroz. The point is every honest man in my place. Besides, in a place like Vladimir prison where people are prepared for a lingering death from some kind of secretly administered drug, there is no place for petty ambitions." This is what V. Moroz says. — "The court will try me behind closed doors. But it will turn into a boomerang anyway, even if no one hears me, even if I stay silent in an isolated cell in Vladimir prison. There is a silence that is louder than shouting. And even if you will destroy me, you will not be able to stifle that silence..."

Do not these words of V. Moroz remind us of the words by Socrates at his trial? And does not Socrates' cup of poison remind us of the Russian poisonous injections at the Vladimir or the Mordovian prisons? Even if Moroz would not write anything else, — his ideas, his thoughts, his words, his heroic conduct, his crystal soul will remain an impregnable fortress in the soul of the whole nation, its component part. His proud: "The only kind of Moroz who would be of any value to you would be a submissive Moroz who wrote a declaration of guilt. But you will never live to see such a Moroz" — is eternal. Socrates spoke in this spirit to the court of the dishonest...

And thus in foreign countries we are standing in the shadow of the Titans of the Spirit, who were again thrown into prisons and casemates, in the shadow of those who found themselves "among the snows", in "the Beria reservation", who write "the chronicle of resistance" with the fortitude of their spirit, not with a sword, nor arms, but with a courageous desire to manifest their Human identity, to realize the Truth of Symoneko and Skovoroda. — "We are not countless standard 'Is', but countless diverse universes"... Or Skovoroda's: "'I' is the basis of everything, even God's Kingdom, and even God HIMSELF is nothing other than a full-valued 'I'. He who knows

himself has found the desired treasure of God... A true human being and God are one and the same."...

We find ourselves in foreign countries, but can we remain silent?

Moroz said: "There will be a trial. Well, we shall fight... At this time it is necessary for someone to provide an example of firmness... The lot has fallen on me... It is a difficult mission. To sit behind bars is easy for no one. But not to respect one's self is even harder... And that is why we shall fight! The trial will come and everything will begin anew: new protests and petitions, new material for newspapers and radios of the whole world. The interest in what Moroz wrote will grow tenfold. In a word, a new portion of oil will be added to the fire which you want to put out."

This was said by Valentyn Moroz on his own behalf and on behalf of all those who are behind bars today. The world must hear about those who are suffering for defending their dignity and their rights, for defending our rights and the rights of the world of great ideas, which also must join in the defense of those who are standing unbroken in the first row "among the snows" of despotism and violence...

The word is ours. The word belongs to the entire Ukrainian community in exile, to our Churches, to our scientific, art, journalist, literary, youth, veteran, women's and political organizations and monastic orders. An ardent protest across the free world against the new wave of terror in Ukraine and in defense of the imprisoned must come from the entire Ukrainian independence-minded political world, from Church, academic, youth, civic, professional, and from the organized Ukrainian life in exile in general. Non-stop mass actions of the public must be continued and must flare up anew.

The imprisoned champions of national and human rights cannot feel abandoned. It is necessary that spontaneous

struggle in their defense should include old and young, children and men, boys and women, that all and each individually should fight in their defense, each in his own way and by his own methods, in order that Moroz's forecast — that his silence will be louder than shouting — will come true all over again every day, every minute.

Everything Ukrainian that lives must join the ranks of the action, without regard to parties or confessions. At the same time, let the works of V. Moroz and others now imprisoned be published in hundreds of thousands of copies in various languages of the world, and in Ukrainian in particular. Let the **Ukrainskyi Visnyk** (The Ukrainian Herald) become known to all in the free world who have a national soul. Let the children recite the works of the Unsubdued in schools, at concerts, celebrations, and mass rallies. Let it be a national honor for every Ukrainian not only to own their works, but also to disseminate them among foreigners... Let pupils, students, old and young study "Among the Snows", "The Chronicle of Resistance", the poetry of V. Moroz and others, just as they study Shevchenko, Franko or Lesya Ukrainka.

Our poets in exile should translate the poetry and literary works of the Unsubdued to foreign languages. Translated to foreign languages, the works of Moroz and others, should find their way to the desks of politicians, statesmen, writers and scholars of the free world. Through the efforts of our academic and literary circles, Valentyn Moroz should be proposed as candidate for the Nobel Prize. Let the golden names of the history of our days, the names of heroes who stood up to fight — without weapons, only with the power of their spirit, in defense of their divine, human and national "I", undertaking suffering voluntarily and consciously, be imprinted in the minds of all and let it burn like fire.

Let hundreds of thousands of protest telegrams be dispatched to governments of the free countries of the world. Let hundreds of thousands of telegrams bury Nixon in the White House, who is planning a visit to the center of the perpetrators of genocide — Moscow, at the very time when in the USSR a Stalinist type terror is being intensified... A march on Washington should be organized together with members of other subjugated nations along ABN lines and it should be transformed into a huge demonstration against Moscow. At the same time, a written petition as well as the documentation in the case of the imprisoned Unsubdued should be submitted to President Nixon.

In this action one should not omit the anti-Bolshevik labor unions. And our scientific and literary and art organizations must engage analogous circles of the free nations of the world in the action.

The foreign-policy aspect of the action must be accentuated in particular. The broadest and the most diverse circles of free nations must be included in the action. The campaign must not be allowed to simmer down; it must get hotter and hotter.

Every form and method is good when it reminds of the fact that some

countries are still in slavery. They are fighting at a time when the comfortable world sinks in affluence and forgets about its human dignity.

There, freedom and life are being sacrificed. And what are we sacrificing here?

Let each of us ask our conscience. Let it be our constant judge as to our unfulfilled duty to those who suffer punishment and torture, but who DO NOT REPENT.

Let us not dash their hopes. — "Five years ago I was put in a prisoner's dock, — writes V. Moroz — and the result was an arrow. Afterwards I was put behind a barbed wire fence in Moldavia and the result was a bomb. Now, once again, having understood nothing and learned nothing, you are beginning all over again. Only this time the momentum of the boomerang will be much stronger. In 1965 Moroz was an obscure instructor of history. Now he is known..."

UKRAINE AWAITS THE ACTION OF THE ENTIRE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN THE WHOLE WORLD!

January 1972

The Executive of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)

Balts Denouncing Russian and Red Chinese Genocide

The "Baltic Appeal" Committee, on behalf of the Baltic Federation in Canada; wishes to direct your attention to the "Resolution on Human Rights" adopted in 1971 by the General Council of the United Church of Canada.

This Resolution states that within both the Communist and non-Communist worlds there still persist tyrannies, denial of genuine religious freedom and indifference to the basic human rights and liberties, including the rights of minorities. It asserts, therefore, that "these things are morally wrong and unwise politically", and that it is the duty of Christians "to speak out against these evils, which, if left unchecked, will eat away any hope we have of justice, freedom, mercy and peace". This declaration refers equally to the countries outside and within the Communist orbit.

The text of the Resolution is to be found in the booklet, "Little Justice, Little Joy", issued by the United Church Committee on the Church and International Affairs, and in the "Proceedings of the 24th General Council, United Church of Canada". Apparently no wider publicity has been given by the Church to this measure.

Canadian citizens of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian origin, through our Committee, express their appreciation of the Church's Resolution but wish to make known especially the plight of the Baltic people under Russian rule.

We feel obliged to do this because, while elements in both the Communist and non-Communist areas have long furthered the elimination of so-called "Western imperialism and colonialism" in the name of "human rights", nevertheless, certain segments of Western public opinion apparently condone, by their inaction, Russian imperialism in various parts of the world. Seldom, except in such flagrant cases of Communist action as have occurred in Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, have the ecumenical Christian Church and the democratic society of the Free World spoken effectively against the injustices done to believers in God and basic human rights now living under Communist rule. We claim that such an insensitive attitude merely solidifies the structure of Communist imperialism.

We would like to mention some points not fully considered by certain leaders of the democratic world:

1. There is a considerable difference between the persisting bondage of Communism suffered by once free nations, and the ever diminishing Western control over native people, now emerging from the tribal stage, who have never known responsible democracy.

2. Many ethnic groups, that had survived Tsarist Russian imperialism, have now lost their national entities or have been practically eliminated under Communist regimes. In this regard, our "Appeal to the United Church" of May 30, 1970, stated that due to the Kremlin's policy of deportations, resettlements and Russification, a form of genocide is being directed against the Baltic people. Statistics in the Soviet Union's Census of 1970 indicate that the ethnic population of Latvia has dropped to 56.8 of the total from 75.5 per cent for 1935. A similar trend of arbitrary demographic changes is revealed in Estonia and Lithuania. The population of native Kirghiz is now down to 43.8% and that of the Kazakhs to 32.4% in their respective "autonomous republics". Similar results are felt by such a great nation as Ukraine and by other national entities forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union.

3. Although all are under Russian domination, there is still a difference in the way of life and degree of oppression between the "satellite" nations, controlled indirectly by the Kremlin, and the states that have been completely absorbed into the U.S.S.R.

4. In the matter of freedom of religion, and its control by the Communist state, we can point out that the Russian Orthodox Church, with its top hierarchy controlled by the Kremlin, is obliged to preach a "political gospel" in line with the directives of the Communist Party. This situation makes statements from the Orthodox Church highly suspect.

5. In "The United Church Observer" of October, 1971, there appeared a letter headed, "Some Baltic Background", written by our secretary. The writer concluded by inviting those readers who felt concern over the plight of the Balts to contact the Baltic Committee at the stated address. The response was very poor, indicating little knowledge of the situation on the part of United Church members and, possibly, a frightening indifference. This episode fully demonstrated the necessity for the Church's "Human Rights" Resolution.

Canadians last fall witnessed the publicity given to certain highly-placed visitors from the Communist world. The aims of these invited guests seem to have been to seek trade and to bolster Communist economy, technology and power. A further objective of these salesmen of subversion was to spread, openly

and covertly, their particular social and political ideologies and to preach "peace" while psychologically disarming the West. In addition, an ulterior purpose was to promote stipulations in a pact of the forthcoming European Security Conference to recognize the inviolability of the present frontiers and thus perpetuating their conquests. We must warn emphatically the representatives of the Canadian government against signing any such provisions, as they have the makings of a colossal sell-out.

All this activity should be reviewed in the light of the United Church's declaration on tyranny and the denial of human rights behind the Iron Curtain.

The main point of the United Church's Resolution is that it calls on Christians, and others, to speak out against these evils.

From time to time Canadians have expressed their views regarding "things that are wrong morally and unwise politically" that prevail behind the Iron Curtain. In some instances delegations of loyal Canadian organizations have been denied access to the Canadian authorities to state their case.

Indeed, it is because of this urgent need to "speak out" that certain Canadian citizens, who have undergone the ordeals of Communist rule and know only too well the manoeuvring of Communist leaders, availed themselves of their democratic privileges in order to demonstrate in protest against what the recent Communist visitors actually represent. At the same time, the visiting Communists were entertained officially and given the opportunity of attacking verbally a friendly Canadian neighbour.

In conclusion, the Baltic Committee believes that the United Church's "Human Rights" Resolution is a step forward in establishing and spreading a "Creed of Freedom". We appeal, therefore, not only to the members and supporters of the Christian Church, who must constitute a moral force, but also to the leaders and spokesmen of our democratic form of government, the communications media and the general public, to speak out for the cessation of genocide in all its forms against the Baltic peoples, the universal restoration of basic human rights, and the self-determination for the Baltic nations, as well as for all other Captive Nations within, or dominated by, the Soviet Union and Red China.

V. Upešlācis, Chairman
Baltic Appeal Committee

U. Peterson, President
Baltic Federation in Canada

N. Austrins, Secretary
Baltic Appeal Committee

Hamburg, January 29, 1972. Demonstration in defense of the recently arrested Ukrainian intellectuals.



Ukrainians in the Free World Vigorously Protest Recent Arrests in Ukraine

Indignant at the new wave of arrests which swept across Ukraine in mid-January, 1972, the Ukrainian community in the free world, led by the OUN and young people, rallied to the support of those persecuted in Ukraine by staging a series of mass demonstrations and hunger strikes in major cities of the free world, distributing thousands of leaflets, initiating letter-writing campaigns to the United Nations, the heads of states and the members of parliaments and holding special prayer services. In cities like New York, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Washington, Boston, Philadelphia, Newark and scores of others, the traditional observances of January 22nd*) were held in the spirit of protest and the gubernatorial and mayoral proclamations designating January 22nd as "Ukrainian Independence Day" contained strong statements against the persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals in Ukraine.

3,000 March on the Russian UN Mission in New York

On January 28, 1972, a throng of about 3,000 — predominantly young people — held a rally and a candlelight procession up First Avenue from 47th Street to Lexington Avenue and 66th Street. The 5-hour demonstration was organized by the Ukrainian Student Organization of Mikhnovskyi (TUSM) and endorsed by all local Ukrainian organizations.

A brief rally was held at the Hamerskjold Plaza before the start of the march. It was addressed by Metropolitan Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA, Pastor Volodymyr Borowsky of the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America, Msgr. Dr. Basil Kushnir, President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Mrs. Slava Stetsko of ABN, Rev. Chrystophoros of St. George's Ukrainian Catholic Church in New York, and Inia Hikawyj, President of SUSTA. The "Yevshan Zillya" all-girl chorus from Irvington, N. J. added color and drama to the rally. The girls, wearing gray tunics symbolic of mourning, with

faces covered with white mascara symbolizing "the spirits of the past who came to show their anger", beat their drums as they paced the block and sang two numbers.

Then the procession formed to march to the Soviet UN Mission. It was headed by flagbearers, followed by a black-draped coffin with a red flag atop, symbolizing Communist Russia's oppression of Ukraine, then a group of nine TUSM girls with their hands chained, the "Yevshan Zillya" chorus and the people in fours and fives. The marchers carried hundreds of placards, chanted slogans, called out the names of the best known Ukrainian intellectuals recently arrested, sang patriotic songs and distributed leaflets and special editions of *The Ukrainian Weekly*.

As the marchers neared the Russian Mission, the students burned the Soviet flags and the black-draped coffin. Ihor Rakowsky, President of the N. Y. Branch of TUSM, then addressed the demonstrators, stating the purpose of the demonstration and urging the crowd to continue protesting until the arrested Ukrainian intellectuals are released. 12 students approached the Mission under police escort. One of them knocked on the door, but Russian officials, who were watching the demonstration from behind the curtains,

*) Anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence in 1918 and the unification of all Ukrainian territories in 1919.

refused to open it. Leaving a batch of leaflets and newspapers at the door, the students left and rejoined the other demonstrators.

Earlier in the day, a group of students disrupted a session of the UN Economic and Social Council. Another group went to Felt Forum where the Russian poet Yevgeni Yevtushenko was giving a poetry recital. They distributed leaflets calling on the audience to "boycott the hypocrite" and replicas of the recital's program containing sarcastic parodies on some of Yevtushenko's poems, and asking the Russian why he remains silent in the wake of oppression and persecutions in the Soviet Union.

The protest action received wide coverage by CBS, NBC and ABC television networks and the local press.

Hunger Strike and Mass Demonstration in London

January 29th and 30th, 1972, were days of mass protest by the Ukrainian community in Great Britain against the new wave of Russian terror in Ukraine. Over 100 members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) began picketing the Russian Embassy in London in the afternoon on Jan. 29th. Simultaneously 75 of them went on a 24-hour hunger strike. In the course of the action, they managed to get into the courtyard of the embassy where they chanted anti-Russian and anti-Communist slogans and sang Ukrainian patriotic songs. The police, alarmed by the embassy guards, soon exceeded the number of protesters, who were then led away from the embassy grounds with great pomp and ceremony and allowed to continue their picketing at the main gate. There they remained all night and most of the following day.

On Jan. 30th, a mass rally, attended by over 3,000 persons, was held at the Speakers' Corner. It was opened by J. Zablocky, Chairman of the Committee in Defense of Ukrainian Political Prisoners, which sponsored the demon-

stration. M. Hryniuk delivered the main speech in Ukrainian, while I. Krushelnytskyi spoke in English. The guest speakers included Mr. Velta Snikere — Secretary of the British League for European Freedom, Mr. David Orme — Chairman of the International Federation for Victory over Communism, Mr. T. Zarins — a Latvian representative, Mr. A. Pranskunas — a Lithuanian representative, and Mrs. Sh. Pinkhas — a representative of the Israeli community in London. Greetings from Albanians and Croats, as well as a resolution were read. Then an impressive march to the Soviet Embassy followed.

Demonstrations in West Germany

On January 29, 1972, simultaneous demonstrations were held in Bonn, Munich and Hamburg. Over 500 people participated in the three demonstrations and thousands of leaflets were distributed. In Munich and Hamburg, the demonstrators carrying placards and banners marched through the main streets of these cities. In Bonn, the demonstrators gathered in front of the Russian Embassy. They were addressed by Messrs. Didyk and Lypa and Mr. Klise, representing the German workers. In Hamburg the speakers were Mrs. I. Wowk and Mr. T. Pelech.

As part of the worldwide protest action, 7 members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) staged a 36-hour hunger strike in front of the Munich City Hall. The strike began at 9 a. m. January 29th and ended at 9 p. m. the following day, in spite of the bitter cold. Surrounded by placards and banners, telling the story of the Russian atrocities in Ukraine, in particular the plight of V. Moroz and the recent arrests, the hunger-strikers continued to distribute leaflets and petitions to the United Nations asking that world organization to intervene on Moroz's behalf. Thus, the attention of thousands of Germans was turned to the Bolshevik terror in Ukraine. The five boys and two girls received countless expressions of sympathy and admiration.

Many passers-by gave them money and flowers. One Turk was so moved that he knelt down and prayed for those persecuted in Ukraine.

On January 28th, a demonstration of Ukrainian youth was held in the center of Paris. A large number of leaflets was distributed.

Mass Rally in Nottingham, England

On January 23rd, a mass rally was held in Nottingham. It sharply denounced the new wave of arrests in Ukraine and drafted an appropriate appeal which was sent to the government circles in Great Britain and the United Nations. The rally was preceded by a demonstration in the center of town at which besides the Ukrainians, many Britishers participated. The demonstrators were addressed by the head of the local branch of SUM and Miss Maria Pulyak. Young and old carried placards and banners, leaflets were distributed at major intersections and inserted into mailboxes in many neighborhoods. The large participation of the British was largely due to a favorable article in **The Guardian Journal** and the publicity made for it at the local meeting of the Post Office Workers' Union, which was addressed by Mr. V. Lesyuk, the head of the local branch of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, and where the participants were asked to sign a petition in defense of the imprisoned intellectuals, which all had done gladly.

Days of Mourning in Carlisle

January 29th and 30th, 1972, were proclaimed by the Ukrainian community as days of mourning, because of the arrests and persecutions of the Ukrainian writers, teachers, authors, journalists and intelligentsia by the KGB in Ukraine. Notices to the effect appeared in the local press. On January 29th, a public protest meeting was held at Carlisle's Old Town Hall. Mr. B. Sweryda, Secretary of the Association of Ukrainians in Carlisle, addressed the gathering and appealed for

support. Thousands of leaflets were distributed throughout the town.

Young Mothers Stage Protest Action at UN

Entering the UN building as tourists, a group of young Ukrainian women with children ranging in age from four to 14, held a brief yet quite effective protest action in defense of Valentyn Moroz, the imprisoned Ukrainian historian, and the recently arrested Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Svitlychnyi, Ivan Dzyuba and the countless other Ukrainian political prisoners incarcerated by the Russians. The action took place in the Chamber of the UN Economic and Social Council on January 19, 1972. They distributed leaflets in the meeting hall and inside and outside the building, chanted slogans and unfurled banners. The women said they would refuse to leave the building until they receive a pledge from the Secretary-General Dr. Kurt Waldheim that some action would be taken. However, the UN security guards interfered and carried the screaming women and children out.

The AP, the UPI and the local press and radio reported on the protest action.

Russian Art Exhibit Picketed

Beginning on January 13, 1972, members of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc., Branch 17, Washington, D.C. picketed the Soviet exhibit "SOVIET UNION: Arts and Crafts in Ancient Times and Today" held at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington. They protested Russian political, religious and cultural policies in Ukraine which result in mass arrests, secret "kangaroo" trials, illegal incarceration and cruel and severe sentences meted out to intellectuals, as well as Moscow's suppression of free thought, violation of human rights and forced Russification.

On January 30th, the exhibit was forced to close for the day because of a bomb threat.

On February 12th and 13th, the two final days of the exhibit, the ODFFU demonstrators were reinforced by Ukrainian students and youth.

"Day of Prayer"

Sunday, February 6th, 1972, was set aside as a "Day of Prayer" for "our persecuted brothers and sisters in Ukraine" throughout the Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia. A special appeal, citing the recent wave of repressions in Ukraine, was issued by Archbishop-Metropolitan Ambrose Senyshyn and signed by Bishops John Stock and Basil Losten. It called on the faithful to pray "for the sustenance of our Brothers and Sisters that they survive these cruel times and that they may live to see the Ukrainian national banner wave throughout liberated Ukraine".

Demonstration in Montreal

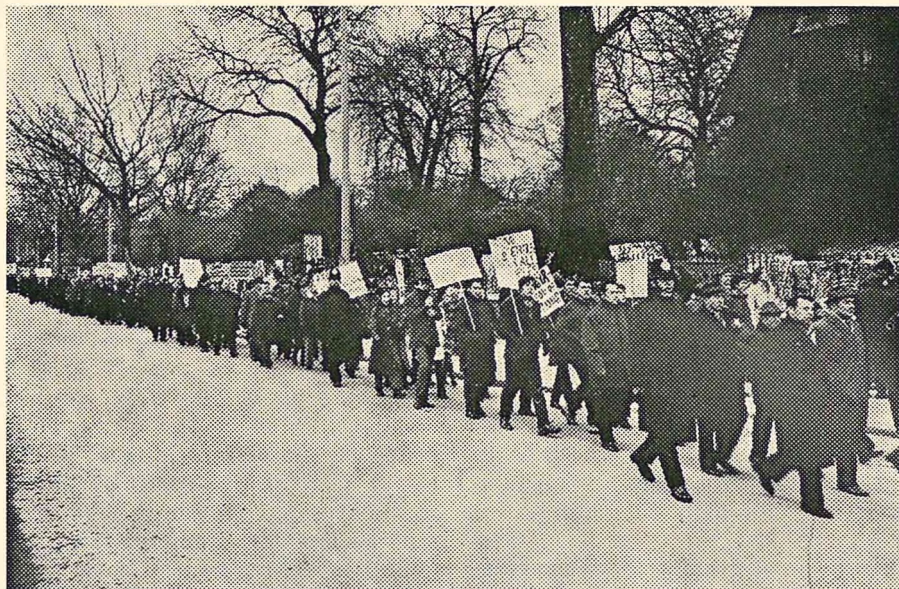
Over 500 people attended a prayer service which was held in front of the Cenotaph at the Dominion Square in Montreal on January 29th. It was said by Rev. Ye. Haymanovych of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Rev. Kuntash of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The participants then marched to the Russian Consulate where they protested against the recent arrests of the Ukrainian cultural leaders in Ukraine.

Prayers for Victims

On January 7, 1972, members of the Ukrainian Community of Greater Washington conducted silent prayers at 16th Street, N. W., (opposite the Russian Embassy) on behalf of the thousands of innocent Ukrainian victims of religious, cultural, political and economic persecution by Moscow.

One should note that Ukrainians as well as other non-Russian people in the USSR (about 125,000,000) are subjected to programs engineered by Russian behavioral scientists that are aimed at the total destruction of their religious, cultural and ethnic identity. Accompanying these Russian programs are religious persecution and assassinations of Ukrainian leaders, economic exploitation and physical mass genocide of the Ukrainian people, cultural persecution and forced russification, and wanton destruction of Ukrainian ancient and historical buildings and archives.



3,000 Ukrainians marching to the Russian Embassy to protest the recent wave of Russian terror in Ukraine. (London, January 30, 1972.)

The Attitude of the Editorial Board of the *Ukrainskyi Visnyk** to the Russian *Chronicle of Current Events*

(Abridged)

A segment of the Ukrainian public, which is familiar with the Russian *Samvydav* (underground publications), calls attention to the attitude of the Russian dissident circles, which are active since the second half of the 60s, to the national question in general, and the Ukrainian one in particular. At the end of 1970, academician Sakharov and physicists Tverdokhlebov and Chalidze founded the Human Rights Committee in Moscow — a moderate oppositional group with the purpose of defending the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens. However, the Committee has nowhere clearly defined its attitude toward the national question in the USSR, the rights of the non-Russian nations and the guarantees of these rights. There is only a certain number of general phrases. The first appeal to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by academician Sakharov, together with scientists Turchyn and R. Medvedev, contains a phrase that a gradual democratization of life in the USSR is also mandatory because it will lessen the threat of nationalism. At the same time, the appeal contains a proposition of putting in the passport instead of the nationality only "citizen of the USSR". (Such a proposal had already been put forward in Khrushchov's time. It was assessed in the union republics as a further encroachment on their sovereignty.)

In May 1969 in Moscow, the Initiatory Group to Further the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR was founded, which then submitted a petition to the UN in defense of those persecuted in the USSR for their convictions and

their works. There, among other things, mention was also made of repressions against individuals who advocate national equality. So far no other statements of any kind on that question were made by it. The majority of its members were soon arrested. The periodical publication **The Chronicle of Current Events** is guided by the same principles of struggle for the freedom of speech and conviction as the Initiatory Group... Without raising any program postulates, aside from the freedom of speech and information, the publication strives to report impartially on the political persecutions throughout the Soviet Union and to characterize briefly the news from the Russian (and rarely from the national) *Samvydav*. From time to time, **The Chronicle** also presents materials from Ukraine, maintaining objectivity. The briefness of expression with particular inaccuracies is caused only by the absence of more detailed information. For instance, in the 17th issue, **The Chronicle** describes the trial of V. Moroz, gives by far the most detailed information about the UNF case, and in a supplementary list on the repressions of 1969-70, enumerates those repressed in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian reader greeted the publication of **The Chronicle**. The objectivity, scope and the relative accuracy of information, which give a general picture about processes unknown to the majority of the public in the USSR, are noted. However, individual voices, without negating the significance of **The Chronicle**, call attention to the fact that it arbitrarily pretends to have some supra-national or all-union character, when in fact it is a publication of Russian (perhaps partially Jewish) circles. It is also noted that scanty information from the republics

* *Ukrainsky Visnyk* (The Ukrainian Herald) is a Ukrainian underground periodical.

are fitted in as supplements to the broad description of events in Russia, particularly in Moscow, which in itself gives a distorted presentation of the situation in the USSR.

We have completely insufficient data on the attitude to the national question of various underground groups, organizations and "parties", which emerged as of late in Russia (Leningrad, Baltflot, Povolzhe and others).

That such organizations have existed becomes known only after their liquidation by the organs of the KGB. Also only the very general traits of the programs of their demands are known. From what we know about them, it is possible to conclude that none of these organizations had elaborated any kind of program for the solution of the national question in the USSR and had not declared its stand on the national needs and the national movements in the USSR. An impression is formed that while striving for radical changes in various spheres of social life, the members of these groups wish to retain to some degree the *status quo* on the national question.

Together with organizations and groups which raise the question of democratic changes in the Soviet Union there also appear those in Russia which criticize the government and the "liberals" from reactionary, openly chauvinistic positions, aiming at even the formal liquidation of the USSR and the creation of a militantly democratic

one and indivisible Russia. We are reprinting a summary of one such document of the Russian "Samvydav" "The Word of the Nation" which was published in the 17th issue of **The Chronicle** . . . Further **The Chronicle** gives just as short a summary of the "Samvydav" reply "to the patriots" by V. Husarov . . . From the contents, however, one cannot see a constructive position of Husarov himself with regard to the national question, aside from the assertion that "the national type" had not been preserved (and, hence, there is no point in preserving it; let it wither away as soon as possible). It is not clear what the author imagines to be the future of the non-Russian nations of the USSR and how he would like to see that future. He is only concerned with the presence of "publicity" and the absence of "the whip and the birch rod".

In taking note of the typewritten periodical of the Russian nationalists **Veche** (Public Meeting), **The Chronicle** writes that **Veche** differs from the above-mentioned manifesto "The Word of the Nation" by greater moderation and patience in relation to other nations. However, **The Chronicle** mentions that "anti-Semitism and the Stalinist sympathies are also characteristic of some of the **Veche's** authors . . ." As can be deduced from that information, the periodical **Veche** allegedly appears legally, and its editor — Osypov — is a concrete individual.

(Ukrainskyi Visnyk, No. 5)

Moscow Attacks "World Zionism"

Pravda, the main press organ of the Russian Communist Party published in Moscow, attacked World Zionism sharply in a long article in its edition of January 16, 1972. It described this as an "obedient instrument of imperialism in the cold war".

The occasion for this attack in **Pravda** against Zionism was the 28th Zionist Congress which began in Jeru-

salem on January 17. **Pravda** wrote as follows, i. a.:

"The coming congress of the Zionists has been summoned according to the plans of its organizers and the men behind it, to add fuel to the hysterical campaign against the USSR started by the world alliance of Zionists on the orders of the imperialists, and to win forces for this campaign."

News and Views

Why the Nobel Peace Prize for Willy Brandt?

On October 21, 1971, *Die Welt* reported on the granting of the Nobel Peace Prize to Chancellor Willy Brandt. Moreover, there appeared a comment by Herbert Kremp on the same day, "A Prize for Good Will", and an editorial, "Praise without Festive Banners — The Honor for Willy Brandt and the Political Reality", on October 22nd.

Alfred Nobel's testament anticipated, among other things, the following: The Peace Prize endowed by him should be received by personalities who have worked the most or the best for the fraternization of the peoples. Brandt's "Ostpolitik", however, is not concerned in any way with the really essential wishes, hopes and rights of the nations and parts of nations suppressed by Communism, as well as those Germans and non-Germans who through its fault were forcefully deprived of their nationhood. The representatives of the Norwegian Parliament, responsible for the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Brandt, are no experts on the problems of the East, otherwise they would not have overlooked this and other issues.

Furthermore, those granting the award to Brandt are not informed about the fact that the treaties signed by Brandt in Moscow and Warsaw, so emphatically praised by them, are not only a burden to Germany and the entire German nation, but also to other nations, including the Poles, the Ukrainians and the Baltic nations, and have irrefutably proved on an international scale to be a grave violation of international law, human rights and internationally binding agreements, as for instance the Hague Principles of Conducting War among Nations and the Geneva Convention of 1949, as well as

the human rights resolutions and declarations of the UN.

The unusually numerous congratulations to Brandt naturally do not change anything in the least in relation to these facts.

Prof. Dr. Bolko Frhr. von Richthofer
(*Die Welt*, November 5, 1971, p. 10)

Freedom Leaflets Dropped on Soviet Ships

New York. — A spokesman of the Lithuanian political organizations, Dr. Ronald Peigl, let it be known that 4,000 leaflets in five languages were dropped from two specially chartered planes upon seven Soviet fishing (as well as spy) boats in the area around Nantucket Island in the northern US waters. The leaflets explained that Soviet sailors can flee to the American or Canadian shores, or vessels. They said that under no circumstances will their extradition into the hands of the imperialist and chauvinist Russia be permitted. The leaflets were impregnated with a solution which prevented them from sinking and they could be readily fished out of the water.

AF-ABN Sponsor Folklore Evening in New York

On February 12, 1972, 1,500 attended the Folklore of the Captive Nations presentation organized by the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. The program started with the honor of the flags ceremony and the national anthem. Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN, delivered the opening remarks. Mr. Aristide Nicolaie was the director of the program. Mr. Charles Andreanszky was master of ceremonies. Dance ensembles and choirs of the following groups participated: Byelorussian, Croatian, German, Hungarian, Polish, Slovak, Ukrainian and Latin American.

Miami Ukrainians on National Television

The Ukrainian Dancers of Miami, who walked off with 1st prize for their float in the non-motorized division of the 1970 Junior Orange Bowl Parade, also entered a float in last year's nationally televised parade held on December 29, 1971.

The Ukrainian Dancers, who, as they write, are extremely proud of their heritage and background, designed a Ukrainian Church from the Carpathian Mountains and a dancing group in front for their float.

Mr. Taras Maksymchuk is the chairman of the Ukrainian-American Club and the dancing group in Miami, Florida. He is working with youth for many years and deserves our admiration.

The Death of a True Servant of Moscow

On October 6, 1971, Viliam Siroky, former Prime Minister of the Czecho-Slovak Communist government in the years between 1948 and 1963, died in Prague at the age of 69.

Siroky emigrated in 1938, after the Communist Party of Slovakia had been banned, as its official to Russia. In Moscow he was then active in the service of the Comintern.

During the war Siroky was smuggled as an emissary of the Comintern into the Slovak Republic with secret instructions for the underground Communist Party there. But soon after his arrival he was arrested in Slovakia, as he had behaved very suspiciously. The instructions from Moscow were found on him in a tube of tooth-paste. Under police questioning he revealed his secret connections in Slovakia.

After the war Siroky, as a faithful Stalinist, had a successful career in the Czecho-Slovak state formation restored by the Russian Red Army. As Prime Minister of the Prague government he severely suppressed the ef-

forts of the Slovak nation to obtain independence and any resistance to the Communist dictatorship. During his period in office the special position of Slovakia within the Czecho-Slovak formation was considerably limited. Slovak autonomy was degraded to almost an empty formula. His period of office was characterized by measures of centralization, religious persecution and forced collectivization of agriculture.

When Siroky was overthrown in 1963, he attempted suicide together with his wife. His wife died as a result but he was able to be saved. He never held any further office. Siroky enjoyed such a reputation for compromise that even the Russian occupying power did not regard it as opportune to rehabilitate him.

A Georgian Kidnapped by Soviet Russian Diplomats

Two Soviet Russian diplomats have kidnapped the 36-year-old Georgian, Merab Yurashvili, a subject of the USSR, from a New York hospital, to which he had been taken after he had tried to commit suicide. The two diplomats had not even waited for the wounds to be sewn up and carried off the unhappy Yurashvili in a waiting car.

Hunger Strike in Strassbourg, France

Four students, three females and one male, of the Strassbourg University, members of the "Valentyn Moroz" club, completed a three-day hunger strike. The hunger strike was held February 10-13, as an indication of solidarity with the arrested intellectuals in Ukraine and in protest of the persecution of young Ukrainian intelligentsia.

Freedom, like God, is indivisible.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

CROATIA

Imprisonment for Nationalist Songs

Seven young Croats were sentenced to two months in prison for singing "chauvinistic and nationalist songs" at the railroad station in Benkovac, Croatia and by so doing insulting the Yugoslav leadership. In Bosanska Krupa (Bosnia) three Croatian patriots were convicted for the same "offence" to 60 days in prison and a fourth one to 50 days.

Pressure on the Catholic Church

The pressure of Tito's Communist dictatorship on the Catholic Church in Croatia has increased since the recent freedom rallies and resistance actions. At the Communist Party meetings, the role of the Church has been sharply criticized as of late. It is being accused of joint responsibility for stirring up Croatian nationalism. Apparently, the Catholic theology students have also taken part in demonstrations in Zagreb for the independence of Croatia. (KNA)

GEORGIA

Moscow's Accusation: Tolerance of Nationalism in Georgia

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with unusual sharpness accused the Party Committee of the Georgian capital Tiflis of neglecting its work and tolerating Georgian nationalism. In an accusation published on the first page of the party paper *Pravda* the ideological work of the City Committee is described as insufficient. This led to a strengthening of nationalist tendencies mostly among intellectuals and youth.

Political observers in Moscow concluded from the fact that the highest official body of the Party is concerned

with the events in Tiflis, and that the measure taken is not concerned with a single event. Normally the Georgian Central Committee would be responsible in this case. In *Pravda* also the stagnating construction of apartments in Tiflis and the poor quality of local products were criticized. In the preceding year, according to *Pravda*, 20% of these products had to be declared inadequate.

GERMANY

Four Youths Flee in a Rowboat

At the beginning of February 1972, four young people managed to escape from the Russian-occupied Zone of Germany in a rowboat. The oldest was 20, the other three 18. A Swedish tanker discovered them at dawn about 20 nautical miles from the shore in the icy Baltic Sea and took them aboard.

"We have been preparing this escape for years", reported the four boys. "We chose the winter, because then the coast is not so strongly guarded. Thus we could, without fearing the floodlights, row out directly from the Warnemünder beach." (SAD)

HUNGARY

In 3 days Over 50 Remain Abroad

In the first three days of 1972 alone, more than 50 tourists from Hungary have remained in Austria. They are not prepared to go back to their Russian-occupied homeland. For this reason, they have asked the Austrian authorities for political asylum.

LITHUANIA

"Freedom of Religion"

The Auxiliary Bishop of the Kaisiadorys Diocese, Vincentas Sladke Vi-

cius, has been denounced by the organs of the Soviet Russian occupation regime in Lithuania for having given Catechism instructions to children. The bishop, who has been under house-arrest since his nomination to the post of auxiliary bishop in 1957, dismissed the charge as untrue. (KNA)

RUMANIA

New and Tougher Laws

On December 24, 1971, the Rumanian Parliament passed a number of laws restricting even more the very few still remaining freedoms and liberties. The new State Secrets Act makes it a criminal offence to take any kind of photographs from an aircraft, to publicize or release any information about the economy and industry other than that contained in official statistics already published, to communicate with any foreign radio, television, and press body or individual. The filming or photographing of works of art (indoors or outdoors) can be done only with a written authorization issued by the State Security Council. Art. 12 forces individuals who happen to know a "secret" to get in touch with the security forces. Art. 13 forces individuals who are in possession of such secrets to abstain from establishing any personal relationship with foreigners. Rumanians at home or abroad are allowed to give (personal) interviews only with ministerial sanction.

At the same session, a new Law of Citizenship was passed. According to Art. 19, any Rumanian who "denigrates the good name of Rumania" loses his citizenship. Rumanians abroad lose their Rumanian nationality if they are hostile to "Socialist Rumania", if they take up a public function, if they leave the country illegally, or if they obtain another nationality.

By another law, any citizen who does not contribute to the common welfare by his manual work — especially in agriculture — is liable to a

fine from £ 2.00 to £ 33.00 (at the official rate of exchange) per day for the number of days he does not work as instructed.

Restrictions on Rumanians Abroad

According to the new Nationality Act passed by the Bucharest Parliament in December, 1971, Rumanians living abroad are compelled to sign a legal document to the effect that in case of giving up Rumanian citizenship they will not do anything prejudicial to the interests of the Rumanian state. It is left to the discretion of the Rumanian authorities not to recognize naturalization of a Rumanian national, even if he pays the legal fee of £ 70.83 requested by Rumanian diplomatic missions abroad. In this way, the Communist authorities try to exercise control over their former nationals by keeping the pressure on.

The Communist authorities suggest — through their propaganda paper **Glasul Patriei** (Voice of the Fatherland) published for the exclusive use of Rumanians abroad — that stock should be taken of all Rumanian property abroad, especially that having artistic and historic value. Americans of Rumanian origin are told to make a "systematic inventory" of all "cultural" goods and to supply the information to their former homeland. According to a two-year-old law, items of artistic and historic value belong to the state and can be kept by individuals only in temporary custody. The aim is obvious.

Material Help for Subversion

On December 17, 1971, the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party issued an appeal to the nation to set up a "solidarity fund" to help the anti-imperialist freedom fight in the world. According to the appeal, money will come from state subventions, from contributions made by all enterprises, national minorities, cultural, scientific, literary and sport organizations, from contributions "volunta-

rily" made by the population by buying specially printed stamps for this purpose, from the sale of specially manufactured badges, cockades, etc., from contributions made by cinemas, theatres publishing houses, etc., from donations in money and kind made by all collective and state farms, and last but not least, from donations made by the religious cults of the country. The Party has never suggested anything similar to help the Rumanian people in their predicament! (FRP)



Serbian Nationalist Leaflets

The Belgrade leaflet affair in the course of which the Chairman of the Bar Association for Serbia and Montenegro, Slobodan Subotic, was arrested is attracting the attention of broad circles of the population. Subotic was arrested on charges of preparing and circulating leaflets of "Serbian nationalist content". As suggested by the official Yugoslav newspaper *Politika*, writings of this type have also been circulated in a "socio-political organization" in the capital (Belgrade — **ABN Cor**). Besides, the paper also said that individual law offices in Belgrade are "centers of activities harmful to society".

(Die Welt)



Press Attacks on Professor Loebel

The Communist press in Slovakia has attacked Prof. Dr. Eugen Loebel, Vice-President of the World Congress of Slovaks, a Jew, for promoting in the free world the right of the Slovak nation to its own independent statehood.

Prof. Loebel was sentenced in Prague to long-term imprisonment during the Stalinist era as a "Zionist and a cosmopolitan". He was later amnestied. During the Dubcek regime, after his rehabilitation, he emigrated to Switzerland. As an emigrant, Prof. Loebel does

work of a scientific and journalistic nature.



New Arrests

Ostap Pastukh, a teacher of the Ukrainian language and literature, was arrested on January 27, 1971, in the village of Petrychi in the Busk region of the Lviv Oblast. The following data is available on Pastukh: he is about 40 years old, has completed the Philologic Faculty of the Lviv University, is married (his wife is a Russian-language instructor in the same village), the couple has two children. In 1967, Pastukh was arrested, upon denunciation by the school's principal, in the village of Nakrashe (or Nakvasha), where he worked at the time. Pastukh's conversations and attitudes, which seemed nationalist to the principal, served as the reason for his arrest. A case was fabricated against Pastukh on the basis of Art. 166 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR (in order to fulfill a plan or official authorization). He was sentenced of 5 years of imprisonment with a 5-year prohibition to engage in teaching. However, the Appeals Court overruled the verdict at that time. On January 28, 1971, a search of Pastukh's home was conducted, but nothing was found and nothing was confiscated. Nevertheless, Pastukh was charged on the basis of Art. 187-1 of the CC Ukr. SSR (190-1 of the Criminal Code of RSFSR). Initially the investigation was conducted by the Lviv KGB investigator Yaresko...

On April 21, 1971, a resident of the city of Lviv, Semen Korolchuk, M.D., a gynecologist at the Institute for the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood, born in 1930, was arrested in the same case. The KGB began to be interested in Korolchuk in 1967 in connection with the UNF (Ukrainian National Front) case. It is not known how the accused are conducting themselves.

Youth Held for Raising a Ukrainian Flag

In the night of April 29-30, 1971, a blue-yellow flag (the flag of the Ukrainian National Republic) was flown from the water-tower of the town of Ncvyi Rozdol (Lviv Oblast). The flag was taken down at noon on April 30th.

On that day, 18-year-old Petro Medvid, an apprentice at the Rozdol furnace combine, was arrested.

P. Medvid is held in the KGB prison in Lviv. An admission that he hoisted the flag is demanded of him. During a visit, Petro complained to his mother that he is being beaten.

The trial of Mykola Supenyuk

On July 27, 1969, a regional trial was held in the village of Verkhovyna (Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast). Mykola O-leksiyovych Supenyuk, born in 1890, a resident of the village of Bystrytsya, an illiterate collective farm worker, was accused under Art. 187-3 CC Ukr.

SSR (190-3 CC RSFSR). He "was charged with organization of a gathering of people in the village of Bystrytsia with the aim of the arbitrary opening of a church on February 2, 1969." (Supenyuk was a member of the Church Council). The court sentenced Supenyuk to one year of imprisonment in a correctional labor camp. Supenyuk pleaded not guilty.

Hunger Strikes in the Mordovian Concentration Camps

From August 7th to the 14th, 1971, Yuriy Vudka staged a hunger strike in a Mordovian camp; the motive for the hunger strike was the prohibition by camp administration for prisoners to own a Bible.

On August 21-23, 1971, L. Kvachevskiy, A. Rodyhin, V. Vudka and B. Shilkrot, went on a hunger strike in the Vladimir prison. The hunger strike was held in commemoration of the anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia (1968) by the Soviet troops.

Political Prisoners in Cuba

On December 9, 1971, Monsignor E. Boza Masvidal, Auxiliary Bishop of Havana — who was exiled by the Cuban government several years ago — published in Miami a plea in favor of Cuba's political prisoners. The bishop denounced the tortures, poor food, lack of medical assistance, "the tiger cages", and the continuing executions. He denounced the murder of **Jose Ariol Acosta** — a political prisoner — in the jail of Manacas in Las Villas, Cuba. The Cuban bishop also informed about the execution of ten men a few months ago; including Mr. Bello, the son of a prominent Cuban Catholic leader. Monsignor Boza asked the Synod meeting in Rome to remember, pray and show solidarity with those who suffer and cannot make themselves heard. He pleaded with them to insure that "the spirit of dialogue and rapprochement with all men" would not become "complacent sympathy for the oppressors and forgetfulness for the oppressed".

Lee Lockwood, an admirer of the Cuban regime, in **Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel** (a book that according to Herbert Matthews, a well known apologist of the Cuban leader, "was checked for accuracy by Premier Castro himself") pointed out that by "mid 1964 the number of men interned in government jails and prison camps for political crimes or 'errors' was listed officially at over fifteen thousand. One year later Castro indicated it was now closer to twenty thousand and still growing." According to Lockwood... "in proportion to total population, this would be the equivalent to having six hundred thousand men in jail for political reasons in the United States."

Other sources have estimated Cuban political prisoners from 40,000 to 100,000. And the majority are as Lockwood points out, "campesinos-peasants... serving terms ranging from two to twenty years". (**Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel**, 1967)

Before a New Trial in Ukraine

In connection with the arrest in Ukraine of Yaroslav Dobosh, a tourist from Belgium, and prominent Ukrainian cultural leaders, the Information Service of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) issued the following communique:

COMMUNIQUE

On January 14, 1972, the Soviet press announced that the organs of the KGB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR arrested student Yaroslav Dobosh, a tourist and a Belgian citizen, accusing him of "subversive anti-Soviet activity".

On February 12, 1972, the KGB organs submitted a subsequent fabricated "charge" against the arrested Y. Dobosh, claiming that he allegedly "came to the USSR to carry out the criminal instructions of a foreign anti-Soviet Center — the OUN-Bandera-Followers*), — which is being supported by the imperialistic intelligence services..." and that "in connection with the Dobosh case, I. O. Svitlychnyi, V. M. Chornovil, Ye. O. Sverstyuk and others (well known Ukrainian intellectuals and workers in the field of Ukrainian culture) were called on to answer criminal charges".

The assertion of the KGB organs that tourist Yaroslav Dobosh came to the USSR "to carry out the criminal instructions of a foreign anti-Soviet center — the OUN-Bandera-Followers" — and the linking of his case with the arrests of prominent Ukrainian cultural workers is a shameful, gross provocation, fabricated in connection with the Soviet government's preplanned destruction of the Ukrainian creative intelligentsia.

The fabricated accusation against tourist Y. Dobosh is being reinforced by the KGB organs by a contemptible insinuation and another provocation that the OUN-Bandera-Followers "are

being supported by the imperialistic intelligence services..." This type of continuous KGB lie-provocation was unmasked long ago by the undeniable facts, known to the whole world, that the OUN fought and continues to fight as a sovereign, independent Ukrainian liberation force against all the occupiers of Ukraine for the reestablishment of the Ukrainian sovereign state, with a democratic system of government. During World War II, the OUN together with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), relying on its own power, fought against the totalitarian, imperialistic powers — Nazi-Germany and Bolshevik-Russia, sustaining great sacrifices both on the field of battle, as well as in the Nazi and the Russian concentration camps and prisons. Three leaders of OUN — Col. Yevhen Konovalets, Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of UPA, and Stepan Bandera — also died upon instructions of the Kremlin.

The OUN is conducting its struggle for the liberation of Ukraine from under Russian occupation solely by its own efforts and the means of the Ukrainian people. For this reason, the Russian KGB claim that it is "being supported" by the so-called imperialistic intelligence services and "is being exploited by them in the carrying out of subversive activity against the Soviet state" is an insinuation and a provocation required by the organs of the KGB for a bloody retribution against the Ukrainian people and their cultural elite.

The fabrication by the KGB organs of all the above mentioned provocations is required by the Soviet government in order to prepare such an "indictment" against those arrested in

*) Stepan Bandera was the head of Presidium of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists until his treacherous assassination by a Russian KGB agent in Munich, West Germany.

Ukraine which would give the Russian KGB a possibility to liquidate the outstanding Ukrainian cultural workers, who in their activity are resting upon the constitutions of the USSR and the Ukr. SSR, which allegedly guarantee the citizens of the USSR freedom of creativity, thought and speech. Their conviction in obvious violation of the constitution would reveal to the entire world the mendacity and the injustice of the USSR government and its puppet, the so-called government of the Ukr. SSR., which is a UN member. The Soviet government thus attempts to camouflage its crimes, which call forth denunciation and protest from the entire civilized world.

The fabricated political trials in the USSR, in particular in the Ukr. SSR, are held constantly. They were known in Stalinist times yet, when cultural, civic and other leaders were convicted by similar methods. A large part of them were later rehabilitated, often posthumously.

Therefore, the entire Ukrainian community sharply condemns this subsequent provocation by the organs of the KGB and the Soviet government and protests before the entire civilized world against the injustice and inhuman crimes which are being perpetrated by the Russian occupants of Ukraine.

February 16, 1972



Detroit, Michigan, February 6, 1972. Ukrainian and Jewish demonstrators burning an effigy of Russian Prime Minister Kosygin during a protest action against the appearance of the Russian Balalaika Orchestra.

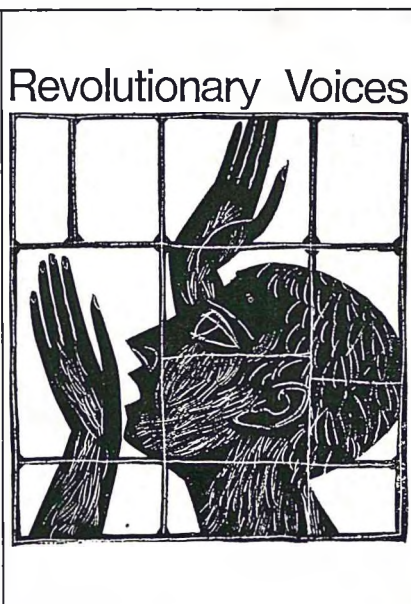
REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

Second Revised and Extended Edition
Library of Congress Card Catalog No. 70 - 100979

Edited by **Slava Stetsko, M. A.**

Foreword by **Ivan Matteo Lombardo**



Revolutionary Voices

This book contains articles and protests to various Soviet Russian officials which were written by Ukrainian intellectuals who are at present incarcerated in Russian concentration camps, including recent works by Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, sentenced by the Russians to 14 years imprisonment for voicing his opinion.

The Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, Chairman of the European Freedom Council, states in the foreword of the book:

"Autocratic machinery has always prevailed in Russia, either at the times of the tsars or in the present so-called Soviet Union, and it is there that the source of responsibility rests. From the Okhrana to the KGB, there is no solution of continuity. The tradition of reaction and repression is being spelled by incarceration, terror, persecution and by the extirpation of all liberal and human ideas, because they are alien to the imperio-colonialistic mentality . . ."

"Among the colonized and repressed peoples, the Ukrainians are singled out by the Moscow overlords as those to be hated most and are most severely dealt with for their national and political consciousness, for the moral and cultural heritage they cherish to the utmost."

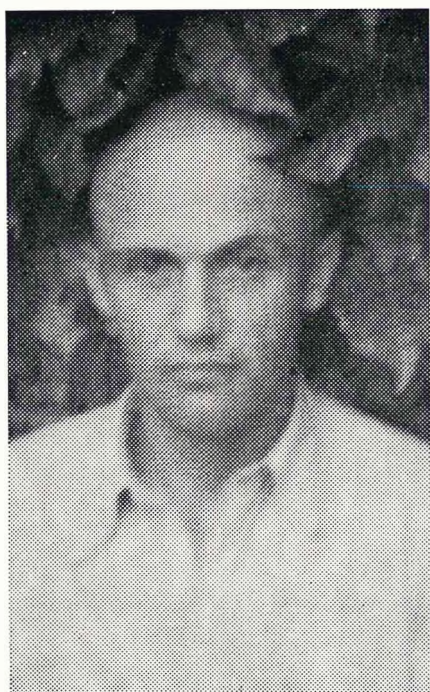
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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



(Photo: 1949)

Mykhaylo Soroka
(1911 - 1971)

In Memory of an Unyielding Freedom Fighter

Mykhaylo Soroka, a leading member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), murdered by the Russians in a Mordovian concentration camp on June 16, 1971, after more than thirty years of incarceration.

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State Secretary (retired)

Where Does Moscow See Its Chance?

"To win, we need the moment of surprise. The bourgeoisie must be lulled to sleep. We will begin with the unleashing of an unprecedented peace offensive. We will make enticing suggestions and exclusive concessions. The capitalist countries, obtuse and decadent as they are, will be ready to cooperate in their own destruction. They will allow themselves to be allured by the opportunity of making a new friendship with us. And as soon as their defence rampart is made defenceless, we will crush it with an iron fist . . . "

This revelation by the Bolshevik Messiah MANUILSKI, made decades before, and known to a sufficient number of people, today represents an exact diagnosis of the present mental outlook of large numbers in the Western world. By this is not meant only a politically unthinking mass, which has been lulled to sleep by the Moscow "pacifists", and also not only those misguided young people in the West, caught in the maze of the lurch to the left, drug addiction and dissipation. Manuilski's recipe is to be seen triumphing today even in the official policy of certain Western countries, which are staking everything on gaining the good will of the Soviet Union, even at the price of their own ruin, even without Moscow's needing to make any "exclusive concessions" beforehand.

But what is even worse: in their efforts to please the Kremlin, and out of fear of not wanting to miss the chance of a new "friendship" characterized by deceptive phrases about peace and security, responsible governments in the free world are strictly holding themselves back from any decisive measures against the Communist epidemic which is spreading unhindered in their own countries. They are thus irresponsibly tolerating not only open Bolshevik agents, but also allowing half-witted "progressive democrats" to subvert with impunity under their noses the foundations of the democratic state and to undermine from inside its preparedness for defence!

Communist parties in the democratic world, even if they act unequivocally as Moscow's agents, are tolerated and beyond this even courted. "Obtuse and decadent" political forces hold out their hands docilely to the Communists for cooperation and for new "People's Fronts", all of which amounts to a readiness to lay their own head and even the freedom of their nations under the Red ax. Manuilski's prophecy has proved itself in reality as infallible!

The so-called "anti-fascism", coined and patented in Moscow as the wonder weapon against any effective anti-Communism or an obliging

vanguard in the Communist expansion in the democratic world, is also welcomed most warmly in the West. This hypocritical maxim even today paralyzes the will and the energy of the state in the free countries for any decisive action against Communist infiltration. This is allowed to propagate itself completely unchecked in the press, on the radio and television, in literature and art, in textbooks and at universities, in professional organizations and in barracks. While this is taking place, responsible men in the government prefer, out of fear that they will be stamped as "fascists", and led by the desire to be considered as "progressive", to watch this political pornography impassively and disinterestedly, and even award medals to its authors and actors!

Meanwhile, the Communist plague becomes more and more settled from day to day in all spheres of social life in the free world, decorated with such hypocritical watchwords as "anti-militarism", "anti-imperialism", "progressive democracy" and the alleged fight for peace, understanding and charity. It is systematically softening the brain and is daily increasing above all the phalanx among the once idealist students. This phalanx, controlled by secret headquarters and surrounded by a fog of hashish, is allowed today, in the name of a misunderstood democracy, to rehearse with impunity "the revolution" against a legally embodied democratic order, through the most brutal, often bloody excesses. Even the Communists, who promote this "New Left" from the background, are, for the sake of decency, forced to disassociate themselves hypocritically from such dealings. Only "progressive democrats" in the West, including those with ministerial positions, are still allowed to pay tribute to the so-called anti-authoritarian fashion. They remain inactive, in the face of no matter how audacious a challenge, and even subsidize the various breeding grounds of political and moral subversion, which finally will richly fertilize the ground for the establishment of the Communist rule.

Similar phenomena are also represented by the unprecedented wave of crime, which is now flooding the Western countries, which are democratic today not by accident. Every day banks are robbed, hostages kidnapped for extortion of money, ammunition stores are broken into and weapons appropriated for "revolution", bloody orgies organized by lice-ridden members of so-called "communes", unscrupulous murders of innocent policemen and servants of justice, and everything else! Such outrages are treated with kid gloves by the authorities as soon as the perpetrators appeal to motives of political conviction, and claim to be revolutionaries against "the Establishment" or fighters for a new social order.

But if one of them does come before a court of law, the trial is accompanied by wild, police-protected demonstrations and unspeakable outrages against the judicial system. In this process there are always enough psy-

chologists, sociologists and sexologists competing to appear in court as 'experts', to exculpate the accused, by representing them as "victims of their environment and society". This means no more democracy and no more liberalization, but represents, in simple terms, a real political brothel, in exact accordance with the wishes and for the benefit of Moscow . . .

Thus the first phase of the development forecast by Manuilski has already become a complete fact. "The peace offensive" of the Bolshevik sirens has in truth reaped a rich harvest. "The bourgeoisie" is slumbering and snoring in blissful sleep, without an idea of what is waiting for it. "The capitalist" countries have already surpassed every previous level of obtuseness and decadence and are already working with enviable zeal on their own ruin. They are consistently demobilising every readiness to defend themselves as well as their morality, and are staking everything on "the new friendship" with Moscow. Now the only thing left is for us to remain dangling on the hook of an illusory "European security" based on Moscow's favour, so that we are crushed by Bolshevism, if possible even without the "iron fist" having to be used . . .

If anyone is still not clear where Moscow sees its own chances, the answer is plain and simple: in its unchanging and incessant world aggression. Moscow is staking everything on the political feeble-mindedness of the free world, which is certainly not in short supply.

Military Force against Demonstrators in Lithuania

Unrest in Kaunas Set Off by Self-Immolation

Moscow(DPA) — In the Lithuanian city of Kaunas, rioting which broke out on May 18 and 19, 1972, after the self-immolation of a youth was violently crushed by Soviet Russian paratroopers.

According to Western correspondents stationed in Moscow, the 20-year-old Catholic factory worker and evening student, **Roman Talanta**, doused himself with three liters of gasoline and set himself on fire in a public city park on Sunday, May 14th. He died twelve hours later in a hospital. Following his funeral, disturbances broke out on Thursday and Friday, in the course of which several thousand young people attacked police with rocks, set blazes and chanted "Free-

dom, freedom" and "Freedom for Lithuania" time and again. During the rioting one policeman was killed and another one was seriously injured. Hundreds of demonstrators are said to have been arrested.

Sources in Kaunas said the suicide was "politically motivated".

Another young Lithuanian, whose name has not been disclosed, immolated himself several days later in the Lithuanian town of Varona.

Earlier this year, more than 17,000 Lithuanian Catholics signed a petition complaining about the fate of their Church under Russian rule and it is known that there is an undercurrent of dissatisfaction in that subjugated country.

Current Problems in World Politics

I. Nixon's Policy — Reconciliation of Moscow and Peking vs. the U.S.

Instead of the visits by the President of the world's greatest power — the USA — to Moscow and Peking and the admission of Peking to the United Nations the following steps should be taken:

It is necessary to reorganize the UN into an anti-Russian and anti-Communist UN, admitting to the new UN the national representatives of nations subjugated by Russian imperialism — such as Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, the Baltic states, Armenia, Azerbaijan and others — in place of the excluded USSR and its satellite governments. It is necessary to break all relations with the Russian empire and to stop saving it economically. It deprives the USA and the free world of markets. It can do this only because it utilizes slave labor, whereas in the United States, for example, a worker is an equal member of the national community, who can choose his place of work and who can strike and pressure his employers. In the USSR, there are no free labor unions, while a worker is helpless as compared with the totalitarian state. Therefore, the free labor of a worker in the USA as against the slave labor of a worker in the USSR cannot compete as to wages, which are minimal in the USSR and maximal in the USA. A worker in the USSR would be happy if he would have a one-tenth part of the economic opportunities enjoyed by a worker in the USA. At the same time a role is played by unusual exploitation in the national respect of the non-Russian workers of nations subjugated by the Russians. For instance, a Ukrainian or a Georgian worker is in a much worse economic situation than a Russian worker, for the Russian nation is dominant in the empire and enjoys a privileged status. Thus, the workers in the Russian-sub-

jugated countries of the USSR, such as Ukraine, Latvia, Armenia, Byelorussia or Turkestan, are subjected to a double oppression: both by the anti-natural, totalitarian, Communist system in a social sense and by Russian colonial imperialism.

During the Second World War, the United States saved the Russian empire instead of toppling it together with Nazi Germany, by simultaneously fighting against both tyrannies and empires, as had been done by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Ukrainian Government, established on June 30, 1941. We — Ukrainians — have waged a two-front war — against Germany and against Russia.

The United States should render support to the national liberation movements in the Russian empire in order to topple it from within with the help of the national liberation revolutions and uprisings in Ukraine and in other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism. Their aim is to be the reestablishment of independent national states of nations subjugated within the USSR on the ruins of the Russian empire and the tyrannical Communist system. Let us not forget that Ukraine alone has 50 million people. And together with all the other nations subjugated in the USSR it constitutes more than half of the non-Russian population of the USSR. When one includes the so-called satellite states as well, such as Poland, Hungary, CSSR, East Germany and others, then the power ratio of Russians is at least 1:2 to the advantage of the subjugated nations.

It is necessary to apply all kinds of pressure to Moscow to withdraw its occupation armies from Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Latvia, Georgia, Lithuania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia and other countries subjugated by it.

In the long-run, the coexistence between the US and the Russian empire

is impossible as that of Great Britain and Nazi Germany had been impossible. The United States shares a border with the Russian empire across the Bering Strait, while the Soviet press reminds us of the fact that Alaska had once been a part of the Russian empire. Hence, a direct threat from the Russian empire exists for the USA, as from a direct neighbor, and not only through Europe or Latin America (i. e. Cuba and other countries). The United States is in the grip of Russian imperialism.

President Nixon's policy is the application of the old British balance of power formula to two other world powers: Red China and the Russian empire. The hopes of some in the West that President Nixon will consolidate the anti-Russian front of Peking are unfounded. His trip to Moscow in May 1972 proves that the strengthening of the anti-Russian front is not the aim of Pres. Nixon's policy, but the application of the balance of power concept to the struggle of world powers, that is to play one power against the other at one time, and the other another time . . . England played France against Germany, and in a situation of a weaker Germany, Germany against France. The imitation of the old London concept in relation to tyrannical Communist empires will not be successful. Chamberlain lost, while Stalin won, having played Germany against England. In my opinion, it will not be President Nixon, but Moscow, which will pit Washington against Peking, for it will unite with Peking against Washington at a decisive moment. I am afraid that instead of intensifying the conflict against Russia, President Nixon will be the one who will reconcile Peking and Moscow, against . . . the USA. Trading with both tyrannical empires, he will strengthen them economically, will save their economies from collapse, and will give them economic aid to be used in the struggle against the USA. Tyrannies and colonial oppressors can

never be true allies of the freedom-loving American people. A tyrant and an imperio-colonialist nation can never help anyone to gain freedom, when it itself is holding other nations in captivity, as is the case with the Russian imperio-colonialist nation.

I fear that the confidence in the USA will be badly shaken not only among the US' Pacific allies, but throughout the world in general, in view of the fact that the US has given up as prey to the Russians, not only at Yalta, but after World War II as well, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, failing to give it help, or to the uprisings of the Ukrainian and other political prisoners in the Russian concentration camps in 1953-1959, or to the Hungarians in 1956, or to the Germans in 1953, or to the Poles in 1956, or to the Czechs and Slovaks in 1968. In addition, having agreed to the division of Korea and Vietnam, the US is now giving up Vietnam without a victory. It has abandoned the Cuban guerrillas at the Bay of Pigs, and so forth. This is not the style of action of the freedom-loving American nation, but the incomprehensible moves of administrations of both American parties.

II. Russian Imperialism and National Uprisings

Russian imperialism is a greater threat to freedom of nations and individuals because: a) Bolshevism is a product of the Russian nation not the Chinese. The Russian nation was the original hotbed of Bolshevism and Bolshevism corresponds to the spirituality of the Russian people, as is also asserted by the Russian Christian philosopher, N. Berdyayev; b) for the Chinese people, Communism is an entirely antinatural system, for the spirituality of the Chinese people is determined by Confucianism, a several-thousand-year-old tradition of profound spiritual culture of the Chinese people. Confucius and Lao-tse, not Lenin and Marx,

nor Mao, an anti-Chinese phenomenon among the Chinese people, are the expression of the spirituality of the Chinese people. Thus, in the long-run Communism on the Chinese mainland can only be saved through American aid, which is desired by Mao and Chou En-lai; c) the technological and thermo-nuclear development of the Russian empire is incomparably greater than China's, and from this point of view as well Russian imperialism, whose most modern form is Communism, is much more dangerous than Peking's; d) with US help Russia is today gaining control of a greater part of the Mediterranean Sea, is systematically gaining control of the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and even the Sea of Japan... Its submarines appear not only in the Australian waters, but also in those of the USA and Canada. It already possesses a navy, second only to the United States, and in some things — with respect to certain types of naval units, it even surpasses the USA... Is Washington waiting for Moscow — with its economic assistance — to overtake the USA in all types of armament?

Washington should remember that the subjugated nations are the Achilles' heel of every empire, all the more of the despotic Russian empire. Wagering on Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Byelorussia, the Baltic states, Azerbaijan, Hungary, Czechia, Bulgaria, Slovakia, East Germany and others is the key to the solution of the world political crisis. The rising of these nations against the Russian oppressors, supported by Washington, will topple the Russian empire and at the same time Communism. Only then will a lasting and JUST peace prevail in the world. I am against peace at any price, for this is the peace of graves. This is capitulation in the face of evil. And evil must be combated and not reconciled with. Christ said: I have not brought you peace, but a sword! Christ drove the money-changers from the temple with a whip...

III. Brandt's Agreement with Moscow — At Whose Expense ?

Brandt's OSTPOLITIK is another, a voluntary, capitulation of Germany before Russia. Brandt is betraying the freedom-loving positions of the free nations of the world. Brandt is betraying the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism in the USSR and in the satellite states.

As the result of the evil policies of Hitler, the peoples presently subjugated in the USSR and in the satellites have again found themselves under the Russian Communist oppression. By using a different method (but this does not change the matter in its essence), Brandt is delivering the subjugated peoples to Russian genocide by legalizing in an international sense the **status quo** of subjugation. The present-day Germany should rectify the evils of yesterday's Germany by taking a stand against the **status quo** of subjugation for it shares the blame for Hitler's crimes of genocide and the renewed occupation of our countries by the Russians.

I feel that Brandt's aim is to reach an agreement with Moscow at the expense of an alliance with the United States and at the expense of NATO. On the other hand, the ratification by the Bundestag (West German Parliament) of the Bonn-Moscow, Bonn-Warsaw treaties provides a firm stepping stone for Russia in West Germany. It will only be a question of time when West Germany will become a satellite of Moscow.

Of course, the pull-out of American troops at this time is still premature for Brandt as well, for this would signify his automatic defeat in the next elections. Moreover this would deprive him of a thump card in his bargain talks with the Russians, for which the withdrawal of American troops from West Germany could be exchanged.

The fact of the legalization in an international aspect of two German

states, one of which is a colony not a state, draws with it the legalization in the sense of international law of the state of subjugation of all other peoples, held captive in the USSR and in the satellite states. Moscow's aim is thus to try to obtain help from the United States and other NATO members in crushing any future uprisings of nations subjugated in the USSR and in the satellite countries against the Russian oppressor, because "every uprising will be illegal", when all will recognize the Russian colonial masters as "legal sovereigns and legal slave owners" in whose "internal affairs" — their colonial empires — not even the United States can intervene.

We are yet going to be witnesses of a new tragic situation, if the USA will fail to change its policy, where Washington — to its infamy — will give its "agreement" to the Russian tyrants and slave owners for crushing the uprisings of the freedom-loving nations, as had already been the case in 1953-1959, 1953, 1956, and 1968. However, now this will have an even worse effect, for in addition Washington will most likely condemn the freedom-loving revolting nations for disturbing "world order" approved by the White House, which is betraying the great ideals of Lincoln and Washington. The United States will become a watchdog of the Russian prison of nations and individuals!

The United States is forced to assume this posture by Brandt's policies as well, which betray the Western position by crossing over to the pro-Russian ones...

IV. The Russian "Courts"

It is absolutely impossible to compare the "legality" of trials in the USSR with the legality of trials in the freedom-loving country of Washington and Lincoln. First of all the following assertion must be made: the American courts try criminals, or those suspected of

crimes, those who commit crimes. The Russian courts try heroes, freedom fighters, the creators of cultural values of great significance, the fighters for the rights of nations to national independence, for human rights and social justice. They try people for their belief in God, for attempts to improve the lot of peasants and workers, for building churches, for the preservation of national traditions and the development of national cultures... The Russian courts try geniuses for spiritual creativity, for which in the West they would be awarded the Nobel prizes... Today, the Russian courts try the faithful, the clergy and bishops for belonging to catacomb Churches... Everything which in the West is regarded as the highest moral and ethical quality of man, is considered there a crime... If Christ should appear in the Russian empire today, He would be crucified again for the eternal good and justice which He brought to mankind. For this reason, I consider it completely impossible to compare the American judicial system with the Russian one.

I shall nevertheless illustrate the point in question by a quotation from the *Ukrainskyi Visnyk* (Ukrainian Herald) No. 4, which appeared in Ukraine clandestinely... It concerns Valentyn Moroz, a young Ukrainian historian and history teacher, who had already been sentenced once to several years of imprisonment for his intellectual creativity and who on November 17-18, 1970 was convicted again to 14 years in maximum-security prison and in concentration camps for four essays. In them he defends the Ukrainian national, cultural, Christian traditions and upholds the rights of the Ukrainian nation and the Ukrainian individual... in the most profound philosophical and historiosophical sense. For these works he would receive the Nobel prize in the West. There he is convicted for them to 14 years of harsh prison and strict regime concentration camps.

Ukrainskyi Visnyk No. 4 writes the following about his trial:

"What right have we not to be angry, when under the protection of laws and constitutional rights, a person is imprisoned in the most brutal and cruel manner due to four unknown articles, which should have been inspected not in a court room in a closed session, but in an open auditorium among fellow writers... a closed trial, armed guards at the entrance to the court building, representatives being especially invited by telephone for the sentencing, and so on. Are just decisions reached under the cover of secrecy, hiding from people?"

V. Coexistence with Communism?

Any coexistence with Communism is impossible. It is impossible for good to coexist with evil, truth with calumny, justice with injustice, freedom with tyranny. The good must overcome evil, truth calumny, freedom tyranny, human rights their trampling, national independence the empire, the system of individual freedom, social justice and state independence the imperial structures, faith in God atheism. How can one be a believer and an atheist at the same time, support human rights and national independence and at the same maintain a totalitarian despotism and a colonial empire. Lincoln aptly remarked: A nation cannot be half slave and half free... Consequently, a coexistence with Communism is out of the question. Christ preached a struggle with evil and not coexistence with it.

In any case, in order to save the world from a thermonuclear war it is necessary to put an end to coexistence with evil, and to stand up in defense of good, truth and freedom. Uprisings by the subjugated peoples inside the Russian empire and the Communist system against the Russian subjugators are an alternative to a nuclear war. The occupying power cannot stamp out revolts by using atomic

bombs, for it would destroy itself and its own occupation troops, while radio active fallout is not going to stop short at the frontiers of the Russian ethnographic territory, nor will it evade the Russian occupation forces in foreign lands. Thus, deliverance from a nuclear war is also to be sought among the subjugated nations, the support of whose liberation struggle is the duty of the United States. By helping them, the United States is helping itself.

In the USA pressure should be applied by all possible means to terminate murders, persecution and long-time imprisonment of fighters for freedom and independence of Ukraine and other subjugated nations, in particular the imprisonment for many years of intellectuals and artists and their confinement to psychiatric clinics in order to break their spirit of resistance and creativity.

Facts: the KGB-instigated murder on November 28, 1970 of the Ukrainian painter and community leader ALLA HORSKA at Vasylkiv, near Kyiv; the conviction of the Ukrainian historian VALENTYN MOROZ on November 17-18, 1970 at a secret trial for writing four essays on the subject of historic traditions, cultural creativity, religious problems and national aspirations of the Ukrainian people, to fourteen years of harsh prison, and now his poisoning in the hospital of the VLADIMIR prison near Moscow with the help of injections...

VI. Prognosis of Pseudo-Intellectuals

There are many so-called Sovietologists of the West who have maintained for decades that Communism, the Soviet system, Russification and the intermingling of nations have created a new type of man — a Soviet man, and have transformed the spirituality of the young generation in the subjugated nations by bringing it up in the spirit of dialectical materialism, Communism, Sovietism, and so forth. There is no greater mistake under the sun

than the prognosis of pseudo-intellectuals who are captivated by Communist, Russian, Soviet ideas. The young generation acted just the opposite. It renounced in a struggle the whole Russian way of life and returned to the national traditions of its own nation, to the sources of its own millennial culture, to Christianity, to the concept of sovereignty of every nation, to a human being made into the likeness of God...

Armed uprisings had occurred throughout the concentration camps of the Russian empire in 1953-1959 under the leadership of the Ukrainian political prisoners. There had been an armed nationwide uprising of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) from 1942-1953... An uprising in East Berlin and in East Germany had occurred in 1953. Uprisings had taken place in Hungary in 1956 and in Poznan... Some Sovietologist or "scholars" have written earlier about the impossibility of uprisings behind the Iron Curtain, until life convinced them of the opposite. The failure

of uprisings so far does not mean their permanent failure. Their feasibility has been documented. Their failure was due to: a) a lack of synchronized and coordinated uprisings occurring at the same time in numerous subjugated nations; b) a total lack of support from the side of the USA and the free world. On the contrary, political support was extended to the Russian tyrants by either declaring their disinterest in these matters, or even by explicit encouragement to the Russians to put things "in order" so that there would not be a government hostile to Moscow in Budapest, or by approving the construction of the Berlin Wall, or by agreeing to the entry of the Russian troops into Czechia and Slovakia, or by refusing ever to speak up in defense of the humanitarian rights of prisoners in prisons and concentration camps of the USSR. The USA — the greatest military and economic power — is searching for allies. Why should it not be looking for them among the subjugated nations?
E. Orlowskyj



Bradford, England, March 26, 1972

Joan Holt, M. P., addressing a Mass Rally held to protest Russian arrests in Ukraine.

Reconciliation with Oppressors Not the Oppressed

(Excerpts from a speech by Dr. h. c. Franz Josef Strauss, Chairman of the Christian Socialist Union (CSU), delivered on February 24, 1972, in the German Bundestag (parliament) in the course of debates over the Bonn-Moscow and Bonn-Warsaw treaties.)

There are the eternally easy to accept political justifications, to the effect that "realities have to be recognized", that is to say, one has to be guided by the given situation. That is, the "given situation" equals "the conditions of power". The silence or evasion on the part of the Chancellor (Willy Brandt) to some questions asked time and again here, is significant. For example: Why is the statement of belief in the right to self-determination which we demand and advocate for our nation — I repeat expressly: also for our nation — as well as for all nations, why is it not included in the treaty text, at least as a unilateral German declaration?

In accordance with what has taken place from the German side towards a destruction of the right to self-determination in the area between the Soviet Union and the German Reich of that time, and in accordance with what has happened to bring about the suppression of human freedom in this region, every German policy can only claim to be justified through the contribution it makes to the restoration of the right to self-determination of nations and the freedom of those living in this region, even if this policy is not easy to accept and is not always and not absolutely pleasing in the eyes of the Allies, even if it is decried by the Communist dictators as "aggressive", and minds are divided on just this point. We therefore ask — do these treaties promote reconciliation, the right to self-determination, freedom? I no not say this here as a rhetorical phrase,

just to say no, because the government is saying yes, or vice versa. I say it from my deepest inner conviction — that these treaties serve the interests of neither reconciliation nor the right to self-determination of nations, nor the freedom of the individual. Anyone who refers to the crimes committed by the rulers of the Third Reich, also against Germany and against others, cannot automatically claim treaties with Communist governments as acts of reconciliation with the peoples ruled by them. The present treaties consolidate the rule of the Soviet Union beyond the military sphere, in that we give unlimited approval to renunciation of force. They consolidate the ruling position of the Soviet Union in the political and psychological sphere. They therefore serve to effect a settlement with the rulers and not to reach reconciliation with the peoples.

An intensification of measures against non-conformist forces in all states of the Warsaw Pact is in full swing. We read of reports on a general offensive by the police and the legal authorities in the Soviet Union against the liberalization tendencies and their advocates. Look at the trials of writers and the sentences received, the wave of arrests in Ukraine, similar actions in the Baltic republics, in the Caucasus and in Central Asia, actions of a similar kind in Czecho-Slovakia, in Poland, even in Rumania.

The signature of the Federal Republic of Germany on the state of possessions is only the first step. The next aim is the European security confe-

rence, which is being urgently propagated by the Soviet Union, both by its state propaganda and by the coordinated propaganda of its allies, a security conference, for which also our Federal Chancellor (Willy Brandt—ABN Corr.) has promised support and speedy realization, both in the supplementary papers to the treaty as well as at the meeting in Oreanda. The European security conference is the next step on the way of this Western strategy. The result is to be a European peace settlement, the recognition of the state of Soviet possessions by all conference partners, on the model of the Moscow treaty, total military, political and psychological control over its own sphere of power, exploitation of the economic opportunities of the individual European partners, prevention of West European union through the deceptive alternative: "Do you want cooperation in all-Europe or the formation of a West European bloc?", political and psychological assistance for the withdrawal of American troops and backing for a concentration against China, with simultaneous expansion of its own influence towards the West.

But the Soviet Union is also drawing in the reins in its sphere of power as a whole. Contact and cooperation with countries abroad as a return service for the recognition of Soviet possessions are combined with intensified oppression inside the country. This is not

a contradiction, as many people believe, but it is in itself logical and consistent with the Soviet doctrine of power. The inhabitants of the sphere of power subjected to the Brezhnev doctrine are thus shown twice over that the right to self-determination and freedom has been swept away for them by the outside world, and at the same time the pressure exerted within the country by those in power is being intensified.

In view of this past history in particular, every German policy towards Eastern Europe must be examined from the point of view of whether it is designed to make up for the injustice caused by German policy to the right to self-determination of nations and human freedom. Policy based on treaties alone is not reconciliation with peoples, but the satisfaction of the desire of their Communist regimes for undisturbed exercise of their rule, undisturbed by political guarantees of what they possess, and made easier by additional economic assistance from the capitalist outside world. Reconciled will be only the rulers in the Kremlin and their satraps. The peoples of our Eastern neighbours will however be disappointed.

This "Ostpolitik" has gained nothing for human beings, nothing for our compatriots behind the wall and barbed wire, nothing but disappointment for the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Six Students Convicted

In January 1972, a secret trial of six students from the Kyiv University was held. Only the students' parents were allowed to attend. As reported by underground sources, the students of Kyiv University were accused of "Ukrainian nationalism and hooliganism", as well as of "circulating" leaflets in which they demanded greater sove-

reignty for Ukraine. In addition, the students also allegedly urged the removal of Petro Shelest from the post of first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine because he is continuing the policies of Stalin and is persecuting dissidents in Kyiv, Lviv and other cities of the Ukr. SSR.

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

From Lyudvikas Simutis, born in the village of Adomasa. Present Address:
the Mordovian ASSR, Post Office Yavas, Post Box ZhKh 385/10.

Statement

I was 5 years old when I was shown the body of my dead father. One side of his face was swollen and blue, the other side was covered in blood. His eyes were pricked out. The white skin, as if boiled through, hung from his hands and legs. His tongue was out and tightly tied in the middle. His genitals were crushed. (This I was told later.)

Beside him I saw many other mutilated bodies. And I heard the sobbing of my mother and of many other people unknown to me.. And there were curses addressed to the Bolsheviks.

Until then I had never heard the word "Bolshevik". The first information on the Bolsheviks was presented to me by life itself: I saw the corpses mutilated by them and heard curses addressed to them. They were referred to as cannibals, monsters, freaks and the scum of the earth...

These curses were voiced not by clandestine propagandists, but by mothers, wives and even men who, struck by the horror and misery, were going insane.

All this happened in June 1941, following the retreat of the Red Army. I was then 5 years old.

And when I found myself under the banner of the underground anti-Soviet organization LLKS (Lietuvos Laisves Kovos Sajūdis — The Movement of the Struggle for Free Lithuania), it was not because I did not like the ideals of socialism, for at the time I was too young to understand various theories, but because the Soviet power, brought into Lithuania by the Red Army, was dealing with an extremely criminal brutality with the people refusing to accept

the new order whose working they could not understand. On the other hand, the LLKS represented in Lithuania a generally known and highly impressive force opposing the occupation of Lithuania by the Soviet Army and the Soviet system it had tried to impose.

An unequal, and therefore a brutal struggle had ensued. It was a struggle of life or death, which was nothing new in the history of Lithuania. Whereas the partisans in Vietnam are being greatly assisted not only by the Soviet Union, but also by the Communist parties of many other countries, the defenders of their little homeland before the powerful aggressor were not, in fact, helped by anybody from without. Almost all honest people ((if they can be regarded as such after what happened) silently watched the beating of the Lithuanians by Soviet soldiers.

The shootings in Lithuania continued for 5 post-war years. Human blood flowed freely and people continued to groan from both Soviet rule and the hand of the LLKS.

But I was aware that in the LLKS there were Lithuanians, my own people, whereas soldiers of the Soviet Army spoke Russian, a language foreign and incomprehensible to me. I knew that in Lithuania there was no revolution. The Red Army simply entered our country and began to lord it their own way, without any invitation from us. It was occupation pure and simple. I knew definitely that it was not the LLKS which charged the struggle with such a degree of brutality, for when the Chekists (Soviet secret police) were dipping my father's hands into boiling water and crushing his genital organs, the LLKS did not yet exist.

I wanted to live, learn and play. But what sort of life could there be, when a murdered neighbour was lying outside his house for 3 days and nobody dared to bury him... How could one study when pupils, one after another, started to vanish from school — together with their families they had been transported to Siberia in sealed cattle trucks... How could one play when everywhere there was only the sobbing of the adults...

Figures can testify that I do not exaggerate, nor fabricate any slanders. Here are some of them:

"From July 1944 till December 1945, 1,067 anti-Soviet clandestine organizations and groups, 839 armed bandit groups (our partisans are termed as bandits — L. S.) and 11,870 counter-revolutionaries were liquidated" (The Archives of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communists Party", volume 1,771, p. 88).

You can judge for yourself: "During the Great Fatherland War, 9,187 persons took part in the anti-fascist underground and guerrilla movement; 1,422 of them were killed" ("Guerrilla Movement in Lithuania in the Years of the Great Fatherland War", master's dissertation by Shtyras, 1965, p. 243).

A live heart beat in my breast, not a stone one. I could not remain passive. I could not! My anti-Soviet activities were sincere and not motivated by selfish considerations. I did only what I thought to be necessary or useful for the cause of the struggle against Soviet rule that was alien to the Lithuanian people. I did not do anything for personal gain or glory. I was convinced that I was fighting against injustice and that I was fulfilling my civic duty before my homeland, my people and all mankind.

I was not perturbed by the circumstance that the anti-Soviet movement in Lithuania, which in the immediate post-war years united in its ranks tens of thousands of people had, after ten years of struggle, become very confined indeed. On the contrary, it in-

spired me. I considered it necessary to fight, not only for myself but also for those who had fallen into the hands of the Secret Police (Cheka) and who were now, with a number on their back, mining coal and dying of hunger in Vorkuta, as well as for those who, discouraged by the lack of prospects, surrendered or abandoned the movement.

I was not arrested in 1952 when the organs of State Security has gathered sufficient evidence of my connections with the anti-Soviet underground, of the fact that I possessed firearms and that I distributed illegally published LLKS newspapers, brochures and leaflets. I was arrested in 1955, after three years of active anti-Soviet activity, at a time when I was suffering from vertebral tuberculosis and was lying in a plaster cast at a hospital, unable to walk, and when the doctors estimated that I had to stay there for three years.

This did not help raise my esteem for the Secret Police or change my attitude towards the Soviet rule.

Only the public condemnation by the Central Committee of CPSU of the Stalin personality cult and the admission that many abnormal occurrences had taken place in our country — reprisals against innocent citizens, cruelty, window-dressing, etc. — and that "this must not occur again" (Khrushchev) made me wonder: Will the Kremlin really change its policy to the extent that the struggle against Soviet rule becomes unnecessary?

In addition to that, by then I was fully aware that I had become involved in political activities not through calling but through necessity, and that I could not be a politically active person as I was lacking in the necessary qualifications, inclination and sufficient education.

I therefore chose the path of a peaceful, quiet life of work. I began raising my educational level and acquired a couple of specialized skills. I started working although I was exempted from

work due to ill health. I made every effort to avoid breaking the rules existing in a confined regime, even if I cannot call them wholly just. During the last eight years (up to 1970) I have been incessantly hungry. It has been very difficult. But I kept silent even if I could not agree that such an attitude of the authorities towards prisoners, especially political prisoners, was justified. We are almost continuously given bread of such a poor quality that even hungry people are not in a position to eat their rations. The same bread is supplied to the inhabitants of nearby settlements. But if citizens in full possession of their rights keep quiet, who am I, a political prisoner, to complain, even if I cannot regard such silence as normal. It does not correspond to the spirit of the "moral code of the builders of Communism" since we no longer live in the hungry post-war era. Judging by the newspapers, we now have the means to bake normal bread.

Representatives of the Soviet rule often call me a criminal and bandit. I maintain silence though I think that such an attitude towards me is unjust. Unjust not only because I am not a bandit, but because the official policy of the Soviet state speaks of respect for dissenters.

Until the present day, I have not gained confidence and respect for the Soviet rule and the ideas of Communism. This is probably because my confinement has hindered rather than helped it. Here the representatives of the Soviet rule, the champions of Communism (at least, so far as their official position is concerned) often tell me: "Change your views. There is no other way to freedom". By doing so, they deprive me of the opportunity to regard them, the law and the party they represent with respect. For who, if not they, should know and understand the teaching of Marx that people's views are influenced by very many factors, but are never formed on

the basis of personal desire to hold certain views?

The physical side of the corrective work here, in the corrective labour colony of rigorous conditions, where I am, is also organized so that it can give me nothing besides the dislike for labour and the administrators of this labour. I like to work sincerely, with sweat on my brow, creatively. The appreciations shown in my case papers for good work and exemplary behaviour testify to this. But here, when work is demanded of me, for the fulfilment of which I am not given either materials, or the necessary tools, which compels me to work badly, when there is no work at all in the first half of the month but in the second half of the month one must labour for two persons, when any effort to make some tool or device lacking for carrying out a job is accompanied by suspicious looks from the guards and even by an actual investigation and often is qualified as violation of the regime, — then such labour does not ennoble me.

Fifteen years of my life have passed in confinement. I understand that this is too short a time to ease the pain in the hearts of those near to Osipov whom I have killed. But the pain has not subsided in my heart either for my father who was tortured to death in a savage way by Chekists; he was arrested as a suspect and his guilt (even before the Soviet regime) was not established. I cannot even hope for his rehabilitation because he was murdered before trial, or more correctly, without any trial. And all people who knew him have told me that he was a fine man.

I am against, categorically against, taking revenge. My stay in prison testifies that I am capable of leading an industrious and peaceful mode of life, and of being loyal to Soviet regime if it seriously concerns itself with the rectification of its mistakes.

I understand that this statement should not necessarily be accepted as

a testimony. Are there not enough people who make pretence all their lives, not just for 15 years? But all the same, I am not 15-19 years of age now, when I was able to beat my head against a wall; I am now inclined to calculations and I know that the State Security Organs with Soviet Army's assistance have liquidated the LLKS a long time ago. The newspapers and journals of Soviet Lithuania, which I have the possibility to receive in prison, state: The Lithuanian people have understood that Communism is not only inevitable, but also splendid, that the union of Lithuania and Russia is not only firm, but also useful. Therefore, there is no ground now in Lithuania for anti-Soviet activity. Consequently, there is no ground to believe that I shall renew anti-Soviet activity if I were freed.

Before my arrest, being of anti-Soviet convictions, I was able to be a Komsomol member and even a Komsomol activist. Now I could also act the part of the repentant criminal they wanted to make of me here. I could write a whole bedsheet of praises for the leader of the group and for the entire corrective labour system of the Soviet state and the Soviet rule in general. I could state a heap of pleasant promises. In doing so, I would earn the colony administration's intercession in pardoning me. But I am not doing this and will not do this. Because this would not be sincere. If there is no need to speak, and if it is so desired, I am capable and can keep silent about a lot. But one does not like to lie very much, moreover to lie for the sake of personal comfort.

I believe in the triumph of justice.

This does not mean that I do not see anything good in the Soviet society. This is not of primary concern here. Here I only stress that I could not fight against the Soviet rule, that I was not and have not become a criminal, that my life in confinement did not assist in the resolution of my enmity to the Soviet state. And there is no basis for

expecting that the situation will change in the near future, for the gap between the official line of the Soviet state and the actual state of affairs here has been too deep. I cannot sufficiently observe the changes which occur outside the barbed wire, for I am reliably isolated from them. Can anyone in the world believe that up till now I have seen neither a television set, nor a transistor?! (But this is true.)

I understand that Chekists could not allow me, who fought with weapons in my hands against the Soviet rule, to go free and had to keep me imprisoned for a certain time. But I do not understand why they tortured me in confinement by starvation and punished me in various ways. And now, when the struggle is over, when we are defeated, my imprisonment becomes senseless. It is the more so, since in recent times my health has begun to deteriorate significantly. If at present I am still able to work and earn my living, then soon, in conditions of confinement, I may become incapable of work. Then for me release would be more bitter than death in prison.

It follows from the above-said, that my further imprisonment cannot nurse in me a respect for the Soviet state, but on the contrary, will indicate to me that despite vociferous promises, there is a repeat of that which "should not repeat itself" and will confirm the thought already born in me, that in 1956 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR altered the decision of the Baltic Military Tribunal to execute me by shooting not in order to save my life, but to torture me to death by the unbearable living conditions of imprisonment.

I ask to be freed.

July 20, 1970 (Signed) L. Simutis

Explanation

I send my application to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR not through official channels, i. e.

through the Special Department of the colony, as I should as an inmate, but by a means considered illegal for me, avoiding the censorship in the colony.

In this way, I consciously violate the colony's regime, but I have no other choice. The colony's administration considers all applications of this kind as brazen anti-Sovietism and pu-

nishes for it. Moreover, my application touches on the interests of the administration as well.

July 20, 1970

L. Simutis

Consequently, the Main Prosecutor's Office of the USSR informed the prisoner that there were no grounds for a review of his case.

J. G. Diefenbaker Heads the International Committee for the Defense of Human Rights

On the invitation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, in the name of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (SKVU) and its Commission of Human Rights, on February 17 of this year, the former Prime Minister of Canada, John Diefenbaker, agreed to call to life an International Committee for the Defense of Human Rights and stand at the head of the Committee as its founder and president.

Announcing his decision during a press conference of the UCC in Winnipeg, Canada, Mr. Diefenbaker, renowned for his support in defense of human rights and in defense of the captive nations on the Canadian forum as well as on the forum of the United Nations, stated that he will do everything possible to turn the light of truth on the violation of human rights and the enslavement of entire nations under the tyranny of the Soviet-Russian regime.

In reading the statement of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, its president, the Rev. Dr. V. Kushnir, announced that the purpose of the Committee would be to study the incidents of political incarceration and examine the sentences of Soviet courts in Ukraine and other countries, and to inform the entire world of the impartial legal appraisal of these cases.

As its founder and president, former Prime Minister J. Diefenbaker will invite prominent statesmen and attor-

neys of international fame to co-operate by acting as members of the executive board of this International Committee.

During the opening of the press conference, Dr. J. S. Kalba, Executive Director of the UCC, read out the declaration of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee on the subject of the recent Soviet-Russian repressions in Ukraine, which contained an appeal to all Ukrainian Canadian organizations and all Canadian citizens of good will in general, to disclose and condemn the persecution of Ukrainian cultural leaders.

The summoning of former Prime Minister Diefenbaker to the post of president of the International Committee for the Defense of Human Rights was announced as a major news item by the main Canadian television and radio stations. The following day, extensive articles about this event appeared in the Canadian daily press.

Communist "Diplomats" Expelled from Rome as Spies

Four Communist "diplomats" were exposed as spies in Rome and expelled from Italy. They are a Pole, Konstantyn Janowski, a Czech, Milos Dospiva, and two Bulgarians, Dimcho Vavov and Borislav Balcheff.

Islam and the Anti-Islamic Movement in the Soviet Union

Although the Soviet Russian regime had made the fight against religions, including Islam, an integral part of its existence Islam has continued to remain the second largest religion in the Soviet Union, capable of acting as the opponent of Russian Communist ideology. Through the use of force by the government of the Soviet Union and through the provocative propaganda of the Communist Party, Islam, after the years 1936-38, had mostly to give up the outward signs of its activity — intensive attendance of Mosques, religious marriages and festivities (Ramazan and Kurbanbayram), the call of the muezzin to prayer from the minaret, circumcision ceremonies, religious schools and writings, training of priests, etc. Islam was forced to carry out a kind of "inner emigration". As is known, Islam consists not so much of dogma but of views on the problems of life and of rules concerning the life of the believer as regards God. Therefore, Islam was able to continue to exist in the heart of the believer. The Soviet leaders were convinced that they had, through long years of atheist education among the young and through police measures against mosques and clergy (e.g. demolition of mosques, arrest of priests), separated most Muslims from Islam and controlled young people through atheism. But it turned out that this conviction was deceptive, for not only the older generation, but also young people were unable to give up Islam. The greater the pressure exerted on them, the more intense became the efforts to preserve Islam. Thus, for example, this attitude can be seen from the periodical "Ozbekistan Kommunisti" (1970, no 6, p. 65): "The sociological investigations of the last three years in the three dis-

tricts of Bokhara, Ferghana, and Kashka-Darya Area have shown that in these three districts the character of belief represents a very complex picture. For example, in the villages of the Ferghana district most people stated that, because of the influence of tradition, they observed religious customs. Others said that, because of the influence of their parents, others because of conditions in the neighbourhood, they continued to observe religious customs."

The periodical mentioned above (p. 64) had mentioned that "religion in our country is the only form of idealistic ideology which is in opposition to Maxism-Leninism".

From similar statements in the party press it is clear that the differences between religion and Marxism-Leninism continue to exist. At present there are enough young people, even students, who believe in Islam. Even members of the Communist Party (CP) take part in religious life. According to "Ozbekistan Kommunisti" (1970, No. 6, page 67). "There are such facts, which are absolutely intolerable, that party members take part in the carrying-out of religious customs and rituals".

Islam is nominally represented in the Soviet Union through four Islamic administrations. Of these Islamic institutions the "Religious Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan" (Turkestan), is considered the most active administration because of the larger number of Muslims, as the most influential and, with regards to foreign policy, the most active administration. From the numerous Soviet publications, however, it was not clear, whether the religious administrations of the Muslims were

actually in the position to regulate according to Islamic doctrine the affairs concerning belief of the Muslims as a whole against the superiority and offensives of atheism. Previous experience has shown that such religious administrations have no rights at all to act against the measures of the regime. On the contrary, they are controlled by the CP and state organs and are compelled, in the main, under the mask of religious administration, to put into effect the instructions of the regime. This can also be seen from a calendar of the religious administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. In the calendar the birthday of Lenin was given, but not that of the prophet Mohammed, not even in a single word. This calendar also contained the day of the October Revolution and the 1 May, etc. But no religious ceremonies were mentioned. This religious administration in Tashkent was previously prominent in Soviet foreign policy, but it was unable to take up a position against the intensive Soviet attacks against Islam. Thus, for example, in the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan 218 schools exist for the training of atheist agitators. In Tashkent a school exists for the training of lecturers for atheism. At the moment 29 universities of atheism are at work in this Soviet republic. In Tashkent the "House of Atheism" is also to be found. Between 1969 and 1970 42,000 lectures were held against religion (cf: "Ozbekistan Kommunisti", 1970, No. 6, p. 63). What did the religious administration of the Muslims do against this in Tashkent? Or what did it undertake against a similar action by the regime? Nothing was possible. In Bokhara it has a school for priests, which is attended by about 30-40 people, but in whose programme of studies most attention is given to the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism.

This religious administration, just like the others, was previously unable to publish even a newspaper in defence of Islam. They must all be silent,

for the Soviet laws tolerate no organized religious activity. The upholding of the spirit of Islam has become an affair of the individual believers. The religious administrations of the Muslims must not attempt to coordinate the individual efforts of Islam either. They exist principally as instruments of Soviet foreign policy. Their role has particularly grown in the age of "fraternization of the Soviet Russians with the Arab countries". For the first time in the history of Islam, a delegation from the "Al-Azhar" University in Cairo under the leadership of Rector Mohammed Al-Fachkam, came in September 1970 to Turkestan, to the former stronghold of Islamic culture. The religious administration, together with the Soviet organs, gave a dignified reception to this delegation. The leader of the delegation was delighted by the "success of the Muslims" ("Kommunist Tadjikistana", 13.9.1970). The Sheiks of "Al-Azhar" also admired, as a result of the action of the religious administration in Tashkent, the religious freedom of the Muslims in the Soviet Union. But three days after the delegation had sung a hymn of praise about the Soviet regime, the newspaper "Kommunist Tadjikistana" on 17-9-1970 reported:

"The CP of the Soviet Union has followed unswervingly the principles of the scientific, atheist doctrines of Karl Marx, Engels and Lenin, in its work of abolishing religion, in the process of the development of socialism."

But the religious administration of the Muslims in Tashkent, headed by Ziyuddin Babakhanov, was capable of hiding the truth concerning the tragedy of Islam in the Soviet Union before the foreign Muslim leaders.

The Soviet regime shows two faces towards Islam: inside its own sphere of power it is radically anti-Islamic, and towards Islam abroad, pro-Islamic. It understands wonderfully how to balance one attitude against the other. One example can make this even clearer. The religious administration of the

Muslims in Tashkent has published a book on the "Islamic monuments in the Soviet Union" and distributed the copies to leading Islamic figures abroad. It was well presented, with colour photos. The famous monuments included the mosques and the famous mausoleum of the important Islamic mystic Khodzha Akhmed Yasavi (died in 11th century, the monuments were not built until the end of the 14th century) and the mausoleum of Pakhlivan Mahmud from the city of Khiva, dating from the 17th century. The editor, however does not mention that both monuments are already being used as "Houses of Atheism". (For more particulars see "Ozbekistan Kommunisti", 1964, No. 4, p. 28, "Partiynaya Zhizn' Kazakhstana" 1959, No. 8, p. 33).

While the publication and distribution of all religious writing is forbidden, the Koran is printed, in very beautiful editions, to be given to foreign Muslim personalities, in the same way as the above-mentioned book describing Islamic monuments. While Radio Moscow recites five times daily Koran-Suren in its programmes to Islam abroad, the radios in Moscow, Tashkent, Baku and Kazan regularly broadcast anti-Islamic programmes. The Muslims in the Soviet Union have no religious periodical of their own. But for the Muslims outside the Soviet Union one entitled "The Muslims of the Soviet Orient" is published in the languages of the foreign Muslims. This periodical is anxious (Editor-in-Chief is Abdulgani Abdullaev) to glorify the life of the Muslims in the Soviet Union as a "life in an earthly paradise", to win Muslims outside the Soviet Union over for the Communist regime.

It is also interesting to note that the regime was, up to the present, not able to remove Islam from the path of Communism, despite the radical nature and intensity of its anti-Islamic policy. Complaints about Islamic life became especially clear before the beginning of the 24th CP Congress (1971). Thus,

for example, the First Secretary of the CP of the Uzbekistan SSR, Sharaf Rashidov reported in March 1971 at the 18th Congress of this Soviet republic:

"The Central Committee is constantly concerned with the problem of the atheist education of workers... But it must be observed that in the regions of Tashkent, Namangan, Bokhara, Samarkand and in several districts of other areas, no special value is attached to this matter. It can be said that the result expected by anti-religious propaganda has not always been reached. Measures to check the enactment of the laws on religion are only feebly put into practice. A part of the population still observes religious customs" — "Ozbekistan Kommunisti", 1971, No. 3, page 37.

The following resolution was also adopted at the 20th Congress of the CP of the Turkmenistan SSR in February 1971:

"Scientific and atheist propaganda is being only weakly carried out. There is no strict party judgment concerning the vestiges of the past in the understanding and way of life of some people... Attention to the atheist education of the population and the propaganda of scientific findings must be intensified" — "Turkmenskaya Iskra". Feb. 24, 1971, p. 1-2.

From such official statements it is clear Islam has, up to now, not capitulated against the regime. But the struggle goes on against it. Islam remains, as before, on the defensive. The Russians will use every method to create a division between the believers and the priesthood and to employ former Islamic priests against Islam. The Uzbekistan writer Kamil Ikramov gave an example of this in his booklet "Talisman" (Moscow 1970). A priest from the Khorezm area, Ishan Pir Ni-yaz-Kodzha, was previously considered a respected figure in religious life. He became, it was claimed, an atheist. Now he is conducting effective propaganda against Islam (p. 12). The fight

against the adoration of Islamic saints is in the central position of the Soviet anti-Islamic movement. Vladimir Nikolaevich Basilov, "Kul't svyatykh v Islame" (The Cult of Saints in Islam) (published by the Academy of Social Sciences in the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union, Moscow, 1970, pp. 143) tries in this book to distort the character and meaning of the cult of saints in Islam. By emphasizing the "non-Islamic character of the saints" he was able to undertake anti-Islamic propaganda.

The subject "scientific atheism" had already been introduced into the schools for the education of the young. This was intended to eliminate the influence of the small number of priests on young people. It is also characteristic that the army of Soviet propagandists has not up to now been able to abolish the influence of the priests. According to the head of the propaganda and agitation department of the CP committee in the Bokhara region, A. Muzaffarov, the priests are attempting to adapt themselves to the times and to take careful measures which will affect the feelings of the believers. (Cf. "Turkestan", Quarterly report, IV/1970, p. 33)

It is clear from the latest Soviet publications that the Islamic priesthood is constantly attempting to make the existence of Islam under the Communist regime secure. This is clearly seen from an essay by N. Ashirov, "Evolyu-tsiya Islama v SSR" (Evolution of Islam in the USSR), in the periodical "Nauka i Religiya" (Moscow, 1971, No. 4, pp. 37-41). This author is well-known in the Soviet Union in matters dealing with the combating of Islam. He published an essay: "What is causing the Muslim priesthood to take the path of modernism?" in the above-mentioned periodical (1971, No. 3) and attempted to misrepresent the endeavours of the Islamic priesthood to preserve Islam as modernism. In his essay "Evolution of Islam in the USSR", he remarked at the beginning:

"The Muslim priests have recently made a considerable extension to the way in which they present themselves to the public and proclaim their doctrine, remarkably strengthening their efforts to recognize new social problems."

This opinion is correct. It states that the Imam of the Djamis in Moscow, Mirzadzhan Mustafin, declared in 1970:

"Islam gives the people the right to revolution."

This declaration can be regarded as a warning to the Soviet regime.

According to Ashirov, the Muslim leaders in the Soviet Union emphasize that "the demand of the Koran, to show obedience to the existing regime... does not exclude action against the regime in general, if this regime is tyrannical and unjust, and is disturbing the process of social relations". This means that Islam wants to reserve for itself the right to act against tyranny. One of the Muslim leaders in Azerbaijan declared the following: "Islam will also exist in Communism, not in the present form of course, but modernized, if the unnatural and antiquated parts are removed. Without religion the spiritual life of people is empty".

Such reports by Soviet atheists make it possible to recognize both the efforts being made by the Muslims to solve the problems of the survival of Islam, and the Soviet claims. Now as before the atheists such as Ashirov hold such views:

"No change in the social position of Islam, as well as any of other religious tendencies, can rescue religion from its complete disappearance."

It is known that a religion can never liquidate itself, if force is used continuously against it.

Islam in the Soviet Union is not modernizing itself, but seeking a new way in order to survive.

Finally, it can be mentioned that Soviet Russian atheism will need generations in the struggle against Islam,

before it reaches the last phase, for within the Muslim community in the Soviet Union, especially in Turkestan, two kinds of ideas have at present become widespread:

1) "The social revolution took place after Islam came into existence. Therefore the social revolution of the Communists means nothing."

2) "As long as a single copy of the Koran is to be found, Islam will continue to exist even under the regime of atheism."

Therefore, the Soviet anti-Islamic movement is concentrating its efforts against the teachings of Islam, in order to discredit it in the eyes of the believers.

A Wave of Protests by Political Prisoners in the Prison of Nations

A. Murzhenko (a Ukrainian sentenced to 15 years for "hijacking") was denied a visit by his wife Lyuba. In a note to her he wrote: "I shall starve until such time as they permit you to visit me, although my head is spinning already and I am writing with great effort..."

Eight political prisoners: **Abankin, Bondar, Havryliv, Ivanov, Pavlenko, Fedoriv, Chekhovskiy** and **Kandyba**, addressed themselves, on the eve of the Human Rights Day, in a letter to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and to the UN Human Rights Commission. In it they describe in detail all the abuses committed by "Soviet justice" toward its citizens. All this is contained in 12 points of which point 4 says? "To put an immediate end to persecution of individuals for propagating ideas of national self-determination".

Nine political prisoners: **Shilinskas, Kudirka, Frolov, Airykian, Yastravskas, Ponomarov, Malchevskiy, Platonov** and **Rodionov** — appealed in December 1971 to the International Red Cross in order to "draw the attention of this organization to the difficult situation of prisoners and beg to investigate the inhuman — physical, mental and spiritual — conditions in which the prisoners live. In Camp No. 19, 18 prisoners conducted a hunger strike for 6 days in July 1970. In August, 14 prisoners of various nationalities announced a hunger strike because their

companions were transferred to the Vladimir prison. Many prisoners commit suicide because of the unbearable conditions. In Camp 3/1, 30 people participated in a hunger strike. They hoisted a UN flag with mourning ribbons. For this the prisoners' families are subjected to repressions." The letter ends with the words: "We ask (your) help and the bringing of this letter to the attention of the world".

Mykola Bondar, a Ukrainian, conducted a hunger strike from Nov. 10th to Dec. 10th, 1971 in Camp No. 17 of the Dubrovlag complex, as a protest against his conviction. He was born in 1939 and was a professor of philosophy at the Uzhhorod University, but he had to resign because he expressed himself openly against the noisy celebration of Lenin's anniversary.

In Kyiv, **Lypynis** was tried and sentenced to "treatment" in an insane asylum.

Borys Kochubyivskiy, who was serving time in camp "Zhovti vody" for "anti-Soviet agitation", left for Israel, leaving behind his friend, **Volodyslav Nedobir**.

Writer **Svirskiy** wrote that the reason for his application for emigration to Israel was anti-Semitism in the USSR. "How can a Russian writer be a Jew?!" and "Get out, go to Israel! — Thank you, I'm ready. I no longer believe in the assimilation of Jews in Russia..."

Priest Gets Year of Prison for Giving Religious Instructions

"Honorable Judges, You'll Have to Give an Account, Too"

In July, 1970, Rev. Antanas Šeškevičius was put on trial for teaching catechism to the children of Dubingiai parish (Lithuania). He was sentenced to one year of prison. Recently the text of Rev. Šeškevičius' defense has reached the West. Following are highlights from his statement:

"The prosecutor's office of the Molėtai region, in the bill of indictment 1/1970, conveyed to me on July 27, charged me as follows:

"At the end of June and beginning of July, 1970, Šeškevičius used to assemble minors of the Dubingiai parish in the church and teach them catechism. Consequently, he committed a crime according to crime indications in Article 143, Section 1, of the Penal Code of USSR."

Rev. Šeškevičius then goes on to refute the charges one by one. To the question if he had committed a crime against the constitution, he replied that both Christ and the Church have obligated him to teach. He cites Article 96 of the LSSR Constitution which guarantees "for all citizens the recognition of the freedom to perform religious cults". Catechization, Rev. Šeškevičius goes on to say, is an essential part of the religious cults of the Catholic Church. Consequently he was fully entitled by the Constitution to teach religion to children.

"Have I broken the law?" The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the LSSR interprets the law separating the church from the state as meaning that "punishable" actions comprise the "organizing and systematic execution of religious teaching of minors in violation of the set rules". Rev. Šeškevičius states that he has not broken the above law, since he did not "organize" religious teaching and did not conduct it "systematically". All he did was to

announce that he would examine the children who were about to receive Holy Communion.

"Have I, in my teaching of catechism, violated the rules set by the law?" The answer is "no", since "such rules do not exist." Rev. Šeškevičius states that the judicial authorities read to him in the Russian language an instruction concerning the "application of laws to the cults", dated March 16, 1961. This instruction, he maintains, is not valid in Lithuania, since it has not been published by the Supreme Council. "How can the citizens adhere to it, if it has not been published?" Does not Article 23 of the Constitution say that "Lithuania's Supreme Soviet is the only organ issuing laws in the Lithuanian SSR?"

"Have I committed a crime against the teachings of Lenin?" Rev. Šeškevičius cites Lenin's assertion that "everyone" should be given the "full right not only to observe any kind of faith, but also to disseminate" it (Polnoye Sobranie Sochineniy, 5 ed., vol. 6, 365-6). Private teaching and learning of religion is also permitted by the USSR decree separating church from state, dated January 23, 1918 (para. 9). Rev. Šeškevičius then points to Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia where religion is systematically taught in churches or church buildings.

"Have I committed a crime against the U.N. Declaration adopted by the Soviet Union?" Rev. Šeškevičius reminds that the USSR is one of the signatories of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 15 of which "guarantees the freedom . . . to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance." Since the Declaration has been adopted by the Soviet State, Rev. Šeškevičius asks,

why is it not put into practice? Freedom to teach religion is also guaranteed by the Convention against discrimination in education, signed on December 14-15, 1960, in Paris. "A priest is tried in a country which has ratified the convention", Rev. Šeškevičius says.

"Religious discrimination is being practiced in China and Albania," Rev. Šeškevičius states. "Must we follow these retarded countries, especially when we have such international obligations?"

Rev. Šeškevičius continues: "Although the Constitution, although Soviet laws and international conventions provide the freedom of conscience and religion, in practice that religious freedom, especially in the area of children's education, is stuffed into a sack and tightened, so that only the tip of the nose sticks out to allow a little breathing. Such behavior denigrates

the laws and provides opportunities for the foreign countries to attack our country.

"History shows that truth conquers, injustice loses," Rev. Šeškevičius continues. "Hitler destroyed innocent Jews; he condemned and killed 4000 priests for performing their duties. Today the condemned ones have been elevated; the murderers have been condemned and destroyed.

"Honorable Judges! History will evaluate your verdict, too. Truth will win, since it is eternal; he will win, who walks with truth. Please judge carefully and objectively, because you, too, will have to give a reckoning to the Eternal Truth . . .

"To be condemned for performing the duties of a priest is not a shame, but an honor," Rev. Šeškevičius concludes his defense statement.

Bernard Feron

Russia's Permanent Worries

The nationalists of the USSR republics resist Russification

The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party sharply denounced, on Monday, March 6 (1972), the Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of Tbilisi. The leaders of the Georgian capital are accused of tolerating corruption, of being unable to organize production, as well as of showing inadequate concern for the education of youth. Once more, the party is calling attention to the remnants of nationalism in the Soviet republics.

Since the beginning of the year, the Soviet police is exhibiting great activity directed against the dissidents. Thus, it is acting in accordance with a secret decision of the Central Committee—dated December 30th—which calls for the liquidation of the resistance movement and the underground press. Was not the arranged trial of Bukovsky, on January 5th, aimed at

intimidating the dissatisfied, who are transmitting information abroad? A bit later Mr. Bonavia, a *Time's* correspondent, was detained during his attempt to visit historian Pyotr Yakir and was warned not to get involved in the internal affairs of the USSR any more. At about the same time, American Congressmen were expelled for establishing contacts with scientists of Jewish descent.

These instances, taking place in Moscow, whose actors were intellectuals struggling for human rights and the freedom of expression, have focused attention upon themselves in particular. However, it is not the opposition which worries the government most. The dissatisfied comprise a slim minority and in the present conditions they have a very limited influence. They are dangerous for the regime in as

much as they prove by example that the possibilities for expressing opposition still exist in the Soviet Union.

A different threat is presented by the dissatisfaction which manifests itself in numerous republics. At the year's end, the Kremlin is planning a festive celebration of the 50th anniversary of the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (The Central Committee has already published the theses which outline the significance of this event.)

A unique historical event — the government organized a fraternal cooperation of nations inspired by a common desire to build socialism. The point in question is, therefore, to make reality correspond to theory, to make it seem that the national tendencies have disappeared completely. The propagandists — and the security service — should obliterate by all possible means "the remnants of the past".

Ferment in Ukraine

It is no doubt for these reasons that on January 11 and 12 numerous journalists were arrested in Kyiv and Lviv. Among them were the former T. V. commentator Chornovil, who had already been arrested in 1967 for criticizing in a letter sent to Communists abroad the Russification in Ukraine, and also the literary critic Ivan Dzyuba, who defended historian Moroz, sentenced to 9 years in prison for propagating nationalist concepts.

Since mid-century, the Ukrainians have been causing anxiety to the Kremlin leaders. Certainly, Communists stemming from that country have always played a major role at the party's summit. However, a segment of the population considers itself subjugated. The struggle for independence remains alive in that republic, which in the number of its inhabitants and in resources can equal France and which fosters its historic traditions. The underground periodical "Ukrainskyi Visnyk", founded in 1970, has the objec-

tive of defending and supporting Ukrainian nationalism.

On the other hand, it is known that the Central Committee is disturbed by the situation in Georgia. After a long investigation, the Party Committee of the capital of that republic, Tbilisi, was sharply reprimanded. It was accused of indulgence and of tolerating the growth of nationalism. It was found guilty of "checking the triumph of Lenin's nationality policy, the historic trend of the fusion of Soviet republics into a united multi-national socialist state, the laws of development and the drawing together of the socialist nations". This republic was always conspicuous for some sort of disturbances. In 1956, the Georgians have stressed their originality by manifesting their attachment to Stalin, when his "personality cult" was denounced at the 20th Congress.

The police is also interested in the Baltic countries. Long after the war these countries, annexed in 1940 and 1944, were completely off limits to foreigners. Now the Soviet government seems stabilized. However, a document edited by 17 Latvian Communists shows that deep dissatisfaction is hidden behind the outward tranquility. The editors of the text, addressed to many foreign Communist parties — explain that for the most part they have been fighting for 25, 35 or more years, that they have fought in the underground and had known prisons of bourgeois regimes. Now they admit that they have lost many illusions because "Leninism is used as a smokescreen for Great Russian chauvinism", which is encouraged by the policies of the party leadership. In short, it is "a forced assimilation" of the Baltic and "other small nations of the Soviet Union".

Nevertheless, the government took a self-critical stand once. On June 12, 1953, several days prior to the fall of Beria, the Presidium of the Central Committee issued a directive "to put

an end to the distortions of Soviet nationality policy". The point was to terminate the practice of systematic assignment of cadres to a particular country, stemming from another nationality. However, the Central Committee had no confidence in local authorities: therefore it created its own organizational office for Latvia. In Riga the post of the second party secretary is always entrusted to a Russian. It is the Russians as well, who control the cadres throughout the republic and huge enterprises are established, without an existing economic need, for an accelerated intermixing of the population.

The authors signing the document also draw conclusions from such a policy. Every year between 25 and 35 thousand people settle in Riga. Therefore, the ratio of Latvians is constantly falling: in 1959 45 % of them lived in the capital, while in 1970 40 %. (For Latvia as a whole: 62 % in 1959 and 57 % in 1970.)

In many enterprises, the workers are Latvian, but a large segment of the management personnel does not understand the native language. In addition to this, only 300 officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs — out of 1,500 — know Latvian and 51 % of those engaged in commerce; 65 % of the medical personnel does not know the language. By the force of circumstances, the population is Russified. Have the Latvian Communists reconciled themselves with the accomplished fact? The editors of the document reassure (us) that this is not so. "For instance, Berkliav, former first secretary of the City of Riga, later vice-president of the government and member of Latvia's Politburo, continuously and in various places, protested against such unjust policy. Until a certain time, he was supported by other members of government and the Politburo. However, since they had the majority in the Politburo, the then first secretary of the Central Committee, Khrushchov, per-

sonally came to the republic, and later dispatched Mukhitdinov, who was then the secretary of the Central Committee. As a result, Berkliav was removed from his post and exiled." 25 other leaders were removed. The highest authorities took measures to prevent the manifestation of nationalism in the party: the first secretary of the republic never speaks Latvian, while a good number of his assistants do not even know that language.

As far as the minorities are concerned — Lithuanians, Estonians, Germans, Poles — who inhabit the country for a long time, they are forced to assimilate completely at a time when until 1940 they had (their own) elementary and secondary schools, theaters and cultural organizations. "In the Soviet republics, maintain the document's authors, everything exists for (the benefit of) the Russians. The local population enjoys at least something in its republic. There is nothing left for the others."

Lenin's Fears

Fighting in the underground, these Communists add, we had faith in our ideals. Later we saw what is happening in the first socialist state in the world. Then we thought that these were errors of short duration. Slowly we began to understand that declarations are made for display, that meetings, conferences and congresses are called to make it seem that democracy in the party does exist. Those who disturb the mechanism are arrested. Thus, there can be no room for discussion. The 17 Latvian Communists appeal to their comrades abroad without much hope. The Kremlin leaders are not in the habit of considering the opinion of others: "They are acting solely from the position of strength and do not recognize anything except force, but the influence of your party in the world Communist movement is great and they should take your position into consideration."

However, one should not exaggerate the influence which sister parties could have in Moscow. What end could recommendations serve, when the vital interests of the Soviet rulers come into play? Under such conditions everything disappears in the face of the state's interest; this became evident during the intervention in Czecho-Slovakia. Riga's Communists do not have much prospect of receiving satisfaction. Their **démarche**, however, disclosed the greatest difficulties which the government encounters. The protests by intellectuals can be controlled, economic crises avoided, poor harvests compensated by good ones. But in order to remove stiff resistance of the nationalities, it is not enough to issue several decrees, to carry out police operations, to remove insufficiently stable cadres.

Lenin promised that the Bolsheviks will rectify the policy of the tsars which has made the Russian empire "a prison of nations". Not long before his death he discovered with horror that his na-

tionality policy had suffered a defeat. Was it not the result of the most complete centralism which he imposed upon the party? Realizing that he has made a mistake and that he was disappointed, he attempted to correct his line.

On October 6, 1922 he wrote to the Politburo: "I declare a mortal struggle to the Great Russian chauvinism". He resumed his attack in a note dictated to his secretaries on December 30th: "I consider myself largely to blame, for it seems that I have not intervened energetically and decisively enough in the well-known questions about the autonomy..."

The campaign of the present leadership against nationalism and the protests of intellectuals and local Communists against Russification confirm that the regime is still suffering the consequences of mistakes made 50 years ago, at the time of the founding of the USSR, and that Lenin neither had the time nor the power to correct them. (**Le Mond**, March 8, 1972)



Detroit, USA, May 7, 1972

3,000 Ukrainian demonstrators urge the US government to influence Russia to stop its genocide in Ukraine.

From Letters to ABN:

Since the first days of April, five North Vietnamese regular divisions supported by armor, artillery and anti-aircraft units have crossed the demarcation line and launched massive attacks on the Demilitarized Zone and the northern, most province of Quang Tri. NVA forces indiscriminately fired thousands of artillery rocket and mortar shells into populated areas below the DMZ, inflicting heavy casualties to innocent civilians and great damage to their properties, and forcing some hundred thousand people to evacuate the embattled sector.

For nearly four years at the Paris peace talks, the Communists have always displayed a stubborn attitude and adamantly adhered to their unreasonable terms, making use of the talks for propaganda purposes rather than negotiations. For that reason, the Republic of Vietnam and the United States recently decided to suspend the weekly meetings indefinitely and insisted on serious negotiations from the Communists in order to find a solution for the restoration of peace in Indochina. In the meantime, the Communists on the one hand, loudly urged the allied side to resume the talks and, on the other, openly moved their troops across the Ben Hai river to invade the territory of the Republic of Vietnam.

Since they started the war of aggression against the Republic of Vietnam under the banner of "National Liberation Front" 2 years ago, this is the first time the North Vietnamese Communists brazenly violated the Geneva Agreements, which they themselves had signed in 1954. This invasion manifests a callous disregard of international law and an open defiance of world public opinion. Hanoi has repeatedly proclaimed their so-called liberation war in the South was aimed at "national salvation from American imperialists". But now when a majority of US and other allied forces have withdrawn from Vietnam, they launched this drive primarily for the twofold purpose of preventing the United States from implementing its troop withdrawal program and gaining upper hand at the battlefield. They would thus be furnished with good ammunition for propaganda and a position of strength to back their demands at the negotiating table.

The WACL Vietnam Chapter solemnly alerts the WACL member-units to the naked aggression of Communist North Vietnam against the Republic of Vietnam and vehemently denounces to world public opinion its scheme of taking over South Vietnam and the whole of Indochina by force of arms as first steps to the eventual communization of Southeast Asia with the active support of the Communist bloc.

The WACL Vietnam Chapter urgently requests all WACL member-units to voice protests and hold meetings to denounce through news media North Vietnam's and the Communist troops' belligerent and inhuman acts against the people of Quang Tri, to mobilize public opinion and urge their governments to lend active support to the RVN government and people in their gallant fight to repel Communist aggression, to defend their territorial integrity, to thwart Communist expansionist designs in Asia and to bring a lasting peace to Indochina and Asia.

PHAN HUY QUAT, Chairman, WACL Vietnam Chapter

A Tribute to Shevchenko: Reinstatement of the Ukrainian Language in Schools

To the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR

OUR PROPOSITIONS

In the near future, the nations of the world will celebrate the great national holiday of the Ukrainian people — the birthday of a celebrated prometheus and fighter, a poet of genius, a luminary of truth and justice, friendship and peace among all nations of the world, Taras Shevchenko.

The greatest memorial, the greatest remembrance, the greatest expression of respect and love for Shevchenko, that loyal son of the great Ukrainian people, will be the fulfillment of his wishes, expressed in his poetical works and letters.

T. Shevchenko devoted his entire conscious life to the struggle for the realization of the eternal hopes of our nation, for the realization of all that is inherent, most simple, but most dear and most significant to our nation, all that by which a nation distinguishes itself — its national dignity, its right to existence, which, is enjoyed by all nations of the world: a guarantee of such conditions of life that our native Ukrainian language would echo freely and be used in educational establishments, institutions enterprises, that our young generation, beginning with nurseries and kindergartens and ending with institutes, would be trained and taught in its native Ukrainian language. The 50-million-strong Ukrainian nation is worthy of this.

Language — is the soul of a nation, its heart, intellect, thought. The spiritual talents of a nation, its degree of development, its dignity, as a nation, as people, its right to existence are judged by the richness of language. When a language disappears, is assimilated, the nation disappears, assimilates and perishes. This was well understood by reactionary, misanthropic weaklings, the brutal executioners of the Ukrainian people, the enemies of its culture, beginning with the cannibal Peter I, through Catherines, Nicholases, Valuyevs, Yuzefoviches and other villains, and up to the Stalin and Kaganovych degenerates who tried to exterminate our nation by various methods.

This is why they conducted the unbridled policy of assimilation, applying in this the most effective methods: the ethnographic change in composition of the population of the Ukrainian territories and the ban on our native language, or a deceptive right to use it, but in practice a lack of opportunities for its propagation.

These Peters, Catherines, Nicholases, Valuyevs, Stalins, Kaganovyches and their lot, trice cursed by the nations of our country, have passed into oblivion. And now we should use decisive measures to liquidate not only the remnants

of these monstrous crimes, committed against our nation, but also to liquidate their consequences, to make impossible the penetration of any kind of discriminatory acts with regard to our nation, which are still taking place.

In order to make this a reality we are advancing proposals for the passing of the following resolutions:

1) To introduce the Ukrainian language in the training of children in nurseries and kindergartens.

2) To conduct instructions in Ukrainian in schools, technical colleges, technical schools and institutes.

3) To fulfill Lenin's testament about the broad usage of our native Ukrainian language in all institutions, enterprises, in transportation, commercial network, cinema, etc.

4) To send petitions to the leading organs of the union republics (RSFSR, Kazakhstan and others) about the fact that in the districts where many Ukrainians are living (Kuban, Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan) the Ukrainian institutions (schools, clubs, libraries, theaters, newspapers, etc.), liquidated by the Stalino-Kaganovyches, should be reestablished and new institutions created there, for in recent years the number of Ukrainian inhabitants has grown considerably.

In February 1921, a resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, proclaiming Shevchenko days as the holiday of the Ukrainian people, had been adopted.

Nobody has nullified that resolution. It has just been disregarded by these Stalino-Kaganovyches and they had not permitted that these days be celebrated as a holiday of the Ukrainian people. Therefore this resolution **must** be confirmed by a government decree so that March 9th — Shevchenko's birthday, or June 22nd be proclaimed a Ukrainian national holiday.

It is to be desired that in the leading organs of our republic there would be people who would express the thoughts and the hopes of our nation, who would be concerned with its fate, who would be capable of fulfilling their basic mission — to be the truly faithful leaders of their nation, to be concerned for its life, honor and dignity, and therefore, to adopt the resolutions which we are proposing.

Kyiv, February, 25, 1964.

On behalf of nationally conscious Ukrainians (10 signatures)

Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own.

Benjamin Franklin

New Berlin Treaty Bad News for the West

"We do not negotiate on the basis of the give and make principle. We have nothing whatever to give. We do not make concessions, because our proposals do not form the basis for a barter deal", — Premier Nikita Khrushchev, May 1959.

Have the Russians changed? Not a bit.

They still operate on the premise that what is theirs is theirs, that only an opponent's assets are negotiable.

The recent Berlin deal is a good example.

The Russians have violated every agreement ever negotiated on the former German capital. They have "lived in sin" for a quarter of a century and now the West blessed their illegalities.

The Potsdam agreement, for instance, guaranteed the Western allies — Britain, France and the United States — free access to the area of greater Berlin. This agreement was breached when the Russians imposed the Berlin blockade of 1948 which cut off land routes with the West. It was countered — at enormous cost — by the massive "airlift" which lasted one year and kept West Berlin alive.

East Berlin, which was supposed to come under four-power occupation, was taken over by the Russians. The Berlin wall of 1961 is illegal. So are the recognition of East Germany and the use of East Berlin as its capital. So are the East German soldiers who parade in East Berlin.

Did the much ballyhooed Berlin treaty change any of these illegal positions?

Not at all. The West didn't even try. It worked instead to obtain what Kenneth Rush, U. S. ambassador in Bonn, calls "practical improvements".

The controversy over "highly contradictory interpretations of the legal status of Berlin which has lasted for over 20 years", he said, made it obvious that "we could not agree on these 'practical improvements' if we attempted to get the Russians to change their legal view or if they attempted to change ours".

"We decided... to forego legal arguments in favor of 'practical improvements'" he said.

In other words, the West decided to accept Russia's blatant hypocrisy.

The new treaty leaves intact all the illegalities perpetrated by the Communists for a quarter of a century.

What did we give away?

For one thing, we gave the Russians the right to have a consulate general in the western sector of Berlin — a sort of camel nose under the tent.

"Because we sought to normalize the situation in Berlin we could not properly exclude the USSR from the western sector", says Rush.

Why not? Haven't we been excluded from East Berlin for 25 years?

The signed document speaks vaguely of easier access to Berlin from the West and relaxed attitudes toward West Berliners traveling to the East.

But, East Berliners are still not allowed to go to the West.

Ambassador Rush says this all rests on "good will and flexibility" in the inner German negotiations.

Flexibility for whom? East Germany is going to be just as tough as the Russians tell it to be. The concessions will have to come.

"The saddest and most disturbing aspect of the whole new situation" says the London *Economist*, "is the

skepticism prevailing in West Berlin. Rightly or wrongly, very few West Berliners believe the agreements will be faithfully implemented by the other side... the lack of confidence in the future is reflected in the decline of investment in West Berlin... "If the ostpolitik is pushed to its logi-

cal conclusion", says the London paper, "the day will come when the Russians and the East Germans will squeeze the Allies out."

Berlin has stood for more than 20 years as a beacon of freedom. If the Russians can snuff out its light, darkness will descend over much of Europe.

In Defense of the Persecuted

His Excellency

Richard M. Nixon

President of the United States

The White House, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

On Friday, January 14, 1972, the world press reported that the Russians launched a new wave of repressions and persecutions in Ukraine. Thirty-five well-known Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested in Kyiv and Lviv. They were accused of "anti-Soviet agitation". Among the arrested were: Vyacheslav Chornovil, journalist and author of The Chornovil Papers; Ivan Svitlychnyi, Ivan Dzyuba and Yevhen Sverstyuk, all noted literary critics; Mykhaylo Osadchyi, and others.

As in previous cases, the only "crime" that these men have supposedly committed is their opposition to the forcible Russification of Ukraine and the planned destruction of the Ukrainian cultural heritage. To this may be added their endeavours in the defense of the rights of peoples and the dignity of individuals in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In view of this new wave of arrests in Ukraine, we, the citizens of the United States and leaders of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, feel that it is our duty to stand up in defense of these persecuted Ukrainians. We therefore submit our plea to you, Mr. President, that during your forthcoming visit to Moscow you ask the Soviet Government to:

- 1. Release the Ukrainian intellectuals recently arrested and including Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Svitlychnyi, Ivan Dzyuba, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Mykhaylo Osadchyi and others.*

- 2. Release the well-known historian and author, Valentyn Moroz, who was sentenced to 9 years of hard labor and 5 years of exile for his beliefs and convictions. He is presently confined to the Vladimir prison and suffering from a liver ailment.*

3. Release Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovsky*) who is incarcerated with ordinary criminals in a Donbas prison.

4. Review the cases of Ukrainian writer Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, Ukrainian lawyers Ivan Kandyba and Lev Lukyanenko, and all the other political prisoners and permit them an open trial in the presence of United Nations representatives.

5. Grant amnesty to Ukrainian women, members of the Ukrainian Red Cross during World War II, Kateryna Zarytska and Odarka Husyak, who have already spent over 20 years in solitary confinement and concentration camps.

We, the leaders of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, wholeheartedly support the Ukrainian plea to you, Mr. President, since similar persecutions are being carried out in the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Russian Empire: Azerbaijan, Armenia, Cossackia, Estonia, Georgia, Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasus, and Turkestan. We would also like to call your attention to the plight of the famous Lithuanian patriot, Simas Kudirka.

We express our sincere hope that you will give this matter, Mr. President, your most serious consideration.

Respectfully yours,

The American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

John Kosiak

President, Byelorussian Congress
Committee of America

Dr. Ivan Docheff

President, AF-ABN
Bulgarian National Front

Anthony Nosich

Croatian Liberation Movement

Lt. Col. Nicholas Nazarenko

Cossack National Liberation Movement

Edward Derrik

Estonian War Veterans

Mario E. Aguilera

President, Cuban National Committee
of Captive Nations

Allan Beck

North Caucasus for Independence

Charles Andreanszky

Hungarian Freedom Congress

Ivan Sanel

President, Slovak Student Association

Aristide Nicolaie

AF-ABN, Rumanian Division

Michael Spontak

President, AF-ABN Ukrainian Division

*) Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskyi has since been released from prison and is now in Rome.

Luis Manrara

President, The Truth About Cuba Committee, Inc.

About Freedom

Drawing on the experience of several Captive Nations, many Cubans, like myself, escaped from our homeland to organize an army of freedom-loving Cubans to free our country from Russian imperialism, convinced that the USA, the great North-American Republic, would help us and thus protect its own country.

But once we got there, with great hopes and expectations, we realized that the US, our best friend and ally, is in dire danger from the same enemy who subverted us, and that it is making the same mistakes we made.

The United States government, for reasons that are difficult to fathom, is relinquishing its supreme responsibility to protect and preserve the great Republic founded in 1776, which has been the beacon of freedom and progress under God and the rule of law.

Facts speak louder than words. Look around you, friends, and look back only 12 years, to December 31, 1958 — the day before Cuba fell to Russian imperialist Communism. What was the US like? Were there hundreds of riots? Were there sections of big cities destroyed? Was there arson, bombings, shooting, murder, rape, assault, muggings . . . intensive drug addiction, juvenile delinquency, pornography, like there is today? According to FBI reports, all of these, collectively, have increased 122% from 1960 to 1968 — in only eight years! Crime, perversion, hate have always been with us. But their intensive proliferation, stimulated by the impunity created by the permissiveness of the courts, is the result of a diabolical plan of the enemy within, to destroy that country.

In 1958 there were no Russian satellites in the American hemisphere. And remember, we are talking about December 31st. The next day — January

1st, 1959 — Russia achieved its greatest victory, and the most important step in its half century of tenacious struggle to encircle and destroy the United States of America! When I went to bed in Cuba the night of December 31st, 1958, neither I, nor 6.5 million Cubans, dreamed we were going to wake up in the hands of Russian imperialism. Ponder it!

The US government — incredibly — helped Russia to take Cuba through its stooge Fidel Castro. The Russians, diligently and cunningly, have used Cuba to subvert the American hemisphere. Not only Latin America, as government officials and the mass communications media insist on telling you, but the USA. Because the United States of America — not Latin America — is their ultimate goal.

Today, in only 12 years, Russia has its paws deep in Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, and has absolute control over Cuba. Think of it. Four countries of the American hemisphere in Russian hands! The September 4, 1970, electoral victory in Chile of an avowed Marxist, Dr. Salvador Allende, is a milestone in Communist conquest. For the first time in history a national election was legally won — by actual vote count — by an avowed international Communist. The triumph of Allende proves how "wrong" — we must give it a name — has been the United States policy to stop Russian conquest in Latin America by supposedly using Cuba as a "Show Case". Remember the catchy slogan: "We will not permit another Cuba in the hemisphere". Will they now tell us in Orwellian language that they kept their promise because Peru, Bolivia and Chile are not "Cuba"?

The rest of Latin America — with possible exceptions of small Paraguay

and Costa Rica — are in turmoil. Rural and urban guerrillas, kidnappings, revolts, murder, unrest, are rampant. And what about the hijackings of planes and the kidnapping of diplomats and important persons? These are deadly blows to security which so far have not been tackled with the severity and urgency required. Without doubt, hijackings and kidnappings are clever Communist weapons to disrupt and humiliate the free world. The crucial importance of Red Cuba in providing haven to hijackers, ransomed Communist prisoners, and criminals cannot be overlooked. Algiers and Mexico have also offered haven to your enemies. As long as Russia remains a powerful, Communist-dominated empire, the free world will live in jeopardy.

Several important American countries are heavily infiltrated, and many have Russian presence — among them the United States of America, Colombia and Brazil. Naturally, these Russians pose as "friends" seeking commercial, cultural, scientific and other exchanges. But anyone who has studied Russian treachery knows what they really are. Beware of Russians bearing gifts!

What do you know about Canada, the USA's neighbor to the North? According to our Canadian correspondents, their country is in the throes of socialism, the progressive-avant-garde name for Communism...

In Asia you know the situation, with Vietnam et al, a festering wound draining US prestige, youth and finances. Red China is a permanent threat and India is heavily inclined towards Moscow. These two countries have a combined, half-starved, population of one and a quarter billion — a veritable and awesome menace to Western Civilization.

Let us now take a look at the rest of the world. In Europe, with Willy Brandt's connivance, Russia has recently filibustered our valuable ally —

West Germany — and is undermining every country.

Finally, in drawing a fast picture of the threat from without the USA, let us briefly focus on our deadly and most dangerous foe, Russia.

What sort of world power was Russia on the night of December 31, 1958?

Except for its huge land army, Russia was far behind the United States of America in naval, space and nuclear power. With US nuclear, space and naval superiority, Russia's land army was checkmated a giant with clay feet.

Now only 12 years later, according to the reliable and exceptionally well informed American Security Council, Russia has a 6 to 1 megatonnage superiority over the USA. — I repeat: six times more megatonnage than the United States of America! Its modern navy (less than 20 years old) has already surpassed the obsolescent US navy (mostly over 20 years old) in submarines and by 1975 is expected to be ahead overall, unless the US government reverses its present suicidal policy. Russia is also ahead in space delivery vehicles and, very important, anti-missile protection. As you know, the US government has not yet begun installing its very limited, untried, ABM. I consider Russia's advance in ABM very significant. It betrays a determination to use their nuclear power if the circumstances are favorable. They are certain the USA will never attack them first. So why build a huge, expensive ABM?

Russia's space and naval prowess has been recently recognized even by the US government, which has steadily played-down the Russian threat.

The danger of Russian submarine bases in Cuba cannot be overemphasized. You must remember the havoc caused right off the US coast by German submarines in World War II. And the advance of modern submarines — without even counting their missile

capabilities — is staggering. Furthermore, the Germans did not have secure submarine bases in the Western hemisphere. Imagine what Cuban-based Russian submarines can do to the US.

In spite of the ominous situation, our civilization can still be saved. The enemy is weak and extremely vulnerable inside the empire.

What can you do? First, get informed. Then join the fight personally, morally and financially. However, I realize it is not easy to get personally involved. Furthermore, some people must make the money which is abso-

lutely necessary to finance private organizations fighting to preserve your freedom.

These organizations must have dedicated, full-time people if we want to win. Then, the easiest and most efficient way to be in the fight is to contribute financially all you can, even to the point of sacrifice, because, if the totalitarians win, all your material possessions — all — will be confiscated, and what is worse, you will end up murdered on the Paredon (the Wall), in a concentration camp, or living miserably as a serf.

Nestor Procyk, M. D.

Nothing Can Bring Peace but the Triumph of Principles

The free press could play a major role in salvaging and fortifying the cause of free men. Members of this forceful arm of freedom could and should lend their voices in defense of the silenced ones. They should steadfastly report the stirrings of freedom behind the various curtains and write extensively about the works of those whom tyranny attempts to stifle. The free press should pick up and carry the torch of those fellow journalists whose pens can write no more, because of death or frostbite in Siberia. Peace cannot be won by subterfuge, by consortation with the enemy, by appeasement of the slaveholder. Freedom and justice are indivisible. One cannot exist without the other. Free people must take inventory if they are to survive and pass on the legacy of liberty to their children.

Time is running out in the race for survival. We are our brother's keepers; we all belong to the family of men. Free people cannot hide behind their comparative or even doubtful security and write off those less fortunate, in chains that Russian imperial Communism has forged for them. By advocating a strict allegiance to freedom for every human being by every

nation on this planet, we hope to retain ours.

The encroachment of Russian Communism can only be stopped by rigid adherence to the principle that every nation has the right to national independence and sovereignty. The reversal of the galloping trend of Russian or Communist Chinese aggression can be halted only by espousing the principle of freedom for every individual and independence for every nation. For as the great American Emerson once said: **NOTHING CAN BRING PEACE BUT THE TRIUMPH OF PRINCIPLES!**

On the huge checkerboard of the world, battlefields are drawn. Two opposing ideas are vying with one another for better positions with the ultimate goal of winning the game. The stakes are high, as slavery has unleashed the full fury of its destructive power in order to bring down the bastions of freedom. Conflagrations burst forth faster and faster. One crisis is hardly over, when new fires are smouldering. It is hardly a secret anymore who and why creates these situations. International intrigue, with headquarters in Moscow, has, thus far, successfully engineered coup after coup, using

basically the same pattern each time. The sad reality is, in fact, that so few in the west are willing to see the writing on the wall. Complacency, replaced now by apathy or even outright support of alien ideas, is encroaching upon the Western society.

Whereas, the West seems to be losing its firm grip on the lofty principles upon which its existence was built, an interesting and encouraging phenomenon is occurring in the Soviet Union, the seat of the world's woe. A rebirth is taking place, a spiritual renaissance is steadily gaining ground behind the Iron Curtain. The nations subjugated by Moscow are reasserting their rights to national existence, and are creating a thrust that not even Moscow's tyranny will be able to suppress. The young intellectuals, in ever increasing numbers, with living word, with pen and paper, using art as their message, demand and clamour for freedom of individuals and independence of their respective nations.

In retaliation, Moscow jails, murders, maims and even commits these men and women to insane asylums to silence their voices. Valentyn Moroz, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Dzyuba, Alla Horska, L. Lukyanenko, Ivan Kandyba and S. Virun are but a few examples. Some of the works of these men found their way to the West and were published under various titles (**The Chornovil Papers** — McGraw Hill; **I. Dzyuba's Internationalism or Russification?** — Weidenfel and Nicholson).

Soviet Russia can rightfully boast of succeeding to mislead the West, in particular the Americans, of depriving the American youth of their way to defend liberty, of weakening the very fiber of society in general. In this, Russia has ample support from Red China, of course.

The successful seating of Red China in the United Nations will reverberate loud and long. The unceremonious expulsion of Taiwan gives

a foretaste of matters to come. A sincere search by President Nixon for a solution to the China problem has all the elements of grave repercussions as mutual trust can be built only with partners who adhere to decency, justice, human rights, individual liberties and national independence. In the absence of this basic common ground, no real rapprochement can materialize. High sounding mottos, polished diplomatic language, lofty promises are panacea for true stewardship of freedom for every nation and every individual. To build bridges with the oppressors of our Christian ideals can only foster further strife in the world.

The liberation movements of the nations united in the ABN, among them the Ukrainian people, are confident that the USA and the West will, and hopefully soon, realize the scope of Moscow's and Peking's perfidy and will reach an agreement with those in bondage. The ABN and the subjugated nations it represents are sincerely appealing for moral support, asking the West to refuse aid to Moscow, Peking or others of the same ilk. The USA should not turn its full attention toward dubious "allies", but toward those who are clamouring for freedom and liberty, for national independence and social justice, i. e. the millions behind the Iron, Bamboo and Sugar Cane Curtains.

The results of the clandestine subversive activities of the fifties, sixties and seventies are quite evident in the Western Hemisphere. In the USA, in particular, the student unrest, the draft revolt, the riot-oriented cities are proof enough of how insidious the enemy could get and really is. The unheeded warnings of all those who attempted to rally public opinion met with indifference or vilification. Aggression by proxy still flourishes from Pakistan to the Middle East, from Vietnam to Cambodia and Laos, from the Mediterranean Sea to Berlin. Yet, few are willing to boldly name the aggressors.

The "Cordon Sanitaire"

After the end of the First World War, the re-establishment of Poland and the formation of the Baltic states, they were described from 1918 on, taken altogether, as a "cordon sanitaire" against Soviet Russia. They thus fulfilled the same task as a protecting wall as did the cordon of small states founded at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 against possible new French expansionism. The chain of states held out until 1940/41, until the Third Reich and Soviet Russia broke through it together. The results are well known, and the "cordon sanitaire" for the West became an area of advance for the East.

Today the bulwark which existed about 30 years ago has been forgotten, as if it had never existed, and the people who formed it have been abandoned to their fate. The West wants its peace and is indifferent who suffers from it. In Teheran, for example, Roosevelt declared in 1943 in a conversation with Stalin: "... that he fully realized that the three Baltic republics had in history and once more recently formed a part of Russia and added jokingly that, if the Soviet army occupied these areas again, he didn't intend to go to war against the Soviet Union on this account..." (From the official publication by the State Department of the USA "Foreign Relations of the United States. The Conferences at Cairo and Teheran 1943", Washington 1961, pp. 594).

The recently deceased Swedish Professor for archaeology, Birger Nerman, who taught at the University of Dorpat (Tartu) in the years 1923-25, stated in his celebratory speech on 24 February 1971, the anniversary of the occupation by the Russians of the Estonian Republic, i. a.: "The Baltic peoples are among the few in the world who demand their independence with full right. They are, in addition to the Scandinavians and the Finns, the only

peoples in Europe who have lived since time immemorial on their present territory and have inhabited the Baltic area for at least 10,000 years".

In the Baltic area, it is therefore possible to trace the development of three peoples in the course of the centuries, from individual tribes, which created their own culture and developed it further with the help of the Germans and the Scandinavians. It is a miracle how the Baltic peoples managed to retain their own characteristics and language, despite centuries-long oppression by neighbouring nations.

The attainment of state independence was naturally furthered by the course of events in the First World War, when the two most important and, for the freedom of the Baltic peoples, most dangerous neighbours, Russia and Germany, were both defeated. At this time in particular it was shown to an exceptional degree what inner strength lived in the Baltic people, who in the shortest time built up their own armed forces and beat back the many-times stronger Russians.

In the mentioned speech, Prof. Nerman devoted much time to the achievements of the Baltic peoples during their independence, which he was able to follow on the spot. He emphasized that young and creative nations transformed their countries, destroyed and plundered in war, into prosperous states, a thing which constantly caused astonishment to the Western world.

The Russians committed numerous crimes against the Baltic nations during and after the Second World War. At least 600,000 inhabitants from these states have been deported to Siberia and Old Russia, most of them losing their lives in forced labour camps. The arrests and deportations are being, if to a lesser extent, continued, the church persecuted, their own culture covered with a Russian surface. Hundreds of

thousands of Russians have been brought into the Baltic states to Russify them.

Let us quote Professor Nerman once more, who is considered one of the greatest experts on the Baltic states in Sweden: "We all know, how the Baltic peoples are trying with all means available to resist the Russian pressure and to hope to return to freedom. They know that no dictatorship can last and that the Russian one will also disappear. They know that the Communist economic system has failed and that discontent with the regime is prevalent all over Eastern Europe."

If Soviet Russia had been successful in the Twenties in taking over the Baltic states, the consequences for Europe would have been devastating. Already then, the Bolsheviks would have begun their new attempts to expand, with the aim of conquering Scandinavia, as far as the Atlantic, as well as para-

lyzing Germany through riots, strikes and revolts. This did not work in Germany. If a similar action in Northern Europe had been successful, their plans would have been fulfilled. But in this way, the great powers in Western Europe, weakened through the First World War, were given a breathing spell for twenty years.

The Baltic states, by their action, made it possible for Europe to recover. No thanks has been returned. Instead refugees from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have often been regarded as a burden, their efforts to obtain sympathy for their justified wishes, disapproved, their organizations, which can mostly only exist through the support of the host country, exposed to ruin through the withdrawal of material help. Still they continue to fight for freedom, which is indivisible, despite all the teachings of modern philosophers.

25th Anniversary of the Bulgarian National Front Celebrated

The celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Bulgarian National Front took place on March 18 and 19, 1972, at Statler-Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C. At the same time, the Bi-Annual Congress of the Organization was in session. It was attended by delegates and guests from the United States, Canada, Europe and South America. A six member delegation from Bolivia, led by Mr. Ilia Mateff, and representatives of the Bolivian Popular Nationalist Front, authorized in writing by the President of the Republic of Bolivia, His Excellency General Hugo Banker Suarez, attended the Congress. This was the first time in the history of the Bulgarian emigration that an official delegation was authorized by a Western government to attend the B.N.F. Congress. This high recognition accorded to the Bulgarian National Front is of great significance for the cause of Bulgaria's liberation.

At noon of March 18th, the delegates visited the White House. In the afternoon, the first session of the Congress was held, at which reports of the Central Committee were presented and approved. That evening, an official banquet was held. Dr. G. Paprikoff was the master of ceremony. The speakers included Dr. Ivan Docheff, President of the B.N.F., Congressman William Scherle and Mr. Laszlo Pastor, Director of the Heritage Division of the Republican Party.

In a special ceremony honoring the founders of the Bulgarian National Front, Organization Gold Medals were awarded to Dr. Ivan Docheff, Dr. George Paprikoff, Eng. Angel Gandersky and Dr. Angel Todoroff. All the others were presented with the Organization Medals.

A special memorandum to President Nixon was adopted and signed by all attending.

Representatives of the friendly nations attended, and were introduced as follows: Dr. A. Pleskaczewski — Byelorussia; Col. N. Nazarenko — Cosackia; Dr. I. Dzinich — Croatia; E. Derrik — Estonia; Dr. K. Sitko — Germany; Prof. De Villa and Mr. Aquilera — Cuba; Dr. M. Sazs — Hungary; A. Nikolaie — Rumania; Mrs. D. Stepaniak, M. Kocka and W. Mayewsky — Ukraine.

Congressman W. Scherle, Dr. K. Sitko, M. Aquilera, I. Wangeloff, Dr. Zagoski and Dr. Pastiroff were awarded B.N.F. Medals for their services to the cause of the captive nations.

Miss M. Andra and Miss F. Tanner — Estonia; Mr. V. Yurkevych — Ukraine; Mrs. E. Sandors — Cuba; Mr. V. Spasov and Dr. D. Gesker — Bulgaria, participated in the musical program.

At the second session of the B.N.F. Congress, held on March 19th, a resolution was adopted and the new World Central Committee was unanimously elected as follows:

President — Dr. Ivan Docheff;

Vice Presidents — Dr. G. Paprikoff and Eng. A. Gandersky;

Secretary — N. Stoyanoff;

Treasurer — K. Kondoff;

Directors — Dr. A. Todoroff (Canada), I. Galaboff (USA), Col. R. Raicheff (USA), G. Petroff (USA), Al. Darov (USA), T. Todoroff (Canada), M. Ger-

goff (USA), Z. Gradinaroff (Canada), Dr. D. Zagorsky (Austria), I. Mateff (Bolivia), B. Ilieff (Denmark), G. Gencheff (Germany), Dr. I Sarmov (England), N. Atanasoff (Sweden), St. Kasheff (Turkey), D. Mushanoff (Spain), V. Gacheff (Switzerland), At. Georgieff (New Zealand), P. Cankoff (Holland), E. Deel Belo (Italy), D. Konstantinoff (France), B. Dimitroff (Belgium), J. Srebroff (Australia);

Auditing Committee: President — P. Foteff;

Members — P. Nikoloff, K. Radeff, G. Zwetkoff and V. Dimitroff.

During their tour of the city in the afternoon, the delegates of the B.N.F. Congress attended the Ukrainian observances at the Taras Shevchenko Monument and visited the grave of President Kennedy and the monuments of Presidents Washington, Lincoln and Jefferson.

The Congress and the 25th anniversary celebration of the Bulgarian National Front were a great success.

On March 20th, a special delegation consisting of Dr. I. Docheff, N. Janakieff and I. Mateff visited New York Senator James Buckley at his office in the US Senate and presented him the B.N.F. Gold Medal for his support of the cause of the captive nations. The Senator accepted the award and declared that it was an honor for him.

Dr. I. Docheff

Jews Stage Hunger Strike in Major Cities of the Soviet Union

On the anniversary of the "hijacking" trial on December 24th, in Moscow, 29 Jewish prisoners conducted a three-day hunger strike. As a sign of solidarity, Jews of many cities announced hunger strikes: in Moscow 25 people, another 21 on the following

day — they hungered in 5 apartments; in Riga — 22 Jews assembled in the Supreme Court building and declared a 72-hour hunger strike; in Tbilisi — 8 Jews; in Kyiv — 19; in three apartments; in Rostow — 1; in Kyshynev — 14; in Vilnius — 20; in Odessa — 4.

The Croats

Croatia is undisputedly a country on which a Communist regime was forced against the wishes of the great mass of the population, and which would like to determine its regime itself in free elections, and free itself from Tito's Yugoslavia by using the right of self-determination. For this many Croats are fighting abroad — they want to bring the attention of the world to their homeland, oppressed and deprived of freedom, as in the past the Poles, Greeks, Irish and other nations had done for long periods and as today no fewer nations all over the world are still doing. The Croats are, which should never be forgotten, a strictly Catholic nation, to be compared in this with the Poles, the Portuguese, the Spanish and the Catholic inhabitants of the Irish Republic (not to be confused with Northern Ireland!). Of these nations the Poles and the Irish have for centuries fought for their freedom and against their oppression without yielding, and the world for the most part accepted this struggle.

But for the Croats and their struggle for freedom hardly one word of understanding is found; the press of the Western world carries only expressions of disgust and threats. There is a clear one-sidedness in taking sides. What are the causes of this? Have the Communists and their agitators already gnawed so far into and eaten away the judgment and resistance of the Western nations? Or is it only laziness, which wants to avoid any "trouble just for a few Croats"? A sad lack of reflection in a question which in the final analysis concerns freedom and its basis. Of course, not freedom at all for terror, but understanding for what lies behind it and what the motive force of this terror is.

This terror was started long before 1945 by the Communists, by Tito's partisans. Tito's secret police, the noto-

rious UDBA, soaked in blood no less than Stalin's secret police and executioners took part in this terror, and continues to do so today... It has been estimated that about 800,000 human lives or even more have been sacrificed in atrocities and extermination actions against the Croats. Is it not understandable that the blood of so many relatives of these victims is still boiling and is still calling for revenge, for retribution, since the murderers are beyond the reach of earthly justice.

There is one thing more to be mentioned here: many of Tito's partisans were entrusted after the war with lucrative state and confidential positions, including many in the diplomatic and consular service. More than once German newspapers after 1945 reported that this or that Yugoslav consul or general-consul or even the Yugoslav ambassador was a mass-murderer and torturer from the partisan times, or an informer of the present Belgrade secret police. Is it right and proper to send such people abroad as diplomats and consuls and thus to provoke acts of violence against them? Is it not rather an insult to the host country, to send such people under the protection of diplomatic immunity as official representatives, and is it not a lack of respect for this host country, if it has to put up with this in silence? They should be sent back to Tito and he should be asked to replace them in the West by people with clean hands, free of blood. Certain host countries are also partly guilty that blood has flown through counter-terror, since the Croatian freedom fighters feel themselves provoked. But today to attack these defenseless and homeless Croats, and to lack any justice and understanding for them, as well as any courage against the torturers of this nation, this is not fair, it is unprincipled and cowardly!

News and Views

Preparations for the Show-Trial of Imprisoned Ukrainian Intellectuals

According to the German newspaper "Die Welt" of March 2, 1972, during the great terroristic pogrom in Ukraine which was carried out by the Soviet KGB, over 100 persons were arrested. According to the most recent reports, among others, the following were arrested: from Kyiv — Ivan Svitlychnyi, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Ivan Dzyuba, Leonid Plyushch, Vasyl Stus, Oleksander Serhiyenko, Leonid Seleznenko, Mykola Shumuk, Zinoviy Antonyuk, Zinoviya Franko; from Lviv — Vyacheslav Chornovil, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Stefania Shabaturova, Stefania Hulyk, Mykhaylo Osadchyi, Ivan Hel, Hryhoriy Chubay, and from Ivano-Frankivsk Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk. After several days of imprisonment, the KGB substituted prison for house arrest for Ivan Dzyuba. The sister of Ivan Svitlychnyi is obligated to report daily to the KGB. Zinoviya Franko has been released from prison.

Most recent reports from Ukraine inform us that the show-trial of three Ukrainian public figures: Ivan Svitlychnyi, Vyacheslav Chornovil and Yevhen Sverstyuk, and a co-defendant — a Belgian tourist Yaroslav Dobosh*), will be held in Kyiv within the next few weeks. Of the 100 arrested, some 15 persons have been apparently released from prison by the KGB. The three mentioned above were supposedly the chief motivating forces behind the underground publication **Ukrainskyi Visnyk** (The Ukrainian Herald). In the last issue of this publication, Sverstyuk had allegedly published an article not only defending Ivan Dzyu-

*) Yaroslav Dobosh was released on June 3, 1972, after a five-month detainment by the KGB.

ba and denouncing attacks upon him by the Soviet government, but also containing accusations against Moscow's conduct of chauvinistic politics in respect to Ukraine. He supposedly had close contact with the editorial board of the student newspaper **Ikar**, in Kyiv.

Tito and Nationalism

Anyone who thought that the problem of nationalism, as a survival from the 19th century, has been losing more and more in importance, has had, through the exciting events in Yugoslavia, to think again. At the beginning of December 1971 violent conflicts already took place at a meeting of the presidium of the Yugoslav Communist Party, when Party boss Tito had strongly criticized the Croatian party leaders for "toleration of nationalist infiltration". He was thus referring to the large-scale student unrest and the Croatian opposition against Belgrade's centralist efforts.

While the campaign against "Croatian nationalism" continues, unrest and conflicts within the party are taking place in the Kossava province which is largely inhabited by members of the Albanian ethnic group. Serbs, Macedonians (Bulgarians-ABN Corr.), Turks and Montenegrins are also represented in this province, which belongs to Serbia. At a meeting of the Central Committee of the local Communist Party, party secretary Sotra warned against a "Greater Albanian chauvinism", as was recognizable above all at the University of Pristina. Sotra emphasized that "Albanian separatist nationalism" was the main reason for the instability of the province. Party chief Mahmut Bakalyi, an Albanian, in his turn accused a group "of Serbian and Macedonian Central Committee members of carrying on obstructive and diversionary tactics".

At the turn of the year, head of state Tito declared that nationalism and chauvinism were the strongest and most dangerous weapons of the "class enemy". In a TV and radio interview he stated that they had certainly achieved a great victory, but the struggle was continuing. He went on to speak of further measures, without specifying them. But it can safely be assumed that the result will be greater efforts towards centralization. At least this is how a statement of principles made by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which declared war on "ideological pluralism" and "ideological and political disintegration" must be interpreted.

Before this, Tito had spoken of the dangers of a "civil war" and above all had appealed to the armed forces to safeguard the unity of Yugoslavia. "Our army has not only the task of defending the territorial integrity of our country. It has also the task of defending socialism, if it is in danger, and if it cannot be defended by other means. It is the army of a socialist society. Its members must also be educated with this in mind", he said, and added: "We have underestimated the class enemy — they are to be found everywhere, in every republic (of the Yugoslav Federation — *ABN Corr.*)".

Thus what is important is not only the Croatian problem, but the problem of national differences as a whole. The possible solutions being sought by the present state and party leaders, the way into the future which Tito will take, will be of interest not only for the peoples of Yugoslavia. (WuO)

Actions against Yevtushenko

According to reports by the newspaper *The Home News* from New Brunswick, New Jersey, of March of this year, The Hryhoriy Skovoroda Ukrainian Students' Club at Rutgers University held a demonstration in front of the McArthur theater during the appearance there of the Soviet poet, Yev-

geniy Yevtushenko. The protesters distributed leaflets, in which they accused Yevtushenko of spreading Soviet propaganda and remaining silent about the truth regarding the Soviet campaign against culture and religion in Ukraine and the other captive nations under Soviet-Russian rule, as well as calling him a janissary (turn-coat).

Yevgeniy Yevtushenko, a long-time critic of the United States' "aggressive war" in Vietnam, once again arrived in New York at the beginning of this year. One of the American poets whom Yevtushenko urged to protest against the Vietnam War, publicly asked Yevtushenko why the latter did not condemn the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 with a single word. Yevtushenko was appearing at the Madison Square Gardens on January 28, 1972. Ukrainian students held a successful demonstration in defense of Ukrainian intellectuals persecuted in the new wave of arrests by the Russians.

The American magazine, *Life*, of February 11, 1972 contained an article about the demonstration under the heading "The Russian Bard of Protest Met With Protest". The article mentions the fact that Yevtushenko's appearance coincided with public press announcements regarding the renewed arrests of Ukrainian cultural leaders in Soviet Ukraine. The article also adds that the following day, having withdrawn 2,200 dollars, "the Green Leaves of capitalism", Yevtushenko went shopping for a new suit, and includes several photographs of Yevtushenko in the 700 dollar suit he bought. Towards the end of the article, mention is made of a Ukrainian demonstration in front of the United Nations' Building during Yevtushenko's appearance there.

Yevtushenko also appeared in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota, on February 19, 1972, where Ukrainian students dragged him from the stage. The students attempted to seize hold of the microphones and protest the illegal ar-

rests of Ukrainian intellectuals. Two of the four demonstrators within the building were arrested and were to stand trial at the end of February. Outside the building, an additional 30 or 40 picketers carried posters and distributed leaflets voicing their protests against the wave of terror and persecution in the Soviet Union.

Argentine Radio and Television about ABN and Ukraine

After the ceremonious unveiling of the memorial of Taras Shevchenko in Buenos Aires, Argentina, a delegation of the Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front met with representatives of the FAEDA (The Argentine Federation of Democratic Anti-Communist Organizations), the president of which is the prominent anti-communist activist, Dr. Apalez Markez. The meeting and press conference were broadcast on television. In his speech, Dr. Markez named Ukraine as a model in the struggle against imperialistic Russia. Mrs. Slava Stetsko appeared with a brief speech in which she focused on the gravity of the Russian threat and urged all freedom-loving peoples to stand in defense of V. Moroz, V. Chornovil and other persecuted intellectuals in the captive nations.

Following this, Mrs. Stetsko, with the aid of translators, participated in a radio show, in a discussion with Argentine doctors about prisons and psychiatric hospitals for healthy persons in the Soviet Union. Two of the doctors attempted to deny this, but Mrs. Stetsko, a member of the Central Committee of the ABN, answered them ably, pointing at the perfidious Soviet-Russian crimes against humanity, even during the last decades. The Argentine press covered all these events extensively.

Ukrainians Ask Canadian Government for Help

On February 28, 1972 a peaceful demonstration and candlelight march

were held by Ukrainian Canadians on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, with some 150 persons participating. Following this, a delegation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Ukrainian Students Association met with External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp, to whom they presented a brief asking that the Canadian government bring to the attention of the United Nations the new wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in the USSR which "constitutes but another link in the long chain of Soviet violations of human rights". Taking an active part in the demonstration and the presentation of the brief were the following parliamentarians: Senators Muriel M. Fergusson, Eugene A. Forsey, Rhéal Bélisle and Paul Yuzyk, as well as Allan Sulatycy, M. P. Mr. Sharp promised the delegation that Canada would intercede with the Soviet Union on behalf of the numerous intellectuals arrested in January for "anti-Soviet activities" within Ukraine. Mr. Sharp said that the Canadian government would appeal to Russia through its ambassador. He said that the key would be "quiet diplomacy".

Soviet Consulate Hit by Four Molotov Cocktails

A night watchman, Valentyn Koulagin, 37, was burned on the legs and hands when four Molotov cocktails were thrown at the front door of the Soviet Consulate in Montreal on January 23, 1972.

Reports state that the watchman opened the front door after hearing an explosion shortly before 3:30 a. m. He saw a bottle with a flaming wick on the steps and kicked it, spraying flaming gasoline on his trousers. **While trying to beat out the flames, he also burned his hands. Koulagin was taken to hospital and released after first-aid treatment was administered. Only slight damage was caused to the stone building.**

The Soviet consulate has been the

target of similar attacks in the past, including one last year during Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin's visit to Canada. Although police declare they are unaware of any motive for the attack, they suspect that it was carried out by one of the numerous anti-Soviet ethnic groups in the city.

Hunger Strikes of Students

Brussels: Belgian and Ukrainian students from the universities of Brussels, Ghent, Louvain, the Atheneum in Ghent, and a school in Eisdien held on March 24-25, 1972 a 40-hour hunger strike outside the Community Building in Masmekhelen — the town where the Dobosh family lives. On this occasion a number of leaflets were distributed about the violation of the human rights in the USSR, with an appeal to come to the defense of Yaroslav Dobosh. The Flemish press published photos of the hunger-strikers with corresponding favorable commentaries.

Malik Insulted in New York

On May 2, 1972, the chief Russian delegate at the United Nations was harrassed and insulted by members of the Jewish Defense League in the streets of New York. Malik declared that his diplomatic car was pursued by another car and that its passengers prevented him from passing on at a crossing. According to his statements the offenders wearing blue shirts with Zionist emblems hit the windows of his car and shouted terms of abuse. Malik characterized this incident as a most recent link in a chain "of hostile political provocations".

"Kerensky Period" in Europe

As far as one can see Moscow aims at establishing a cordon sanitaire consisting of countries having a socialist (i. e. communist — ABN Corr.) regime at the western and northern border of East Germany (Russian occupation zone of Germany — ABN Corr.) for a limited period, a so-called "Kerensky Period", such as Russia underwent in

1917. Herewith Moscow reserves the possibility for the future to extend her influence to Western Europe at a moment when the West will appear weak or Germany will allegedly violate the treaties.

Meanwhile Russia can use the economic potential of the European Common Market and later on, perhaps, exploit it, her politics being always focused on the long term.

Count H. v.Schmetten, PhD.
(Die Welt)

Eastern Treaties Thought of as Frontier Treaties

A real détente is possible only if the causes for tension have been removed.

However, it is incontestable that the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties are the outcome of power politics. Internationally they de facto recognize that who wins the war

a) is allowed to oppress neighbouring countries as colonies,

b) may expel millions of people from their homes,

c) is allowed to annex whatever he wishes,

d) may divide a defeated people,

e) is permitted to refuse a peace treaty and to practice martial law for many decades. **Gerd Schildbach, PhD.**

(Die Welt)

British Lieutenant Convicted on Charges of Espionage for Soviet Russia

In March 1972, a court in Winchester, England sentenced James Bingham, a lieutenant in the British Navy, to 21 years in prison on charges of spying for Soviet Russia.

James Bingham offered himself as spy to the Russians himself. According to the information of the British Prosecutor General, Sir Peter Rawlinson, he delivered to the Russians information of almost priceless worth, including certain nuclear secrets of the British Navy. For his 18-month espionage activity, he received 2300 Pounds from the Russians.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



GEORGIA

Censured for "Nationalism"

A reascent nationalism in Georgia worries the Central Office of the Party in Moscow. On March 6 the Communist Party Committee of Tiflis was severely censured by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for having supposedly committed "a series of grave crimes against Leninist nationality policy". Now — certainly following Moscow's instructions — the Party Committee of Tiflis was obliged to severely censure a Georgian historian, two history science institutes — among these the Institute of Party History —, a publishing-house as well as the official literary review of the Party in Georgia for having promoted the publication of a book "aiding Georgian nationalism". In his work dealing with the history of Georgia from 1917 to 1921 the author, historian Sidamonidze, had represented the Declaration of the Independence of Georgia by the Mensheviks as a positive act in that period. Self-criticism only prevented the historian from being excluded from the Party. The Institutes, the publishing-house and the review were reprimanded for approving of the book, publishing it and favourably commenting on it in spite of the particular guidelines for treating the national question in Georgia which had recently been enacted by Moscow.



GERMANY

Four Germans Succeed in Escaping to Freedom

Four inhabitants of the Russian-occupied Zone of Germany made a successful escape to the free part of Ger-

many on the night of February 7, 1972. A 32-year-old mechanic and a 16-year-old schoolgirl came to the Federal Republic of Germany through the frontier fortifications of the Russian-occupied Zone. For more than three hours they had to hide from the Communist search squads. Two other escapees also had surmounted the demarcation line to the West under the cover of darkness.



LITHUANIA

600 Demonstrate in Support of Priest

A court in Kaunas, Lithuania tried **Rev. Zdebskis**. About 600 people assembled. Girls brought flowers. The militia attacked them, threw them to the ground, dragged them by the legs. Traces of blood and crushed flowers remained on the straits and the street. Approx. 20 people were taken to the militia headquarters. Children aged 9-11 appeared as witnesses at the trial. They were asked what were they taught by the priest. They answered: "Not to steal, not to break windows". To the question: "Did he teach you prayers", the children answered: "I do not remember". Many children kept silent and cried.

Kudirka's Wife under Pressure

Reliable sources report from Lithuania that Gene Kudirka, the wife of Simas Kudirka, has been thrown out of their apartment, together with her children. Their furniture was confiscated by the authorities. After several days, Mrs. Kudirka and her children were given shelter by neighbours. She went looking for a job, because under Soviet law only properly employed persons can rent apartments. But the authorities made sure she was denied a job.

At the same time the communist regime has hinted to Mrs. Kudirka that her problems will be solved instantly if she condemns her husband. So far she has refused to do so. Latest reports say she recently visited her husband in Siberia. She left him warm socks and gloves, but he was not allowed to accept a sweater she brought him.



RUMANIA

Ceausescu Confirms Economic Losses

Rumania's Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu has referred in a speech to the serious damage caused to the Rumanian economy by various "short-comings" in industry, as well as by "bureaucracy" in various economic ministries.

In 1970, production losses in Rumanian enterprises of more than two thousand million Lei were caused. More than 81 million working hours were lost in the past year in the nationalized industries, through lack of discipline, lack of punctuality or work left undone, which was the equivalent of the working time of about 35,000 workers in one year. "If this unfavourable factor is not cleared away, a loss in production of between 28 und 30 thousand million Lei will be caused in 1972", said Ceausescu.

New Pressure on Writers

The Editor-in-Chief of the literary weekly "Lucafarul", Stefan Banulescu, was replaced at the end of January by Vergil Teodorescu, an unknown entity. Banulescu sponsored those writers who resisted the party's new cultural policy and "Lucafarul" became a shelter especially for those who had to leave the official literary paper "Romania Literara". The New Year issue of "Lucafarul" openly attacked party

methods concerning literary circles. Banulescu's fate is yet unknown. (FRP)

Warsaw Pact Meeting

The military council of the Warsaw Pact countries, including ministers of defence and chiefs of staff from all member countries, convened in Bucharest between 11-13 April, under the chairmanship of Soviet Field Marshall Yakubovsky. The meeting dealt with the "perfection of cooperation between the armies" of the Pact. (FRP)

Writer's Criticism

Since 1969, provincial writers and novelists have repeatedly protested against the "preferential treatment" given to Bucharest writers. In a round-table discussion last June, the Iassy writer Mircea Radu IACOBAN complained that the Writers' Union statutes were not respected: "purely formal changes have been made in order to silence provincial writers" he said. From a highly critical literary discussion in Cluj, last May, it became clear that Bucharest writers are accused of "enjoying considerable material advantages". All provincial literary organisations ask for more funds and more financial and administrative independence.

Ceausescu Urges Party-Line Literature

In the beginning of February 1972, the Rumanian Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu presented his literary and artistic views to the assembled Rumanian writers. He called on them "to enrich the socialist cultural heritage of Rumania by works valuable artistically and humanely". Since last summer, when the Communist Party of Rumania adopted a hard ideological course, this is the first time that the dictator turned to the representatives of the literary world. Ceausescu urged the writers to produce more works which correspond to the ideological program of the Party.

Confiscation of Houses

By a decree issued on 30th April, a number of houses, i. e. private property, were confiscated by the state, only five years after another decree allowed citizens to build their own houses. According to Art. 3, inhabitants must leave the premises within 15 days. No appeal is permitted. (FRP)

Warsaw Pact Naval Manoeuvres

Combined Russian, Rumanian and Bulgarian naval forces took part in sea exercises under the command of Soviet Field-Marshal Yakubovsky, between 18-23 April. The General Staff of the Warsaw Pact Forces, as well as Staff officers from the countries concerned were all present in the Black Sea. East German Admiral Waldemar Werner was a guest observer. The manoeuvres were held in order to achieve "integration of command" of the Warsaw Pact naval forces. (FRP)



Increasing Pressure on the Clergy

In the Slovak Socialist Republic the pressure being applied by the Communist regime to the Catholic clergy is growing. In the recent past — mostly young — priests have had the authorization to carry on their profession withdrawn by the official department for church affairs.



Ivan Dzyuba Rearrested

The Associated Press in its dispatch from Moscow reported that on April 17, 1972, the KGB arrested anew in Kyiv literary critic Ivan Dzyuba, the author of the work "Internationalism

or Russification?". Ivan Dzyuba was arrested by the KGB in January of this year but was released after a 10-hour questioning, in which time a search of his apartment was conducted. Later, Ivan Dzyuba was deprived of membership in the Writers' Union of Ukraine. That was a signal that an arrest and a trial are being prepared for him.

The AP from Moscow also recalled the mass arrests of Ukrainian cultural leaders taking place in January.

Oles Berdnyk Persecuted by the KGB

The KGB has begun to persecute the Ukrainian "poet of the sixties", Oles Berdnyk. Upon KGB directives, the publication of his works ceased as of late, while on April 24, 1972, the Bureau of Literary Propaganda at the Writers' Union of Ukraine formally banned all public appearances by O. Berdnyk, which still gave him an opportunity to earn a living and to keep in contact with young people.

Oles Berdnyk, an outstanding writer of fiction, devoted most of his works — after studying astronomy, reading the Sacred Scriptures and familiarizing himself with the most recent explorations of the universe — to the problems of the universe, to the possibility of life on other planets, to the problem of the human soul and the fate of the body after death. His courageous, idealistic ideas gave cause to many Russian denials and much criticism, but this tall, thick-set man, a worshipper of Hryhoriy Skovoroda, a glorifier of Taras Shevchenko and an advocate of the mighty force of the human spirit, — as the expression of the Spirit of God, — has not surrendered and will not surrender. Now the KGB has launched a campaign of terror and persecution against O. Berdnyk.

In the past few months Oles Berdnyk, whose works — fantastic novels and short stories — captivated the Ukrainian youth, has been on a lecture tour. In 1970 he received permission

from the Bureau of Literary Propaganda to deliver lectures about the study of the universe, the position of man in macro-cosmos and so forth.

Oles Berdnyk was invited by various institutes, schools and technical schools. He became one of the idols of students because he spoke on subjects far removed from the Komsomol agitation. The writer delivered lectures in the Lviv and the Ternopil regions, went from village to village and taught peasants that a human being only dies physically, that it has a soul which lives for ever. Without fear of the consequences, he publicly stated that the materialistic teaching is one-sided and inadequate, that theology is one of the most prominent branches of knowledge, and that "our civilization is still asleep". Although the appearances of Oles Berdnyk did not even have a trace of religious sermons, because he did not refer to the Holy Scriptures, the KGB began to persecute him for his idealistically religious ideas. In the meantime, O. Berdnyk familiarized his audiences with the basic teachings of Christianity, Buddhism and other religions, interested the young people in the ideas of the "yogas" and in their exercises, and focused attention on the need to cultivate and to perfect the human spirit — without pressing a particular religion upon anyone.

Oles Berdnyk's last public appearance was a speaking engagement in April of this year in the overflowing auditorium of the Kyiv Institute of Technology. The lecture was entitled "The Problems of Cosmonautics and the Study of the Future". The students and the faculty were divided on his idealistic approach to phenomena and on his assertion that the human soul is immortal and a greater part enthusiastically applauded the writer. The Komsomol activists however attempted to disrupt the appearance. Invited by the Kyiv University, Oles Berdnyk, could not meet with the students because of a KGB ban.

Arrests in Ukraine

On April 19, 1972, the daily **America** carried a new report on the trial of **Anatoliy Reshetnyk**, former lecturer of political economy at the Sverdlovsk Technical School, and on subsequent arrests in Ukraine.

The immediate reason for Reshetnyk's arrest was the fact that he wrote an open letter to the Moscow **Literaturnaya gazeta** (Literary Gazette) in defense of Alexander Soldzhenitsyn. The KGB organs demanded that Reshetnyk retract his letter, and when the latter refused he was dismissed from work. He returned to his mother, who lives near Kyiv, and was arrested there. Reshetnyk was tried at a closed court proceedings.

In connection with the arrests which occurred at the end of last year and in January of this year, the investigation is being conducted by the KGB against several groups, in particular in Kyiv and Lviv, hence, **Ivan Svitlychnyi**, **Vyacheslav Chornovil** and **Yevhen Sverstyuk**, and in Odessa, i. e. **Nina Strokata**, the wife of Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, **Oleksa Riznykov**, a physician, **Prytyka**, and **Yuriy Shukhevych**. An earlier report about the arrest of Yuriy Shukhevych was recently confirmed by the newspaper **Daily Telegraph** in a special correspondence from Moscow.

The preparations for the two above-mentioned trials are being conducted in an atmosphere reminiscent of the Stalinist times. Rumours are circulated about suspected ties of the arrested with foreign "imperialists", about "high treason" committed by the arrested and so forth. The families and friends of the arrested are exposed to a particular moral terror. They are threatened with repressions and dismissed from work.

At the same time, further arrests are in progress. Recently it became known that, among others, **Volodymyr Rohynskyi** and **Lyuba Serednyak** were arrested in Kyiv. There are also reports

that **Leonid Kovalenko**, a candidate of philosophy, has also been arrested.

As far as **Prof. Leonid Plyushch**, arrested last year, is concerned, who was a member of the initiatory group for defense of human rights in the USSR, then according to the most recent report, he is to be tried separately. A threat also exists that he will be proclaimed mentally ill and placed in an insane asylum. This had been done (in December 1971) among others, with **Anatoliy Lupynis**. It is a well-known modern method of Russia's struggle with dissidents in the USSR.

Volodymyr Shumka in a Concentration Camp for the Second Time

On the basis of information supplied by a secret agent in Kursk, Volodymyr Shumka, a worker in a factory of tractor parts, was arrested in the second half of 1971, and charged with past membership in OUN-UPA (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and with active struggle against the occupant. After brutal interrogations by the organs of the KGB, V. Shumka was transported to the province of Ivano-Frankivsk, where he was sentenced for the second time for the same crime to a term of 7 years in a concentration camp under severe regime.

The following is made known from the judicial indictments: He is by origin from the village of Kaydantsi, district of Kolomyia, province of Ivano-Frankivsk. In 1939, he first established contact with OUN and began to fight against the Russian occupants. He was the leader of the district OUN for the territory of Kosiv, and later for Snyatyn and Horodenka districts, where he appeared under the pseudonyms of "Kuryava" and "Kostyantyn-Yevshan". In 1943 as an officer, he organized sections of UPA and underground commands of OUN in the territories of Verkhovyna and Kosiv. He led numerous battles with sections of the NKVD, (today's KGB), defeating detachments

of guerrilla fighters and punishing Russian lackeys for national injustices committed.

In 1945, he was captured, in a battle under unknown circumstances. During brutal interrogations, he held out well, having presented himself as a rank-and-file UPA soldier by the name of Vasyl Fedjuk, from Rumania by origin. At that time, he was sentenced to 8 years of concentration camp. He underwent his punishment in Norylsk, and after having served his term, he moved to Kursk, where he made arrangements for a job and worked until his renewed arrest in 1971. The administration of the factory in which he worked gave him commendable character reference. But neither this, nor the fact that he had already served his sentence helped matters any, and the court mercilessly sentenced Volodymyr Shumka-Fedjuk for a second time.

Russian Bandits in Lviv

The trial of four young Russians took place in Lviv at the beginning of February of this year. The four men: Sergiy Yulin, O. Lyebyedyev, V. Lisyskyi, and A. Razyanov, were charged with attempted robbery and the wounding of two tellers of a credit union in Lviv, in September 1971. The men planned to rob the credit union and flee to the Caucasus area, where they wanted to establish a commune and call it "Hippyland". However, the militia discovered their tracks and arrested them all, together with their accomplices. The court sentenced S. Yulin to execution by a firing squad on the basis of articles 60 and 208, Razyanov and Lyebyedyev to 8 years each in forced labour colonies, and Lisyskyi to ten years under severe regime. Their accomplices, two young men who had stolen a gun and ammunition for them, and two young girls who bought tickets for the get-away and had acquired rubber gloves to prevent traces of fingerprints, were given lighter sentences.

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

Second Revised and Extended Edition
Library of Congress Card Catalog No. 70 - 100979

Edited by **Slava Stetsko, M. A.**
Foreword by **Ivan Matteo Lombardo**

Revolutionary Voices



This book contains articles and protests to various Soviet Russian officials which were written by Ukrainian intellectuals who are at present incarcerated in Russian concentration camps, including recent works by Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, sentenced by the Russians to 14 years imprisonment for voicing his opinion.

The Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, Chairman of the European Freedom Council, states in the foreword of the book:

"Autocratic machinery has always prevailed in Russia, either at the times of the tsars or in the present so-called Soviet Union, and it is there that the source of responsibility rests. From the Okhrana to the KGB, there is no solution of continuity. The tradition of reaction and repression is being spelled by incarceration, terror, persecution and by the extirpation of all liberal and human ideas, because they are alien to the imperial-colonialistic mentality..."

"Among the colonized and repressed peoples, the Ukrainians are singled out by the Moscow overlords as those to be hated most and are most severely dealt with for their national and political consciousness, for the moral and cultural heritage they cherish to the utmost."

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



† Dr. CTIBOR E. POKORNY

1917 - 1972

Great Slovak patriot and
ABN champion of inde-
pendence for nations and
freedom for individuals.

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With our deepest regret we announce the death of our irrecoverable fellow-fighter

Dr. CTIBOR POKORNY

who died unexpectedly on June 28, 1972. From the very beginning he fully and resolutely expounded within the ABN the aspirations of the Slovak people for freedom and independence.

Dr. Pokorny was born on September 28, 1917 in Filakovo, Slovakia. He studied law and political science at the Universities of Prague and Bratislava where he also took his doctor's degree. During the war when the Slovak people was rising in a national revolution to strengthen its newly recovered independent statehood, Dr. Pokorny was standing in the front lines of the national struggle and successively occupied various public posts. Before the end of the war he registered as volunteer for the Slovak armed forces and after one year of service acceded to the rank of lieutenant. Thus Dr. Pokorny has proved his loyalty and devotion to his people and native country in writing and fighting with arms until the very end.

When Slovakia had become a victim of Russian imperialism and fallen under Communist tyranny together with other East European countries, Dr. Pokorny as political emigrant in Munich joined the Slovak struggle for liberation. Unselfishly he devoted himself to political exile activity in close cooperation with the ABN whose conception and ideas he shared.

He founded and presided over the Slovak Social Representation and the Representation of the Slovak Liberation Committee in Germany; furthermore, he was Vice-President of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee and of the Assembly of the Slovak Liberation Council. Dr. Pokorny was also active in international exile organizations, i. e. as Secretary General of the Working Community of Foreign Refugees in Germany, as a member of the executive committee of the Association of the Free Press in Exile and as Secretary General of the German-Slovak Society in Bavaria.

In the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — his political homeland in exile — he represented the Slovak people as Secretary General and Chairman of the Organizing Commission.

With the passing away of Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, the East Europeans in exile whose native countries have been enslaved by the Bolsheviks have lost a prominent indefatigable combatant who will always be remembered as an exemplary idealist having performed his duty. He deserved well indeed, not only of his own native country but also proved his dedication to the cause of liberation of all other peoples subjugated by Bolshevism.

We pay tribute to his mortal remains and shall always honour his memory.

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

Hon. John G. Diefenbaker

Against Tyranny and Injustice

(A speech delivered to the Toronto rally of 15,000 Ukrainians from Canada and the United States on June 25, 1972)

I am honored to speak to this great gathering. Most if not all of the first immigrant Ukrainians to Canada began as farmers. Many thousands in the second generation have participated widely in public affairs, in education, in the professions and in the arts. It was in recognition of the contribution of Canadians of Ukrainian origin that I appointed as the first Canadian Privy Councillor and Minister of the Crown, the Honorable Michael Starr, and had outstanding Canadians of Ukrainian descent appointed to the Bench and the Senate of Canada, among whom were the Hon. Paul Yuzyk and the late Hon. John Hnatyshyn.

I got to know and became fond of Ukrainian immigrants in my earliest days as they settled on the prairies. They had pride in the freedom of Canada. They had pride in their homeland, which had been an epic of liberty and ethnic survival. Freedom in the Ukraine has been a fitful experience. I think it can be fairly said the Ukrainian race belongs to the enduring and persistent fighters for freedom. Having suffered under the yoke of the Tartar, Turk, Pole and Muscovite, their dedication to freedom never faltered.

I join in protest against the tyranny and justice being perpetrated by the USSR against the people of the Ukraine, the Baltic States and other nations behind the Iron Curtain. The wrongs that are being committed, including the infamous sham trials of dissident literary intellectuals must be revealed in all its stark injustice. The arbitrary arrests, the secret trials, the deportations, the denials of freedom of opinion and freedom of thought and of conscience and of religion, the denials of peaceful assembly and association, cannot be condoned.

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

You believe with me that no national leader should refuse to forcibly protest to Kosygin and Brezhnev against the inhumanities being committed against Ukrainians on the specious excuse that to do so might arouse the Soviet leaders to compare what is taking place in the Ukraine to the FLQ in October, 1970.

The Soviet Constitution has ample provisions for assuring its people of freedom, and the guarantees that it contains, if carried into effect by the courts, would assure the fundamental rights for its citizens. It is a tragedy that because those rights are not enforced, the guarantees are an empty declaration. In the last couple of years there has been a new wave of persecutions in the Ukraine against intellectuals. It is apparent that the oppressive techniques of Stalin are being restored.

The Soviets abhor any reference made to the tens of millions of freedom-loving people who have fallen under Communist dictatorship.

What of the Declaration of the Council of People's Commissars on November 15, 1917, concerning Russia's minorities? The terms whereof are as follows:

1. All peoples of Russia are equal and sovereign.
2. The peoples of Russia have the right of self-determination including the right of secession from Russia and of establishment of independent States of their own.
3. All national minorities and ethnic groups in Russian territory shall be given every opportunity to develop freely.

Under the Declaration, freedom was promised to the peoples of Russia by an undated cheque which has never been filled in for the Ukraine, the Baltic countries and other nations. Relying on this decree, beginning with Finland on December 6th, 1917, and the Ukraine on January 22, 1918, eleven nations seceded from Russia within a period of one year and not only proclaimed their independence but elected national assemblies.

The Soviets laud their written constitution as the most democratic in the world, and point out with pride that the USSR is a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Yet the secret police are at work. Arrests are made of writers who have dared to point out that what is being done is contrary to the Constitution and to the United Nations Declaration. I repeat that the right to quote the Constitution in support of fundamental freedoms has become a crime for which the penalty is years of imprisonment, and in some cases banishment to Siberia. Believing each of us is a world citizen and as such has an international responsibility in addition to national responsibilities, I have accepted the invitation extended to me by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, on behalf of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, to be Founder

and Chairman of the International Human Rights Defence Committee, which statesmen and lawyers of international renown will join to examine and make public almost unbelievable invasions of Human Rights, not only in the Ukraine, but in all Soviet dominated countries. The Committee will study the cases of political arrests and review the sentences so that the searchlight of world opinion will be turned on gross denials of Human Rights. While there are some who may contend that publicity given to wrong-doing will have no effect, the fact is that the Kremlin has not been able to immunize itself from world opinion, and there have been several cases that, having been brought to the light of day, have resulted in ameliorations of unjust sentences because of an aroused world opinion.

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

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

Some contend that to raise such questions would cause trouble in the United Nations. Is there to be a double standard, whereby the USSR and its satellites express their views freely and freedom-loving nations are to be denied? I believe that if the African and Asian blocs in the United Nations would express themselves against tyrannical colonialism in the USSR as they do respecting injustice in other parts of the world, the USSR would be forced to act.

The United Nations has done much in the cause of peace, but in recent years has shown marked and dangerous weaknesses which can well emasculate it unless early action is taken. In several areas action is overdue.

Of these I shall mention two:

a) There has been continuing failure to pass a Charter of Human Rights and fundamental Freedoms. Some member nations while giving lip-service to a Charter are not prepared to produce a binding Charter in

place of the Declaration of Human Rights. The Declaration is grandiloquent in its sentiments but, lacking teeth, is ineffective. Had a United Nations Charter of Human Rights been in effect what has happened to the people of the Ukraine, the Baltic States and elsewhere could be remedied by international action. Without a Charter the freedom of captive peoples rests on illusory, non-existent foundations. Violations of its provisions make a mockery of its principles.

b) The International Court of Justice would, if given compulsory jurisdiction, assure justice among the nations of the world. As now constituted, its jurisdiction rests on voluntary submission. When the USSR tramples on the rights and fundamental freedoms of the Ukraine and other captive nations, the court has no jurisdiction to protect the victims in the absence of a voluntary submission of the USSR to the court's jurisdiction. What would happen if the courts in this or any nation had jurisdiction only over crimes with the consent of the alleged wrong-doers? The United States ought to give a lead in strengthening the World Court by accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the court except on questions of a domestic nature. The determination as to whether a question is of a domestic nature should be made by the court rather than by the nation whose court has been brought into question. Canada has taken this position. I should like to see other nations follow a similar course.



Toronto, Canada, June, 1972

Mrs. Ulana Celewych (right) reading the citation about the granting of St. Olha Medal to Hon. J.G. Diefenbaker (center) as Dr. Roman Malashchuk (left) looks on.

An Alternative

Reading the German press and listening to the parliamentary debates, one must wonder that such a poverty of political thought reigns in the contemporary German political world. It is true that at times a brilliant knowledge of historical facts, economic data and technical calculations attracts the reader. But a great dominant idea is not to be found there, a testimonial about the inventiveness of the human intellect, the solution of hidden, unseen potentials which lift the development of the world, humanity, nations and people to a higher plane, that is, an idea which would guide considerations, an idea which would be original, non-stereotype, as is demanded by the new era of history.

We are living in a thermonuclear and ideological age. The greater sense of God's Providence is to be found in the fact that in the age of thermonuclear armament the significance of an individual and nation is growing. Not the homuncules-intellectuals should rule the world from concealment, from closed, luxurious atomic-proof bunkers, but a human being with high morality, who is captivated not by hedonism but by the heroics of life. On the other hand, the de-Christianization of life means its brutalization.

Dozens of nations and hundreds of millions of people in the world find themselves under the yoke of the Russian nation and Bolshevism. How can one exist with this? The Vatican says: it is necessary to reconcile with Bolshevism, with the atheist government. The World Council of Churches holds a similar view. And they are saying this because they failed to place Christian values as a sharp contrast to Bolshevism; they failed to put Christ in all spheres of life, and to contrast His vision of life with the antichrist, with his reality, with slavery. We recall: the Pope has attacked nationalism. Pope Paul VI has condemned neither Communism, nor Russian imperialism, but he has condemned nationalism. This is bad.

The Germans were always known to be a non-political people. They were good soldiers and now they are good businessmen. They have a gift for making enemies for themselves from friends or potential friends. The Russians need not be envious of that. There are countless examples of this: Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Slovaks, Georgians, Lithuanians . . .

The same is true of Bonn's treaty with Moscow. The government (position) and the opposition are still drawing consequences from a lost war, instead of forwarding the national freedom-loving concept. It is necessary to make restitutions. Hence one must listen to the dictates of the one who has "won" the war. At whose expense? If at the German — then it is their problem. They can even sell the Cologne Cathedral — it is non of our business. But what right do the Germans have to confirm the **status quo**,

that is the subjugation of other nations, by agreeing to support it at the so-called European Security Conference. Why are they beginning to assume a hostile attitude to the liberation movements of Ukraine, Hungary, Slovakia, Byelorussia, Turkestan? Who told them to confirm the inviolability in international law of the **status quo** of slavery and imperialism?

This is a general point of view. And now let us go over to the point in question, i. e. to the problem of an alternative for the Germans. Is there really no other way out, aside from this subsequent capitulation of Germany? The German opposition is not opposed to the Moscow treaty in principle, but only feels that Brandt has gotten too little in his bargaining. Thus, in principle, the opposition also supports the treaty because it does not have a concept of its own. It only proposes the following points, which in its opinion must be included in the treaty in one form or another: a) self-determination for the German people; b) gradual alleviation of conditions in the Eastern Zone, which it also recognizes as a state (i. e. it recognizes a colony as a state); c) recognition by Russia of the West European community. This is nonsense, for how can one fail to recognize either today or tomorrow that which exists, acts, or has become an economic force? . . . What is more, Russia will eventually want to include its Trojan horses in this community in order to shatter it from within . . . To do this it will not only be necessary to recognize it, but also to cooperate with it . . .

What alternative is open to the Germans? — Great, revolutionary, full of perspective. It is a reconciliation with the nations subjugated by Russia, with Ukraine at the head . . . Is it possible to conceive that the state of subjugation of dozens of nations and hundreds of millions of people would last forever? Metternich was toppled by Kossuth, Hitler was toppled not only by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, but also by Chuprynka and similar guerrilla strategists and leaders of national revolutions . . . The tsarist Russian empire, an ally of the great Entente, England, France, USA, and so forth, an ally of the victors over the Central Powers, was toppled not by the vanquished Germans, not by Emperor Wilhelm, or Franz Joseph, or Charles I, but it was toppled by the national liberation wars and revolutions — the Petlyuras, the Mannerheims, the Pilsudskis, Yunakovs, Petrovs, Skoropadskys . . . After the failure of his Eastern campaign, Napoleon I regretted that he had forgotten Ukraine . . .

Not much was needed, and Chuprynka with other leaders of national revolutions, would have toppled the Russian empire, which hastily concluded a treaty of three states: USSR, Red Poland and CSSR, solely against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Were it not for the stupid posture of the USA in 1956, the Hungarian insurgents, together with Ukrainian, Polish, Turkestani and other insurgents would have caused the downfall of the empire from within. Were it not for the lack of support from the side of the USA for the revolts in concentration camps in 1953-59,

the empire, which was saved by Krushchov by reorganizing the concentration camps, would have collapsed. Synchronized and coordinated uprisings of 17-20 million prisoners would have shaken the empire to the core, also attacking Siberian industry, and the fire of insurrection could have spread to the native lands of the prisoners. However, thinking in technical and material terms, the technologized politicians of the free world do not believe in the ideas of the national liberation revolutions and in their force. They have forgotten that the disciples of Christ have transformed the world by their concepts and faith. When there is a just and a sound idea and faith in it — then an armed hand gains unconquerable force.

What do the Germans believe in? A large part of them under the Russian yoke are a subjugated people. It would be most logical to put forward this offensive idea against the Russian empire: liberation and national independence to all the subjugated nations. Germany still has unrepentant crimes toward Ukraine and other subjugated nations on its conscience from the time of Hitler. By what right does it dare now to consolidate Russian slavery over the subjugated nations, by recognizing as "legal" all the conquests made by the Russians throughout centuries and decades? The indignation of the subjugated nations at such a policy of Bonn is not to be measured. Brandt is sanctioning the subjugation of those nations as well which Hitler helped Moscow to conquer. Brandt is endorsing imperialism, and if the opposition will do the same, then all of free Germany is approving of slavery in whose co-creation it participated through its historic imperialism. Could not have the Bonn politicians put forward a general idea, — freedom and independence for all nations subjugated in the Russian empire, conquered by the Russian bayonets in whatever period of history: Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Estonia, Latvia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Czechia, East Germany? . . . Could they not have started a counter-offensive by condemning the policy of Nazi Germany and advancing a new principle of just and lasting peace: the dissolution of the empire into national states of the subjugated nations.

Let Moscow then defend itself against such an alternative. If the Bonn opposition, for example, would raise such an alternative, the political world would be shaken. Then the depressing atmosphere, the hopelessness, the gloomy situation would not exist. But the West also needs a similar concept in Vietnam. Russia "wants" a united Vietnam. The USA is fighting for some "parallel". Is a parallel a vision which can inspire people to die. Or, having reached a parallel to turn back, means to have a vision of some kind? Oh, that division of the world. Moscow has crossed it out long ago. Peking "does not give a damn about it" to no lesser extent. It has sunk Tibet, East Turkestan, etc. in blood.

The national idea, the liberation nationalism, the safeguarding of man

as creature like unto God, social justice, as a higher quality and value, the defense of traditions, national cultures, the ideal of the immortality of nation and individual — this is a great vision.. This is the idea which should be advanced by the opposition in Bonn, if it wants to rehabilitate the German nation for all the crimes of Nazi Germany with respect to all nations wronged by it. The opposition should include subjugated East Germany in the inseparable front of the subjugated nations — along the lines of ABN — and to make its liberation dependent on the downfall of the Russian empire. Furthermore, there is no other alternative for the liberation of East Germany. Russia will never return a foreign land which it occupies as the result of negotiations. The naive Bonn politicians are hypnotizing themselves by dreams that it is possible to achieve the reunification of Germany through negotiations. Such a possibility had never existed, does not exist and will not exist. Russia has never made concessions, except under a threat or the actual use of weapons. The only way out are synchronized and coordinated uprisings of all the nations subjugated in the Russian empire, including the population of East Germany. For this to occur, it is necessary to forward a great idea: the dissolution of the empire, liberation nationalism, the idea of national state independence of all the subjugated nations and — to act accordingly.

This is the revolutionary solution which neither Bonn nor Washington can escape, — if the free world wants to save itself from the Russian and Communist deluge. *Ceterum censeo*: the Russian empire must be destroyed. The forgotten superpower are the subjugated nations. Their national liberation revolutions are the key to the solution of the world crisis and the road to the avoidance of the universal Armageddon — whether the Western world wants it or not.

Blockade

US President Nixon ordered an armed blockade of North Vietnam. This, albeit in lesser dimensions, is a repetition of Cuba. The analogy is not quite accurate, but it is of significance that Nixon named Russia as bearing responsibility for the aggression in Vietnam. This is an interesting assertion. Yet, for many years we have conducted our informational activity along this line: that even in Asia the main enemy is not Red China but Russia.

For many years the Americans, with widely known Congressman Judd at the head, objected to us with their allegation that the main threat to the world comes from Red China. Now we are happy to learn that our solely correct and undeniable thesis has finally become clear to the USA as well, if only in the case of Vietnam.

It is interesting to know how the American delegates are going to react at subsequent international conferences, after the president of the USA

has publicly accused Moscow, and after Nixon has announced the blockade of North Vietnam, closing the waters of Haiphong to Soviet vessels — hence striking Russia in Asia.

But so far, it is only a peripheral counter-injection. The major enemy is not in Hanoi but in Moscow. Therefore, it does not suffice to oppose Russia far away on the peripheries of Southeast Asia. It is necessary to hit its Achilles' heel — i. e. its conquests of foreign countries and nations. To support the liberation struggle of nations subjugated by Russia, headed by Ukraine, is to force Moscow to automatically leave Vietnam, Cuba, Africa, the Near East, etc. as well. Peripheral warfare is the goal of Russian world strategy so as to involve the US in local conflicts in order to weaken it and its allies. In such wars, the US sustains great losses, at a time when Russia, to the contrary, fights with foreign soldiers, just imposing its "advisors".

Russia has grasped the essence of the ideological age and the thermonuclear arms. It does not recognize any "divisions of the world", any "parallels", any agreements. Therefore, although correct in principle, Nixon's move with respect to the blockade of North Vietnam does not have prospects of victory over Moscow. It can temporarily arrest the aggression at some parallel, but will not bring any permanent solution.

Nixon does not provide a vision of a new world, for the Vietnamese people either. The great vision — of a united and free Vietnam — was given by Diem, and therefore he had to die at the will of the Rostows from the State Department. He hoped to transfer the war of liberation and revolution into North Vietnam, and not to hang about in one place, so as not to reach a senseless parallel which cuts across the living body of a nation. Hanoi is winning not because it is Communist, but because it is placing a great goal for itself: a united Vietnam.

By this deceptive slogan, it is confusing not only its own people, for in reality it is bringing them slavery and tyranny, but also the indiscriminating people in the West. As long as the US fails to proclaim the idea of an independent and united Vietnam and as long as it searches for its own interests, poorly understood at that, with the division of the world between superpowers, — so long will Vietnam enjoy neither peace nor freedom.

As long as the USA fails to grasp the essence of development of mankind of our epoch — the liquidation of all empires and, in particular, the inevitability of the downfall of the last empire, Russia, and the establishment on its ruins of national states, — so long will Cubas, Vietnams, etc. repeat themselves.

We welcome and support Nixon's decisive posture with respect to the blockade, although we consider it only a fragment, a technical means, a peripheral act of resistance. Without the opening of the principal means, — a wager on the national liberation revolutions inside the Russian pri-

son of nations — the USA will not have a chance of defeating Russia. Blockade is only a limited technical and military measure.

At the same time, it is proper to ask: and what about ideas? Ideas do not pay customs duties and do not know the Iron Curtain. Then why not proclaim them? Nixon does not hear when Moroz voices ideas of universal significance, bringing salvation for all individuals and nations of the world. Nixon is silent when our prisoners, the carriers of national and human ideas, are suffering for them in prisons and concentration camps of the USSR. This silence constitutes a victory for Russia, in Vietnam as well.

Russia is loudly protesting about Angela Davis, but Nixon is silent about Moroz. For this reason, no matter how glad we are that the USA has at last shown its claws to Russia, — by the blockade of its military deliveries to Hanoi, — we do not believe in the success of half-measures.

Ceterum censeo: the Russian empire must be destroyed! Russia must be hit in its very heart. The renewal of national states of Ukraine and all other subjugated nations, by way of support of the national liberation revolutions is the road to victory over Russia, also for the USA . . . **S. O.**

Help Yuriy Shukhevych

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jerusalem, May 18. 1972

Avraam Shifrin

(Born in Soviet Union Avraam Shifrin settled in Israel in 1970. From 1952 to 1962 he was an inmate of Soviet Russian concentration camps.)

The Traps of the Triangular Policies: Moscow-Washington-Peking

We are told that at the Moscow summit comrade Brezhnev and President Nixon were boasting about which computers were the best: — The Soviet ones, shouted Brezhnev. — The American ones, answered Nixon. — I challenge you, retorted Brezhnev, to ask your computers what the American economy will look like within twenty years. — No objection — said Nixon. He inserted a punched card in a glittering American machine and, within ten seconds, a nice sheet came out reading: "In twenty years, the American economy will be socialized". Brezhnev was triumphant.

Then Nixon requested Brezhnev to ask the same question of his Russian computer, which Brezhnev did. Five minutes elapsed with all sorts of cracks, then a shabby scrap of paper came out. Brezhnev looked at it on all sides and kept silent. — Well, said Nixon, tell us the answer. — I can't, replied Brezhnev, it is written in Chinese . . .

By rushing to Peking, did Nixon want to start a process by which the future of the United States will also be written in Chinese?

Reversal of the Alliances

According to public rumor, President Nixon went to Red China with the intention to play Peking against Moscow. To that effect, he did not hesitate to throw overboard his long-time faithful ally: Taiwan. Consequently, Taiwan feeling abandoned, and **Japan** as well, would both turn to Moscow to protect their vital interests against the aggressiveness of the Chinese dragon. Thus, the prospective alliance between Washington and Peking should call to life another new alliance between Moscow and Tokyo, and Taiwan.

Many of these assertions are **illuso-**

ry. For instance, it is hard to understand why a prospective alliance between Washington and Peking should aggravate the threat of Peking to Japan. It could only alleviate it, because everyone can see Washington **cooling down** the bellicose tempers of Communist China, while nobody imagines Washington **inciting** Peking to assail Japan. It could only alleviate it, because Japan — and our friends of Taiwan — have to seek rescue in a new alliance with Communist Russia?

Another false assertion concerns Red China itself. It is taken as a super-great power, while it is still 80 % agrarian, underfed and underdeveloped. Even with its nuclear bombs — which make great booms on the ground but cannot fly away — Red China does not reach the twentieth part of Russia's strength.

But although the reasoning behind this new fabric of alliance is shaky the scheme may come out, because the Communist camp is pushing hard to realize it, as it would cause heavy damages to the free world.

Let me list some of them:

1 — The United States will be charged with the heavy load of an immense and backward Communist China, an inexhaustible pit of economic aid, a devourer of dollars, so voracious that the USSR moved quickly to get rid of it.

2 — The dollar hemorrhage towards Red China will not bring to Washington any sizable return, not even in the commercial field, as experience has shown overwhelmingly. For the last fifteen years our fellow-travelers have evoked the mirage of the "Chinese market" which has not yet managed to become greater than that of Denmark. The United States would be, regarding its trade with Peking, in the situation of that famous merchant who

was selling each carpet at a loss, but made up on the quantities.

3 — In exchange for the crushing load of equipping Red China, the United States would lose its alliance with the powerful, modern and wealthy Japan.

4 — And for all these sacrifices, Washington could never trust its new ally, because for Peking the Communist goals have an absolute priority. How could the capitalist Americans fasten better the Chinese alliance than the Marxist Russians?

5 — Thus, Peking will go on harassing the free world with its expansionism. But while, until now, Washington could denounce it and strike back, in the future it will be obliged to put under the rug the urban guerrillas and drug traffic which the Red Chinese carry throughout the world. This would mean that Washington will stop protecting freedom throughout the world.

The Communist World Will Win

On the Communist side, the consequences of such reversal of alliances would be most advantageous.

1 — Soviet Russia would find a powerful ally in Japan, and this, added to West Germany's friendship on the other flank, would provide it with a nice pair of feeding mammals which it badly needs to get out of its permanent state of scarcity. Thus the organic inefficiency of Russian Communism in the field of non-war production would be remedied.

2, — Once the material needs of its population were satisfied by the two capitalist states, the Kremlin would feel itself stronger to denounce capitalism, and to conduct its unrelenting war of infiltration, subversion and popular fronts of the Chilean type, — particularly in West Germany and Japan from which Moscow would extract industrial aid. It is a rule of the Kremlin that more a nation serves it, more it undermines that nation.

3 — Thus, West Germany and Japan, which could have become the

sentry of the free world in the Far East, would be transformed, by their alliance with Moscow, into a platform of Russian imperialism.

4 — More generally, the whole of Europe would feel abandoned, and compelled to open its factories, laboratories, knowledge, to Moscow, while Peking would offer Washington jasmine tea, lessons of Marxism and the Little Red Books.

5 — Red China will also derive great benefits from this policy. It will be equipped free of charge. It will get in the U.N. the position of the first fox in history being invited to the chicken-coop by the chickens themselves. Above all, the usurpers of Peking will be consecrated as legitimate.

Great Design Number Two

But petting a dragon obviously leaves you with a strong desire to pet a bear as well. Thus, after Peking, President Nixon paid a visit to Moscow. And the prophets of the great diplomatic designs returned to their arduous and derisory explanations. They forgot great design No. 1 they had assigned to Nixon, namely to play Peking against Moscow, and furbished great design No. 2, which is to "normalize" relations between the United States and the USSR.

Note that great design No. 2 utterly contradicts great design No. 1, because if, according to No. 2 Nixon wanted to strengthen Peking's hand against Moscow, he obviously should try to weaken Moscow, which is the opposite of No. 2. Therefore, let us ignore the schizophrenic explanations of the prophetic commentators and let us look at the naked facts, without trying to insert them into a fabulous diplomatic game.

Nixon's Game of Dupe in Moscow

One must concede that the mere upholding of an American visit to Moscow after the American mining of the North Vietnamese harbors, implied a loss of face for Moscow. But everybody

knows that the Communists have no face, only obscure schemes. In other words, they always show a disguised face that, thanks to the Soviet world machine of brainwashing, is taken by the public opinion for the true one. This time, the brainwashing machine presented the obvious setback of Moscow in Vietnam, as a magnanimous gesture for peace — and it hid the very important principle that Moscow never faces frontally the full-fledged military power of the United States. Should that postulate be understood once, it would free the Western world from the Communist bluff and blackmail.

Never forget that the two partners are deeply different in this respect: the U.S. is very efficient in building a powerful economy. Thus, the Russians lost a little in the Haiphong test of force, but they gained a lot in the Moscow test of politics.

First, the Russians got the U.S. to exchange **technology** with them. And everybody knows how far American technology stands above the Soviet one in all non-military fields. In particular, the Communists are still very backward in **computers**, which have become the backbone of modern industry, economy, weaponry and space conquest. The Kremlin has exerted, for years, a tremendous pressure to induce Washington to lift its ban on the exportation of computers to the Communist shores. As it could not succeed, it has now circumvented the ban by acquiring, under the banner of "technological exchanges", the American know-how to build these computers. Moscow will reciprocate by teaching the Americans how to breed sturgeon caviar in the Salt Lake.

Secondly, the Russians gained substantial cooperation from America in **spatial and moon explorations**. This means that America will provide the **lunar missiles** and Russia the **Communist astronauts** . . . As the world position of Communism is based on propaganda, not on achievements, this co-

operation in space will give Brezhnev a big bonus to hide the Russian failure in space, and to boast of half of the future deeds in space! Just imagine how much the earth would have resounded, had the Communists landed on the moon and the Americans failed. Even the monkeys in the remote jungles would be deafened by the daily outcry that Communism has shown its genius and proven the virtues of Marxism. Not only do the Americans avoid any outbursts of self-publicity about their prodigious space conquests, but now they will give free of charge, to their worst slanderers, a share in an exploit which cost them billions of dollars and extreme stress and courage of their best men. It is just a game of dupes.

Thirdly, the Russians achieved a halt in the American build-up of anti-missile systems. In this field, the Russians had taken a lead, the United States having hardly begun to build a defense against aggressive missiles around their most vulnerable spots. As it happens whenever the Kremlin wants to stop an enterprise harmful to its designs, a tremendous campaign had been orchestrated within the United States against the American anti-missile missiles . . . not against the Russian ones of course. Great scholars have explained to the American people that they would be better off without this important protection. Now, all the vicious guiles produced during that campaign have triumphed: the U.S. will stop building a line of defense, and the USSR will keep the one it has already built. And it will enlarge it as well with buried launching pads invisible from the sky, as there is no provision in the treaty for on-the-spot controls and as Communists are masters of deceit.

The Russians have already broken 140 out of the 140 treaties they have signed. They did it in particular when they exploded one hundred megaton nuclear bomb in the upper atmosphere, hardly two years after having signed a treaty committing them not to do it.

On the other side, the U.S., even without control, will keep strictly to its word. And should the Pentagon attempt to circumvent it, immediately there would be ten thousand voices within America to denounce its unfairness.

Here, again, you see **how gullible it is to rely on reciprocity** between such different partners. On the American side, you have a nation bound by law, open to all eyes and all critics, and filled with leftists who play as transmission belts at the service of the enemy. On the Russian side, you have an unlawful regime, hermetically sealed to external eyes and critics, and where no one would dare whisper a denunciation of the government.

Let us sum up the events which have recently marked the East-West relations.

President Nixon went to Peking and Moscow simply in order to appease the leftists who dominate his mass media, to yield to the permanent pogrom launched by the so-called Liberals against the anti-Communists, and to appear "open minded" towards Communism. That was his deep-seated motivation, as it has been for all other American presidents and Western leaders over the last forty years.

For comrade Brezhnev, the goal was also the classical one which has moved all the Communist despots for 40 years: namely to use any available diplomatic device in order to suck as much economic substance and prestige as possible from the rich and gullible Western world.

Our Best Allies

And the most tragic feature of this age old pattern was also present, namely that the West, in its diplomatic games with the East, **has forgotten the most significant element**: that the East lives under a black tyranny. This fact, as massive as ten Himalayas, was completely silenced. While Krushchev, in his speeches on Western TV, cursed the deficiencies of capitalism, Nixon

in his speeches on Russian TV, never dared mention the faults of Communism. And this, at a time when those faults are swelling up to a Stalinist level, when the best intellectuals of the USSR are sent to lunatic asylums for the smallest protest, when concentration camps are filled again with innocent victims, when the oppressed nations within the Communist empire suffer a major wave of terror.

When, oh! when will the Western leaders stop descending the ladder of complacency towards the Communist rulers. When, oh! when will they cease flattering the tyrants and begin to assist the tyrannized victims. To back up those victims would be in agreement both with a political morality and with an intelligent strategy, because the best trump card, the best bargaining tool of the Western leaders, lies in the **revolt of the subjugated peoples** against their Communist masters. For one ally these Communist lords have in our free world — and at what fantastic propaganda cost! — we have, behind the Iron Curtain, hundreds of friends volunteering to defend our cause. What a blindness for the West not to cultivate the anxiety of the Russian masters about this volcano never extinct on their inner front.

Here lies the crucial truth, alas forgotten by the speculators of the planetary diplomacy. Faith in Communism exists only in the **non-Communist territories**. But wherever Communism rules, it is hated by the people. That is why these oppressed peoples — and especially those who suffer a national oppression added to the general political terror — are **our most precious and most efficient allies**.

Yes, our free world owes **its survival**, not to its clear-sightedness, nor to its courage, but to the fierce, unabated hatred the subjugated peoples have shown to the masters of the Communist empire, be it by a silent refusal, be it by open rebellions. Yes, it is these oppressed peoples who will free the whole world along with themselves.

Levan Zourabichvili,
President of the Union of Free Georgians

Following Stalin's Footsteps

Around the anniversary of the death of Stalin whose shadow will still haunt the gloomy Kremlin for quite a while, many journalists have commented on **Pravda's** editorial of March 6 severely censuring Georgia . . .

Georgia, it is true, is not willing to put up with the Russian strait jacket in spite of her enslavement for half a century and she will not always conform to Soviet "wordly usage" . . . Why should we then be surprised that the "Big Brother" wants to show Georgia and the others that he is angry and that he might become angrier still . . .

The warning has been regarded as more or less serious, such as a warning finger, a fist pounding on the table or even as a hand pressing the throat.

As usual, the big Sanhidrin, I mean the Central Committee of the Communist Party or the Soviet Union, was quite obviously without any discretion whipping Georgia as a whole, while formally censuring the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia.

Pravda dated March 13 deems it necessary to justify such a biased view and herewith recognizes that said proceeding is irregular and might even surprise disciplined Soviet citizens. Nevertheless, **Pravda's** arguments are based on trivial generalities and one may even consider that such didactic repetition aims at diluting the strong dose administered rather than at underlining the seriousness of the case . . .

Moscow certainly went a bit far for two reasons:

1) Censuring so severely a theoretically "sovereign" republic "equal in rights" to any of the 14 other republics of the Soviet Union too clearly shows

that in reality Georgia is a colony entirely at Russia's mercy.

2) There is an obvious contradiction which is particularly embarrassing with respect to the Third World (it does not forget so quickly as the West and shows less indifference) between — censuring Georgia in public in **March 1972**, for her "economic (as well as other) losses", and — in Tbilisi on **May 13, 1971**, Brezhnev personally awarding the 2nd "Order of Lenin" granted to Georgia in 1971 for her notable achievements.

(It is noted that no further "supreme" reward has been granted since except to Russia and **Pravda**.)

The following question rises: What particular circumstances in the past, present and future made the Kremlin give so much publicity to its attack?

Is it due to local **economic** slackening, to lower industrial or agricultural output or to insufficiencies of the Civil Service that Moscow is dissatisfied? Or are ideological "insufficiencies", "lack of maturity", the "liberal" Party staff or the masses lacking Communist education at stake — after 50 years of absolute Communist power exercised by Moscow's Proconsuls? What is certain is that the criterion, an evil-revealing symptom is pointed out directly, i. e. the autochthons' persistence in refusing to renounce their (national) "particularism" for "socialist internationalism, Soviet patriotism and the brotherhood of the peoples of the Soviet Union" (terms hiding from the uninformed the Russian rulers' desire to strengthen the centralized structure and to increase Moscow's colonial power together with denationalization and Russification).

Certainly, Russia varies her methods,

such as terminology, police action, depending on whether Georgia or Ukraine, Lithuania or Azerbaijan is concerned and, while varying her pleas she tries not to attract the attention of the external world to the frequency of her interventions.

Benoit Rayski pertinently entitled his article analyzing the present state of the problem in the daily *France Scir* of March 11: "Moscow searching for a vaccine against nationalisms".

As best vaccine at present, one could naturally suggest to reduce Russian totalitarian colonial pretensions. Such moderation, however, is inconceivable for two reasons: This would be contrary first, to the congenital need of Moscow's rulers to expand and dominate and, secondly, to Stalin's doctrine (still valid in spite of the idol's dethronement) according to which the Soviet Union is the stronghold and starting point for the conquest of the world by militant Communism — a Soviet Union which has beforehand been completely united under the Russian ferule.

Perhaps, it should be recalled that Stalin, ex-Commissar of Nationalities under Lenin, knew better than anyone else that the 67 languages and 80 dialects of the empire reorganized in 1921 constituted a major obstacle to the realization of this doctrine and persuaded himself that an arbitrary solution aiming at gradually extirpating these languages and dialects and replacing them by an exclusive "Soviet" majority language — naturally Russian — was possible... To render this mad dream credible the project was named "the scientific theory of zone languages" ... in 1950).

As regards *Pravda's* editorials one might ask why the Russian dictators are now blaming Georgia while numerous arrests effected in January in Ukraine show that the situation there is more "explosive". Besides, they know perfectly well that Georgia can no

longer afford the "luxury" of bloody insurrections (as in August and September 1924 when 7000 persons were shot) or spontaneous rebellions (as in March 1956 the rebellion of Tbilisi where more than 600 young people without arms were massacred in the streets) due to her geographical limitations and her terrible losses in World War II (1941/45) (more than 300,000 **soldiers** died in the fields of battle and in Siberian labour camps)...

However, we can imagine that the occupant is also worried about other symptoms of hidden national resistance such as a rising anger against the economic exploitation of the riches of the country by which the country is impoverished and from which the "Big Brother" only benefits, but also against the discriminating practices imposed on it by those who blame its **nationalism**. Is it necessary to insist on the fact that "chasing those having millions", i. e. a score of "peasant-speculators" exporting laurel leaves, and discovering dishonest officials will hardly turn away one's attention from the monstrous lies concerning the balance of trade between Russia and Georgia... (None of the strategic raw materials such as molybdenum and uranium is listed among the goods exported to Russia).

National segregation, however as practiced by Moscow is certainly felt more keenly than this systematic plundering. Soviet official statistics show that Georgia has the highest proportion of high school graduates per thousand inhabitants. How can one then account for the fact that none of about 140 comrades ambassadors in this multinational "brotherly" "socialist" Union "based on equal rights" is a Georgian? Furthermore, that none of the active cosmonauts and those trained for the future is a Georgian either? Why do so few Georgian soldiers reach the rank of a general and why does none of them perform his duties in Georgia when the general commanding the

troops of the Caucasus is invariably a Russian?

Georgians are certainly accustomed to the fact that the second Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party is invariably a Russian since it is notorious that he is "Moscow's eye". However, why does Moscow go so far in its contempt as to appoint Russians to this post who never lived in Georgia before and thus, naturally, do not speak any Georgian at all — as at present comrade A. N. Shurkin?

Furthermore, how can a Georgian — even a completely blind member of the **Party** — believe that the 15 supposedly sovereign republics have (pseudo) equal rights if Mjavanadze, the top elected man of his republic, First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party, is merely a substitute at the Politbureau, the supreme body of the Soviet Union, having only the right of discussion without that of voting whenever it is convoked?

Can **Pravda's** censures of March 6 and March 13 thus be considered a call to order directed to Georgia or to the 14 non-Russian colonial republics as a whole? Considering some of Brezhnev's remarks at the 15th Congress of "Soviet Trade Unions" one could even imagine that **Pravda's** task is to charge the republics at the periphery with the responsibility for the growing economic disorder.

On March 28 Claude Monnier wrote in the editorial of **Journal de Genève**: "In reality — as the Congress of Moscow has shown — 2 completely contradictory ideas are predominating in the Soviet economy. The first idea is to "attract the citizen's interest" to the development of the country, rendering the local soviets, the trade unions and the youth movements more autonomous and spontaneous by introducing measures of self-administration even in enterprises. The second idea, however, is to strengthen centralization and discipline — the corollary thereof

— because as Brezhnev declared brutally: "The increase in work productivity has been inferior to the estimates of the plan". (Moreover, underlining the seriousness of the situation, Mr. Monnier — it is understandable that Brezhnev tries to find non-Russian scapegoats — concludes: "It would be wrong to underestimate the inertia of the 'old Soviet apparatus'; it would be equally dangerous to forget that the Soviet Union will again explode one day if it does not find a means to destroy the inertia" ...).

Brezhnev is evidently in favour of the second solution — **CENTRALIZATION**: starting at the periphery, the blame will bring about not only an **economic**, but also inevitably a **political** centralization.

Stalin had already praised the song extolling "the indissoluble Union of free peoples for ever united by Great Russia" (in spite of the contradiction between the Constitution he gave the Soviet Union and the terms "indissoluble" and "for ever" ...).

In 1961 Mr. "K" had intended to increase centralization of power and mentioned the possibility of having to amend the (Stalinist) Constitution...

Considering that "Gorkom" is persistently invited to prepare for the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union next December — the possibility of "amending" the Constitution on this occasion appears plausible...

Brezhnev, putting on Stalin's shoes, might easily be tempted to amend the constitution which is regarded as somewhat outmoded. Should this hypothesis come true the situation would become highly disagreeable implying complete centralization and a still more painful subjection of non-Russian peoples.

On the other hand, however, this could also constitute a prelude to what Monnier calls "the explosion of the Soviet Union".

Disarmament and Détente with the USSR

No sane man will pretend that international agreements especially those concerning warfare, are of any real value, except in cases where the balance of power of both sides approaches equality. Then agreements and their rules are observed not because of "moral" restraints but simply not to provoke retaliation which is difficult to assess in advance.

Presently there are so many Western enthusiasts passing into trances of joy after any new announcement by the Kremlin rulers about their, supposedly sincere, endeavours at détente and disarmament. All these sincere — or well rewarded — "enthusiasts" unconsciously or deliberately ignore or appear to be ignorant of the very nature of what was once called Muscovy in the remote historical past, later — since Peter I — Russia, and lastly — the USSR.

Since the ascent to the ruling position in the Rostov-Suzdal realm — once a colony of the Ukrainian Rus' empire — of Yuriy Dolgorukiy, the oldest — but illegitimate — son of Volodymyr Monomakh, the Grand Prince of Kyiv, partly due to the colonial character of his realm, partly due to his personal and his subjects' character and finally because of his resentment for not being recognized as heir of his father's empire, he turned this colony into a "Castra Romanum" or a kind of a "Tatar Horde", organized on purely military principles in preparation for conquest, subjugation, genocide by mass slaughter, deportation and intermingling of the conquered peoples and colonization of the lands thus conquered. Anybody knowing the history of the former Rostov-Suzdal-Vladimir-Moscow princedoms, knows the recklessly brutal, cruel and bloody conquests of Novgorod, Vyatka, Tver, Pskov, Ryazan, etc., the Bulgar, Tatar

and Finnish lands up to the conquest of the Baltic lands under Peter I, the Caucasus and the Asian territories, not to mention Ukraine.

But those who had really studied the history of the Bolshevik revolution and of Communist Russia can hardly fail to recognize the fact that the "socialist" aspect of this revolution, although considered by the masses as essential, served for the leading elements of the Russian-Muscovite faction of the Bolsheviks, in particular for Lenin, as the main MEANS toward their real end.

In the course of the last decades of the former and the first two decades of this century, tsarist Russia has lost practically all military, and herewith all political confrontations. This was due primarily to the "softening" of the ruling nobility, the actual praetorians of the empire, which was under the influence of Western political and cultural developments. Because of the obsolete ruling system and their hedonistic complacency, this nobility failed to introduce in time sufficient reforms for updating the empire. Lenin and his closest leading entourage (apart from Jews and other non-Russians) revolted primarily against this decline of imperial power. Marxism — especially in its Bolshevik version — provided the ideal, unprecedented means for rapid, total militarization of the entire population and of the whole economy. "Socialism" was advanced by Lenin and Co. solely for this purpose. His attack on the tsarist system for oppression, etc., was primarily a manouever in order to gain a strong grip on many liberation movements among the non-Russian colonial peoples of the empire and to bring the masses to revolt against the existing order. By his version of "Marxism", Lenin and especially his heir and nominee, Stalin, reintroduced a modernized version of Red feudalism,

securing unchallenged rule to the new Red praetorians — members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Membership in the Party means recognition as a "better" man. Ascent within the Party can be achieved exclusively through nomination by the Party elite. Total dependence on the government — actually on the top echelon of the Party — of every citizen crowns this system as ideally feudal. Therefore China's propaganda term — Red Tsars — is definitely justified. The "personality cult" is nothing new. It is a reversion to the old caesaro-papist bigotry, applied by the Russian Church toward the tsar in pre-revolutionary Russia.

At present, Western enthusiasts revel at recent fraudulent proposals of the Red Tsars for reduction of armament and armies. But — just recently while proclaiming their willingness to practice détente, the Kremlin Tsars have introduced a new school curriculum. All pupils and students will from now on undergo obligatory military training at their schools from the age of 14 on. By this simple "school reform" at least 200,000 officers and N.C.O.s will disappear from the military lists as they will be listed under "education".

It is quite obvious that present-day military services require much less muscle power than in the past. Education, clear minds, knowledge and skills, technical prowess and character are top requirements. Youngsters are easier to train and teach. Drill is less boring for them. Their muscles "itch" for movement and adventure. By adjusting the school curriculum in science, chemistry, geography, mathematics and history, any youngster can acquire full military training in diverse military spheres before leaving school. Before graduation, university students may get training and experience up to battalion commander. What difference does it make whether youngsters or adults are commanded? Camp life during holidays, boarding schools orga-

nized accordingly, etc., may totally replace all features of barrack life. Regular call-ups for manouvers in later years will keep anybody up-to-date in training. So this simple "educational" reform cancels the expensive need to keep adult men in barracks. Therefore, the actual forces can be reduced to one quarter or even less, just for internal security, the guarding of military objects and any unexpected emergency. In fact, any war on the front lines is always fought by reserve men from civilian life. The professionals man headquarters and training centers. But, keeping small forces in barracks, the Red Tsars will soon have any person a trained soldier.

Now a look at armament stocks and factories. Who and by what means can control them? Any tractor factory is a tank factory. Any shipbuilding yard may produce surface and submarine warships. Any steel work may produce armour, guns, etc.; any chemical plant — anything from powder and other explosives to anything else required. If adequately planned, the conversion can be made within hours or days. But who can discover all the hidden stores. In the satellite lands, immense stocks are ready, under strict control of the Red Army alone. In Poland, for example, nobody within the Polish government or the highest military command has any idea where and what is stored — even for the Polish army which possesses a two days' supply of ammunition only. This is the main reason why no satellite dares to revolt!

But by helping the Red Tsars to solve the notorious transportation problems of the empire by building trucks and car factories for them, the greedy Western businessmen and irresponsible government authorities put the last touches to the military preparedness of the Russian bosses.

Well, far in advance of any "agreements", Moscow has fooled all Western bonzes. May the fate be graceful to the complacent and self-conscious, Western, hedonist bourgeoisie.

Protest in Lithuania

Self-immolation was formerly known as a cruel peculiarity from the agitations in Vietnam. In Europe it was first practiced in Ukraine by UPA-OUN fighter for independence Vasyl Makukh in Kyiv and then in occupied Czecho-Slovakia by the university student Jan Palach and, at present, it is used as a means of political protest in the Soviet Union as well. During the last weeks at least two young Lithuanians have taken their own lives by self-immolation. In 1969, prior to the two Lithuanians, the Jewish student of mathematics Ilya Rips, who meanwhile obtained permission to emigrate to Israel, had attempted to burn himself on the Liberty Square in Riga. At that time he shouted: "I protest against the occupation of Czecho-Slovakia".

The two young Lithuanians apparently committed suicide in order to protest against national and religious oppression of their people — there was at least no doubt as to the motives of the first victim, 20-year-old Roman Talanta. At his funeral a rioting broke out in Kaunas, the former capital of Lithuania, several thousands of young people attacking the militia with rocks, setting fires and shouting "Liberty for Lithuania".

17,000 Signatures

Some months ago 200 Lithuanian Catholics had already protested in a letter to the Soviet Party Chief Brezhnev and to the Secretary General of the United Nations Kurt Waldheim against religious discrimination. 17,000 signatures had been collected for this letter — an unprecedented event in the Soviet Union.

Apparently there is a traditional feeling of independence and national consciousness in Lithuania just as in Ukraine and the Baltic republics of Latvia and Estonia. The Lithuanians' na-

tional sentiment — though having remained silent for years — has stayed alive even after decades of Soviet Russian rule, mass deportations and attempts to Russify the country. It is notable that Lithuanian patriotism strongly appeals to the young generation. It is the young people who were attacking the militia in Kaunas and finally were even suppressed by military forces. 200 persons — mostly students — are said to have been arrested.

The Lithuanian case shows once again that the national question might become a decisive internal political problem for Moscow in the 70s and 80s. The Soviet multinational state is held together by the political will and terror of the Great Russian-oriented Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The instruments of power are exclusively in the hands of Great Russians, e.g. the Army, the Security Apparatus and the central bureaucracy in Moscow. So far the leadership in Moscow has been able to practice centralism and Great Russian supremacy behind a fictitious Soviet federalism.

In the same manner, however, as Stalin's mass terror was eliminated as an instrument of integration, the formula "national in form, Socialist in content" began to fade. The young people in non-Russian Soviet republics were free of their parents' anxiety and evil memories. Thus in some non-Russian Soviet republics a kind of nationalism gradually developed. What Moscow regarded as innocent folkloric national feeling of small peoples was suddenly filled with life, the "Spring of Prague" and the crushing of Czecho-Slovakia apparently having had some bearing thereon. The fact that non-Russian nations were morally supported by known oppositionists and fighters for civil rights was also significant. Thus, for instance, **former** ge-

neral Hryhorenko of Ukrainian origin stood up for the Crimean Tatars. It is also known that Solzhenitsyn again and again wrote about the sufferings of non-Russian nations in Stalinist camps.

Opposition in Georgia

The inhabitants of the Soviet Republic of Moldavia and the Caucasus are also nationally conscious. In the Republic of Moldavia the back of the intellectual resistance could not be broken in spite of intense measures of Russification and the deportaton of numerous Rumanian inhabitants to the Soviet Union. The Soviet broadcasting station Radio Kishinev, for instance, had to give up its attempt to create an artificial "Moldavian" language (in fact Rumanian containing many Russian foreign words).

The inhabitants of the Soviet Republic of Georgia refer to the fact that there was a Georgian state when the Russian people did not exist yet.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union recently attacked the Georgian Party for exhibiting prejudicial nationalist tendencies. Already a year ago the Party Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party responsible for ideology, M. A. Gogishaishvili, had declared that there was a trend in Georgian historiography towards revising the previous views about "the struggle of the Georgian people for Soviet power" and calling in question Soviet power as such which had not been contested so far. Soviet leadership must face the fact that this might apply not only to historiography and to Georgia.

President Nixon's New Vietnam Move (Statement)

As the war in Vietnam is entering a crucial and decisive stage, President Nixon of the United States has resolutely moved to mine the entrances to North Vietnamese harbors so as to keep external military supplies from reaching the Hanoi regime by sea. This action, the like of which should have been taken long ago, will certainly exert a tremendous influence in checking Vietnamese Communist aggression.

The future of the Vietnam War will decide not just the fate of the Vietnamese. It is inseparably related to the security of the Asian and Pacific region and the entire world as well as the destiny of free mankind as a whole. For this reason, all the free peoples should not only support President Nixon's move but, more importantly, also positively unite all the free nations in a policy to uphold the independence and freedom for the Republic of Vietnam. In particular, we earnestly hope that Asia's free nations will take joint actions to protect and preserve their common security. I also call upon all the member units of the World Anti-Communist League and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League to unite all the forces of justice and freedom in the world in a joint struggle to safeguard the freedom and security of Asia and the entire world.

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang

Honorary Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL)

STATEMENT

By Yaroslav Dobosh

In conjunction with my trip to Ukraine at the end of December 1971, with my arrest and ultimate release from prison, I, Yaroslav Dobosh, declare the following:

1. My trip to Ukraine was of a completely personal nature, that is to say that I was not sent by anyone and had no political-espionage aims whatsoever. The purpose of my trip was to visit Ukraine and see the Ukrainian way-of-life. I was granted a visa to Ukraine, valid for a fortnight, by the Russian Embassy through the traveling agency 'Galitur'. Taking opportunity of the Christmas vacation period, I chose to leave just before Christmas.

2. Before my trip, I learnt from the press and acquaintances who had already been to the USSR, about some famous Ukrainian cultural workers whom I would like to meet if I had the opportunity. I did not have any so-called password for them, of which I was accused by the KGB. Except for my family in Belgium, no one knew that I was going to Ukraine. When I arrived in Ukraine, the addresses I knew from various publications did not all prove to be good. Only in Ukraine did I accidentally acquire some addresses and made acquaintances with people, some of whom I had not previously heard about. When I met some of them, we talked about general topics, which normally could not harm these people.

3. I came across a photocopied typed manuscript of the well-known work by Svyatoslav Karavanskyi 'Dictionary of Rhymes' and also a book by Ivan Dzyuba 'An Ordinary Man or a Philistine', published by the State Publishers of the Ukrainian SSR, and 'Poems' by Bohdan Antonych, legally printed in Ukraine, photographs of Valentyn Moroz and Vasyl Stus, and asked if I could have these, seeing no

crime or any danger in them, insofar as these were legitimate cultural works.

4. As far as the money is concerned it is not true that I received this from O. Kowal (Chairman of the Central Committee of the Association of the Ukrainian Youth). In any case, he was not even in Belgium at the time of my departure. I went to work during my summer vacations and saved money for my planned visit. I also received a little from my father and apart from this I received nothing from anyone else. Seeing what the standard of living of those people I met was like, I gave as a gift to some of them a very small sum of my money, which remained after my visit to Ukraine was cut short.

5. On my return journey from Ukraine, on the 4th January 1972, there were no queries at the border customs control, carried out at Chop, as to the material I was carrying with me. Only one mile after the train departed from the station, was it stopped and two plain-clothed and two uniformed KGB officials held me back under the pretext that my documents were not in order because the stamp on the visa was incorrect. They locked me in a hotel room in Chop together with a stranger, who began explaining that he was held back for "smuggling gold". It was clear to me, that he was a KGB agent, who was keeping watch over me. The interrogators, among whom known to me was a KGB captain, Victor Mayboroda, interrogated me for three days at Chop, to find out where I got the printed materials from. I explained that previous to my return journey I met a stranger, who asked me to take this material to Belgium and give it to my friends to read. After three days they arrested me and transported me to a prison in Lviv. My interrogation in Chop began before midday and lasted through-

out the day until midnight. Then I made a statement in which, among other details, I stated the following: I declare that I did not participate in any espionage activities, of which I am now accused. I hereby protest against the injustices in the USSR and against the imprisonment of Valentyn Moroz, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi and others persecuted and imprisoned.

6. The interrogation in Lviv was carried out first by the senior interrogator of extremely important cases, KGB captain Victor Mayboroda, later senior interrogator, a KGB major Borys Malykhin, and also other KGB officials, such as chief of the prison interrogation sector situated on Myr street, KGB major Klymenko, deputy military prosecutor for the Lviv district, lieutenant-colonel Zinchenko, also the arrival from Kyiv, a lieutenant-colonel of the KGB, Chornyy. They questioned me day in, day out, till April, then less frequently. At first, I repeated what I had said in Chop, not mentioning the names of people whom I got to know during my visit. This situation lasted for 1 1/2 months. Major Malykhin began intimidating me, mentioning names of Ukrainian cultural workers, including those whom I met. At last the interrogators presented exact details about certain people and my meetings with them. After my initial denials, they recalled the name of one woman whom I met in Lviv and gave details of our meeting, which were so exact that I could no longer deny meeting her. Then they transported me by car to her house and photographed me, attaching the photograph to my statement. They showed me Article 46 of the Criminal Code, which promises the reduction of a sentence for those who admit their crime. They further spoke of three more people whom I met, as though they were arrested, and added that two women whom I met have been accused but not yet arrested. They began pressing me to confirm all that the interrogators

wanted me to confirm. All my efforts to hold to the truth, were unsuccessful. I tried to endure the battle of nerves which they had unleashed.

I understood that it was in the interest of the KGB to tie me up with the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) in the role of a liason-man, but when this proved unsuccessful the KGB then turned to SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association) and my position in SUM as Chairman of National Executive in Belgium, using all means possible to link these two organisations, SUM and OUN, together. They ignored completely my counter-arguments that SUM, too, and its Chairman, Omelan Kowal, had nothing to do with my trip.

7. During my imprisonment I was not allowed to write or to receive any literature, apart from "Pravda" and "Radyanska Ukraina". I was completely isolated from the outside world. My first visit was from two representatives from the Belgian Embassy in Moscow, on the 21st February, 1972. I had two more visits from them later. Before the visits I was instructed that I must not talk about my case because this would burden me further. Presumably, the Embassy representatives were also forbidden to talk about the nature of my imprisonment. Our conversation circled around the weather in Belgium, about my family's state of health, about the Americans' flight to the moon, about a new Belgian government. The interpreter translated every sentence into Russian. I was not allowed to receive any Belgian papers or literature.

8. For five months, I was blackmailed and threatened that I would be charged under Article 57 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR with the sentence of 7-15 years, and even a death sentence. On the 22nd or 23rd of May, two officers came to the prison cell and said that great efforts and demands for my release were being made in Belgium, but that would be to no avail because no one pays any atten-

tion to them. Several days later they told me to write a letter to the Supreme Soviet in Moscow, promising that should I be released, I would not carry out any anti-Soviet activities. When I asked why I should write to Moscow, and not to Kyiv, they replied that these matters belong there. They threatened me and showed me documents of court proceedings of Ukrainian nationalists, sentenced for "espionage", who were either shot or sent to Siberia. They also showed me documents of other victims who confessed and were released. In the end, under the influence of the interrogators, major Malykhin dictated as I wrote to the Supreme Soviet in Moscow.

9. On Tuesday, 30th of May, one colonel, whose name I do not know, and lieutenant-colonel Borys Chornyy came from Kyiv to the Lviv prison. They said that my letter had arrived in Moscow, but they did not believe me and the application for my release would not be discussed any further, and I shall be sentenced to at least 10 years imprisonment. When I did not respond to this, then the colonel said, that there is one other way out of the situation for me and that is to submit myself to "selfcriticism" at a press-conference, at which I was to explain to journalists, that owing to the lack of experience and upbringing in an anti-Soviet environment, my actions were wrong. But now I understand my "mistakes" and shall not ever take part in any anti-Soviet activities. I saw no other way out and therefore gave my consent. I received a copy of the text which I was to read out at the press-conference, from major Malykhin, so that I could write this out in my own handwriting. The affirmations by the interrogators which I was given to rewrite and read out at the press-conferences, were all lies. They were forced upon me while I was physically and mentally exhausted, when after five months of interrogation my will continuously became weaker, for reasons which I cannot explain. At first it was arranged,

that I was to read out this declaration in front of journalists in Kyiv, but on the 31st May 1972 I was forced to appear first in Lviv, before 20 journalists.

My declaration was recorded on a taperecorder and photocopied. The following day I was transported to Kyiv where a day later the same procedure was repeated in the presence of more than 50 journalists. From here I was transported to a small hotel out of town, and two hours later I received a visit from the above mentioned colonel and lieutenant-colonel Chornyy. They told me, that the USSR maintains good relations with Belgium which they wish to preserve, therefore I am to be deported.

10. I went to Ukraine with the best intentions. I wanted to visit my family, but was not granted permission by Intourist. I wanted to get closer acquainted with the objective truth in Ukraine and this truth proved to be a hundred times worse, than I could ever imagine it to be.

11. On my return to Belgium, I found out from the press, that allegedly in conjunction with my visit many people whom I neither new nor met, for example Vyacheslav Chornovil, Dzyuba, Sverstyuk and others were arrested.

I hereby beg forgiveness of all people concerned, to whom I may unintentionally have caused harm.

Finally I would like to express my sincerest thanks to the Belgian Government for numerous interventions on my behalf, for true guardianship during my stay in prison and for the release itself. Also I thank resolutely all my friends, acquaintances and strangers, who demanded my release, as well as the release of all those, who suffer there as a result of the violation of human rights and who do not have the opportunity of a just legal defence.

I confirm that such demonstrations have great meaning and help the imprisoned.

Yaroslav Dobosh

Belgium, 12th June, 1972

STATEMENT

By Omelan Kowal

I, undersigned, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), in the free world, with its headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, strongly protest against the spreading of slander through the Russian radio and press, asserting that I sent Yaroslav Dobosh to Ukraine.

But the most blatant and insulting statement by the KGB is the assertion that I instructed Yaroslav Dobosh "to secretly get in touch, with the help of passwords, with Ivan Svitlychnyi, Zinovia Franko, Anna Kocurova, Leonid Seleznenko and Stephania Hulyk, and obtain political and other information with a view to using this against the USSR in the West". In addition, I was to have given him 25,000 Belgian franks and 150 US dollars. Of the same category are the remarks that I was also to have previously sent other people to Ukraine for espionage purposes. The KGB stated to Yaroslav Dobosh, that I am tied up with NATO intelligence, and also with US and Belgian intelligence and that my work consists of organising activities in the West against the USSR.

In the light of these insulting insinuations, I declare the following:

1. Neither I personally, nor the Central Committee of SUM sent anyone (including Y. Dobosh) to get in touch with any known or unknown cultural workers in Ukraine. I only found out about Y. Dobosh's trip to Ukraine, when I returned from my tour to Argentina and the USA at the beginning of 1972.

2. Neither personally, nor through any organisation, have I been in contact with any of these people mentioned by Dobosh, whom he met in Ukraine, and therefore I could not have sent him on a mission, giving him passwords, addresses or money.

3. The Ukrainian Youth Association

is a statutory legal organisation, with branches in many countries of the free world, has its own highest governing organs which formulate the aims and direction of its educational, cultural and national activities and functions in connection with all nationally conscious sectors of the Ukrainian community in the diaspora, under the motto — "God and Ukraine".

4. The Ukrainian Youth Association is not fighting for a "bourgeois Ukraine", as the KGB asserts, but for a Ukraine without russification, without Russian collaboration, without oppression, in which the nation (all social strata) could freely express its own initiative, creative works and develop its culture, like other free nations. This is possible only in a free and independent Ukrainian State. We do not need modern nomads from the North to come and settle in Ukraine, while the Ukrainian nation is banished under their authority to the Kazakhstani virgin lands and the vast Siberian jungles. The Ukrainian nation must be its own master, and not a slave in its own country. The Soviet journalists, who circulate and comment on the forced "statements" of prisoners such as Y. Dobosh and others, should also bear this in mind.

5. Through my whole life I have never served nor had any contact with intelligence services. Only the traitors and agents of Russian imperialism, some in order to suppress their conscience, others as a well-paid career, perceive a foreign secret agent in every Ukrainian patriot.

WE SHALL FIGHT FOR THE TRUTH!

O. Kowal
Chairman of the Central
Committee of the
Ukrainian Youth Association

Arrests and Persecutions in Ukraine

In the first half of January 1972 a new wave of arrests and persecutions took place in Ukraine. It has been reported in Western newspapers that over 20 Ukrainian intellectuals have been arrested by the Russian Secret Police (KGB) in Kiev and Lviv. Among those arrested are well known Ukrainian literary critics, journalists and writers — V. Chornovil, I. Svitlychnyi, I. Dzyuba, E. Sverstyuk and Yuriy Shukhevych, who has been persecuted by the Russians since he was 14 years old.

Since the beginning of this year Russian authorities imposed very strict security measures in order to prevent the news about their oppressive activities against subjugated people from reaching the West. Despite this, some up-to-date information about the latest arrests has reached us. This enables us to believe that the wave of arrests and persecutions in January 1972 has been much wider and more sinister than appeared at that time. In fact arrests continue till the present day.

As yet, no one knows for certain, what the Russians are planning to do with the arrested. There are some indications that they will hold them under interrogation until the autumn when such matters as the 1972 Olympics, the Russo-German Peace Treaty and the question of the Security Conference will be settled.

Below we give a list of arrested and persecuted Ukrainians, with all the particulars known to us at present. This list has also been sent to various bodies among them the Amnesty International. Included in the list are certain people (e. g. V. Moroz) who were arrested and persecuted before 1972 but are mentioned here so that their plight might be recalled once again.

ANTONYUK Zinovi — philologist. During searches at his home, the "Chronicle" and other materials were confiscated.

1972 — between the 11th and 14th

January was arrested by the KGB in Kiev.

BERDNYK Oles' Pavlovych — born 25. 12. 1927 in the village Valov, Kher-son district into a peasant family.

1943-45 — took an active part in the War.

1945-49 — went to the theatrical studio of I. Franko in Kiev and worked as an actor in various theatres throughout Ukraine.

1949-55 — worked in the Far North, in the Kazakhstan steppes. On his return from the virgin lands he began publishing articles in the press. He writes science-fiction novels and has written such works, both for adults and children as 'Beyond time and space' (1956), 'Rabbits from Mars' (1962), short stories 'People with a heart' and several others. He is a very talented writer and is especially popular among students and young people because he deals with themes different from the usual communist jargon and propaganda circulating in Komsomol (young communist) organisations.

1971-72 — began touring such various large towns in Ukraine as Kiev, Ternopil and other districts, giving talks to students and academics on philosophical, mystical and theological themes. For this he came under strong criticism and was forbidden to appear in public. He was recently dismissed from work and ordered not to publish his articles. He is persecuted, forbidden to make public appearances and is left without any means of support.

BONDAR Mykola — born in 1939.

1968-69 — a philosophy lecturer at Uzhhorod University.

1969 — forced to work as a boiler in the Cherkask region, after being dismissed from the university for strongly criticising the Lenin anniversary festival.

12. 5. 1971 — accused of slandering the Soviet regime.

7. 11. 1971 — arrested in Kiev during a demonstration on Khreshchatyk. Sentenced to 7 years imprisonment for undermining the Soviet authorities.

10th Nov. - 10th Dec. 1971 — carried out a hunger strike in the No. 17 camp of the Moldavian ASSR, in protest against his sentence.

CHORNOVIL Vyacheslav Maksymovych — born 24. 12. 1937 in the village Yerkakh, Zvenyhorodsk region, Cherkask district. In some documents the date of birth is given as 1. 1. 1938. Married with a son. Member of Komsomol (Young Communist League) since 1952. Worked for Radio Kiev and T. V.

1960 — Completed his studies graduating with a distinction at the Faculty of Journalism at Kiev University.

1960-63 — worked as an editor, then chief editor of youth programmes for Lviv T. V.

1963-64 — Secretary of the Komsomol Committee at the administration of the Kiev Hydro-electric Power Station's right bank construction site.

He continued his studies at the Faculty of Philology, Kiev University, where he passed a candidate's qualifying examination for continuing his post-graduate studies with Prof. Pilhuk — a journalist and literary critic.

1964 — From January onwards a newsreel editor at the site and in September became head of a department at the editorial office of 'The Young Guard' and 'Reader's Friend' in Kiev and published several dozen educational and literary articles in other papers and magazines of Soviet Ukraine. He made a public speech at 'Ukraine' cinema for which he was dismissed from his job and refused admission as a postgraduate at the Kiev Pedagogical Institute.

1965 — Mass arrests throughout Ukraine of intellectuals and cultural workers against which Chornovil strongly protested.

30. 9. 1965 — served with a search warrant to confiscate anti-Soviet documents. No such documents found and

therefore not arrested but the KGB removed various notes, journals and periodicals (mainly published in Ukraine pre 1944).

1966 — he refused to be a witness at the trials of Horyn, Osadchyi and Myroslava Zvarychevska. For this he was imprisoned for 3 months and dismissed from his job. Later he worked at the Geology Institute as a laboratory assistant, then as a commercial inspector in the Kiev bookstores. He moved to Lviv, where he settled as an instructor with the Nature Protection Society. Wrote declarations and protests to the government in which he denounced those violating the criminal codes — i. e. the State Procurator and KGB, for arresting innocent people and sentencing them to imprisonment under false pretences. Among such documents are 'Relapse to Terror or Justice' and 'Woe from Wit'. For these works he was arrested and on 15. 11. 1967 sentenced in Lviv to 3 years hard labour. Even in the concentration camps he did not remain silent but carried out hunger strikes in protest. Under a general amnesty his sentence was commuted to 18 months and Vyacheslav Chornovil was released on the 3rd February 1969.

1970 — in conjunction with Moroz's trial, he refused to give evidence against the accused. After his release in 1969, V. Chornovil worked in the Carpathians, then in the Odessa region and from Autumn 1970 in Lviv as a railway worker.

1972 — Arrested by the KGB on the 12th January for anti-Soviet activities.

CHUBAY Hryhoriy — poet. His poems were circulated through the Samvydav underground publications in Ukraine. He worked as a decorator at the Zankovetska theatre in Lviv. Dismissed from his job in 1971.

1970 — according to the 'Ukrainian Herald', No. 4, Chubay was put under KGB investigation in the Summer of 1970 in connection with the case of H. Dudykevych.

1972 — arrested in Lviv in January, later released.

DZYUBA Ivan Mykhaylovych — born 26. 7. 1931 in Mykolayivtsi village, Dokuchayevsky region, Donetsk district into a peasant family. Completed his studies at the Philology Faculty of the Donetsk Pedagogical Institute. Later a research graduate at the Taras Shevchenko Institute of Literature of the Ukr. SSR Academy of Sciences. He worked as an editor for the State Literary Publishers of Ukraine, a literary critic of the leading journal of the Writers' Union of Ukraine — 'Vitchyzna' and acted as literary adviser to 'Molod' Publishers of the Young Communist League. Later he was editor of the Ukrainian biochemical journal. Since 1950 he has published various articles in newspapers and journals.

1959 — published his collected works of literary-critical and publicistic articles — 'An Ordinary Man or a Philistine' (Kiev 1959).

1964-1966 — appeared at many social functions — literary reading sessions, commemoration evenings (e.g. V. Symonenko-poet), public meetings (e.g. Babyn Yar).

1965-67 — signed several written protests, addressed to Soviet officials, against the arrests and persecutions of Ukrainian intellectuals and cultural workers. After the mass arrest of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965 he wrote 'Internationalism or Russification'. This was sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, circulated through Samvydav publications and published in English and French in the West. Together with others, sent an open letter to the newspaper 'Literaturna Ukraina', protesting against the slanderous article by O. Poltoratsky in which he reproved writers and scholars who had signed the petitions. As a result Dzyuba was expelled from the Ukrainian Writers' Union and persecuted by the Soviet regime, which had dismissed him from his job and published critical articles in papers with intent to discredit him. Hence, he wrote an open declaration to the Ukrainian

Writers' Union, published in 'Literaturna Ukraina' (Literary Ukraine) on the 3. 1. 1970, after which he regained full rights as a member of the Ukrainian Writers' Union.

1970 — Along with others sent a written protest to the Chairman of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, Councillor of the Supreme Council of Ministers of the USSR and to the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR in defence of Valentyn Moroz. Refused to give any evidence at Moroz's trial.

13. 1. 1972 — During the wave of arrests in January, the KGB searched his home. He sent a written declaration in defence of the arrested intellectuals for which he was dismissed from the Writers' Union. According to the Associated Press, he was arrested in Kiev by the KGB on 17th April 1972.

FRANKO Zinovia Tarasivna — born 1925, the grand-daughter of the famous Ukrainian poet — Ivan Franko. B. A. in Philology. Member of the Communist Party of the USSR.

1968 — signed a written protest signed by 139 other Ukrainian citizens, in defence of Ukrainian cultural workers arrested in 1966.

1969 — for this she was thrown out of the Linguistics Institute of the Ukr. SSR Academy of Sciences.

1972 — arrested in mid-January by the KGB. She was forced to make two declarations, one printed in 'Radyanska Ukraina' (Soviet Ukraine) in which she was to admit having contact with Western sources through tourists visiting Ukraine; another in a T. V. interview. Her release was subject to this condition.

27. 4. 1972 — Arrested once again by the KGB in Kiev.

HEL' Ivan Andriovych — born 18. 7. 1937 in the village Klitsko, Horodetsky district, Lviv region, into a peasant family.

1954 — completed his secondary education at Sambir after which he was employed as a fitter at a factory in Lviv.

1956-59 — served in the Red Army. After demobilisation he worked as a fitter at the Lviv electro-vacuum works.

1960 — went to evening classes at the Faculty of History, Lviv University, but did not complete his studies owing to his arrest. He is married with a daughter.

24. 8. 1965 — arrested.

25. 8. 1966 — sentenced at a closed sitting of the Lviv Regional Court to 3 years hard labour for 'anti-Soviet subversive activities'. He served his sentence at the No. 11 (Yavas) Mordovian camp.

1968 — released. Worked as a technician under the Sambir administration in the Lviv region.

December 1970 — granted permission to attend the funeral of Alla Horská in Kiev, but on his return, under pressure from the KGB, was reprimanded and punished for his 'neglect of duty'.

January 1972 — arrested.

HRYHORENKO Vasyl' — arrested between the 11th and 14th January in Kiev, by the KGB. He was charged with being involved in the publishing of Samvydav underground publications circulated clandestinely in Ukraine.

IVASYUK Family — a Ukrainian family accused by the Soviet regime of preaching the Eastern-rite Ukrainian Catholic religion. Some time in 1972 the family is to stand trial.

KOVALENKO Leonid Mykhaylovych — born 28. 11. 1922 in the village Hermanivtsi, Obukhivsky region, Kiev district into a peasant family. Research assistant at the Literary Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, writer.

1939 — completed his secondary education and entered the philosophy faculty, Kiev University.

1941-45 — Commander of a reconnaissance unit on the front. After demobilisation continued studying at the University until completing his B. A. degree in 1948.

1948 — post-graduate at the Literary

Institute of the Ukr. SSR Academy of Sciences. Was presented with the Red Star Order.

Since 1949 — writes articles for the press on topics concerning Soviet Literature, e.g. 'The history of Ukrainian literature' (1957 & 1964), 'The history of Kiev' (1960). Also wrote several books of collected works.

1969 — strongly reprimanded by the party (CP) for signing a written protest against the arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in Ukraine during 1965-66. This declaration was signed by over 150 intellectuals and workers.

1972 — arrested in Kiev by the KGB — January.

KOVALENKO Fedir — teacher from Boyarska village, Lusyansk region, Cherkask district.

KOCHUR Hryroriy Porfyrovych — born 17. 11. 1908 in the village Feskivtsi, Mens'k region, into a peasant family.

1932 — completed his education in Kiev. Lectured in foreign literature at the Turapolsk and Vinnytsky Pedagogical Institutes. He translates from Polish, Czech, English and Frech into Ukrainian and has translated 'Hamlet', 'Dr. Faustus' and many other works, Member of the Ukrainian Writers' Union.

1968 — November — home searched by the KGB.

1971 — Arrested in January, in Kiev by the KGB.

LAZARENKO Evhen Konstantynovych — born in 1912 in Kharkiv into a working class family. Professor.

1934 — completed his university education at Kharkiv.

1934-44 — worked at the Kharkiv and Voronezh universities. From that time a lecturer and then a professor at Lviv University. Member of the CP since 1952.

1947 — defended his thesis with the object of attaining a Ph. D. degree in geological-mineral studies.

1951 — chosen as a Correspondent Member of the Academy of Sciences

of the Ukr. SSR. President of the Lviv Geological Society. Honorary Ph.D. of the Czecho-Slovakia Academy of Sciences. Delegate to XXth Congress of the Ukrainian CP. Awarded the order of 'Symbol of Honour'.

1961 — awarded the title of Honorary Scientist of the Ukr. SSR. Altogether he has published 150 works — according to the Kiev University Publishers.

1971 — towards the end of the year was dismissed from his job for allegedly being involved with the dissidents.

LUPYNIS Anatoliy — born in 1935. He served an earlier sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp. Was re-arrested and sent to a mental asylum.

28. 12. 1971 — his trial took place in Kiev. He was accused of making a public speech and reciting a poem during the students' Shevchenko demonstration.

MINYAYLO Hryhoriy — formerly worked at the Kiev Institute of Micro-devices. By permission of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Komsomol (Young CL), he organised a debating club where young people got together to discuss sociological problems. In conjunction with this he was dismissed from his job in 1969.

1972 — January — arrested in Kiev by the KGB.

MOROZ Valentyn Yakovych — born 15. 4. 1936 in the village Kholoniv, Horokhivsky district into a peasant family. Married with a son. Completed his studies at the Faculty of History at Lviv University. Later a lecturer in history at the Pedagogical Institute in Lutsk and Ivano-Frankivsk. He completed a Ph.D. (candidate's) thesis but was unable to defend it owing to his arrest. A teacher in history and geography at Ivano-Frankivsk.

1. 8. 1965 — arrested in Ivano-Frankivsk and transported to Lutsk for investigation. Accused of conducting 'anti-Soviet activities' to undermine the Soviet Authority. The accusation

was based on the assumption of having read and spread underground literature, as well as literature from the West. His trial took place in Lutsk in January 1966 where he was sentenced to 5 years hard labour in the Mordovian concentration camp. While imprisoned, he protested against his unjust sentence and the prison-guards' treatment of a prisoner's visiting mother, for which he was punished. Originally he was in Camp No. 1 — Sosnewska, Mordovia, but later was transferred to No. 11. From the time of his release (1. 9. 1969) to his second arrest, he was continually unemployed. Immediately after his release, he took an active part in the community life.

April 1970 — the KGB searched his home, confiscated some books and three handwritten manuscripts, publicistic works — 'Moses and Datan', 'Chronicle of Resistance' and 'Among the Snows'.

1. 6. 1970 — arrested a second time in Ivano-Frankivsk for writing the three above works.

17-18 Nov. 1970 — Sentenced at the Ivano-Frankivsk regional court to 5 years imprisonment, 4 years hard labour & 5 years forced exile.

OSADCHYI Mykhaylo Hryhorovych — born 22. 3. 1936 in the village Kurmanach, Nedryhaylivsk district, Sums'k region, Ukraine, into a peasant family. He is a poet and a philosopher. On completing his secondary grammar education, he went to Lviv where he studied journalism until 1958. He worked as an editor at a Lviv T. V. studio.

1960-62 — a lecturer at Lviv University. Since 1962 he has been a member of the Communist Party of the USSR and a member of the Journalist Society of the USSR. He is married with a son named Taras (b. 20. 8. 1966).

1963-64 — was an instructor in journalism to the Lviv region CP. Before his arrest in 1965, he was a senior lecturer in the department of journalism at the Lviv State University. Also, the

editor of the university periodical and assistant secretary to the Faculty CP for ideological-educational affairs. He wrote a thesis on 'The journalistic works of Ostap Vyshnya' (1919-1933), which he defended in 1965. In the press he appeared as a journalist, a specialist in literature, a poet and a critic.

28. 8. 1965 — was arrested. **18. 4. 1966** — was sentenced at a closed sitting of the Lviv Regional Court, to 2 years hard labour for 'anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation'. He spent some time at the No. 11 camp (Yavas) Mordovian ASSR, where he worked as a carpenter. During searches in the camp (1966) a note-book of translations of works by Baltic poets was confiscated from him. After being released in 1969, he was further persecuted.

1972 — the German press dated 19. 1. 1972 stated that M. Osadchyi was re-arrested. During his short period of freedom, he wrote another work — 'Bil'mo' and signed petitions in defence of Valentyn Moroz. In 1972 the German publishers Dorr-Verlag 8051 published his work which describes the life of political prisoners in the Russian concentration camps, especially methods of investigation and the violation of the Soviet judicial system.

PLAKHOTNYUK Mykola — Doctor, senior laboratorian at one of the Kiev Medical Institutes.

1969 — called for questioning by the KGB on several occasions.

1970 — dismissed from his post as senior laboratorian at one of the Kiev Medical Institutes.

1972 — Arrested in January, in Kiev by the KGB and charged under Article 62 of the Ukr. SSR Criminal Code for 'anti-Soviet activities'.

PLYUSHCH Leonid — born in 1939. Professor, mathematician & engineer, associated with the Cybernetics Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, author of theoretical works. Registered with the Physics and Maths. faculty at Odessa University. Worked as a village teacher for one year. Ta-

ken ill with rickets, convalescing for 5 years but remained an invalid.

1962 — completed his studies at the mechanical-mathematical faculty, Kiev University. Until 1968 worked at the Cybernetics Institute at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in the field of bio & psychocybernetics. He was dismissed from his job for signing a joint written protest in defence of Galanskov and Ginsburg. He was a member of the initiating group in defence of human rights. He signed an appeal sent to the UN. He was out of work until his arrest.

1968 — protested against the masking of the artificial famine in Ukraine — 1933. Also protested against the discrediting of B. Pasternak, Dzyuba & Solzhenitsyn.

1969 — Signed a protest letter against the Soviet invasion in Czecho-Slovakia.

9. 9. 1969 — interrogated by the KGB in Kharkiv.

27. 11. 1969 — during searches carried out in his home, the KGB confiscated Rabindranata Tahora's book — 'Nationalism'.

14. 1. 1972 — the KGB searched his home, confiscated Samvydav materials and personal manuscripts, then arrested him.

17. 1. 1972 — the KGB informed his wife that he was being arrested under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the USSR for 'anti-Soviet activities'.

RESHETNYK Anatoliy — born in 1937. Completed his higher education at the Moscow Pedagogical Institute. Member of the USSR CP. Is well known for voicing his objections to the methods used in teaching Marxism to the local party leadership. He was lately a lecturer in political economy at the Sverdlovsk Technical College. He wrote an open letter to the Russian literary newspaper in defence of A. Solzhenitsyn. He was then released from work. Was arrested by the KGB in Kiev.

1972 — Stood trial in the first few days of April.

ROHYNKYI Volodymyr — the latest information is that he was arrested by the KGB in Kiev, 1972.

ROMANYUK Vasyl' — Priest of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. While taking a course at the Theological Academy in Moscow, was an Orthodox parish priest in the village Kosmach, Ivano-Frankivs'k region.

4. 5. 1970 — in connection with the case of Valentyn Moroz, the KGB carried out a search in his home and confiscated a large amount of literature, including religious literature. Some time later, some of this was returned.

27. 11. 1970 — sent a written protest to the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR in defence of V. Moroz. Before this he was suspended for a month from ecclesiastical duties, being accused of preaching sermons in which he was to have urged his parishioners to keep up the traditions of the Hutsul region.

1972 — arrested in January by the KGB.

RYZNYKOV Oleksa — arrested in Odessa 19. 11. 1971.

SELEZNENKO Leonid — a chemist by profession. Also a musician (hobby).

1972 — arrested in Kiev by the KGB.

SEREDNYAK Luba — born in 1953. Worked as a typist. During searches carried out by the KGB, novels by Solzhenitsyn and Grossman were confiscated.

1972 — between the 11th and 14th January, was arrested by the KGB in Kiev in conjunction with alleged participation in the publishing of Samvydav underground publications.

SERHIYENKO Oleksander — teacher. Well-known for his speech at the funeral of Alla Horska in Kiev, December 1970 (Ukr. Herald, No. 4).

1972 — January — arrested in Kiev by the KGB.

SHABATURA Stephaniea Mykhaylivna — born 1938, an artist-specialist in carpet designing.

1970 — together with Chubay, Osadchy, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets and Horyn,

she applied to the regional court at Ivano-Frankivs'k, for permission to attend the trial of Valentyn Moroz.

1972 — arrested mid-January in Lviv by the KGB.

SHUKHEVYCH — BEREZOVSKYI Yuriy Romanovych — born in 1933 in Lviv. Married with two children.

1. 12. 1958 — almost immediately after his release, he was sentenced to a further 10 years imprisonment. His crime — son of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army Commander-in-Chief — Gen. Roman Shukhevych — (Taras Chuprynka — pseudonym) from 1942-50. His second arrest and prison sentence was ordered by the General Prosecutor of the USSR, M. Rudenko; he was charged with spreading 'anti-Soviet propaganda'. While serving sentence, the KGB tried to blackmail him demanding that he renounce his father's deeds. This he refused to do.

1967 — sent a written protest from the Mordovian camp to the Supreme Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR in which he very strongly protested against the unjust sentence passed upon him and the violation of the Soviet legal system.

1968 — according to the Ukrainian Herald, No. 3, he was released and banished into exile from Ukraine. He then settled down in Caucasus. There he got a job and meanwhile continued his education by means of external courses.

1970 — along with others, he signed a protest letter to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR and the First Secretary of the Ukrainian CP, in defence of Valentyn Moroz.

1972 — he was arrested in Nal'chyk, in the Caucasus at the end of March. Altogether he has spent 20 years in prisons and then lived in exile until he was recently re-arrested.

SHUMUK Mykola — formerly served 27 years in prewar Polish concentration camps and later in Soviet prisons.

January 1972 — arrested in Kiev.

SHUSHUK Danylo — arrested between 11th and 14th January 1972 by the KGB in Kiev.

STASIV Iryna Onufryivna — the wife of Ihor Kalynets, born 1940. Poetess. After completing her studies at Lviv University, she taught at a secondary school. Later, she taught Ukrainian language and literature at the preparatory faculty of the Lviv polytechnic.

1970 — fell into the hands of the KGB and was sacked from her job. She then worked as a weaver.

29. 11. 1970 — Iryna and her husband sent a written protest to the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR in defence of Valentyn Moroz. Since then her poems have been censored and prevented from being published.

1972 — arrested by the KGB in Lviv — January.

STROKATA KARAVANSKA Nina Antonivna — wife of Svyatoslav Karavanskyi. Studied Medicine. Was to have defended her thesis at the central scientific research laboratory where she worked but was not allowed to carry this through. The KGB demanded that she disown her husband.

8. 12. 1971 — arrested by the KGB in Odessa for anti-Soviet activities. Her arrest has been linked by British newspapers with the arrest of Yuriy Shukhevych.

STUS Vasyl' — born in 1938 in the Vinnyts'ky region. A poet and literary critic. After completing his studies at a Pedagogical Institute in Donets'k he served in the Red Army, then taught in schools, worked as a miner and wrote literary-critical works.

1964 — became a post-graduate at the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR.

1965 — thrown out for taking part in a Kiev protest meeting, staged in defence of imprisoned Ukrainian writers and cultural workers.

1966 — dismissed from his position as Senior Educational Assistant to the National Historical Archive in Kiev. He then worked in Kiev in the con-

struction of underground railways but was dismissed for conducting a job incompatible with his qualifications.

1963-65 — published his poems in the magazine 'Dnipro'. Compiled a collection of poems for publication but this was discarded from the publishers' intended publication programme.

1968 — Signed a document with signatures of 139 other Ukrainian citizens, presented to Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny, protesting against the sentences passed on Ukrainian cultural workers in 1966. Also sent a written protest to the Presidium of the Ukrainian Writers' Union against the scandalous article written by O. Poltoratsky on the subject of the imprisoned writers. His literary-critical essays have stopped being published in the various journals. Has a collection of poems called 'Winter Trees' which appeared in the West where it was re-published.

1970 — Stus, Dzyuba and others sent a written protest in defence of Valentyn Moroz.

10. 12. 1971 — wrote a protest letter to the Chairman of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, J. Smolych and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine F. Ovcharenko, accusing them of persecution for not allowing young literary men to speak out in the Ukrainian Writers' Union.

12. 1. 1972 — arrested by the KGB in Kiev.

SVERSTYUK Evhen — born in 1928 in the Volyn district. A writer, literary critic, man of letters and pedagogue. Wrote 'The Cathedral in Scaffolding', which was published in Samvyday publications during 1970. Another of his works 'Ivan Kotlarevskyi Laughs', was recently published in the West.

June 1965 — Dismissed from his job at the Institute of Psychology for making a 'heretical' speech in front of Volyn district teachers. He later found a job as Secretary of the Ukrainian Botanical Journal. After some time he was told that his job was incompatible with

his qualifications and urged to find another job.

July 1966 — his wife Lidia failed to pass a competitive examination and was dismissed from her job at the Kiev Pedagogical Institute.

July 1968 — signed an open letter to 'Literary Ukraine' attacking O. Poltoratsky for his scandalous article.

December 1970 — after being unable to trace his friend Alla Horska, he demanded that the regional militia allow him to enter Zaretskyi's house (Alla Horska's father-in-law). There, he found her body in the basement. Despite the KGB's effort to prevent people from attending the funeral, there was quite a large gathering present. E. Sverstyuk read a necrology of A. Horska at her funeral.

20. 12. 1971 — made a speech at the funeral of Zerov, immediately after which he was dismissed from his job.

12. 1. 1972 — arrested by the KGB during arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals at the beginning of this year for 'anti-Soviet subservive activities'.

KOCUROVA Anna — 25 years old. Studied at Kiev University. Arrested by the KGB in Kiev, February 1972.

SVITLYCHNYI Ivan Oleksiyovych — born in 1929 in the Luhansk district. A literary critic and translator. Member of the Ukrainian Writers' Union until his dismissal prior to his arrest in 1965. Professor of literature.

Late 1950's — completed a post-graduate course at the Literary Institute of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev.

1952 — completed his education at Kharkiv State University.

1960's — regularly appeared in journals and newspapers as a literary critic.

20. 12. 1963 — took part in the commemoration evening at the Kiev Medical Institute in honour of the poet V. Symonenko.

Early 1964 — dismissed from the Institute of Philology at the Ukr. SSR Academy of Sciences for taking part in the above-mentioned event.

12. 7. 1965 — dismissed from his job as chief linguistics editor at the 'Academic Knowledge' publishers.

September 1965 — arrested during mass arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals for smuggling 'anti-Soviet manuscripts to the West' — i. e. passing V. Symonenko's diary to the West. After 7 months investigation he was released because of lack of incriminating evidence. Protests against his arrest were carried out both in Ukraine and the West.

30. 4. 1966 — released. After his release he was unable to find a job in accordance with his qualifications, therefore undertook a literary job at home.

May 1968 — signed a written protest sent to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, P. Shelest, and other official persona.

28. 3. 1969 — Kiev, home searched and books confiscated.

October 1970 — summoned by the chief of the regional military and ordered to find a job under the threat of being arrested as an idler. Summoned a second time at the time of Valentyn Moroz's trial. He proved that he had publishing arrangements and was not an idler.

12. 1. 1972 — arrested in Kiev by the KGB for 'anti-Soviet activities'. There have been threatening rumours circulating in Ukraine that Ivan Svitlychnyi and some of his close friends are to be shot.

SVITLYCHNA Nadya — Ivan Svitlychnyi's sister — 30 years old.

15. 11. 1967 — witnessed the trial of Vyacheslav Chornovil in Lviv. She worked as a librarian in Kiev.

1969 — Dismissed from her job for signing a document demanding more freedom in Ukraine.

1972 — in the latter half of January, her brother Ivan Svitlychnyi was arrested, while Nadya was obliged to report daily to the KGB.

YASHCHENKO Leopold Ivanovych — leader of the Kiev choir 'Homín'. At

the end of 1971 he was dismissed from his job and persecuted.

1968 — dismissed from the Institute of Art, Folklore and Ethnography at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR for signing a written protest condemning the Soviet regime for the violation of the 'Socialist law-system'. His wife Lidia Orel, a philologist, was dismissed beforehand from her teaching post at the school in Kiev.

According to information from underground publications in Ukraine, in January 1972 in Kiev, 6 Ukrainian students from Kiev University were sentenced at a closed trial hearing for alleged 'nationalist and subversive anti-Soviet activities'. As yet names and details of sentences are unknown. They are charged with handing out leaflets and trying to overthrow P. Shelest, former First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, who is responsible for the latest arrests in Kiev and Lviv.

SOROKA Mykhaylo — born 1911. He completed his higher education in Prague, Czecho-Slovakia, graduating with a B. Sc. degree. During and after his studies he actively participated in underground activities of the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) in Western Ukraine. As a result, he spent 7 years in Polish jails.

1940 — arrested by the Russians for his work for the liberation and independence of Ukraine. Sentenced to 8 years imprisonment.

1949 — upon his return to the capital of Western Ukraine, Lviv, he was re-arrested and deported to Siberia, where he spent 2 years in the Krasnoyarsk Territory under police surveillance.

1951 — returned to Lviv. Arrested again in 1952 and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment for 'participating in illegal anti-Soviet organisations' during his previous imprisonment in the concentration camps. He served this sentence at the Camp No. 17a of the 'Dubrovlag' system of camps in the Mor-

dovian Autonomous Soviet Republic. Out of his last sentence of 25 years he had already served 19 years.

1971 — the last news from M. Sorowas on the 15th June. The next day he was dead. He was buried in the camp cemetery but no one from his family was allowed to attend his funeral. Altogether he spent 34 years in prison and concentration camps and 2 years in exile with 6 years of his prison sentence still to run. It is generally believed among Ukrainians that he was killed by the Russian KGB.

HORS'KA Alla Oleksandrivna — born 18. 9. 1929. Was brought up in a russified Ukrainian family in Kiev. Completed her education at the Kiev Art Institute. She took an active part in the national rebirth within the community life in Kiev, which since the 1960's has attracted young generations of artists and intellectuals.

1962 — became one of the organisers of a cultural club for young people which was closed down in 1964. She took part in organising literary and artistic meetings and exhibitions, in spreading underground publications and in organising aid and funds for the arrested and persecuted and their families.

May 1964 — designed and produced a Shevchenko stained-glass panel exhibited in the foyer of the University of Kiev. The panel was destroyed for ideological reasons and Alla Horska expelled from the Ukrainian Artists' Union. She was then forced to find work outside Kiev, so together with other artists she organised a range of monumental and decorative panels in Donbas. During the following years she continued to take an active part in the Ukrainian cultural life.

December 1965 — appeared as a witness in the pre-trial investigation of Yaroslav Hevrych. Throughout 1965 and 1966 she wrote complaints to the Ukr.SSR Procurator, to the Supreme Court and other officials protesting against the violation of the Soviet law-

system, against the persecution of Ukrainian cultural development.

1967 — witnessed the trial of Vyacheslav Chornovil and later signed a collective protest letter against the unlawful nature of that trial.

July 1968 — together with others wrote an open protest letter to 'Literary Ukraine' against O. Poltoratsky's article concerning Ukrainian intellectuals.

1969-70 — supported Valentyn Moroz in public when he met with opposition towards his recent works such as 'Among the Snows'.

Summer 1970 — summoned for investigation by the Ivano-Frankivsk regional KGB, but refused to give any evidence which could be used either in defence of or against Valentyn Moroz. A few days before her death she spoke of deep regret for not attending the trial of Valentyn Moroz at Ivano-Frankivsk. She wrote a declaration to the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR condemning the lawlessness and brutality of the sentence passed upon him. It is unknown whether she actually sent this declaration.

28. 11. 1970 — was murdered at her in-law's home in Vasyl'kiv, near Kiev. She was found murdered in the basement by her friends who after being unable to trace her whereabouts, demanded that the KGB let them into the in-law's house.

Her funeral was arranged for **4. 12. 1970**. People from Kiev and far and wide on the outskirts came to the funeral. Unexpectedly, the funeral was postponed till the 7th December. Her family was forbidden to see her and to even take the coffin, which remained sealed from the time of her death, either into her home or studio. Despite all schemes and efforts on the part of the Soviet authorities to prevent a public funeral from taking place, about 150-200 people gathered for this occasion. Those who dared to pay the last tribute to her were threatened with

reprisals. Searches were carried out at their homes. On the day of her funeral, her friends held a post-mortem exhibition of all her works. Hundreds of people passed through her studio.

ZEROV Dmytro Konstantynovych — since 1948 a member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR.

1971 — the Soviet press states that during one of the party conferences Zerov criticized the Kremlin for implementing their russification policy in Ukraine and while the conference was in progress he had a heart attack and died. His funeral, which at the same time became a public manifestation, took place on the 20th December. E. Sverstyuk (mentioned above) made the funeral speech.

The last three persons mentioned all died under very dubious circumstances. The time at which the death of each took place: — **A. Horska** — after her protest, **M. Soroka** shortly before completing his sentence, **D. Zerov** — after making a critical public speech — the manner in which their death took place and the type of person who falls victim to death, all this and many other factors illustrate the whole situation in Ukraine, proving the persecution of groups and individuals and the suppression of historical and cultural development of the Ukrainian nation.

This can only mean one thing: that Ukraine is of too much significant importance and a power which causes too much hindrance to the Russian imperialistic policy, to be allowed to develop in freedom.

All the above information is based on Samvydav underground publications, clandestinely spread throughout Ukraine, especially 'Visnyk' (Ukrainian Herald), 'Chronicle of Current Events', letters from witnesses, dialogues with witnesses, international press (French, English, German, American and Soviet) and other confidential sources of our information.

United Croats of Canada Hold Convention

RESOLUTION — unanimously adopted by the United Croats of Canada at their 18th Convention in Toronto, May 20-22, 1972.

1. The United Croats of Canada, whose branches are all over Canada, express their most sincere gratitude to the Government and people of Canada for granting their members asylum after the Second World War and giving them an opportunity to live in freedom. Especially we are grateful that we are able to speak the truth about the struggle of the Croatian people for their freedom and independence.

2. As loyal citizens of Canada, who appreciate freedom above all, we declare, that we shall continue to give every possible moral and material support to our Croatian Liberation Movement, the aims of which are complete freedom and independence of Croatia.

3. We condemn most resolutely all atrocities of the Great Serbian Communist regime against the Croatian people, especially the genocide of Bleiburg when Tito's Communists massacred hundreds of thousands of Croats because they did not want to live under Serbian domination but in their own State of Croatia. We demand from all international juridical institutions to start an investigation of this crime, which is shameful for European history, and to bring to trial all those responsible.

4. Especially, we condemn the latest brutality of Tito's regime against the Croatian students, intellectuals, workers and peasants who, after 26 years of unheard-of Great Serbian persecution and exploitation of our rich and beautiful homeland, Croatia, unanimously rebelled against Belgrade.

5. We protest against the exploitation of all able Croatian men who are forced to work in free countries of Western Europe under the supervision of Tito's secret police, many of whom are

persecuted and imprisoned during their visits to Croatia.

6. We appeal to the United Nations and to all responsible institutions of the free world to intervene and demand from Belgrade to release immediately all imprisoned Croatian patriots and to stop the slave trade with Croatian workers.

7. We declare that there cannot be any compromise between the Great Serbian imperialism and the will of the Croatian people to live freely in their own independent State of Croatia. The whole world has seen this fact confirmed by the present oppressive measures of Belgrade against the Croatian people. Therefore the only solution of the Croatian problem is the complete separation of all Croatian lands from Serbia.

8. We condemn all those who, presumably on behalf of the Croatian people, want to achieve this separation with Russian help because the Croatian people do not want to swap the Belgrade yoke for a Russian one.

9. We express our solidarity with all oppressed peoples of Yugoslavia, especially with the Macedonian Bulgarians who, together with the Croats, suffer most.

10. We point out that Yugoslavia represents the greatest threat to peace in Europe and in the world. Therefore, we appeal to all the responsible statesmen and politicians not to make any agreements behind the back of the Croatian people, but, on the contrary, to help them get rid of the great concentration camp, called Yugoslavia, and to restore their independent State of Croatia without which there cannot be freedom for the Croatian people nor peace and stability in Europe.

For the United Croats of Canada:

Goroslav Mandic
Secretary General

Ante Markovic
President

News and Views

Causes of Disturbances in Lithuania

On May 23 *Süddeutsche Zeitung* briefly reported the information of the German Press Agency (dpa) concerning Roman Talanta's self-immolation and the subsequent outbreak of disturbances in Lithuania. This information, however, has hardly been noticed.

If, however, even Moscow's official authorities such as the Association of Soviet Writers and Artists felt obliged to admit at a press conference the existence of such disturbances and, if even the Soviet press mentioned the affair, the disturbances must have been serious. An explanation claiming that the suicide was mentally disturbed or that the disturbances were staged by rowdies appears quite stereotyped admitting things rather than clarifying them.

Lithuania has disappeared from the German horizon since her violent occupation by the Soviet Union in 1940. The Lithuanians could not resign themselves to the occupation of their country for a long time. After 1945 a partisan war raged there for 8 years. The desperate situation ended up in an appeasement. The intelligentsia of the country and even individual Communist circles in Lithuania were dissatisfied with Moscow's radical centralization due to which the individual republics are degraded to receivers of Moscow's orders, and joined the intellectual resistance. Spectacular incidents such as father and son Brazinskis hijacking aeroplanes in 1969 or the seaman Kudirka escaping and being returned by the USA in 1970 clearly show Lithuania's position in the Soviet Union.

Lately, moreover, the reprisals against the Catholic Church were increased and the Lithuanians were more than ever ready to defend themselves.

Lithuania is the only country in the Soviet Union having an exclusively Catholic population. The population believed that the reprisals were plotted by Moscow. Two petitions which were addressed to the government authorities in Moscow by the parish of Santaisa with 2000 signatures in September 1971 and by the parish of Girkalnis in December 1971 (with 1344 signatures) only resulted in severe countermeasures. Subsequently in February 1972 a petition with 17,054 signatures — a unique event in the Soviet Union — was forwarded to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Waldheim.

Roman Talanta's self-immolation is to be considered an act of protest against religious and national oppression. Thereupon the accumulated rage of the population of Kaunas (400,000 inhabitants) exploded. The disturbances were neither planned nor organized. A notice in the local paper "Kau-no Tiesa" revealed that the disturbances lasted 2 days from May 18 to May 19. After the intervention of the regular troops the situation was apparently stabilized on May 20. Through Moscow the West was informed that the town has been cut off from the outside world.

According to a motto of the Soviet Union small peoples can only survive silently. In Lithuania it is the survival of the people and its right of freely practicing religion which is at stake in the first place. **Arthur Hermann**

"Human Rights" for the Sailor Simonas Kudirka

The concluding declarations on Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union deal with the principles of the United Nations. The joint communique of the Crimea meeting between the Chancellor (Brandt) and the Soviet Party Chief

(Brezhnev) also referred to these principles just as the Eastern treaties of the Federal Republic of Germany refer to the Charter of the United Nations.

East and West having so vividly and repeatedly evoked this document concerning the rights of man, it is commendable, especially as the document is not cited in detail, to recall some of its principles in order to inform those concerned of what is actually being discussed.

In August 1941 Roosevelt and Churchill met — "somewhere in the open sea" — in the Atlantic and decided to create an international institution "upon which the hope for a better future could be founded". They signed a so-called Atlantic Charter reading as follows:

"They respect the right of every people to choose a system of government under which it wants to live; and they want self-government and sovereign rights to be restored to those who have been deprived thereof by an act of violence."

In January 1942 the governments of the 26 allied states, including the Soviet Union, fully consented to these principles. Then on December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights reading as follows:

"Everybody is entitled to leave any country, including his own, and return to his home." Further: "Nobody may be deprived of his property arbitrarily." And: "Everybody has the right to express his opinion freely; this right comprises the liberty of defending opinions undisputedly and of seeking, receiving and spreading ideas by any media of communication irrespective of boundaries".

If the Eastern and Western prominent politicians' joint solemn reference to the Charter of the United Nations should not be regarded as a flourish and a farce it must be considered with a view to these principles. For the time

being, the results with respect to the countries of the Eastern Bloc are still negative.

On May 20, 1972, shortly before President Richard Nixon's departure for Moscow, Simonas Kudirka, a 32-years-old Lithuanian sailor, was sentenced to 10 years of forced labour in a camp by a Soviet law-court, his personal property being seized. He had escaped from a Soviet trawler to an American Coast Guard ship and had been extradited to the Russians by the Americans. At his trial he declared: "The Atlantic Charter promising the enslaved nations freedom has been an empty promise resulting in the death of 50,000 and the displacement of 400,000 of my countrymen".

If Simonas Kudirka were allowed to read *Pravda* in his concentration camp he might also have read about the communique on Nixon's visit. It would have been a bitter experience for him. For, the human rights written down on the paper of a communique differ considerably from the rights in a Soviet concentration camp, of somebody who was brought there because he tried to make use of one of the rights. There is more than one communique of this kind and there is more than one Simonas Kudirka.

Matthias Walden (Die Welt)

Protest Persecution of Ukrainian Intellectuals

According to the *Guardian Journal* of May 26, 1972, an angry group of Ukrainians demonstrated outside the Bowling Green Hotel in Nottingham, England, while two visiting Russians attended a meeting inside.

Police were called as women in the group shouted abuse at members of the British Soviet Friendship Society entering the hotel.

Some demonstrators, carrying placards, were allowed to continue their protest while the reception for the two Russians, president of the USSR-GB So-

ciety, Mr. Alexei Sursov, and the general secretary, Mr. Anatole Masko, went on.

Mr. B. Bereza said that the demonstrators were members of the Ukrainian Association and were protesting against persecution of Ukrainian teachers and intellectuals by the Soviet authorities.

The Sunday Telegraph of March 12, 1972, reported that during a women's conference organized by the British Soviet Friendship Society at a London Hotel the meeting was disrupted by the intervention of two women from the Ukrainian community in Britain. In face of loud protests Mrs. Slava Brown, of the Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain, urged British visitors to ask to see some of Ukrainian political prisoners held in Russian concentration camps for up to 25 years. Miss Elaine Johnson, 19, London University student and daughter of a Ukrainian mother, asked the Russian delegates what action they were taking to aid intellectuals imprisoned for political reasons. The Russian women did not answer this question. Neither did they answer the question, why there had been a fresh wave of arrests among Russian Jews, put by a member of the 35 Group which campaigns for the release of Russian Jews.

Demonstrations in Cheltenham, England

On May 28, 1972, a demonstration in defense of Ukrainian political prisoners was held in Cheltenham with the participation of Ukrainians from neighbouring communities. The demonstration was preceded by two reports in the **Gloucestershire Echo** on May 22nd, stating the purpose of the demonstration and that it is being staged by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, and on May 27th, informing that among the speakers will be Mr. George Watt, an engineer released from a Red Chinese prison.

The demonstrators, among whom were uniformed members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), marched in silence through the main streets of the town carrying the Trident (the national emblem of Ukraine), the British, Ukrainian and SUM flags, a large poster depicting the crucifixion of Ukraine and a wreath with the inscription "To the Unsubdued Fighters of Ukraine". Mr. P. Mykytyuk placed the wreath at the Cenotaph and called for a moment of silence for the fallen heroes. During the march the young people distributed leaflets.

Following the march a mass rally was held in the Cheltenham Guild Hall. The main speakers included Mr. G. Watt, Mr. M. Hrynyuk and Dr. Donald Johnson, the organizer of the "National Front" in England, the major aim of which is to combat Communism.

An Outright Communist Lie

The Polish student actors and actresses from the Warsaw Theater Academy who performed at the Kennedy Center in Washington, D. C. in April, 1972, admitted that they were disappointed at not being able to witness a student demonstration and campus unrest, a phenomenon unknown in their own country (Poland). The "admission" that the student unrest is an unknown phenomenon in Poland is an outright lie.

These Polish acting students know very well, and it can be substantiated by news reports, that there were many student disturbances and demonstrations in Warsaw and other cities of Poland, especially during the Polish and Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia in 1968. They certainly did not forget wide unrest and demonstrations by the Polish and Ukrainian workers and the harsh and bloody suppression of the protest by the Russian tanks and bullets in December, 1970. About 200 unarmed workers, who were only demonstrating for more food and better working conditions, were killed in the

cities of Szczecin, Gdynia, and Gdansk and many more were arrested and incarcerated. The Polish actors and actresses were also silent about open dissatisfaction among the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and Jewish national minorities in Poland because of the official and unofficial political, cultural, religious and economic suppression by the Polish Communist government and the continuous persecution of the former members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Volodymyr Y. Mayewsky

Ukrainians in Brazil Honor the Unsubdued

In line with the proclamation of Metropolitan Mstyslav of the "Ukrainian National Week of Mourning", a solemn Divine Liturgy was celebrated on May 21, 1972 in the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of St. Dimitrius in

Bigorillo, a suburb of Curitiba for the peace of the souls of the fallen fighters for Ukraine's independence. Bishop Yov Skakalskyi was the celebrant with Rev. Shyrayev acting as deacon.

After the Mass an academic meeting was held in defense of the contemporary heroic sons of Ukraine who struggle with the Russian occupying power for the independent life of the Ukrainian people. The speakers were Gen. Andriy Dolud, Mr. Oleksander Chechko and Mr. Pavlo Borushenko.

The meeting also honored the memory of Vasyl Symonenko, Alla Horska and Mykhaylo Soroka, and paid tribute to the unselfish struggle of Valentyn Moroz, Chornovil, Svitlychnyi, Sverstyuk and others. Members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and representatives of Ukrainian cultural and civic organizations in Brazil also participated.

Presence of US Journalists at Trials of Ukrainian Intellectuals Urged

Prior to the departure of President Nixon to the Soviet Union, members of the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners approached a number of United States Senators and Congressman in Washington D. C. with the request that they urge President Nixon to ask the Soviet authorities to allow American journalists to the forthcoming trials of 19 Ukrainian intellectuals arrested in January 1972. Five Senators and six Congressmen submitted such a request to the President. They are: Senators V. Hartke, H. Williams, R. Schweiker, R. Griffin, and J. Buckley and Congressmen S. McKinney, H. Smith, J. Elberg, H. Helstoski, J. Scheuer and E. Grasso. Senator Stevenson from Illinois addressed a similar request to Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

The United States Government has the right to make such a request to the Russians since the United States in-

ited foreign correspondents to cover the trial of Angela Davis and Soviet journalist, Edward Basakov of TASS, was present at the trial.

The Committee called upon everyone to urge their Senators and Congressmen to ask the State Department to demand that the Russians reciprocate and allow American journalists to attend the trial of I. Svitlychnyi, V. Chornovil, Ye. Sverstyuk, and others.

In addition, it placed a full page add in the May 18, 1972, issue of the NY Review of Books magazine asking its 100,000 readers, mostly American intellectuals, to join in helping to free Ukrainian political prisoners. Father Daniel Berrigan was among the many readers who responded with a contribution. 3,500 brochures with the biographies of the nineteen Ukrainian political prisoners have been published and distributed by the Committee.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



LITHUANIA

Lithuanian Catholics Protest to Brezhnev and Kosygin

The news agency Kathpress (Catholic Press Vienna) well informed about Church affairs, reports about Catholic priests' and laymen's complaints — among them even deputies — of "antiecclasiastic measures of pressure" taken by Soviet authorities. 124 Lithuanian priests are said to have applied to Premier Kosygin and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Republic of Lithuania for the liberation of Bishop Julijonas Steponavicius confined in his house and to have requested them to cease preventing him from exercising his clerical office. According to Kathpress 1344 believers in the district of Reiseiniai applied in a petition to the Head of State Podgorny for the liberation of their parson Bubnis who had been arrested during a confirmation examination. 1100 Catholics in the region of Alituski are said to have written to the Secretary General of the Communist Party Brezhnev pointing out to him their legal right of practicing religion. A similar letter of protest is said to have been signed by 2000 Catholics in the district of Prenaisky. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, No. 131



RUMANIA

State and Administration Law Protection of State Secrets

The Council of Ministers has passed a new resolution on "the protection of state secrets" (for the application of the Act passed by the Grand National Assembly on the protection of state secrets — see MRB in the Official Bulletin No. 5, Part I, of Jan. 5, 1972).

The resolution is divided into four sections. In Section I state secrets are classified, documents being expressly mentioned which are regarded as being "strictly secret affairs of special importance", as well as those regarded as "strictly secret" and finally those as "secret".

Examples:

Considered as being "strictly secret affairs of especial importance" are, i. a., "information given on the defence of national frontiers, state secret codes, international relations of the state in the economic, technological and scientific, commercial, credit and currency policy, military and political field". "Strictly secret documents" are details (figures) on the state plan, on the import and export plan, issue and traffic in means of payment, printing of banknotes, the stage of import or export negotiations, etc.

"Secret affairs" are described as those documents which refer to "state funds for agricultural products, the deposits of rare metals, mineral oil and natural gas, as well as maps with the scale 1:25,000, 1:50,000, 1:200,000, and 1:500,000, irrespective of whether they contain the whole area of the country or only a part of it.

In the **Second section** criteria are given to judge "evidence, reports, duplication, handling and storing" of the documents, which fall into the category of state secrets. The "evidence" of documents representing state secrets is determined according to special registers, prepared in accordance with the resolution of the Council of Ministers. The elaboration of the document takes place first of all in "draft folders", on stencils or forms, which are later destroyed by a "special commission".

Dealing with state secrets is the pre-

rogative of authorized offices or persons and they are stored in specially equipped rooms with barred windows and doors, and with secure locks. At the end of a working day the safes and metal boxes, in which the documents are kept, are sealed. (cf. Article 22 of the resolution of the Council of Ministers). Keys are kept in a place determined by the head of the party organization. **Chapter III** regulates how "information, details and documents of the office" concerned are kept. These are also to be kept in safes and metal boxes.

Finally **Chapter IV** contains final and provisional regulations. They are principally concerned with the admission of unauthorized persons into the institutions, who are at the same time carriers of secrets.

Economic Law

Radio and TV Sets. Decrease in Prices

The production of radio and TV sets has apparently risen considerably in the last few years. (Cf. Resolution of the Council of Ministers in the Official Bulletin No. 4/1972). For every 100 families, it is claimed, there exist today 90 radios and about 50 TV sets. Accordingly it has been decided to lower the sale price, by 20% in the case of radio sets and by 15% in the case of TV sets.

International Relations

The European Security Conferences

The political consultative committee of the member countries of the Warsaw Pact is meeting in Prague. It is discussing "Questions in connection with political life on the European continent and world peace". The work of the consultative committee is, it is claimed, now at an end, with the issuing of a "declaration on peace, security and cooperation in Europe". The party and government of the Socialist Republic of Rumania regards this declaration as an important contribution to the promotion of peace on the continent. (Cf. resolution of the central

committee of the CP of Rumania, of the State Council and Council of Ministers in the Official Bulletin No. 14, Part I, of February 2, 1972). Rumania intends, in the field of foreign policy, to maintain relations with all European countries on the basis of respect for national independence and sovereignty. As part of these relations "use of force or the threat thereof" are excluded. The SR of Rumania would offer guarantees to these states, to the effect that no act of aggression will be committed against them, and that they will be able to develop freely according to their own wishes. (Cf. the resolution quoted.) In order to put this resolution into effect the Foreign Ministry of the SR of Rumania will take up diplomatic contacts with the governments of the states interested for the purpose of settling the agenda of the security conference. Europe is to become a zone of peace and cooperation "between sovereign states with equal rights". The SR of Rumania appeals to all European states to join together in their efforts to guarantee peace and understanding in Europe.



Popular Resistance Growing

January arrests of the Ukrainian cultural leaders have not terminated but rather have resulted in the further growth of the movement of resistance of broad masses of the population. The Party leaders have thought that they will intimidate the population by the arrests and it will stop fighting for truth.

The most recent reports from Ukraine prove that underground literature not only has not disappeared, but, to the contrary, has become stronger. Only fools from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the KGB (Secret Police) could have taken such a step as the closing of churches in numerous cities

and villages. On Easter Sunday the people could not go to pray because the diabolical KGB had decided to close the churches. The answer was not long in coming. In Lviv and other cities of Ukraine, including Odessa, leaflets appeared advising that the Bolsheviks will have to pay for repressions and the arbitrary closing of God's churches.

On May 1, 1972, the reply came. Students and young people of Lviv failed to appear for May Day "festivities", boycotting them completely. Much more violent was the reaction in Odessa, Kyiv and other cities and villages of Ukraine.

As evidence, we quote a passage from a certain original: "Perhaps, you heard about what happened in Lviv on May 1st, what the students did? And what happened in Odessa? But all this is a secret. And what took place in our neighbouring village, Taurova? The church was closed. For three days the people did not appear for work; the kolkhoz cows were not milked; the hogs were not fed; the tractors stood idle. For three days church bells were rung continuously. The authorities came in cars from Ternopil and asked: 'What do you want?' And the people shouted: 'To open the church!' After some bargaining the Party bureaucrats realized that they can do nothing and had to open the church. Since then they are looking for the initiator. This would give them something to do and somebody to try. But their hopes are in vain."

The May events in Ukraine are interesting from many aspects. It is the first time in many years that broad circles of the population are taking part in passive resistance, having rid themselves of the previous sense of fear. The people are ready to rise in defense of their legal rights and against the arbitrariness of Party and KGB members. An active participation of young people in the campaign is a sign that they are ready to take the

burden of struggle upon their shoulders. If it is taken into consideration that a struggle for the improvement of living conditions and the right to strike and to demand from the leaders of the CC CPSU and the KGB a public "confession" to the people for uncontrolled financial operations for their own account from government funds and so forth, then the internal situation in the USSR, and in the Russian-occupied countries in particular is becoming ever more complicated.

Russian "Renovation" of Ukrainian Shrines

Tourists and scholars arriving from Ukraine recounted that they had an opportunity to see the Kyiv Pecherska Lavra (Cave Monastery) in detail, where the exterior of some churches of that historic complex of great worth and world significance has been restored. Almost completed is the restoration of the church of Christ's Resurrection, but only on the outside, for inside it is in shambles. The church of the Nativity at the "Dalni Pechery" (Remote Caves) was also rebuilt on the outside. The shrine really appears attractive to the sight-seer and almost beckons to itself. But the doors are barred with heavy irons, chains and a lock. When the tourists managed to move them ajar a bit, they saw gray, peeling walls with spider webs, unadorned by holy pictures, stripped of relics and ornaments, dust and refuse on the floor, a heavy chain, from which the chandeliers and candles were pulled off, hanging from the ceiling of the vault. This sight-seeing tour took place without a Russian guide. It was not even possible to peek into several other Ukrainian churches at the Lavra. They were tightly shut, and it is hard to tell whether the same things are happening there as in the extremely beautiful and outwardly restored Nativity Church.

In the huge Refectory of the Lavra, where not only dinners, but also acade-

mic debates were held in the past and where the great Ukrainian philosopher and idealist, Hryhoriy Skovoroda, had appeared, the Communists have set up an anti-religious museum, hanging the walls with horrible pictures, which one can hardly view since the Russian "sorealism" is so un-artistic.

The Russified Skovoroda

On the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the birth of philosopher Hryhoriy Skovoroda, which is to be observed in December 1972, the "Dni-pro" publishers recently published a collection of his selected works. In addition to the "Garden of Divine Songs" and the "Kharkiv Fables", the collection contains 72 poems, satirical tales and parables. B. Derkach is the compiler.

In 1922, a monument to the philosopher, designed by sculptor I. Kavaleridze, was built in Loshvytsya in the Poltava region, not far from the village of Chornukhy where he was born.

In 1961, Skovoroda's works were published in Kyiv in two volumes — not in the Ukrainian translation as his fellow-countrymen would have hoped, and which the Kyiv Academy of Sciences should have done, but in the language of the "original". This language is a mixture of Russian, Church-Slavonic, Polish and the Ukrainian vernacular. Several years ago "The Garden of Divine Songs" was published in the Ukrainian translation for schools.

The Association of Ukrainian Evangelists in Canada is preparing for publication the works of Skovoroda in Ukrainian translation. Upon their inquiries if the same thing is not being planned in Kyiv, so as not to duplicate the edition, a negative reply was received.

Obviously, Russia does not want to permit the use of Ukrainian in philosophy. It does the same thing with science, for in Ukraine scientific works are published almost exclusively in Russian. Hence, Red Russia is continu-

ing the policy of the tsars — it leaves the Ukrainian to be the language of the gutter, for peasants and kolkhoz workers, banning it from cities, universities and scientific institutions. There the language of the "master race" is dominant.

Growth of Siberia Submerges Culture of the Yakuts

Today, the Yakuts make up only 44 percent of the region's (Yakutia — ABN Cor.) 676,000 people and an even smaller percentage of the residents of the capital, Yakutsk. In a leather plant, as in some other industries, the Yakuts — traditionally nomadic fur trappers and reindeer herders — are only 20 percent of the work force. The majority are Russians, with a sprinkling of Ukrainians and other nationalities.

Signs of Russianization are everywhere. Local scholars say political and technical terminology has been transplanted into the Yakut language and names have become thoroughly Russianized.

Educational reforms under Soviet rule have brought a dramatic expansion of literacy... The price of advancements has been adaptation to Russian culture. Like many minority areas, Yakutia has a dual school system — Yakut-language schools and Russian-language schools.

In Yakutsk and its suburbs there are 39 primary and secondary schools, all but four of them Russian schools, according to Molog S. Slepsov, a Deputy Mayor of Yakut descent.

In the Russian schools all courses are taught in Russian and the Yakut language is offered only as an option in a few of them... In the four Yakut schools, on the other hand, Russian is compulsory from first grade and it becomes the language of instruction for all subjects in the 9th and 10th grades to prepare students for Yakutsk University, where Russian is the dominant tongue.

Another important medium for drawing the Yakuts into Russian culture is television. Yakutsk has its own station, with a range of 100 miles.

News broadcasts, like the local news, are in both Russian and Yakut. But the great bulk of the programming is in Russian.

Over the centuries, the Yakuts have become known for ornamental silver, for warrior figures and other items

carved from the ivory tusks and bones of mammoths, and for leather embroidery.

But the dominant themes of a contemporary art exhibition are those of socialist realism — bulldozers and cranes, dams and construction sites. The traditional themes are subordinate.

(Excerpts from an article by **Hedrick Smith**, *The New York Times*, May 4, 1972)

From Letters to ABN:

I am very pleased to give, herewith, a detailed report on my informative and political plans to fight Communism and other Marxist ideologies in the Arab World, whose population counts more than 100 million living in 18 countries, 16 of which are members of the United Nations.

I am Lebanese journalist and founder of the publishing house "Facts on Marxism".

Many monthly books had been already published, among which are:

1. ... And the Gholan was lost.
2. A Marxist conspiracy against Lebanon.
3. I accuse and defy.
4. Lenin: The red false Christ.
5. Communist terror against Islam.
6. Facts on Kim Il Sung and North Korea.
7. The wall of shame.
8. 7 months in Soviet Russia.
9. The black book on Communism.

The house is publishing bi-monthly pamphlets which are distributed free of charge in Lebanon and other Arab countries. 5000 copies of each pamphlet are distributed. And we are planning to publish the following items:

- A. A monthly ideological magazine specialized in Marxist affairs. The first issue is due to appear in June 1972.
- B. Special courses for students to be distributed free of charge.
- C. Editorials in different dailies and magazines attacking Communism.
- D. Ask eminent Arab writers to give lectures on the dangers of Communism. These lectures will be printed and distributed free of charge. The first lecture will be given in June 1972.

We established the "Lebanese Anti-Communist Organization" which will be the basis of the "Arab Anti-Communist Organization". This organization will be as we hope a chapter of the "World Anti-Communist League" and is due to attend the WACL conference which will be held in Mexico between 22nd and 25th of August 1972 before it organizes in Beirut the first "Arab-Anti-Communist Conference". We hope, too, the WACL Conference for 1973 will be organized in Beirut. Such proposal has been sent to the Secretariat of the WACL.

I am convinced that an efficacious international cooperation between the free organizations is becoming, more and more a necessity in order to create an international informative campaign and liberate intoxicated people from Marxist opium.

Fouad Karam

Book Reviews

J. Birch: **The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement in the USSR since 1956.** Published by the Ukrainian Information Service, London, 1971, 48 p.

J. Birch, a lecturer in Soviet politics at the University of Sheffield, examines a number of the more important recent instances of nationalist activity in Ukraine, specifically: a) the three nationalist groups briefly active in the later 1950s and early 1960s; b) a reported nationalist protest of a number of lawyers in 1964; c) the Ukrainian intellectuals tried in 1966; d) a further group active in the mid 1960s; e) the developments ensuing from the publication of Honchar's novel "Sobor", particularly those in Dnipropetrovsk in 1968. He deals with the structure and scope of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, its membership, their grievances and programme, the methods used, and the results achieved.

The study contains 13 tables providing data on individuals from many walks of life who were arrested and tried for their nationalist activities and who are now suffering long years of imprisonment for their convictions.

Michael Brown (Ed.): **Ferment in Ukraine.** Documents by V. Chornovil, I. Kandyba, L. Lukyanenko, V. Moroz and others. Foreward by Max Hayward. Published 1971 by the Macmillan Press Ltd. London and Basingstoke. 267 pp. Price £ 4.50 (90s.)

This book contains documents on the resistance shown by Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Kandyba, Lev Lukyanenko, Valentyn Moroz and other Ukrainian intellectuals to the Russian foreign rule and the Soviet system. These documents also throw a strong light on the actual situation in the "sovereign" Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic with-

in the USSR, the Russification policy in Ukraine and the methods of "socialist legality" in the "liberalized" Soviet system. It is clearly seen from this that in the Russian-Bolshevist sphere of power Communist ideology is subordinate to Russian imperialist interests.

The documents published fall into the following groups: "The Jurists' Case"; "1965 Arrests: Voices from the Labour Camps"; "A Report from the Beria Reservation"; "The Chornovil Case" and "The Aftermath". The book also contains a list of post-war Ukrainian political prisoners, a bibliography and an index. An informative introduction and numerous notes make this book easily understandable also for readers previously insufficiently informed about conditions in Ukraine and the USSR in general. This collection of documents is to be recommended to anyone who wishes to obtain realistic and thorough information about the present situation and political problems in Ukraine.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny

David C. Head: **PRINCIPLES VERSUS PROFIT. Trade with Communist China.** Published by the Clergymen's Committee on China, Inc., P. O. Box 1776, Briarcliff Manor, New York, N. Y. 10510.

In this publication, the author presents arguments for and against trade of the United States with Red China or other Communist dictatorships. He comes to the following conclusion: "In encouraging American corporations to pursue deals with Communist China (and Communist countries per se) we are permitting profit to take precedence over national security and, thereby, over national interest. In seeking profit at the expense of principle we are betraying our country and our hope for a secure future."

TOWARD A NEW CENTRAL EUROPE. A Symposium on the Problems of the Danubian Nations. Edited and with an introduction by Francis S. Wagner. Published by the Danubian Press Inc., Astor Park, Florida, 32002. 1970, 392 pp. Price \$ 8.50.

This book, dedicated to the President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, contains contributions from various scholars, politicians and journalists, stemming mostly from the Danube area, on the problems of the Danubian nations. The writers of individual contributions convey information to the readers about the history, the current situation or the political aspirations of the Danubian nations. Some articles provide information as to the political concepts of their writer and propose possible solutions.

Out of the many interesting contributions, at least the following authors should be mentioned: F. O. Miksche, a military and political scientist, working in Paris, — "Danubian Federation"; Miroslav Lazarovich, an economist in New York, — "Regional Federalism or a New Cataclysm"; Dr. Joseph M. Kirschbaum, professor at the Toronto University and vice-president of the World Congress of Slovaks, — "Slovakia and the Integration Plans of Central Europe"; Dr. Istvan Szentpaly, a lawyer in New York, — "The Hungarian Freedom Fight and the Entry of the Soviet Army"; Dr. Stjepan Buc, a Croatian scholar and politician in Munich, — "Croatia and Central Europe"; Stan Ionescu, president of the "Union Naciones Danubianas", — "What has to be done".

The appendix of the book contains maps and statistical data on the Danubian nations.

Dr. C. E. Pokorny

Alfred Domes (Ed.): **REFORMEN UND DOGMEN IN OSTEUROPA** (Reforms and Dogmas in Eastern Europe.) Published by the Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, Cologne, 1971, 269 pages.

After the greetings to the editor, Professor Dr. Alfred Domes, on the occasion of his 70th birthday, this collection of essays contains contributions from German, Polish, Hungarian and other, in total 18, experts on the efforts to bring about reforms within the governing Communist parties in Eastern, East Central, and South Eastern Europe. The author uses the expression "reform Communism" to describe these efforts, often termed "revisionism" or "liberalism".

Dr. Boris Meissner, Professor of Eastern Law at Cologne University, writes in his essay "Moscow Orthodoxy and Reform Communism" as follows:

"Revisionism is also not to be simply equated with 'National Communism', as has often happened after the October revolution in Poland and the popular rising in Hungary in 1956. As is known, Stalin was the first to introduce in a Communist-ruled country the amalgamation of nationalism and Communism. The same process also took place in China under Mao Tse-tung. The National Communism of the medium-sized and small nations differs from that of the large nations, in that it displays no imperial character. 'Revisionism' is, in contrast to National Communism, with which it is often connected, primarily directed towards, not the nation and state independence, but the free formation of the relation between the Communist one-party state and society" (page 28).

After the introductory essay "End of Reforms in Communism" by Dr. Eugen Lemberg, Professor of History at the Academy for International Education in Frankfurt on Main, we find the following group of subjects: "Government System and Foreign Policy", "Reforms and Intellectual Life" and "Reforms and Foreign Economic Relations".

The book also contains biographical details on the authors of the individual contributions.

Dr. C. E. Pokorny

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

Second Revised and Extended Edition
Library of Congress Card Catalog No. 70 - 100979

Edited by **Slava Stetsko, M. A.**
Foreword by **Ivan Matteo Lombardo**

Revolutionary Voices



This book contains articles and protests to various Soviet Russian officials which were written by Ukrainian intellectuals who are at present incarcerated in Russian concentration camps, including recent works by Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, sentenced by the Russians to 14 years imprisonment for voicing his opinion.

The Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, Chairman of the European Freedom Council, states in the foreword of the book:

"Autocratic machinery has always prevailed in Russia, either at the times of the tsars or in the present so-called Soviet Union, and it is there that the source of responsibility rests. From the Okhrana to the KGB, there is no solution of continuity. The tradition of reaction and repression is being spelled by incarceration, terror, persecution and by the extirpation of all liberal and human ideas, because they are alien to the imperio-colonialistic mentality..."

"Among the colonized and repressed peoples, the Ukrainians are singled out by the Moscow overlords as those to be hated most and are most severely dealt with for their national and political consciousness, for the moral and cultural heritage they cherish to the utmost."

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BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

30th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)



ROMAN SHUKHEVYCH - TARAS CHUPRYNKA
Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

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The 30th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.)

(1942 - 1972)

Thirty years ago the first units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army went into action against the Nazi German and Soviet Russian occupiers of Ukraine. In a relentless and continuing struggle against the Nazis during 1942-44 and against Soviet Russia thereafter the UPA had established itself as a powerful medium of open resistance and political warfare for the years to come. At the peak of its activities during the nineteen forties its forces numbered close of 200,000 men and women, under the formidable leadership of their Commander-in-Chief General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka (killed in action against Soviet security forces in 1950).

Ukraine is the center of a stealthy, but very much alive, revolt against the Kremlin.

(The Washington Times-Herald, Dec. 7, 1949)

Ukraine is known definitely to have an extensive and well-organized anti-Soviet underground movement.

(The New York Herald Tribune, Nov. 13, 1949)

The Ukrainian movement of liberation, which is directed by Gen. Taras Chuprynka, is spreading like fire.

(Stockholm Tidningen, Aug. 30, 1948)

The mighty Ukrainian rebellion is entering its fourth year.

(The Saturday Evening Post, Sep. 4, 1948)

Behind the lines of the advancing Red Army, powerful Ukrainian forces had sprung up to fight for freedom against the Soviets. The fight of these forces is another of the War's untold stories.

(Life, Dec. 19, 1949)

Still today a Ukrainian Insurgent Army known as the UPA is engaged in guerilla war against the Kremlin.

(Maj. Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, The Saturday Evening Post, Oct. 27, 1951)

During the second half of the war he (Stepan Bandera — Leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement) fought against both us and the Germans. Later, after the war, we lost thousand of men in a bitter struggle between the Ukrainian nationalists and the forces of Soviet Power. For some years after the war, until he was killed,

Stepan Bandera presented a very serious problem to the Soviet authorities. For obvious reasons his activities have never been publicized, but it took a large-scale military and police operation, with all the paraphernalia of tanks, aircraft, and heavy artillery, to break up the rebel forces, composed of dedicated Ukrainian nationalists, deserters from the Soviet armed forces, former prisoners of war, and displaced persons of all kinds and many nationalities — all united in fear or hatred of Moscow.

(Nikita Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers*, p. 147)

As late as in April 1959 the Western press laconically reported the arrests in the USSR of several persons for their active membership in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The military struggle of UPA was never regarded as an aim in itself. It was meant as an armed spearhead of a widespread Ukrainian political struggle which seeks the return of sovereign state power to the Ukrainian people usurped by Soviet Russia. The striking force aimed at this goal should not be reckoned merely by its present strength. For it is the conception of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement (ULM) — the UPA being its military arm — that this ultimate goal can only be reached by the revolutionary struggle of the entire Ukrainian people. According to the conception of liberty through revolution, the ULM-UPA has at all times based its activities directed toward national-political, socio-economic, and cultural liberation of the Ukrainian people. The vitality of this principle in our times has been asserted by the all-out popular support it obtained from the Ukrainian masses: "There is scarcely a family in Ukraine which does not have a man with the partisan fighter; no village which does not help and hide the partisan fighters when they suddenly appear only to disappear like ghosts," wrote *Die Neue Zeitung*, a newspaper in Germany, on Oct. 21, 1948.

The prolonged struggle of the ULM-UPA has thus assumed clearcut objectives: the establishment of the sovereign Ukrainian state on all Ukrainian lands, firmly based on the belief and historical experience that only an independent Ukraine will be able to provide adequately for the socio-economic, national-political, and cultural needs of the Ukrainian people.

As such the ULM-UPA has been at all times one of the leading forces — ideologically and strategically — in the present struggle of all freedom-loving mankind for the rights, freedom and dignity of man and nations.

In the current struggle there is no substitute, it is said, for victory. In truth there can be neither victory nor any substitute for truth itself.

The liberation struggle of the ULM-UPA is a continuation of that centuries-long struggle the Ukrainians have been waging to remain a free nation.

Are the "Ten" Europe?

After four states have entered the European Economic Community, we should remember that the Six already described themselves as Europe when there were only six of them. On the other hand, the Warsaw Bloc has never thought of claiming for itself the title "Europe". This is all the more astonishing, as this group of powers comprises at least seven countries. If one counts the Soviet republics of Byelorussia and Ukraine, which belong to the United Nations, then there are nine. If one doesn't forget the three Baltic states swallowed by Russia, then there are even twelve countries.

At the moment when the European community is expanding from six to ten, it must not be overlooked that the Soviet Union, the only sovereign state in the Eastern Bloc, is making known, through its silence, that the future of Europe as one free nation represents a matter which has no place at all, as has always been so, in its policy. Neither Moscow nor Warsaw made any statement about "Europe". The continent and the rest of the world know that it is the aim of the Ten to create Europe as a political unit. But they are also certain that the Soviet Union (whose government is the only one with any weight east of the Iron Curtain and the Berlin Wall), is striving to prevent this.

The Ten, strengthened today by a powerful and well-run country, are endeavouring to help Europe achieve full growth. Thus seen, the use of the name Europe, although a little premature, seems an excellent thing. It calls to mind what the Ten want to become one day, but which they are not yet. But in this method there lies a danger. Nothing would be more irresponsible than the use of big words which fail to correspond to the reality they wish to illustrate.

Between the Ten and the whole of Western Europe there yawns a gap through the absence of Sweden, Austria, and Switzerland, and the problem of the two Iberian states. The first task waiting for the Ten will be the solution of the difficulties existing with these five nations. This promises to be in no way an easy task. Although appearances may seem different, opinion is inclined to regard Sweden as being the toughest nut to crack.

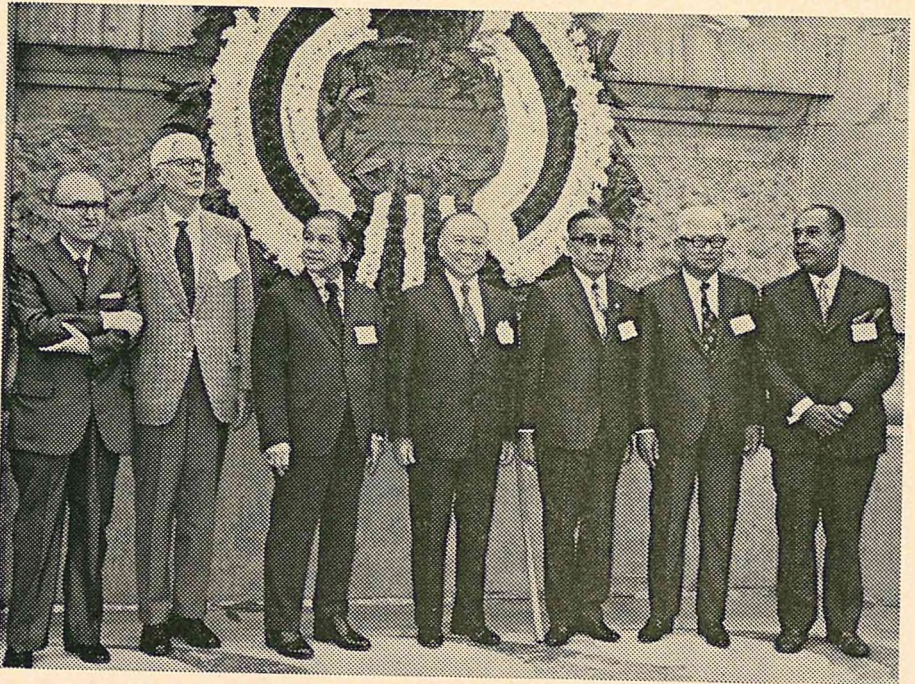
The worst danger lies, however, in the possibility that the ten — tomorrow it may be the Twelve or the Fifteen — succumb to the temptation of becoming lost in questions of trade and finance, and are satisfied when the creation of free trade and a single currency has taken place. It could happen that their material success will close their eyes to the fact that in the course of this process they have "murdered" Europe.

We, Europeans, do not desire Europe in order to increase the number of superpowers from two to three or four. We support the idea of Europe principally because we wish to secure the chances of survival of our various nations, and the family of nations which they form. So that this survival will be worthwhile, we are aiming at a Europe which will represent not only historical greatness, but will have a spiritual they form. So that this survival will be lieve that it would be worth surviving in a continent, in which East Germans, who want to come to West Germany, are being shot in the name of a constitutional government. We do not believe either that relations between the two Germanics can be improved by the recognition of a government which orders such shootings.

We are also of the opinion that a vague, indefinite, unconditional rap-

prochement and relaxation of tensions cannot derive their justification from the necessity of recognizing the fact of the East European empire of the Soviet Union, as this is occasionally declared and given as a reason quite openly by the "appeasement" press of certain Western countries. Even less do we believe that "since it is after all a question of facts, the recognition of the Soviet Union as such would bring no profit to the Soviet Union, which it has not long since possessed". Even if this were true, the recognition will disastrously affect the moral status of Western Europe and will be regarded by the people of Eastern Europe as treachery.

Completely to the contrary, we are convinced that, because we are Europeans, we must never grant the Soviet Union the right — although it has the power to obtain it — to deprive half of Europe of the freedom of its nations and subjects. We would like to warn the Ten that it is their real task — and for this they as Europeans bear the full responsibility — to build up Europe — Europe as a whole. But since Europe contains freedom of thought and respect for human dignity, the Europe of the Ten would degenerate into a farce, to the sorrow of its peoples, if it is not seen to that people and nations from Lisbon to Helsinki and from Dublin to Athens are really free.



The Presidium of WACL after placing a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Mexico City, on August 25, 1972. From left to right: Yaroslav Stetsko (ABN and Ukraine), Gen. Thomas A. Lane (USA), Senator Jose J. Roy (Philippines, the outgoing WACL Chairman), Dr. Ku Cheng-kang (Republic of China, Honorary Chairman of WACL), Gen. Praphan Kulapichitr (Thailand), Adm. Son Won Yil (Korea), Raimundo Guerrero (Mexico, the present Chairman of WACL).

World Anti-Communist Conference in Defense of Subjugated Nations

The Sixth Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and the Fourth Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYA-CL) were held on August 24-27, 1972 in Mexico City. In the former, 60 countries with 400 delegates and observers were represented, while the latter was attended by 35 countries with 120 delegates and observers.

"Civilization and progress — yes, Communism — no!" was the motto of the Sixth WACL Conference. The Conference confirmed the growth of the world movement striving for national independence, freedom and justice, adopted resolutions reinforcing world anti-Communist forces and organizations in their struggle with Communism and Russian and Red Chinese imperialism and supporting the struggle for national sovereignty and independence of nations subjugated within the Russian empire and the satellite states and others, important in the present struggle with the oppressors whose chief aim is to conquer and subjugate the entire world. It issued an appeal to the governments and peoples of the free world, urging them to render their assistance to the liberation struggle in order to preserve and grant freedom and national independence to all nations.

The ABN delegation belonged to the most numerous ones and under the leadership of Yaroslav Stetsko achieved considerable success. It was made up as follows: Dr. Kyrill Drenikoff (Bulgaria); Dr. S. Hefer and Dr. F. Pshenichnik (Croatia); N. Bushman (Estonia); Mrs. Helga Rodze from Australia and two Latvians from Canada; Dr. J. Kaskeles (Lithuania); a Rumanian delegate from Canada; Dr. Roman Malashchuk, Prof. Dr. Stepan Halamay, V. Bezkhlibnyk, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, I. Bilynskyi, O. Romanyshyn, Marian Tkachuk, A.

Sokolyk, Dr. Ya. Tavrydzkyi, W. Chopivskyi, Ya. Mlynarskyi, Yu. Shymko, Dr. W. Dushnyck, Mrs. Vira Dovhan, Mrs. Chopivska, Mrs. I. Bezkhlibnyk, Mrs. H. Romanyshyn, Mrs. S. Shymko, Mrs. M. Mlynarska and V. & L. Vasylyn (Ukraine). Seven ABN delegates were also delegates to the WYA-CL Conference.

Martinez Codo, the editor of the Spanish-language ABN periodical in Argentina and a prominent theoretician of guerrilla strategy, also participated in the Conference.

The European Freedom Council (EFC) was represented at the Conference by Min. Ivan Matteo Lombardo (Italy), Prof. Dr. Theodor Oberländer and A. Gielen (Germany) as well as representatives from France, Great Britain, Sweden, Spain, Denmark, Belgium and others.

Resolutions dealing with the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations were considered by the Political Committee and adopted unanimously at the Plenary Session of the Conference.

The World Anti-Communist League Conference in Mexico City supported the idea of the dissolution of the Russian empire into independent national states, denounced persecution of cultural leaders and fighters for national independence and human rights and proposed our heroes as an example to be followed by freedom-loving peoples of the world. The Conference explicitly condemned Russification of the subjugated nations.

A political report by Yaroslav Stetsko was read at the Opening Session on behalf of the subjugated nations, while at the end of the Plenary Session, the ABN position paper was read in Spanish by Dr. F. Pshenichnik (Croatia).

The ABN delegates were duly active in all committees, concentrating their

particular attention on Committee No. 1 (political and resolution) and No. 4 (final communique). Among other things the Final Communique included the following passage:

"The Conference supports the liberation struggle of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and Communism in USSR and satellite states, for their national independence and human rights."

Moreover, the Final Communique of the WYACL stated that:

"Russia, under the guise of Communism, has expanded its empire in which exist mass concentration camps and political mental asylums."

"... free world fails to mention the valient struggle of youth in the Communist-subjugated nations in Europe, such as Ukraine and Lithuania."

"... we demand that each nation be a free and independent state..."

During the course of the Conference and at press conferences, the ABN delegates disseminated documentation on the present liberation struggle, the recent repressions and opposition to the

Russification of all spheres of national life. The materials were both in English and Spanish, the languages in which the deliberations were conducted. At the same time a considerable number of publications, such as **Revolutionary Voices, Russia Is Not Invincible** (Gen. Fuller), **The Ukrainian Review, ABN Correspondence, Kyiv vs. Moscow, Ukrainian Intellectuals in Shackles**, postcards of the T. Shevchenko stained-glass window by the late Alla Horska and Panas Zalyvakh, as well as two papers by Yaroslav Stetsko entitled "The Forgotten Superpower" and "The Present Stage of the Liberation Struggle in the Subjugated Nations", and finally leaflets issued on the occasion of mass demonstrations in defense of freedom fighters and so forth.

Raimundo Guerrero (Mexico) became the new WACL Chairman.

One successful stage in ABN activity on an international forum has ended. Now we are facing new stages of our activity and new duties and tasks in the struggle for the liberation of the subjugated nations.

World Anti-Communist League in Support of Human Rights and National Independence

Resolutions Adopted by the Sixth WACL Conference in Mexico City,
26 August, 1972

WHEREAS, the present government of the Western superpower is taking the position that:

a) the concept of the so-called balance of power among the superpowers, on a world scale, with the preservation of the **status quo** of Russian conquests, is a "realistic" fact of life, and

b) the perpetuation of a policy of so-called "peaceful coexistence", even at the price of sealing the oppression of so many subjugated and enslaved nations and hundreds of millions of people, in line with a **de facto** division into spheres of influence, is the

pretended "insurance" for a "lasting peace";

WHEREAS, in the construction of this unholy alliance between superpowers, the Russian empire receives explicitly from its great power partners, an objective help, and implicitly a legitimization in its effort to succeed in suffocating the aspirations of the subjugated peoples at national liberation and independence, and their cultural heritage;

WHEREAS, the aim of Russia's global policy is the one of achieving a **de jure** recognition of the **status quo** of

enslavement of nations and peoples within the USSR and satellite states, and of consolidating Russia's imperial positions all over the world (from the Northern Seas to the Mediterranean region, from North Africa and the Middle East to Southeast Asia and the Far East, from the Caribbeans to Southern Latin America, on all the oceans and seas);

WHEREAS, the ultimate goal of Russian imperialism has never been abandoned and still is, and remains, the domination of the whole world under Communist rule;

WHEREAS, the governments of the Western states, and in particular of the Western superpower, erroneously believe that decisive force in the contemporary ideological and thermonuclear era is, first and foremost, technology and strategic armaments which determine the quality of a given great power as a superpower;

WHEREAS, those governments disregard the impact and the eroding effects of the ideological means of infiltration, brain-washing by propaganda, subversion, class warfare, urban and rural guerrillas, etc. etc. which Communism so aptly uses for the disintegration of the free human societies;

WHEREAS, the spontaneous process of mankind's development does not follow the line of the preservation of totalitarian empires, but rather leads to their dissolution and to the establishment of national states, which not only does not contradict the civilized progress of mankind, but also fosters its cultural and ethical development;

WHEREAS, the Russian Communist leaders have achieved through their agreements with the USA and the treaties with the Federal Republic of Germany the recognition of all their conquests and a silent approval of their terroristic and genocidal per-

petrations against the fighters for freedom and independence within the Soviet-Russian prison of nations, against their dissenters in the political, and (or religious, and) or cultural realms;

The 6th WACL Conference resolves:

1) To call with particular emphasis the attention of the peoples of the world to:

a) the neglected potential superpower, — i. e. the many nations and hundreds of millions of people subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism — who could topple the Russian empire and the Communist system from within, via national liberation revolutions;

b) the fact that the power elements of a superpower do not lie so much in technology and strategic arms, but first of all in righteous ideas, undaunted courage and trust in God;

c) the acknowledgement that the Achilles' heel of the totalitarian Communist Russian empire, are the subjugated nations and individuals whose ratio to the Russian people is 2 to 1;

d) the realization that the concept of the balance of power of the superpowers, and the policy of mutual deterrence are ephemeral, short-lived, for the aspirations to national freedom and independence, to individual liberty, to the restoration of man's dignity and human rights, are incoercible and prove to be much stronger in the long run.

2) To urge the governments and peoples of the free world not to be the ready dupes of the transitional concept of the so-called "peaceful co-existence" and to beware of the policy of balance of power with empires and tyrannies, because this would ultimately lead to the downfall of the still free part of the world; but to support the spiritual, religious, national and liberation forces

of the subjugated nations and individuals, the neglected and forgotten superpower to whom belongs the future and the salvation of the world from enslavement by Moscow and Communism.

- 3) To indict, and counteract by all available means, the enforced Russification of nations, the terroristic and genocidal persecution by Communism of cultural leaders and fighters for freedom and independence in Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, North Caucasus, Slovakia, Czechia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Poland, East Germany, Albania, Cuba, Vietnam, Korea and other subjugated countries of Europe and Asia.
- 4) To express its admiration, solidarity and spiritual support to the heroic martyrs who are dying or suffering and fighting for national independence, human rights and religious freedom and who do not repent or plead for mercy, as Mykhaylo Soroka or Valentyn Moroz (Ukrainians), or who have self-immolated themselves for the national idea, as Vasyl Makukh (Ukrainian) in 1968, Jan Palach (Czech) in 1969, Romas Kalanta (Lithuanian) in 1972.
- 5) To mobilize the world public opinion for a spiritual crusade against Russian and Communist tyranny and in defense of the subjugated nations and of the enslaved individuals. To organize mass actions for the release

of cultural leaders and fighters for national independence, human rights and religious liberty, imprisoned by the Communist occupants of the nations enslaved in the Soviet-Russian empire. To render support to the workers, students and peasants opposing the Russian occupation regime in Lithuania, Ukraine, Poland and to understand, and sympathize with the freedom-loving Croatian students aspiring at Croatia's independence.

- 6) To support the struggle for reunification in freedom of the forcibly divided nations in Europe and Asia, and the complete liberation of all peoples from the totalitarian Communist yoke.
- 7) To realize that the so-called European Security Conference — which the Kremlin bosses and the Communist parties have planned, and are shrilly advocating since many years — forbodes the total insecurity of Europe, and of the whole world, since it is meant for attaining the disintegration of NATO and of the Western defense, the removal of the USA from the European continent, the disruption of the efforts to build a united Europe, and the consolidation of Russian imperialistic positions throughout the world.

Resolution proposed by
**The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations
(ABN) and the European Freedom
Council (EFC)**

Resolutions adopted at the Fourth WYACL Conference, Mexico City, August 1972

Condemning Soviet Russian Imperialism and Communist Totalitarianism

Whereas, Russian imperialism and Communist totalitarianism has destroyed in the past half century the national independence of Ukraine and all other nations of East and Central Europe through open warfare, forceful annexations and overt subversion.

Whereas, Russian imperialism and Communist totalitarianism are continuously intensifying terrorist activities against Ukraine and all other captive nations through systematic waves of arrests, deportations, and Russification;

Whereas, Soviet Russia is the only colonial empire in existence which holds in bondage many nations, including Ukraine, the Baltic States, Byelo-

Russia, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, and others.

And, **whereas**, the ultimate goal of Ukraine and other subjugated nations is to achieve their liberation and national independence.

**The Fourth WYACL Conference
resolves to:**

1. Condemn Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism and Communist totalitarianism, and its aggressive actions, forced Russification, national and socio-economic oppression and exploitation of Ukraine and other subjugated nations.

2. Stand for the reestablishment of national independence, socio-economic justice, cultural, religious, human and individual rights of Ukraine and all the nations subjugated within the so-called USSR and the satellite countries.

3. Urge the nations of the Free World and their respective governments to recognize the right of Ukraine and all the other captive nations to national independence, and actively encourage and support the liberation struggle of these nations.

**In defense of nations suppressed
by Red Russian imperialism**

WHEREAS, the Russian regime in control of the subjugated nations **STEADFASTLY** denies human liberty and individual rights;

WHEREAS the government of the other superpower possessing thermo-nuclear and technological supremacy the **Western world** has moved towards a concept of balance of power and status quo with regard to rights to control territories of peoples;

WHEREAS in the construction of such an unholy alliance between the superpowers, imperialistic Russia receives objective support for the continued destruction of once free nations and peoples under its military dictatorship;

AND BECAUSE the aim of this Red Russian policy is to achieve by these means de jure recognition of her imperialistic borders, continuing the enslavement of subjugated peoples;

AND WHEREAS it should be universally recognized that human progress is moving towards dismemberment of empires and the consolidation of new national states,

*The Fourth WYACL Conference
resolves to:*

1) Bring the world's attention with all the persuasion it can muster, to

a) An undervalued and underestimated superpower for change — the dozens of nations and peoples, numbering together over two hundred million people oppressed and militarily occupied by Russian imperialism and Communism, who from within by national liberation movements and the will to become independent can bring down the regime and together with it the imperialist Russian system — without recourse to nuclear weapons.

b) The technologic and thermo-nuclear weaponry in the hands of soldiers taking part in a war suppressing national liberation movements are wholly unsuitable in such a war of ideologies.

c) Because the concept of balance of power of superpowers and mutual destruction threats policy is ephemeral and passing, since the desire for freedom and national independence is a much greater force.

2) Call on the governments of the free societies to bring to an end the selfdefeating policies of peaceful co-existence, and recognize instead the national liberation struggles of oppressed and captive nations, by,

3) Recognizing the inevitability of the destruction of all empires, including that assembled by Russia, the continued suppression and persecution of

cultural and national forces by the Red Russian regime will not help to turn the wheel from the inevitability of their liberation and new existence of such nations as Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkistan, and complete independence of the so-called Satellite States, plus the disintegration of artificial state structures such as Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia into their national components.

In Defense of Youth Persecuted by the Soviet Russian KGB

Whereas in Ukraine and other nations under Communist rule, a continually increasing number of young people are openly rebelling against cultural and religious oppression, the individual terror and ruthless exploitation of nations by the Russian Communist system, Mao's clique and the ruling elites subservient to them; and

Whereas historian Valentyn Moroz; journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil; literary critic Ivan Dzyuba; archeologist M. Smishko and other young Ukrainian intellectuals, notwithstanding torture and imprisonment, continue to defy Russian imperialism and, therefore, are deserving of our full recognition as being examples of courage.

Whereas in Ukraine, in spite of appeals through the UNITED NATIONS and the world news media, the KGB is continuing its program of mass arrests, mock trials and liquidation (e. g. the brutal murder of Alla Horská), of so-called "political dissenters" — the "flower" of Ukrainian youth; and

Whereas the son of General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka (C-in-C of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — UPA), Yuriy Shukhevych, has been rearrested and recently (May 1972) sentenced to additional 12 years of imprisonment for having refused again to denounce his father and his ideas, and who, out of his 39 years of life has already spent almost 24 years in prison.

The Fourth Conference of WYACL resolves that

1. Valentyn Moroz, Yuriy Shukhevych, Chornovil, Dzyuba, Smishko and their friends are the delegates' heroes of freedom of speech, thought, and action.

2. The delegates will make every effort to project Valentyn Moroz, Yuriy Shukhevych and his friends as champions of liberty, national culture, human and national rights.

3. The Member Units of WYACL shall make an effort, through publications, rallies and activities of their organizations, to enlist the aid of freedom-loving people throughout the world to demand that Soviet Russia cease inflicting atrocities upon those under its domination.

4. It should be brought to the attention of the General Assembly of the United Nations that these actions of the Soviet Russian regime in the so-called USSR constitute a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and, that the General Assembly condemn Soviet Russia for SUCH VIOLATIONS.

5. The governments of the nations of the free world, the Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, and the International Red Cross, should be called upon to take all the necessary steps against Soviet Russian imperialism and against their subservient Communist bureaucracy to ensure the immediate release of the above mentioned Ukrainian and ALL the political prisoners in the USSR.

In Support of the Liberation Struggle of Nations under Russian Imperialism and Chinese Communism

WHEREAS:

The striking reality of captive nations in the Russian empire, Asia and Cuba is the blatant fact that divides

the world into two parts, an enslaved and a free one, and is the base for further additions to the Soviet Russian and Red Chinese colonial empires;

The prime objective of both Moscow and Peking is the further extension of the Red empires and the domination of the whole world by means of clever infiltration, spying and subversion and in consequence the progressive deterioration of the moral and political consciousness and will to resist in the Free World;

The last visit of Mr. Nixon to Peking and Moscow, the treaty of Brandt-Brezhnev, and the quiet consent to the presence of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and elsewhere, the latest trade overtures between Russia and Australia, are ominous signs of aggravated co-existence with the deadly enemy;

Russian and Red Chinese imperialism consolidate and intensify their terrorist regimes, committing systematic spiri-

tual, national and physical genocide of subjugated nations in order to eradicate their aspirations for freedom and independence;

All measures of detente have not been met with any proof of good intentions from the Communists;

The revolutionary forces of captive nations, in spite of unabashed terror, are growing and are fighting for fundamental human and national rights;

The Fourth WYACL Conference therefore resolves:

(1) To direct our strong expressions of sympathy and of unbreakable bonds towards all the subjugated nations in order to stimulate and strengthen their fight for liberation and national independence.

(2) To use all means available for the same purpose and join the captive nations in a single united front to destroy Communist tyranny and to dismember Red colonial empires.



Captive Nations Demonstration in New York, on July 16, 1972

The Soviet Union - A Prison of Peoples

(Comments on the Foundation of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

In the Eastern bloc's sphere of influence as well as abroad Soviet leaders are very anxious to represent in the official propaganda the foundation of the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" on December 30, 1922 (50 years ago) as a voluntary union of peoples. The leadership of the Soviet Union wants to demonstrate thereby that the national question of the former Russian tsarist empire has been definitively solved under the Communist Soviet regime. This clearly follows from the Decision of February, 1972 of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concerning "the preparation for the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the USSR" with a disposition that during the preparations for the forthcoming jubilee "attention should be drawn to the illustration of the principles of Marxist-Leninist theories and of the Communist Party guidelines on the national question as well as to the power and viability of Leninist nationality policy". This disposition reveals the importance of the national question in the Soviet Union still today. We know that the Soviet Union is not only Russia. Soviet leaders frankly admit that the Soviet Union is composed of many peoples. On the other hand, they claim that **"in the course of the construction of Socialism-Communism a new historical unit of people — the Soviet people — has come into being"**. In doing so official propaganda in Moscow does not consider whether such statements are credible. If the Soviet Union consists of many peoples the formation of a Soviet people is not possible. If, however, a Soviet people has come into being the existence of many peoples in the Soviet Union is inconceivable. In reality the Union is a vast

impenetrable concentration camp of peoples having different cultures, religions, customs, languages as well as historical and geographical limits. Formerly Lenin called Russia a prison of peoples. The reorganization of the Russian empire into the USSR means nothing more than the preservation of the "prison of peoples" status because the USSR only allows for a nation's right to self-determination as interpreted by the rulers. The Russian Communists talked a great deal of the peoples' national self-determination but they actually meant putting non-Russian peoples in the chains of the Russian empire. They could not do otherwise for, from the very first, Russian imperialist instinct has been affiliated with Russian Communist tendencies. Lenin himself precisely referred to this when writing in "Sotsial-Demokrat" (Social Democrat) on December 12, 1914:

"The interests of the Great Russians' national pride (not servility) are in accordance with the Great Russian (and all other) proletarians' socialist interests."

It also follows from Lenin's writings that the peoples' right to self-determination was admitted by the Communist leadership of Russia only for tactical reasons. He wrote:

"We request the liberty of self-determination, i. e. independence implying the freedom of secession for the oppressed nations, not because we are in favour of economic splintering or the idea of small states but, on the contrary, because we want a vast state, the nations approaching each other and even melting into one another; this object, however,

should be attained democratically and on an international basis which is inconceivable without the freedom of secession" (cited from "Pravda Vostoka", February 22, 1972, page 1).

Thus, reincorporation of the suppressed peoples into a vast state was an object of Russian Communism. This state was first called Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and was then renamed USSR. Reincorporation of the suppressed peoples of the Russian tsarist empire into the Russian Soviet empire, however, could not be effected democratically for, neither before nor after the establishment of the USSR did Soviet leadership, understand the classical meaning of democracy. The world began to realize that Communism could be nothing but a radical dictatorship.

Establishment of the USSR

When the Russian Communists assumed power, the Russian potential split into two antagonistic factions: the Bolshevik Communists with their Red Guard and the White Guard holding monarchist and republican views. On the other hand, Russian forces opposed to Communism were at odds. The Communists succeeded in coming forth as victors in the Russian Civil War. A third decisive factor were the non-Russian forces striving for national freedom and independence. They had to assert their tendencies in two directions, i. e. against the Red Guard and against the White Guard. Whenever the national forces opposing Russians of both factions manifested themselves, the Russian antagonistic forces came to terms in order to keep the peoples of the Russian empire under the rule of Russia.

It is impossible to deal in detail with the antecedents, a period of entanglement in the history of the Russian empire. It is merely noted that the White Guard was crushed by Russian patriots, the so-called Communist Red

Guard. On the other hand, the national forces fell a victim of the Russian imperialist instinct because there was no disagreement among the Russian forces striving for power as regards the territorial composition of the future Russian empire. Moreover, the national non-Russian forces were unable to constitute a united front against a new Russian empire. As a result of their past the non-Russians were too weak as compared to the Russian potential, for instance as regards armament and military training. Furthermore, some non-Russian intellectuals believed in the Bolshevik slogans concerning the peoples' right to self-determination. Besides, one should not depreciate the effectiveness of the declaration made by Soviet Russia for, it is for the first time in Russian history that such concessions (even secession from Russia) were made. The national movements of non-Russian peoples brought about a break-down of the Russian empire. In the period 1918-20 the Russian empire de facto no longer existed because the peoples conquered and oppressed by tsarist Russia, namely Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Finns, Armenians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, North Caucasians, Turkestanis (Turkmen, Kazakhs, Tadzhiks, Uzbeks, Kirghizs), Tatars, Bashkirs etc., declared themselves independent. Thus, in May 1918 Lenin made the following declaration.

"Nothing was left of Russia (read Russian empire — author) **but Great Russia"** (Natsional'naya gosudarstvennost' soyuznykh republik, Moscow 1968, page 13).

At that time the Russian prison of peoples in fact consisted of Russia only. Now the new Russian rulers gradually had to abolish the non-Russian peoples' independent states, introduce the Soviet system, i. e. found Soviet peoples' republics on the respective national territories and, incorporate the non-Russian states thus tied to the

Soviet system into Soviet Russia. Until 1922 the Soviet Russian leaders succeeded in establishing separate Soviet governments in Ukraine, Byelorussia and Transcaucasia. Then the Russian imperialists in the guise of Communism attempted to create, as soon as possible, an alleged Union of Soviet Republics. In this respect two ideas were opposing each other: Stalin wanted to **unite all peoples within the RSFSR granting them some rights of autonomy**; Lenin, on the contrary, was startled by the peoples' reactions and suggested a **formal Union of the Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia**. Neither did Lenin's nor Stalin's ideas prevail in Moscow. It was merely decided to create a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics without any binding territorial or ethnic divisions. The deputies of the Soviet republics gathered in Moscow at the end of December 1922 and proclaimed the foundation of the USSR. It was noted in the declaration that any new Soviet republics may be admitted to the USSR. According to this principle any Socialist republic in the world can be incorporated into the Soviet Union.

The structural transformation of the administration of the Soviet Russian empire under the USSR naturally did not result from a referendum of the peoples concerned but from a declaratory act of the Russian Communist Party and its branches in Transcaucasia, Ukraine and Byelorussia. In fact, the Communist government of the Transcaucasian Federated Republic did not even consult the governments of the republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia when deciding to join the Union with Soviet Russia, Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelorussia. Only in 1926 these 3 Caucasian Soviet republics were directly incorporated into the USSR. Two years later, Turkestan having been divided into 5 Soviet republics, on May 13, 1925 the Soviet republics of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan were incorporated into the USSR. In

return Moscow eliminated the independent republics of Bokhara and Khozrezm although the government of the RSFSR had recognized their sovereignty by respective treaties. Moscow declared that these Soviet republics had announced their desire to join the USSR. As is well known, however, the division of Turkestan and the establishment of individual Soviet republics was Moscow's design. The population was not consulted by a referendum either concerning the division of Turkestan or the incorporation of the newly constituted Soviet republics of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan into the USSR.

In 1929 the Soviet Republic of Tadzhikistan, which had been part of Uzbekistan since the division of Turkestan, was incorporated into the USSR. In 1936 the formerly autonomous Soviet Socialist republics of Kazakhstan and Kirghizistan, being part of the RSFSR, were incorporated into the USSR.

On March 31, 1940, following the conquest of part of Finland, the Karelo-Finnish Republic was founded. On August 2, 1940, following the conquest of Bessarabia, the Moldavian ASSR was transformed together with Bessarabia into a Moldavian SSR. In 1940 the independent national republics of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia were occupied, transformed into Soviet republics and incorporated into the USSR. The establishment of the above republics shows that the USSR enlarged its territory by armed force at the cost of other peoples.

When the USSR was founded it consisted of four units (RSFSR, Transcaucasian SSR, Ukrainian SSR and Byelorussian SSR). In 1925 two more units were added (Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan). In 1929 the USSR was composed of seven Soviet republics (including the Tadzhik SSR). In 1936 the Transcaucasian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic was dissolved and Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia were directly incorporated into the USSR —

thus the USSR comprised ten Soviet republics. As a consequence of the Soviet government's annexation policy, the number of the republics had risen to 16 in 1940. On June 16, 1956, however, the Karelo-Finnish SSR was separated from the USSR and incorporated into the RSFSR as autonomous SSR because the majority of the population was supposed to be Russian. It is quite obvious, however, that in 16 years the Soviet Russians succeeded in reducing the national elements and increasing the proportion of the Russian population in the Karelo-Finnish SSR. It was thus attempted for the first time to abolish a Union republic due to the minority of its national population; the same could be applied in the future, too. It is known that Kazakhs and Kirghiz are minority groups in the Soviet republics of Kazakhstan and Kirghizistan; the Soviet leaders, however, did not abolish these republics although the majority of the population is Russian. Perhaps, maintaining these Soviet republics as so-called sovereign states within the framework of the USSR is more important to Moscow on grounds of foreign policy, parti-

cularly with respect to China, than nominally degrading these Soviet republics to so-called autonomous Soviet republics.

According to the Soviet lawyers' estimate, **35 national states** belong to the USSR, i. e. 15 Union republics and 20 autonomous republics. Again and again the official propaganda emphasizes the fact that the Soviet Union comprises 110 nationalities (natsional'nostey) and peoples (narodnostey) forming **53 national states and state-like units** (gosudarstvennykh obrazovaniy). **15 Union republics thereof are sovereign states.** The Russians further state that the autonomous Soviet socialist republics (20 units) enjoy **restricted sovereign rights.** 18 additional units are the so-called **autonomous national regions**, also represented as some kind of states. By means of a distortion of terms the historical meaning of peoples' sovereign rights has thus been falsified. The Soviet Union definitely succeeded in influencing the free world by means of its powerful propaganda, based on falsifications.

(To be continued)

Note of Thanks

Deeply moved by the numerous proofs of ardent sympathy and regard on the death of my noble husband, Dr. jur. Ctibor Edmund Pokorny, a long time friend and co-worker of the ABN, I herewith express my heartfelt thanks.

I particularly thank His Excellency Yaroslav Stetsko and his highly-esteemed wife Mrs. Slava Stetsko and the Central Committee of the ABN who supported me in my great grief.

I also express my sincerest thanks to Right Reverend Stepan Dmytryshyn and the church choir, to Prof. Dr. Bucko, to the Slovak organizations, the ABN delegation from Great Britain, the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, the Ukrainian Information Service of London, the Ukrainian Veteran Association of Great Britain, the Ukrainian Friends and the Ukrainian Women's Association of Great Britain, the Byelorussian Front of Liberation and to all Slovak, German, Bulgarian, Rumanian and Hungarian friends for their sympathy and profound parting words at the graveside as well as for their numerous floral tributes

In deep mourning
Lydia Pokorny

The Present Stage of the Liberation Struggle of the Subjugated Nations

The present state of the revolutionary liberation struggle in the subjugated countries is marked by the ideological and political mobilization of the broad popular masses for the anti-Russian and anti-Communist drive for independence. It is an ideological, political, cultural and religious struggle, the goal of which is the self-assertion of the national quality, independent formulation of the national substance of each subjugated nation, as an antipode to the Russian essence. This is taking place within the plan of ideological unity, the unanimity of political guidelines for action, with loose technical links of the type uniting like-minded people and the most extreme underground which must not necessarily have a single, centralized organization in the subjugated countries, but must have an ideological and political programme and platform.

There are two forms of resistance and struggle — semi-legal and underground. With respect to the former it is mandatory to state: it is made up of fighters who have dedicated themselves, as banners of courage, character, and adherence to principles, real and personified. In the process of liberation struggle this is an inevitable heroic self-sacrifice in order to stir the people, in order to show that fear has been broken, that heroes are possible in the system of total "enlightened" and brutal terror of the KGB. It must be frankly stated that Mykhaylo Soroka, Alla Horska and others like them are heroes and beacons. They have broken the ice, the glacial period in the history of Ukraine of the last decades, of course, with the foundation of the actions of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and the entire nation, with the foundation

of the nationwide insurrection of 1942-1953 and later, i. e. revolts and strife in concentration camps.

With respect to the second complex, the underground complex, it is expedient to mention that it not only exists and acts, but that it is a stimulant in the processes taking on many appearances. Contacts with it from abroad have the aim of its reinforcement and development.

Furthermore, we must give them more and take less from them. We must defend the subjugated nations here, give them all-round assistance, act on the international forum. We must be strong ourselves, giving them first of all and not counting on receiving from them. We must give them ideological, political, technical, material, humanitarian and foreign aid, risking our lives more than theirs... This is a general guideline of what must and can be said...

The essence of the struggle of the present state of struggle is an effective realization of two contrasting worlds: that of the subjugated nations and of the Russian one. Its aim is the preparation of the inevitability of an armed clash of the contradictory national organisms. Therefore, it is not necessary to conceal numerous actions when they are to lead to a nationwide uprising. Historicity, a reference to the past, respect and defense of traditions, the evoking of patriotism by subjects from by-gone days, and their association with the present are intended to awaken state patriotism of every subjugated nation, pointing to the attributes of sovereign statehood in the past which directly contradicts the existence of statehood at the present, but encourages to fight for it.

A direct formulation of goals, the crystallization of new leaders from the

actions (Novocherkask, Vorkuta) show the people the possibility of struggle and the direction of its goals. Parallel to the type of leaders of the underground, with weapons in their hands, is the type of unarmed leader having only the will, the idea, the enthusiasm, the character which he contrasts to the armed tyrant. This is the highest quality of the Christian type of leader. The motto for Morozes and Horskas of our days is, in the words of Ukrainian philosopher Skovoroda, not to spare the body so as not to lose the soul. Their philosophy is a philosophy of heroic activism. "Spiritual death" comes when a knight avoids a struggle and fails to fulfil the inner duty imposed on him. This is a "horrible death". Thus died those Cossacks who became noblemen instead of defending the Sich (the stronghold of the Zaporizhian Cossacks), the liberty, the honor and the truth of Ukraine. A sword, said Skovoroda 250 years ago, is not the only weapon. More important is the spirit which guides the hand, more important is the cause of God which the knight serves. Moroz is such a warrior. Such warriors are also those recently imprisoned. This is responsible for the strengthening of the cult of Skovoroda in Ukraine. The self-immolation of Vasyl Makukh, the fighter of OUN-UPA in Kyiv in 1968, the attempted self-immolation of Beryslavskiy, the self-immolation of a Ukrainian, Didyk, in Moscow in front of the KGB headquarters and the monument to Dzerzhynsky, — these acts are the imitation of the proud death of the Cossacks on Polish battlefields, or of Bayda Vyshnevetskyi, the founder of the Zaporizhian Sich, on the hook in Istanbul. Other examples of this are the Czech, Jan Palach, the Lithuanian, Romas Kalanta, and another Lithuanian youth whose name has not been made public. This voluntary martyrdom, as part of the plan of national struggle, serves the same purpose as did the singing of the immortal, victorious Christians among the agitated

lions of Diocletian. There is no faith, said Moroz, when there are no martyrs. In the category of moral influence on the renaissance and renewal of the nation, this is an unexampled Golgotha which brings Resurrection.

And this is the very quality which the subjugated nations need at present. This is an inexhaustible torch. In comparison to this, what is the deed of Mucius Scaevola, which we study for two thousand years already. Makukh, Palach and Kalanta are that type of standard bearers whom the nation not only does not forget, but who create and rejuvenate it. The likes of Moroz were brought up on the likes of Makukh. Unusually significant is the fact that the spiritual element is being particularly stressed in the contemporary revolutionary liberation struggle. It is characteristic that the Ukrainian cultural revolution, for instance, is portrayed in the works of Ukraine's authors not as a destruction of any values of this type, but as a development of inherent Ukrainian spiritual values, linked to the millennial traditions of spiritual creativity, as it is seen by Moroz.

The political aspect of struggle in the cultural field means the creation of preconditions for creativity, based on the millennium of independent spiritual existence of the nation. Destruction means the driving out of the occupant. It means the acquiring of political power for the nation as a precondition for all types of development. Under conditions of foreign occupation it is impossible to develop national culture based on the thousand-year-old creativity of the nation, on traditions which the enemy is destroying. In order to facilitate the development of a nation's own, national culture, stemming from the millennial creativity of the nation, it is necessary for the subjugated nation to take over political power. With the nation's assumption of power, it can develop its own culture. Essential is the problem of power, and not only the problem of freedom,

the problem of religious dogma, and not the relativism of values. Freedom for everyone is not power. Power is a prerequisite of freedom for all members of the subjugated nation and it is not identical with freedom. The Ukr. SSR is not a state. Ukraine had been a state in the princely and Cossack era, for instance. The Zaporizhian Sich was a state, a Cossack Military Christian Republic, a Maltese Order in the Orthodox world — the only one of its kind. The Ukr. SSR does not possess the attributes of a state, similar to those of the state of Grand Prince Svyatoslav, or those of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. A nation's development depends on its own state, on its possessions. There were no illiterates in Ukraine, when it had its own state, writes Ivan Dzyuba.

A mobilizing slogan in the strategy of revolution is not to remodel the Ukr. SSR into the Ukrainian Sovereign United State, i. e. a colony into a state. Revolution does not know half-slogans. Hence, there is no state. It must be achieved. For a Ukrainian who is fighting for statehood, the Ukr. SSR is not a state but a colony... All is clear. A state must be won, i. e. POWER must be won for the Ukrainian people. This is a mobilizing slogan, while to help Shcherbytskyi, Shelest or Ovcharenko win "relief" is not. This is not the way revolution is carried out. Revolutionary slogans must be clear and non-controversial. They cannot be half-and-half. They cannot entangle the people in the chaos of evolutionary development from the Ukr. SSR, for instance, via "the satellite status" to the Ukr. Sovereign United State, because that would imply Ukraine's continuation in the orbit of the Russian bloc. This implies a colonial status for Ukraine, no matter how it would be colored. However, Ukraine is a revolutionary problem.

The young generation proceeds systematically within the framework of the general slogan KYIV VS. MOS-

COW, putting it into effect in diverse ways. It gives every village and town of Ukraine an all-Ukrainian vision linked with a thousand-year-old existence of the Ukrainian nation. The ancient localities of Ukraine with their historic and cultural monuments: Kosmach, Yavoriv, Zhydachiv, Brustury are an inseparable part of the Ukrainian whole. Kosmach becomes a symbol against Babylon, as an anational, Soviet world, or the American melting pot... Symonenko said: "Be silent Americas and Russias, when I speak with you (Ukraine)", while Yuriy Lypa, the heroic poet of the UPA, without whom it would be hard to imagine writers Yuriy Yanovskyi, Olzhych and Lyaturynska urged in his own way: "Forward, Ukraine! You have heavy feet, The fires of houses smoke from under them: It is not for Russia, nor for Europe to understand your sons".

In the great spontaneous plan of the nation, presumably unconsciously, there appear works in Ukraine which at times bring to the fore the thousand-year-old history of the Ukrainian cultural development of individual villages and towns. Moroz elevated Kosmach, mentioned Zhydachiv with its Russian-destroyed ancient Crucifixion, Yavoriv, Brustury — the centers of ancient Ukrainian folk culture and art. "Culture — writes Moroz — means a centuries-long ripening, a process which it is impossible to accelerate. Every revolutionary intervention is ruinous here. Traditions are not created. They create themselves in the course of centuries... To create traditions is just as senseless as to make a cultural revolution." As we have already mentioned above, it is the political aspect of revolution in the cultural field which is topical, namely, the removal of foreign rule, which arrests or levels the thousand-year-old process of cultural development of a given nation, based on tradition, while the occupational regime, the Russian enemy, attempts to include his own elements

into the process of spiritual creation of the suppressed nation, stifling the original spiritual sources of culture of the subjugated nation. Removing them, taking over political power by the subjugated nation, is part of the revolutionary act in the cultural sector, thus opening a free road to independent cultural growth and creativity of a nation rising to the level of sovereign life.

The emphasis on unity is another fundamental source of action in Ukraine. Poetry and literary and cultural creativity in general about Kyiv, Lviv, Chernivtsi, Uzhhorod, the Lemky and the Hutsul regions, the Volhynia and other Ukrainian parts point to the nation's unity. Denominational differences are disappearing. V. Moroz — an Orthodox from Volhynia — was capable of an unsurpassed formula of religious unity: "Catholicism — he writes — has grown into the living body of the Ukrainian spirituality, has become a national phenomenon" ... Christianity, the Church, are the basic element of the nation's spirituality. "The main thing is to defend the Church" ... "Even if a tenth part of a nation remains, but with full-valued spirituality — then this is not fatal yet" ...

The concept of an armed struggle not only in "To the Kurdish Brother" by the poet Vasyl Symonenko, but also in other works, is important as a projection, as a road to liberation. Insurrection — as a Ukrainian liberational, military concept is being propagated and projected in diverse forms, primarily, of course, in the underground publications of the OUN.

"To Hope or to Act", an essay by the Estonian intellectuals provides an alternative to the march on Prague and Bratislava, by proposing a march of tanks on Moscow and Leningrad. The Russians expect such an alternative. In particular, they are filled with anxiety in the face of insurgency and hence, the 1970 maneuvers of KGB troops near Moscow, the chief aim of which was

to study the tactic of crushing revolts in concentration camps.

The common front of the subjugated nations, in line with the ABN concepts, as the road to liberation with united forces, "the idea of joining hands with those who are oppressed and who thirst for freedom" as one underground author puts it, is brought out very strongly, in particular by the authors in the native land. We know of poems dedicated to various subjugated nations: Georgian, Byelorussian, Turkistani, Latvian, Armenian, Moldavian. A poet sings praises to the common fate and the common aim, common experiences and a common road... A poet in Ukraine...

In V. Moroz's formulation about collectivization and industrialization of colonial nature, the national and the social are united, and "de-Christianization, collectivization, industrialization, mass replacement from village to city" are placed side by side. "In Ukrainian history all this was an unprecedented destruction of Ukrainian traditional structures, whose catastrophic results have not yet been fully revealed." The very placing of "de-Christianization" side by side with seemingly economic categories, as for instance collectivization, testifies to the profound understanding of the essence of Ukrainianism by the young generation, as a total quality and value. To speak about the national, the spiritual, and not to speak about the social is nonsense and a contradiction in itself. The social is not the material. The economic is also not exclusively material. A material value, an economic value, is not an evil in itself. An individual decides. His ethical and moral predisposition decides whether an economic value is exploited for good or evil. In one case, drugs further human health, in another, these same components improperly used, cause death. It is absurd to disregard the economic element, also in the unfolding of a revolution which proceeds in all phases of life. **(To be continued)**

AN APPEAL

OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN) TO THE TOURISTS AND ATHLETES OF THE FREE NATIONS OF THE WORLD ON THE OCCASION OF THE 1972 OLYMPIC GAMES

Friends from the free nations of the world! Side by side with you here are hundreds and thousands of tourists and athletes from countries subjugated by Russian imperialists and Communists, who cannot openly reveal the truth about the horrors and terror, about social injustice and exploitation, about Russification and the extermination of fighters for freedom, the freedom of cultural creativity and the living conditions worthy of man.

In prisons and concentration camps of the USSR today, there are over one million political prisoners — students, workers, peasants, intellectuals, and those believing in God, who are persecuted by the atheist, Communist, Russian, occupation regime. Fighters, inconvenient to the Russian occupants, are confined to insane asylums. This is an unprecedented barbarity in the twentieth century.

Recently over 300 intellectuals and artists were imprisoned in Ukraine for an attempt at free creativity.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) is a coordinating center of national, liberation, anti-Russian and anti-Communist organizations of nations subjugated by Bolshevism and their friends in the free world. Its aim is the dissolution of the Russian empire — the USSR — into independent, national states within their ethnographical boundaries of all nations subjugated within the USSR, and a return of state independence to the satellite countries. The ABN supports independent states for the Czechs and Slovaks, and the disintegration of Yugoslavia into independent states of Croats, Serbs and other peoples. ABN favors the national principle of the organization of the world as against the imperialistic. ABN is for the nations, and against the empire.

The ABN upholds national, state independence of Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Idel-Ural, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechia, Albania, Croatia, Serbia, Slovakia and all other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, including Cuba, the reunification in freedom of Germany, Korea, Vietnam, and the destruction of Communist tyranny and exploitation in general throughout the entire world.

Some most typical examples:

- **Valentyn Moroz**, a young historian, received 14 years of harsh prison for writing several essays dealing with the history of Ukraine. Refusing to repent, he declared to a closed court that he stands firmly

behind his convictions. Now being systematically poisoned to break his will, he is confined to the most severe Vladimir prison near Moscow.

● **Yuriy Shukhevych**, the son of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, who died in battle with the Russian occupation troops in 1950, near Lviv, Ukraine, was recently convicted to another 12 years, after serving 20 years in prisons and concentration camps for refusing, as a young boy, to denounce his father.

● **Svyatoslav Karavanskyi** has been confined for nearly 30 years to concentration camps and prisons for his struggle against Russification and his translation of Western classics into Ukrainian. His wife, **Nina Strokata-Karavanska**, was sentenced to 7 years in prison for attempts to obtain her husband's release from a Mordovian concentration camp.

● **Mykhaylo Soroka**, a leading member of OUN, was liquidated by the KGB in June, 1971, in a Mordovian concentration camp, after 30 years of imprisonment.

● In 1959, in Munich, upon the orders of the KGB chief, Shelepin, and Khrushchov, a Russian agent assassinated **Stepan Bandera**, the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement (OUN), with a specially prepared cyanide pistol.

● In Czechia, mass trials of cultural leaders are taking place.

● In Lithuania, in May of this year, a young student and worker, **Romas Kalanta**, immolated himself in Kaunas as a sign of protest against Russian occupation. Tens of thousands of Lithuanians came to his funeral to manifest their opposition to the Russian occupiers. The demonstration of workers, students and peasants was crushed by the Russian KGB paratroopers.

● In May 1968, in Kyiv, Ukraine, the fighter of UPA and OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), **Vasyl Makukli**, burned himself while shouting: LONG LIVE FREE UKRAINE!

● In August 1968, the Czech student **Jan Palach** immolated himself in the center of Prague with the exclamation: It is better to die in flames than to live under Russian colonial yoke.

● The Lithuanian sailor **Simonas Kudirka** cried out at his trial in Vilnius: "I demand freedom for my homeland — Lithuania!"

● In 1956 the Hungarian insurgents had already driven the Russians out of Hungary; the Polish workers and the Ukrainian students have risen at the same time, but the USA and other Western states have taken sides with the Russians.

● Between 1953 and 1959, millions of prisoners rebelled in concentration camps in the USSR. Khrushchov was forced to reorganize these camps in order to save the empire.

● Between 1959 and 1972 mass strikes, demonstrations, clashes with the Russian occupation units were the order of the day in the Russian dominated countries in the USSR as well as the satellite states.

A great renaissance of the young generation in the spirit of liberation nationalism, traditions, religion, a struggle for social justice and a return to historic values of every nation has begun. Neither Communism, nor Russification were able to alter the spirituality of the young generation. There is no Soviet nation; there are invariably the subjugated, non-Russian nations and the Russian nation. Religion has not been destroyed. It lives in the catacombs — Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and other religions. The USSR is the Russian empire, a prison of nations and individuals.

Don't you see yourself that the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR, for instance are members of the UN, but at the Olympic Games there is neither a Ukrainian nor a Byelorussian national team? There are fifteen so-called sovereign and "equal" Soviet republics, each of which can allegedly voluntarily secede from the USSR, but they do not even have the right to send their own national team of sportsmen to the Olympic Games. This is a mockery of national and human rights. The USSR is today the greatest colonial empire of the world which keeps the subjugated nations in bondage through terror and genocide.

Have you forgotten the 1968 events in Czechia and Slovakia? The Hungarian uprising in 1956, the revolt of the German workers in 1953, the struggle of the Turkestanis, Georgians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, the persecution of the Bulgarian and Rumanian nationalists by the Communist tyrants who have imposed the Russian way of life: Communism and Bolshevism, on all nations? Is it just to divide the living organisms of nations, as is the case with Vietnam, Korea and Germany?

President Nixon's policy of so-called balance of power among the superpowers will not bring a lasting peace. It benefits the Russian imperialists. The essence of a superpower is not only the possession of strategic, thermonuclear arms and highly developed technology, but no less the possession of just and noble ideas, the gaining of the souls of nations and individuals, because we do not only live in a thermonuclear, but also in an ideological age. Thermonuclear weapons are powerless against insurgents and insurrections, against revolutions and revolutionaries. Side by side with Washington and Moscow there is a neglected, forgotten superpower — dozens of nations subjugated in the Russian empire and in the Communist sphere of domination and hundreds of millions of oppressed people. This is the superpower of tomorrow! THE EMPIRES ARE DISINTEGRATING, while THE NATIONAL STATES are becoming the token of the epoch. The power ratio in the Russian empire, i. e. of the Russian oppressing nation to the nations it oppresses is 1:2. The Ukrainians, Turkestanis, Georgians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Azer-

baijanians, Armenians, North Caucasians, Tatars, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Poles, Rumanians, Bulgarians, East Germans, Karelo-Finns, Don Cossacks, Croats, Albanians, Serbs, Slovenes, Jews, Siberians, Koreans, Vietnamese, Chinese, Mongols and Cubans are engaged in a struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism.

The anti-Russian and anti-Communist organizations of free Europe are united in the European Freedom Council (EFC), with which the ABN is in close cooperation. The world anti-Russian and anti-Communist forces are united in the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) which is holding its annual conference in Mexico this month. Similar conferences have been held in Tokyo, Manila, Bangkok, Taipei, Seoul, Saigon, while the EFC recently held its conferences, jointly with ABN, in London and Brussels. The ABN on the other hand, convened its conferences in New York, Washington, Malta, Toronto, Munich, Guatemala and so forth.

The ABN was founded in 1943 by the insurgents of UPA and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, fighting against both Russia and Nazi Germany, as well as the freedom fighters of Georgia, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Armenia, North Caucasus and so forth and it continues to act both behind the Iron Curtain and in the entire world.

The ABN urges you to establish and reinforce the world anti-Russian and anti-Communist front for the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations — the USSR — into independent, democratic states of all presently subjugated nations.

The ABN calls on you to organize mass demonstrations and actions against Russian and Communist genocide toward the subjugated nations and individuals. Demand and fight for the liquidation of concentration camps, for the release of political prisoners, for repatriation from Siberia and other deportation regions of members of nations subjugated by the Russians and for the release from insane asylums of fighters for national and human rights.

Death to Russian imperialists and Communist tyrants!

Long live independent national states of the subjugated nations!

Long live social justice! Freedom of conscience and creativity!

Down with the persecution of religion!

Freedom-loving nations and individuals of the whole world unite in the struggle against Russian imperialism and Communist despotism and genocide and for national independence and human rights!

DOWN WITH EMPIRES !

DOWN WITH CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND GENOCIDE !

FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS OF NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY RUSSIA AND COMMUNISM !

The Struggle of the Croatian People against the Artificial State of Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia is an artificial state dominated by the Serbs at the expense of the Croatian people and other nationalities in it. It is kept together solely by terror of the Yugoslav Communist Party in which again the Serbs have the principal word.

During the post-war period the Croatian people were exposed to the worst exploitation and persecution in their long history. Hundreds of thousands of Croats were murdered by Tito's Communists and others were sent to the concentration camps and prisons, where many of them died, or after long sentences were allowed to leave the camps and prisons to die at home.

Poverty and unemployment of the Croatian people in Tito's "workers' state" forced hundreds of thousands of Croats to emigrate or to seek work in Western capitalist countries. At the same time, Tito's corrupt "new class" of Communists enjoys all the niceties of a truly bourgeois capitalist life. Tito himself is leading in this respect. He possesses many castles, summer palaces, cars and boats. For his palace at Brioni alone he spends more than 18,000 workers would be able to earn working all their lives. The Communist directors in industry and economy have monthly salaries of 600,000 dinars, while the workers receive hardly a tenth of this sum.

The present struggle of the Croatian people against Belgrade is twofold: a) It is a conflict of the Croatian historical state right against the Great Serbian imperialism, and b) It is the defense of the Croatian people against the economic exploitation of Croatia by the Serbs. In this respect, there is no difference in Belgrade's attitude under the rule of the Serbian dynasty of Karadjorgjevic before the last war and the rule of the Yugoslav Communist

Party under Tito, whom the Croatian national humour calls "Tito Karadjorgjevic".

The pre-war Yugoslavia (1918-1941) was artificially created at Versailles against the will of the Croatian people and other peoples enslaved in Yugoslavia. She was artificially kept alive with Western money and all the profit deriving from foreign loans went to the ruling Serbian class and for the benefit of Serbia. When, in 1928, the Croatian leader Stjepan Radic protested against this practice in the Belgrade Parliament, he and two other Croatian national representatives were murdered in that Parliament.

After this and following the introduction of a military dictatorship by King Aleksander, the Croatian national representative, Dr. Ante Pavelić, founded the Croatian Revolutionary Liberation Movement and went abroad. At home, the Croatian people gathered round the successors of the late Stjepan Radic, creating branches of the Liberation Movement everywhere. In 1934, King Aleksander, who was guilty of terrible persecution and murder of Croatian and Bulgarian patriots from Macedonia, was killed in Marseilles. In 1935, Belgrade was forced to hold general elections in which the Croats voted for the Croatian Peasant Party.

One year before the outbreak of the Second World War Belgrade decided to grant the Croats a limited autonomy by creating a so-called "Bandom of Croatia" which did not comprise even half of the Croatian national territory.

In order to save Yugoslavia, the Serbian politicians signed a friendship pact with Hitler on March 25th, 1941. One day later, Serbian general Simovic with the financial help and on advice of the Western Powers carried out a coup d'etat and Germany's at-

tack on Yugoslavia became imminent. This attack came on April 6th, and on April 10th, the Croatian people proclaimed the Independent State of Croatia. This was their unique opportunity which they could not afford to miss. All other peoples in similar circumstances would have acted in the same way. The Croatian people have done this contrary to the original plans of Germany and Italy which wanted a united Yugoslavia to be on their side or to be neutral. Therefore, all those who still repeat the Great Serbian propagandistic lie that the Independent State of Croatia was a creation of Hitler and Mussolini, distort historical facts.

The Croatian Government organized the Croatian army which immediately started to fight against the guerrillas of the Serbian royalists who wanted to destroy the young Croatian state and to restore Yugoslavia. When Russia entered the war, the Croatian army had to fight against Tito's Communists as well, who also wanted to destroy the Western Allies. On the contrary, the Croatian Government hoped that after the war they will recognize the Croatian state and let the Croatian people choose their own Government. Unfortunately, this was not the case and towards the end of the war, the Western Allies together with Stalin decided to restore Yugoslavia under the leadership of Tito.

After the Yugoslav Communist Party liquidated nearly half a million Croats, Tito's propaganda tried to convince the world that it has solved the Croatian problem and that the Croats are happy to be slaves once again. The Serbian supremacy again reigns in Yugoslavia.

In the meantime, the Belgrade Government makes large money deals with the Western world. The international financial company for investment in Yugoslavia "FAP" from Washington together with the West German company "Daimler-Benz" signed an

agreement according to which a joint company "FAP-FAMOS" will give a loan of 81 million dollars for the production and modernization of transport vehicles. During the next four years they will produce ten thousand vehicles a year. Then there is a special agreement with the Italian company "FIAT" according to which this company gave a credit of 130,077,000 dinars and promised to buy three billion, one million worth of production. The loan of one hundred million dollars signed in London and organized by the "Bankers Trading Company" in collaboration with 13 banks from the USA (Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank, First National City Bank, etc.) together with two French banks and one from Japan clearly indicates that the big international capital wants to preserve Yugoslavia. Moreover, we should not forget the help which Yugoslavia receives from the "American Security and Trust Company".

Yugoslavia receives the foreign hard currency mainly from the Croats who work abroad and from the Croatian tourism. The yearly income of this hard currency is several hundred million dollars, and last year this income surpassed the sum of one billion dollars. Only a bare 7% of this vast sum earned by the Croats and in Croatia remained in Croatia. The other 93% together with all the profit from international loans went straight to the Belgrade banks. This money is used for the needs of the Serbian republic and for the plans of the Yugoslav Communist Party. A portion of it is going for the undermining of the "third world", especially in Africa, where you find Yugoslav companies and "advisers", in particular in Zambia and Tanzania.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Croatia (officially called: the Union of Communists of Croatia), which in fact is not a Croatian Party but a branch of the Yugoslav Communist party, clearly saw that such a state of affairs was leading to disaster and

they asked their Belgrade masters for some concessions to Croatia.

After an open struggle through the press between the Serbian and Croatian Communists, Tito himself decided to introduce a limited decentralization policy. Now the Croatian press, especially the "Croatian Weekly", the organ of "Matica Hrvatska" (The Croatian Cultural Centre) began to write about Croatian history and culture and also about economic problems. For the first time after the war the Croatian people felt free to speak out in defense of their vital interests and backed their leaders in Zagreb. But the Serbian Communists did not want to give up their supremacy over Croatia and they started a vigorous campaign against the Party leaders in Zagreb accusing them of "nationalism" and "separatism". But the Croatian press became louder and continued to expose the economic exploitation of Croatia.

When Tito went to the USA, the Croatian students published the following appeal:

"The plenary session of students of Croatia and Zagreb call all students, lecturers and working people of the Croatian University to the general strike at the Croatian University as a token of protest against an unsolved monetary and banking system."

This was an obvious proof that Tito's tactics of trying to appease the Croats have utterly failed. The Croatian question once again made headlines in the world press and news on radio and television. Perhaps the best assessment of these events was made by Bernard Ferran in "Le Monde Diplomatique" January 1st, 1972:

"The Croatian problem is as old as Yugoslavia."

Tito and the Serbian generals were shocked by the events in Croatia and by the reaction in the world press which wrote about the darkest moments in Yugoslavia's history. The

Western commentators were mostly concerned with the safety of Yugoslavia and expressed their fear that Yugoslavia might disintegrate if the rulers did not find a quick and just solution for Croatia. At home the Serbian oppressors were talking about the danger of a civil war.

Moscow did not like this development of events in Croatia. Contrary to the rumors that Croatia wanted to obtain freedom with Russian help — which rumors had the sole aim of discrediting the Croatian struggle for freedom and independence — the Rumanian Communist boss Ceaucescu told Tito that he should not offend Brezhnev by allowing the Croatian demands for freedom to continue and that he should make order within the ranks of the Yugoslav Communist Party. This and the pressure of the Serbian generals forced Tito to take drastic measures against the Croats.

The "Prague Spring" of 1968 was brutally crushed by Russian tanks on Brezhnev's orders, despite Dubček's faithfulness to Communism and Great Russian imperialism. Similarly the "Zagreb Spring" of 1971/72 was brutally and skillfully put down by Tito's tanks despite the faithfulness to Yugoslavia of his best friends Miko Tripalo and Savka Dapčević.

The Western friends of Yugoslavia sighed with relief because Yugoslavia was saved once again and their huge interests were secured. The Russian press praised the "fraternal Yugoslav Party" for subduing the hateful Croatian nationalists. No wonder that of his 80th birthday Tito received from Brezhnev the highest Soviet decoration, the Order of Lenin.

The Croatian Spring was put down but it is not dead. It is transformed into a seemingly dormant but mighty volcano which sooner or later will erupt and destroy the artificial state of Yugoslavia, on the ruins of which the Independent State of Croatia will rise again.

Labor Camps and Prison Sentence for Ukrainian Intellectuals

Moscow, July 18, Reuter News Service — Three Ukrainians have been given labor camps sentences in separate trials linked with a major security police drive against nationalists and their home republics, usually reliable source said today.

Two of the men, were found guilty of anti-Soviet agitation and were believed accused of circulating underground literature, the sources said.

They were named as Alex Serhiyenko, sentenced to seven years in a labor camp and three years internal exile, and Vol Rohytsky, who was sentenced to a labor camp for five years.

The third, 58-year-old Danylo Shumuk, was sentenced to ten years in a labor camp and five in exile. Exact charges against him were not known.

The trials, held in the Kiev region this month and last, followed a report in the Chronicle of Current Events, an underground journal, that security police had arrested over 100 people this year in Ukraine.

The Chronicle, which conceded it had not fully checked the report, said a number of Ukrainians had written to the Supreme Soviet (legislative assembly) warning against the Soviet system's "suppression of national consciousness" in Ukraine.

Ukrainian poet Volodymyr Diak was sentenced to seven years of imprisonment last April in Lviv for writing and passing out "anti-Soviet" and "nationalist" literature, it was learned here recently in a news item received from Ukraine.

Diak, who was graduated from the university in Lviv in 1955 with a degree in engineering, worked as a factory manager. He took active part in the literary life of Western Ukraine, both performing and publishing his poems. His work often took him away on business trips, which he is accused of having used for his own "illegal" activities. Diak was arrested towards the end of last year.

At his trial Diak was charged with keeping a secret apartment in Lviv where he printed leaflets and brochures under the pseudonym "Khorvat" (Croat). Witnesses testified that he traveled to Kiev from where he mailed his appeals and pamphlets to schools and officials in Ukraine and the Soviet Union. Besides his leaflets Diak is to have written "nationalist" brochures.

Diak's trial was closed to the public and lasted several days. He was further accused of hiding weapons and a large sum of money, which he was supposed to have collected among friends for "underground activities".

Several witnesses were to have testified favorably for Diak, emphasizing his exemplary and hard-working fulfilment of duties as factory manager. Attempts by the prosecution to connect his case to the arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in January of this year failed.

Diak was born in Western Ukraine in 1931, is married and has two children.

The Vatican and the Kremlin

The Stones Cry Out against the Vatican's Game with Godless Tyrants

On November 11, 1971, the priest at Prienai (Lithuania) was sentenced in Kaunas to a year in prison, because he had given children religious instruction in church. In his final words he made it clear how the Russian leaders had changed the vague passage in the constitution on freedom of conscience into a massive tool for atheist propaganda. Here follow the most important parts of his courageous speech before the court:

On August 16, 1971, I was arrested and tried for having given children religious instructions this summer in the parish church of Prienai. The court record states that about 70 children and about 50 mothers and fathers were in the church. I am accused of having violated the constitution of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, Article 143, Section 1, which is concerned with the separation of church and state.

"Obey God More"

What are the reasons for my behavior? I can only repeat what I said to a group of atheists, when I was asked whether I was aware that it is forbidden to give religious instructions to children. I must simply reply with the words also given as an explanation by the first disciples of Jesus: "God must be obeyed more than man".

"Believers Feel Themselves to Be Outlaws"

The problem of freedom of conscience is solved by the laws of the USSR by the separation of church and state. Unfortunately the church, thanks to the activity of certain atheists, does not feel itself to be separated from the state, but the other way around — subjected to the interests of the atheists: and that often enough in a deceptive and cunning manner. For this very rea-

son the believers regard themselves as "outlaws". They feel their lack of equality in the eyes of the law.

As an illustration we can quote some facts, in particular those which are closely connected with the facts of our trial.

Firstly, believers feel their inequality before the law, since it is especially emphasized that atheists are allowed to have their schools and literature, but this is forbidden to the believers. If priests are punished for having prepared children for their first confession, then it may be asked whether the atheists have ever been at least once prosecuted for having violated the interests of the believers, especially according to the amplification of Article 143 of the Penal Code, brought into force in 1966?

"The Position Lost"

a) A year ago a female teacher in a secondary school in Vilkaviskis was suspended from teaching because of her belief, losing not only the right to other educational work but to any position at all. Is this not a violation of freedom of conscience? This is by no means a single case, as far as we are concerned.

b) It is also due to the activities of the atheists that a large part of the public, in particular young people, students and state employees do not attend church services... This means that freedom of conscience is talked about, but the culture of the inner spirit among the population must not be carried on, especially among the young.

It has nevertheless happened several times that a school mistress has forbidden children attending a funeral to enter the church or has led them out of the church. Is this not a violation of the freedom of conscience?

The reaction of the believers to this trial can also serve as an example. When this summer during the religious instructions a group of atheists came to church and began to photograph and question the children the mothers defended their children. There were scenes of tumult in church.

"Reminders of the Tsarist Times"

Truly, mass psychology needs only a small impetus and what happened in the time of the Tsarist oppression in Kraziai will be repeated. (Note: in 1893 the Tsarist government was going to close the monastery church in Kraziai. To stop it, the believers in this church kept watch day and night. A company of Russian cavalry summoned from the nearest garrison town drove a part of the believers into the river, where they were drowned, surrounded another part and gave them a bloody thrashing with their riding-whips.)

After this incident the parents of the 69 children presented a petition to the commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Lithuanian SSR. No official answer has been given to this petition, although the address of the senders was given.

In view of this and similar facts, the question may be asked: are believers outside the law? Can this serve to strengthen loyalty to the constitution? May one not wonder, if the public begins to think that freedom of conscience in the constitution and the like is all done only for purposes of propaganda?

"Coordination" of the Church?

Let us look further. Many facts in the conduct of atheists reveal conscious deception and falsification with regard to freedom of conscience. And why is this all not punished?

Is freedom of conscience not fraudulently violated by the fact that study in Rome and at the residences of bishops is allowed only to those suggested by the atheists? What other aim can lie behind this, except that of destroying the church from inside, in a

country where freedom of conscience is guaranteed by the constitution?

As far as the outside world is concerned, the bishops remain at their posts; directions are issued by the chancelleries of the bishops, but the transferring of priests and all other decrees are dictated by atheists, so that in Lithuania also the situation of the Catholic Church has been placed on the same level as that of the Orthodox Church?

"Why Is It Tolerated?"

Is it not an example of cunningness, that a seminary for priests does exist, but that every year only 4-5 are enrolled and thus this is the highest possible number of those who complete a course of theological study, although 20-30 priests die in Lithuania every year? That efforts are made to see that no students or professors of above-average ability and of spiritual superiority are allowed access to the seminary?

The same thing is true of religious instruction for children. Is it not cunningness, that, it is true, the receiving of the first Holy Communion is permitted, but at the same time the requirement is made that the children are to be examined singly? How are children to be prepared individually in the priest's house, when there are several hundred children for Communion?

The parents rightly expect help from us priests. What is there left to be done? To take the children to their first Communion unprepared? What is not known can never be grown fond of. Does this not hide the intention of secretly alienating the children from their parents? Then the atheists can claim happily: "There is freedom of belief in our state. People are giving up their belief themselves".

This and similar facts, of which we have quoted some as examples and which are known to the general public, cannot be unknown to the public prosecutor's office either. Why is all this tolerated?

"Already Once Condemned — and Rehabilitated"

If one views reality soberly, the article of the law applied in my case has no clear line of thought. For example, in 1964 exactly the same trial was held, in which I was sentenced to a year in prison for giving instructions to children.

Some months later came a government order releasing me and annulling the sentence. Among the reasons for this rehabilitation it was given: "It was ascertained that no compulsion was exerted on the children".

But the court had already known that, when it imposed the prison sentence: there had never been any mention in the trial of forcing the children. How can this be interpreted?

And if I was later acquitted, why am I now being sentenced again under the same article? That the children were instructed not in school but in church, in accordance with the wishes of the parents, is proved by the petition of the parents in this matter to the government of the USSR.

Under identical circumstances a law cannot possibly be interpreted differently once again. Up to now it has also been impossible to determine WHERE the "regulations provided by the law" were published — both the investigating judge and the Legal Counsel Office in Vilnius have not answered this question.

"Not the Easier Way"

What is the conclusion to be drawn from this? In human terms, seen from a short-sighted point of view, one would like to repeat in similar cases the words of Jesus: "Father, if possible, take this cup away from me". But in reality we priests should thank you for this and similar trials. These facts shake up our conscience, stop us from going to sleep, force us to take decisions. You present us with two possibilities.

One of them is to be a priest in ac-

cordance with the will of Christ, with the clear decision to take on the duties imposed on us by Christ and the law of the church, and thus to take on us everything that providence ordains.

The other possibility consists of choosing the path of so-called "peaceful coexistence with the atheists" and to try to serve two masters; to flatter the efforts of the atheists, to do one's amount of duty as a priest, but not to stand in the way of the atheists.

In preparing children for their first Communion one could be satisfied with a few prayers learnt by heart, without their having the slightest idea of the Holy Mass — the central point of the entire Christian life.

You have shown me thousands of young people behind bars. None of them knows a God that we must love and who loves us. None of them has been told anything about such a God. None of them has been taught to find happiness in the eyes of his neighbour, even of his enemy, when he does him good.

I know exactly, if we priests do not speak more to them about these things, then the stones will cry out. God will demand an account from us of their fate!

And if we priests are not sentenced today by this court, then we will be quickly condemned by the people. In the end will also come the hour of justice of the Almighty.

Once again I see the thousands of young people behind bars. As children, they failed to obey their parents. My heart has grown to love my homeland, here on the banks of the Nemuna. But I know well that this country will cease to exist as such, if the children in this land are no longer willing to obey their parents...

I spoke to the children about this and said that this is a command of God. If this is a crime, according to your conscience, then declare me a fanatic and sentence me, but, at the same time, you are condemning yourselves.

**Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Honorary Chairman, World Anti-Communist League,
Denounces Russia's Imprisonment of Ukrainian Intellectuals
as Return to Stalinism**

The Ukrainian historian, Valentyn Moroz, sentenced to 14 years of imprisonment (now in Vladimir gaol) for publishing essays on cultural and historical problems, is critically ill and is being slowly poisoned by the KGB in order to break his will power and force a declaration of repentance from him.

In January 1972, over 100 Ukrainian cultural leaders, all defenders of human and national rights, were arrested in Kyiv, Lviv and other cities. They included poets, writers, artists, literary critics and scientists. Among them were Ivan Svitlychnyi, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Ivan Dzyuba, Leonid Plushch, Vasyl Stus, Oleksander Serhiyenko, Irena Stasiv-Kalynets, Stefaniya Shabatura, Mykhaylo Osadchyi, Ivan Hel, Hryhoriy Chubay and Father Vasyl Romanyuk (Orthodox priest).

Unable to put these Ukrainians on trial for violating the Constitution, the KGB decided to link them with a Belgian student tourist, Y. Dobosh, and to accuse the latter of association with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists abroad, which they falsely represent as being in contact with Western intelligence services. Such are the measures adopted by Russia against Ukrainians and other oppressed nations which are fighting for human rights and national independence.

If given the chance, those now being imprisoned would be able to prove to the court and the world at large that the charges against them are nothing but pure fabrication.

In my capacity as Honorary Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League, I condemn the Soviet revival of Stalinism by resorting to trumped-up charges and wholesale persecution as a means to silence opposition and eliminate leaders of the subjugated peoples.

Furthermore, I appeal to all the national, civic, religious, youth and other organized bodies in the free world, such as the International Red Cross, the International Commission of Jurists, the International Court at the Hague, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the European Council in Strassbourg, and the Amnesty International to do all they can to secure the release of all the Ukrainian political prisoners as well as the Belgian student, Y. Dobosh.

The Curse of Marxism and Russian Imperialism

What is causing all the trouble in the world today? Russian imperialism. Atheistic Marxist Socialism is the curse and the plague of the Twentieth Century.

In the Negro riots in the U.S.A., in South Vietnam, in the revolutions and establishment of oppressive dictatorships in Cuba, Africa and South America, in the strikes, demonstrations, "peace" marches, Moratoriums, and other disturbances in Australia, the United Kingdom, Italy, France, Germany and elsewhere, — in red I. R. A. atrocities in Northern Ireland: everywhere the trouble and bloodshed is fomented by Marxian Socialists trained in terrorism.

Proclaiming "peace", they open up old wounds, old grievances, and cause new divisions.

All of this is directed from Moscow. All of it is aimed at destroying Western civilization and unity, and weakening our resistance to a Communist and Russian take-over.

Front organizations, such as the World Council of Churches, Women's Liberation, and the Civil Rights Association, succeed in enlisting the aid of many respectable and well-meaning people who are unaware of the real aims of their promoters.

Drugs, pornography, laws allowing homosexuality, and easy divorce; immoral plays and books; the weakening of police forces; the promotion of integration between white and coloured by propaganda on television and in films, books, plays, newspapers and magazines, by the Institute of Race Relations, and by forced integration of schoolchildren; all these things are aimed at the weakening of the will, moral fibre and resistance of people, and at the destruction of our civilization, government and culture.

The legalization of abortion, hitherto

an unspeakable crime, and the promotion of "Family Planning" and birth control is aimed at reducing our ranks and is doing so very successfully in Britain at the rate of 150,000 abortions of potential children per year.

The technique is familiar: the target country is chosen; Communist students (brain-washed by professors already planted in Western universities) together with other Marxists, seize on any kind of grievance or potential trouble situation. A "Civil Rights" or similar organization is formed which succeeds in convincing a minority group that it really is underprivileged and urging it to riot and revolution.

The world's press and television already largely under the control of Marxists then goes to work, blowing up the struggle out of all proportion, smearing the government of the country concerned, maximizing the grievances of the "oppressed minority" and stirring up as much trouble as possible.

The storm of protest that follows, and the pressure of world opinion, obliges the government concerned to pass laws that further aid the Marxist cause and weaken the police and military forces of the West.

Is it not about time that the people of the Western world wake up to what is going on and recognize these things for what they are?

A vast educational programme is needed to teach our people to recognize Marxist techniques and tactics and to provide effective counter-measures.

The culprits involved, whether they are skulking in editorial offices, university faculties, government benches or television and film studios, need to be publicly named and exposed for what they really are: Marxian Socialists bent on destroying our Christian race, civilization, religion, culture and society.

The Voice of Liberty and Freedom

Estonian, Czech, Polish, and Ukrainian-language Radio Broadcast in San Francisco

On January 22, 1972, a contract was signed with the KQED/FM Radio Station in San Francisco, represented by Mr. Bernard Meyes, and a new radio program, called "The Central European Hour", came into existence. Every Tuesday from 8 to 9 PM at 88.5 megacycles there can be heard a program which, besides the English language, familiarizes the American public with the ethnic background, culture, literature, music, and news in Polish, Czech, Ukrainian, or Estonian language.

Dr. Andreij N. Woznicki, a professor at the San Francisco State University, started the idea of organizing an ethnic program. He is the only "professional" among the group in broadcasting since he had conducted a Polish-language program previously. From the Ukrainians, Professor Taras Lukach, from the Czechs, Mr. Vilem Bursik, and from the Estonians, Mr. Arne Tonis Kint, joined in the proposal and an exciting series of Radio Programs has resulted.

The programs are on Tuesday and each month in the following order: 1st week — Polish, 2nd week — Czech, 3rd week — Ukrainian, and 4th week — Estonian. In some months there are five Tuesdays and then special or common programs are produced in which all the nationalities share. It was also agreed from the outset that the first fifteen minutes of each program will contain news from all the participating nationalities.

Each nationality sets its own aims as to whom it wants to reach and in what proportion it uses the English language with its own.

The "Estonian Hour" in the "Central European Hour" series is conducted by a Radio Committee under the chairmanship of Arne Tonis Kint and the financial support comes from the Estonian Society of San Francisco. The pri-

mary aim of the "Estonian Hour" is to familiarize the American public with the plight of the Estonian people under the Russian occupation and to introduce to them Estonian music, poetry and literature. Its secondary aim is the dissemination of news about Estonians and Estonian organizations to the local Estonian community as well as to the Americans. The radio programs are given as special assignments to one or two Radio Committee members who then prepare a program around one central theme. The committee chairman secures the news from all nationalities and prints a program which is released ahead of the broadcast.

The KQED/FM Radio avails its studio for taping the broadcast ahead of time and conducts a workshop to familiarize the uninitiated with the operation of the equipment under leadership of a competent engineer, Mr. Craig Culver. Since March 31, 1972 all the foreign-language broadcasts must submit a translation into English of their native language portions in advance of the broadcast.

With the broadcasts new talents have been discovered — as Mr. Heino Jogis and Mrs. Saima Kint — who act as announcers in the Estonian Hour. Mr. Heino Jogis has prepared and read commentaries in both English and Estonian. Mr. Evert Rekk is continually improving the technical quality of the Estonian Hour.

There are also difficulties as with any undertaking. The major problem is to obtain music and recordings which meet the standards of broadcasting and since the KQED/FM Radio is a "stereo" station — few such recordings existed in 1930'sies. So far all the "Central European Hour" broadcasts have been in "mono".

The first "Fifth Tuesday" program was in May and dealt with information

about the radios: Voice of America, Radio Liberty, and Radio Free Europe to whom the U.S. Congress was about to cut off funds upon the urgings of Senator William Fulbright. The purpose of this program is to show how needed

these broadcasts of the above-mentioned radio stations are behind the Iron Curtain and how foolish it would be to cut their subsistence money if one believes in liberty and freedom for all mankind. **Arne Tonis Kint**

Latvia and Estonia Ordered to Love the Russians

The Communist leaders of two Baltic socialist republics have opened an intensive ideological campaign to convince the native population of Latvia and Estonia that they should show national tolerance and understanding towards the many immigrants to Latvia and Estonia. These Russian immigrants should be loved, as hatred was only a result of the remnants of nationalism.

Thus the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia, August Foss, published an article in the Moscow *Pravda*, in which he called on the propaganda chiefs of the party to combat nationalist tendencies and to make known the necessity of the unity and integration of the "Soviet" nation.

In Estonia a special meeting of the Central Committee of the Party was summoned by the Communist leaders to decide attitudes towards the national question.

The Latvians and the Estonians feared that the rise of Russian immigration into their national republics would alter their national character and considerably lower their standard of living, which was relatively high in the Baltic republics.

The situation is complicated by the fact that the two Protestant Baltic peoples, the Latvians and the Estonians, have a low population growth. The continued development of industry in Latvia and Estonia had for a long time been the cause of a labour shortage. It was necessary to obtain workers from other republics, principally from the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.

This influx has already considerably changed the two Baltic republics men-

tioned. Today in Latvia, there is one Russian for every two Latvians, and in Estonia, one Russian for every three Estonians. In Lithuania, which has a Catholic population, there is only one Russian for every ten Lithuanians.

In order to stop this flood of Russians to Latvia and Estonia, various Latvian and Estonian economists are anxious to slow down the realization of industrialization plans in both republics. Nevertheless the flood of Russians is growing in such proportions that every year 14,000 Russians settle in Latvia and 9,000 in Estonia.

Both the article by the Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Foss and the special meeting of the Estonian Communist Party dealt with these facts. A short communiqué stated that the Central Committee of the Estonian CP had held a special meeting to discuss the "principles of international co-existence" in the light of the 24th Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union.

Strike In Dnipropetrovsk (Ukraine)

According to the latest information from Ukraine, on the 19th September, 1972, in Dnipropetrovsk, a large-scale strike broke out among the workers and the population which gathered in masses and surrounded the headquarters of the regional Communist Party, protesting and demanding a higher standard of living and more national freedom. The regional Communist Party called out military and police units which opened fire on the demonstrators. As yet there is no news about human sacrifices, which no doubt must have been heavy, nor is there a fuller account about the uprising in that place.

A Ferocious Russian Division

In Lithuania another man died by self-immolation. By now details are known about the first case, the death of the worker Romas Kalanta.

A week after the conclusion of the treaty between Warsaw and Bonn — in December 1970 — workers and young people rebelled against the Party in Polish Baltic towns. The June edition of the Party organ "Nowe Drogi" wrote that this was more than a "consumers rebellion" against the rising meat prices, i. e. an uprising against the "cadre policy" of the Party Chief Gomulka and in particular a rebellion of patriots against Russian occupation.

At that time Communist officials feared that the Polish fever might encroach on the Baltic republics of the USSR and on Ukraine. In May this actually happened one day after the ratification of the Eastern treaties by Bonn.

Several thousand young people marched through the streets of Kaunas, the second largest city in Soviet Lithuania. They demanded "Liberty for Lithuania", hurling rocks and boughs at the regular troops and trying to set fires.

The foreign correspondents were first informed of these events by a provincial paper and a telephone call. Later on the Soviet press spokesman confirmed these events vis-à-vis Western journalists. By now eye-witnesses have reported details about the two-day-long street battle.

On May 14 a 20-year-old worker and evening student had poured several liters of gasoline on his body and set himself on fire in a park opposite the music theatre of Kaunas — according to Lithuanian sources "on political grounds". **Romas Kalanta, an ardent Catholic**, died 12 hours later.

On May 18 at 4 o'clock in the afternoon he was to be buried. The authorities arranged the funeral already at

two o'clock in order to prevent demonstrations.

However, Lithuanians gathered in front of the apartment of Romas Kalanta's father, an engineer, living in the worker district Wiliampole. Most of these people were young workers aged between 16 and 24 years and students — among them Kalanta's brother who is teaching at the Polytechnical Institute of Kaunas.

From the apartment on the outskirts they marched into the center to the residence of the municipal Party Committee shouting their freedom slogans. Terrified Party officials were staring out of the windows of the office building at the rapidly increasing crowd that finally marched on to the building of the Department of Internal Affairs at the Lenin Prospect, the seat of the secret police, KGB.

There a chain of several hundred policemen — protected by shields — were waiting with truncheons to drive the protest march back. The demonstrators gathered again in the park where Kalanta had burnt himself. In front of a singed tree where the fire had been set they placed flowers which later were removed by the police.

The demonstrators set fires in several places of the city and on a police motor-cycle. A Molotov cocktail reached the second floor of the Party building, but was put out. A window-pane of a bookstore selling political literature was broken since it had the inscription "long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union".

Two policemen were killed and about 800 hundred young people were arrested — 600 of them have meanwhile been released with their hair shorn. 200 so-called "ringleaders" are in one of the prisons of Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania.

Paratroopers wearing blue berets, who had been brought into action on

the second day of the uprising — together with special units of the KGB from Vilnius consisting mostly of Russians — are still patrolling the streets of Kaunas.

Russians were acting particularly brutally and have since that time been called "dikaya divisiya" (ferocious division).

On July 1 all Lithuanian Party officials met in order to clarify the situation. Since that meeting the Party has accused the demonstrators of fighting for antisemitic slogans and requesting free love; apparently it did so in order to prevent older citizens from joining the young. The local Party organ **Kauno Tiesa** represented the dead Romas Kalanta as an insane drug addict.

Two days after the Party conference **another young man** followed Kalanta's example. In the small town Varena

(4000 inhabitants) in southwestern Lithuania he climbed the roof of a house having 5 floors, set himself on fire and jumped down. He died four days later.

In Moscow, however, a few days later leaflets appeared in the letter-boxes of apartment houses wherein a committee of citizens called for strikes and demonstrations evoking as models the "working people of Kaunas", the Polish workers of Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin, as well as the OUN fighter having burnt himself in Kyiv before Palach, the Ukrainian Vasyl Makukh.

Apparently Soviet leadership also expects this to happen since, on May 18, the first day of the uprising of Kaunas, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow decided to punish all those participating in "mass disturbances" more severely, i. e. to deprive them of their liberty for a period of up to 15 years.

A Statement by Japanese Friends of Captive European Nations on the Occasion of the Captive Nations Week of 1972

Since the appeasement policy of the US President, world tension seems mitigated and the danger of a major war remote. But is this true peace and co-existence? Peace and co-existence must be maintained among free and independent nations. Alas! There is neither freedom nor independence for the nations conquered by Soviet Russia. We have seen in 1956 in Hungary how the national aspirations for liberty and independence were suppressed by brutal Soviet force. The same occurred in 1968 in Czecho-Slovakia. These are just a part of the iceberg above water. All the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia are under the yoke of tyranny and are deprived of the fundamental human rights. Not only the newly conquered satellite countries, but also all the nations subjugated by Russia before the second world war are enslaved for hundreds of years. Especially in Ukraine, a great nation with an older and higher civilization than Russia, a new wave of terror has been mounted by the Russian Security Police this year against political dissidents and day by day highly educated people are arrested.

On the occasion of the Captive Nations Week of 1972 all the people of free countries should express their deepest indignation and accelerate their moral pressure against the totalitarian rule of Soviet Russia.

Japanese Friends of Captive European Nations

PROF. Dr. JUITSU KITAOKA

Managing Director

Dr. TETSUZO WATANABE

President

Freedom for the Suppressed Peoples of the Soviet Russian Empire

While Nixon was concluding amicable agreements with Brezhnev a people rose in the midst of the Soviet Russian empire — this time it was Lithuania, trying to throw off her oppressors. The people rose after a 20-year-old man burnt himself to protest against national and social oppression. The rebellion was carried out by young workers and students. Russian paratroopers had to be employed to put them down. State buildings — symbols of oppression — were destroyed. There were street battles on a revolutionary scale and people were wounded and killed.

What is the origin of this national attempt at liberation? People demanded "freedom for Lithuania". Thus national self-determination and Lithuania's sovereignty were at stake. The struggle was directed against national and social oppression by colonialist and imperialist Russia. It was carried on to the level of the institutions fighting for social justice and their own culture.

In the Western world this people's rebellion has hardly been noticed. It did not quite fit into the picture of a Soviet Union "loving peace and intent on a relaxation of tensions" as has so often been portrayed by the governments of the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. One can imagine the headlines if such a large-scale rebellion took place in France. In the case of Lithuania there were no headlines. The "Tagesspiegel" (Daily Mirror) wrote on May 24: "Soviet minority policy meets increasing resistance". This, however, is not quite true: such "minority policy" is simply the prevailing policy altogether. The numerous peoples in the Soviet Union are not in the minority. On the contrary, it is the Soviet imperialist regime and its pillar, the Russian people — excluding some oppositionists — that are in the minority. Is there any other

vast empire in the world where nations are so manifestly suppressed? Lithuania is only one nation besides many others. There are signs of unrest everywhere in the Soviet Union: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians and many others have tried to liberate themselves several times. Soviet Russian colonial rulers are being opposed everywhere: under the surface resistance is increasing. How many people know that in Ukraine and in the Lithuanian forests the partisan struggle continued until the late 50s? And, how many people do know about the innumerable revolts staged by individuals, groups or peoples?

There are particular reasons why the "free" West underestimates the growing opposition and numerous uprisings and so quickly forgets the events in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Poland in 1970. There must have been some particular reason, too, why a Lithuanian refugee having been pulled out of the water and taken on board of a U.S. ship was handed over to the Russians. He was then beaten and "sentenced" to 10 years of forced labour (see *Spiegel*, May 29).

The great imperialist powers are employing various methods for exploiting human beings and nations, but all of them are aiming at the same thing. Thus freedom can be obtained only if the imperialists are opposed simultaneously. The struggle, however, cannot be carried out rashly by each people individually, not having been sufficiently prepared. All suppressed peoples must put together their national revolutionary forces. The national liberation movements must get to cooperate at an international level. Their common aim is national independence and the peoples' self-determination as well as a just social order doing justice to the peculiarities of these peoples, respectively. **Rebell**, NO. 7, (Berlin)

EUROPE, AWAKE!

The Russian jail of nations, known as "The Soviet Union", has never been so clearly unmasked as today. Every subjugated nation has provided the world with a long record of genocidal crimes, mass graves, deportations, concentration camps, ruthless exploitation, the colonization of their countries by Russian villains pouring in as "overlords".

And every nation has produced the same long record of heroic martyrdom, resistance, insurrections and national revolutions.

The Great Terror has never been so well documented in books of encyclopedial character as it has been now. Never have so many documents, witnesses of resistance movements and literature appeared in the West with the intention of awakening humanity to the full awareness of the horrible crimes and suppressions and the cruel mockery over all human rights and basic freedoms.

Indeed, it is half of Europe which is already enslaved.

It is high time to raise your voice in indignation to defend freedom of human rights in the whole subcontinent, which is being oppressed by the Russian imperialistic expansionism and robbery of living space, accompanied at the same time by genocide, mass deportation and transfers of the national population together with planned total Russification and progressive destruction of the national cultures of the subjugated nations.

The latest events such as self-immolations in Lithuania, the stormy demonstrations of protest, the mass arrests that followed, the unrests in Byelorussia, of unwavering resolution of the Russian Kremlin leaders to suppress any and further pogroms of Ukrainian writers and intelligentsia are but the marks, signs of resistance.

The Great Terror rules!

Europe awake! The long list of captive nations should shake your conscience: Armenia, Byelorussia, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Turkestan, Ukraine and other subjugated nations are totally under the inclemency of the Russian Kremlin.

Not less long is the list of the so called "satellite states" under a Russian or quisling rule, and suffering from Russian occupation forces, suppression and exploitation: Bulgaria, Czechia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia and East Germany.

National suppression and exploitation exists also in the so called "Yugoslavia" where Croatia, Dalmatia, Macedonia and Slovenia are oppressed by the chauvinistic Serbian overrule.

Albania suffers all the cruelties of a communist regime on the crossroads of Russian and Chinese struggle for the ultimate supremacy of their races under the slogans of a world communism of their own style.

And all these nations cry in one voice: S.O.S.! Freedom! Freedom! Freedom!

National state independence is the universal supreme goal of all nations!

Awaken your conscience, your human dignity, and your courage!

Act strongly and resolutely! Act immediately! Act now!

Awake and proclaim: Freedom! Freedom! Freedom!

(W.S.)

German Reunification: A Collapse of Soviet Russian Imperialism

After the Second World War, which was lost by Germany, the country was divided into four zones and occupied by the Allies: the Americans, the British, the French and the Russians. The Russians occupied East Germany. In contrast to the Americans, the British and the French, the Russians surrounded their zone with barbed wire. Since the inhabitants of the Russian sector were not allowed to pass the wire entanglements, they were almost confined to a concentration camp.

Millions fled that Russian prison. This was possible through Berlin, which lies in the Russian-occupied zone and is also divided into four sectors, an American, a British, a French and a Russian one. The traffic between the four sectors was free and thus the refugees from the East could reach the West.

The Russians viewed the mass flights of millions of refugees with disfavour, but could not do much to prevent them, until Khrushchev intervened in 1961. He allowed Ulbricht to secure the Russian sector of Berlin by a wall. In this Khrushchev was strengthened by the attitude of some American senators. In a TV appearance, Sen. Fulbright had said: "I do not understand why the East Germans don't close their frontier better. I am of the opinion they have the right to do so. We, on the contrary, do not possess the right to desire from the Soviets that they permit fugitives from East Berlin to escape to the West without hindrance". Like many intellectuals, Robert Kennedy shared this view.

Such ideas gave Khrushchev the impression that Americans were strongly against interference in European affairs. Thus, he thought to have a free play.

If Sen. Fulbright and others had used strong language in the Berlin crisis, there would never have been a wall of shame in Berlin. It is tragic to think that those who want peace, extend war.

President Kennedy was the only person who could have prevented the erection of the wall. But, influenced by his brother Robert, and senators like William Fulbright, he confined himself to paper protests, which the Russians did not mind. In his foreign policy, President Kennedy missed his aim more than once, as the result of which international tensions have increased. Not only was this the case with the Berlin wall, but also with the Cuban crisis, which brought the world to the brink of war. During his Berlin visit, he inspected the notorious wall and exclaimed: "Ich bin auch ein Berliner" (I am also a Berliner), which was rather hypocritical.

Although the Americans, the British and the French did not engage themselves in German politics and allowed the Germans to elect their own government, the Russians pursued a different policy. In their part, the population was not permitted to choose its own government. The Russians installed a satrap instead. From 1949 to 1960, it was Wilhelm Pieck and from 1960 to 1971, Walter Ulbricht. With the aid of the Russians, they appointed their government. Even the name East Germany was changed into the "Deutsche Demokratische Republik" (German Democratic Republic), the so-called DDR. As in all countries conquered and occupied by the Russians, the inhabitants have nothing to say. In fact, they are treated merely as slaves. No wonder millions fled their prison.

Were the Russians authorized to

take such measures? Of course not. They acted in violation of the Potsdam treaty which stipulated that the frontiers of future Germany will be determined by peace treaties with the Allies. However, the Russians are totally unconcerned with treaties or agreements. They distort them to their own advantage, and when their violation of rights does not meet with active resistance, they proceed. Their brute aggression constantly takes on more serious forms.

In several countries, East Germany has cultural and commercial representations. Moreover, it promotes the creation of so-called associations of friendship, as for instance, the Holland-DDR in The Netherlands. Under the auspices of the East German **Liga für Völkerwirtschaft** (Economic League) an initiatory committee was organized at the end of 1967, made up of representatives of such friendship societies and chaired by Dr. Stellan Arvidson, a Social Democratic member of the Swedish Parliament. In June 1968, this committee organized a conference in the Finnish capital of Helsinki at which about 150 representatives, from fifteen non-Communist countries, participated. The subject under discussion was the recognition of the DDR with regard to European security. Primarily leftist groupings were represented. However, the bombastic and impudent language of the East Germans, who called the DDR a German peace-state which had stamped out Nazism, militarism and racism in accordance with the Potsdam treaty, was carrying things too far. A Dutch participant criticized the fact that there was no freedom of expression nor assembly and censured militarism and military propaganda in schools. The meeting was snuffed out like a candle.

On February 15, 1969, a committee was established in Helsinki to recognize the DDR in international law. To this end, an action was set in motion all over the world. Curiously enough,

the Scandinavian countries, especially Sweden, strongly disapproved such a recognition, just as General De Gaulle had done. Recognition of a state means maintaining diplomatic relations with it but implies no judgement of value. Sweden, just as The Netherlands, has diplomatic relations with countries whose systems it abhors. The military governments in Africa, Asia and South America or dictatorial governments elsewhere — nothing stands in the way of their recognition by international law. One has to proceed on the facts. How another country is ruled is not our concern.

Socialist Sweden refused recognition to the DDR, not because it is a dictatorship. It refused recognition because it is not a state. The first requirement of statehood, sovereignty, i. e. having control over its own territory, is lacking. Besides, the East German puppet government has neither control of the army, nor of its foreign policy. The DDR is nothing other than a Russian zone occupied by 22 Russian divisions, where the rights of sovereignty are exercised by the occupiers. Everyone knows that should the occupiers leave, the government officials would have to leave just as quickly, otherwise they would be hanged at the nearest tree or lamp-post. The people of the DDR despise the occupiers and their accomplices so much that a wall had to be built and large mine fields had to be constructed to prevent the population from fleeing to the West. Let us hope that the East Germans who know terror from personal experience will rise in revolt and set the freedom struggle ablaze.

West Berlin is an eyesore to the Russians. From its prosperity sheds a lustre on the poverty-stricken and ransacked East. Out of the 2,000,000 inhabitants, 500,000 have relatives in East Berlin. Though West Germans have easy access to the Communist sector, West Berliners are banned. Of course, the Western Allies protested against this

unfair discrimination, but the Russians claim that the West Berlin Senate must enter into direct negotiations with the East German government. After six years, permits were made available to West Berliners at Easter 1972 for family reunions in East Berlin. However, East Germans were not allowed to go to the West. This shameful situation fosters the hatred of the population toward the Russian oppressors and their henchmen.

When will a spark ignite a revolt?

The reunification of East and West Germany will be the first step in the liberation of Eastern Europe from Russian domination. The Poles, who rebelled in December 1970, can contribute much to that. And do not forget Ukraine, where at present mass arrests

are conducted among intellectuals. The Russian government of criminals and murderers lives on a volcano which can erupt any moment. The loss of the satellite countries and the non-Russian Soviet republics will deprive the Russians of their raw materials and slave labour. As a consequence, the empire would collapse. Only this could prevent the third world war.

The Russian writer Amalrik, who at present is confined to a concentration camp, says the following: "... there will be an extreme intensification of nationalistic tendencies among the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, above all in the Baltic countries, the Caucasus and Ukraine, and thereafter in Central Asia and along the Volga. They will lead to national separation."

Remember Dr. C. E. Pokorny

A fighter against Communism and for the liberation of peoples from the tyranny of Russian imperialism has gone — a Slovak this time. He has a native country — Slovakia — as we all have. I have read in books about Czecho-Slovakia, but through Dr. Pokorny I came to really know this beautiful country, Slovakia, and the Slovak people.

He was the embodiment of both. Taking advantage of any opportunity to tell everybody about the wretched situation of his people, he always expressed his conviction that by fighting incessantly and perseveringly it would finally become free again.

As regards his people he never went to rest. He wrote about Slovakia's beauty and her struggle for liberation. He was a journalist and writer as well as an intrepid orator. His writings are spread everywhere: in Slovak journals and periodicals, in **ABN Correspondence** (where he regularly published his articles) as well as in European and overseas publications. His activity within the ABN to which he was highly devoted constituted the most important part of his work: he was Secretary General of the ABN until the very end.

The Slovak nation has lost an irrecoverable son and the East European subjugated peoples of the Russian Communist empire have lost a talented politician and intrepid fighter for their freedom.

We do not weep at his tomb; we promise, however, to fulfill his last will: to fight for the freedom and independence of all subjugated peoples and his Slovak people.

Basil Mailat

The Captive Nations Week Observances in New York

A special committee headed by **Judge Matthew Troy** as Chairman, **Dr. Ivan Docheff** (Bulgaria), Chairman of AF-ABN, as Executive Vice-Chairman, **Monsignor John Balkunas** (Lithuania), **Commander Vincent Aboyas** (Catholic War Veterans), **Dr. Roman Huhlevych** (Ukraine), **Mr. John Kosiak** (Byelorussia) — Vice-Chairmen, **Mr. Michael Spontak** (Ukraine), — Secretary, **Mr. Aristide Nicolaie** (Rumania) — Treasurer, **Dr. Walter Dushnyck** (Ukraine) — in charge of the press, **Mr. Mario Aquilera** (Cuba) — in charge of public relations, **Col. Nicholas Nazarenko** (Cossackia) — in charge of parade order, and representatives of all participating organizations as members, organized the Captive Nations Week observances on July 16-22, 1972.

On July 16th, a very successful parade was staged on 5th Avenue. With their national flags and banners, 1000 members of national organizations of Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Chinese, Cossacks, Croats, Cubans, Germans, Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Ukrainians and others took part in the march. The parade was led by the American Catholic War Veterans of Queens. For the first

time this year, the Italian and Thai groups joined the march in support of the cause of the Captive Nations.

A special Mass was celebrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral by the **Very Rev. Dr. Volodymyr Gavlich** (Ukraine). **Msgr. John Balkunas** delivered the sermon. The Mass was followed by a public rally in Central Park, attended by 2000 people. **Dr. Ivan Docheff** was the master of ceremonies. The rally was opened by the "Pledge of Allegiance" to the American flag. A special ceremony honoring the memory of **Romas Kalanta**, the Lituanian student who burned himself as a protest against Russian oppression in Lithuania, then followed. **Miss Nancy Umbrazas** (Lithuania) read the Proclamations of **President Nixon** and **Governor Rockefeller**. **Hon. Matthew Troy** was the main speaker. Brief addresses were delivered by **Mr. George Voloshyn** (Ukraine), **Miss Henrietta Pino** (Cuba), **Mr. Lawrence Kelsey** (Lithuania), and **Mr. John Kosiak** (Byelorussia). The Ukrainian Dance Group of Astoria, directed by Mrs. Elain Oprysko, performed Ukrainian folk dances.

On July 18th, a special meeting was held at New York City Hall where



Captive Nations Meeting, City Hall, New York, July 18, 1972

Mayor John Lindsay read and presented his Proclamation. Dr. Ivan Docheff replied to the Mayor's speech and Proclamation on behalf of AF-ABN.

On July 19th, a protest demonstration was staged at the Soviet Russian UN Mission on 67th Street in New York. Several hundred members of national organizations of Bulgarians, Cos-

sacks, Cubans, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Ukrainians and others participated, carrying flags, banners and signs demanding freedom for all Captive Nations.

The press, radio and TV gave full coverage to the events, in particular to the demonstration at the Soviet Russian UN Mission.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK IN GREAT BRITAIN

The British League for European Freedom organized Captive Nations Week from 25th June to 2nd July, 1972, in support of all nations subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism.

London Programme:

Sunday, 25th June: Interdenominational Service at All Soul's Church, Landham Place, London.

Monday, 26th June: Representatives of the British League for European Freedom handed a composite Memorandum from all European Captive Nations to the Foreign Office.

Tuesday, 27th June: Press Conference at St. Bride's Church Hall, Fleet Street, Reception at St. Stephen's Club, Queen Anne's Gate.

Thursday, 29th June: Public Meeting at Westminster Cathedral Hall, Ambrosden Avenue. Speakers: General Sir Walter Walker, KCB, CBE, DSO and Ian Greig.

Friday, 30th June: Ukrainian Reception at 154 Holland Park Avenue.

What Is Captive Nations Week?

Every year all captive nations of the USSR commemorate Captive Nations Week. This is held to remind British people that nations of the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other Communist-occupied countries are continually persecuted and enslaved by Russia. Being fortunate enough to live in such a freedom-loving democratic country as Great Britain, it is very easy to forget the plight of other nations who do not enjoy this kind of freedom and democracy. Captive Nations Week is an opportunity to expose the plight of the East European nations.

British League For European Freedom

The Pattern of Russian Conquest in Europe

(Aide Memoire addressed to the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas Home, on the occasion of the Fourth Annual Captive Nations Week 1972)

We representatives of the **British League for European Freedom** believe it is our duty in this the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to raise our voices in defense of the European Captive Nations, forcibly occupied and later incorporated into it by the Red Army and Red Guards. At a moment when *détente*, peaceful co-existence, European security and control of nuclear armaments signpost the future of Europe, we feel impelled to remind

those who lead us of the true facts behind the annexation of thousands of square miles of territory, and the subjugation, persecution and genocide of many millions of European people by the Russians during half a century of brutal colonialism. We would also like to warn of similar dangers threatening all European countries from further Russian expansionism. Article VI of the Treaty of Brest Litovsk of 3rd March 1918 laid down that:

"Russia must immediately conclude a Peace Treaty with the Ukrainian People's Republic and recognize the one which exists between that State and the 4-Power Alliance: Ukrainian territory must at once be cleared of Russian troops and the Russian Red Guard, and Russia must cease all agitation and propaganda against the Ukrainian Government and her public institutions. Russian troops must likewise immediately be withdrawn from Estonia and Livonia."

The Treaty clearly establishes the fact that Russian forces were in illegal occupation of Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In the case of Ukraine, occupation had followed closely upon the proclamation of Ukrainian Independence by the then Parliament on 22nd January, 1918, a proclamation officially recognized by Great Britain, France and other powers. In direct defiance and blatant violation of international law Russia, however, moved more troops into Ukraine. Three years of war followed, culminating in the incorporation of that country in the U.S.S.R. in 1922.

Byelorussia suffered a similar fate. After the first All-Byelorussian Congress of December 1917 the country's independence was proclaimed on 25th March 1918. Twelve nations accorded *de facto* recognition to independent Byelorussia but the Red Army forcibly seized and occupied it on 1st January 1919. The Byelorussian Government continued to function from Prague until the outbreak of World War II.

Under the so-called Riga Peace Treaty of 18th March, 1921, the Soviet Union illegally divided its newly-annexed territories, thus rendering them less able to resist.

By the same methods, and during the same period, Russia appropriated into the U.S.S.R. the Caucasian republics of Georgia and Armenia. Under the Treaty of Versailles of 1918, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania again became indepen-

dent states, and the Western powers extended *de jure* recognition to them, and they were admitted to membership of the League of Nations. However, upon the withdrawal of the German army, Russian troops invaded Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. They were bitterly and successfully opposed by the three newly formed armies. The Estonians were supported by token Finnish and Danish volunteer forces, and by the British navy in the Baltic Sea. In the Tartu Peace Pact of 2nd February, 1920, Soviet Russia repeated her promises made (and swiftly broken) in the Brest Litovsk Treaty that she would forever renounce all claim to Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian territory. In less than four years, however, in a brief overnight coup, Russia again went back on her word, attacked Estonia and tried to annex her but the coup was firmly suppressed and for the next 22 years the three Baltic States enjoyed independence. The expansionist eye of the Kremlin was, however, upon them, and in the infamous Molotov/Ribbentrop non-aggression pact of 23rd August, 1939, the three countries were once again overrun and occupied by the Russian imperialists.

Turning to Poland, we recall her own proclamation of independence on 11th November 1918, and the swift Russian attack which was repulsed by the Polish army helped by well-equipped troops raised in France and former Austro-Hungarian territories. The Riga Peace Pact of March 1921, which illegally ceded the western territories of Ukraine and Byelorussia to Poland, ended the war.

The events of World War II and the terms of the Treaty of Yalta again threw Central and Eastern Europe into ferment, and the U.S.S.R. gained control by subversive propaganda and armed intervention of Hungary, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and East Germany. Finally we saw Albania fall victim to internal Communist subversion and takeover, as Tito

subjugated the ethnic nations within the federation of Yugoslavia.

Freedom, however, dies very hard indeed in the countries of Eastern Europe, and in the 1956 Poznan riots in Poland, the brutal suppression of the 1956 Hungarian national uprising, the subduing by 500,000 Red Army troops of the 1968 "spring" in Czecho-Slovakia, the growing individual and collective protests and demonstrations throughout the U.S.S.R. and its satellites, and finally during the last week

or two, in the Lithuanian riots, we see a continuous, increasingly unyielding resistance to the Russian colonialist yoke. The pattern of Russian Communist conquest in Europe — and throughout the world — is there for all to see. **The British League for European Freedom** warns that if the Eastern half of Europe remains in bondage to the Kremlin, it can only frustrate and eventually wreck all British efforts to political, economic and social cohesion in Europe as a whole.

Estonian World Festival — A Tremendous Anti-Communist Rally

Toronto, a beautiful Canadian city, has never before seen so many "foreigners" marching in its streets, as was the case on Saturday, July 15, 1972. Estonians, living in the free world, had gathered for the Freedom March in order to demand freedom for Estonia and to appeal to the free world to help them liberate their homeland from the Kremlin's Communist occupation. The number of Estonians present reached at least 10,000. The nicely painted signs told that they came from West Berlin, West Germany, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Italy, New Zealand. The most numerous groups were from Canada, the USA, Great Britain and Sweden.

The marchers included Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, girls and young men performing gymnastics, folk dancers, women in national costumes and veterans. All of them were greeted with enthusiasm. The Canadian Armed Forces sent over several army bands to keep the marchers in step.

In front of the Toronto Town Hall, the Appeal of Estonians was read. Former Prime Minister, the **Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker**, delivered the main address, supporting not only the Estonian demand for freedom, but also that of all nations subjugated by Russia.

The rally was attended by a distinguished Estonian lady, **Mrs. Maria Kopperman**, who was twice deported to

Siberia and who recently succeeded in obtaining permission to join her son in the USA. Mrs. Kopperman, an eyewitness of crimes committed by the Soviet Russian authorities in violation of the UN Human Rights declaration is now writing a book entitled "My Twelve Years in Siberia".

On previous days, the World Congress of the Estonian War Veterans and the First Estonian National Congress were held. Both congresses were attended by representatives from all corners of the free world, and both joined in demanding freedom for Estonia.

The Canadian press mostly supported the Estonian demands and printed warnings extended by Estonians against close cooperation with the Russian empire. **The Toronto Star** published an interview with **Mr. Udo Petersoo**, chairman of the Congress' Organizing Committee in which he said: "Estonians in Canada are unhappy about the friendly relations being developed between Canada and the Soviet Union. 'By patting them on the back, they (the Canadian government) give the impression that they approve of what the Russians are doing in Estonia. It enables Communists to spread further and further . . . and we are afraid that if things keep going the way they are, Communism will be the ruler of the world'."

The appeal which the Estonians presented to the free world concluded with the words: "The systematic Russification carried on in Estonia imperils the future existence of the nation and must be condemned as a policy of genocide."

Well known Estonian political leaders participated in the events. From New York came **Mr. Ernst Jaakson**, the Estonian Consul General there; from Canada the Estonian Consul, **Mr. Ilmar Heinsoo**, who was chiefly responsible for bringing the Festival into being. In several speeches, Mr. Heinsoo revealed that the Canadian Foreign Minister, **Mr. M. Sharp**, had assisted him on several occasions in making "The Estonian Days" a reality. From Sweden came **Mr. T. Kint**, a member of the Es-

tonian Parliament, which was declared an anti-people organization by the Russian occupation authorities in 1940. Almost all members of the then Parliament were arrested and disappeared into Russian concentration camps. For many Estonians, Mr. Kint is a man who has been elected by the Estonian people in Estonia and therefore it is his duty to continue the struggle in the capacity of the Acting Prime Minister in Exile. **Mr. A. Horm**, a staunch anti-Communist and a veteran of the ABN movement in Sweden, was also present.

Certainly, nobody was allowed to come to the Festival from occupied Estonia, although many had applied for visitor's visas.

Elmar Lipping

The Nixon Doctrine — Has it Worked? US Gains and Losses since its Promulgation

We have lost

Britain, which has had a special relationship to us since World War I has now cut loose and linked itself to the European community.

West Germany, is now making its own unilateral terms with Russia, Poland and East Germany.

France, since de Gaulle's death, France has reaffirmed its "go it alone" policy.

Iceland, has ordered the US to quit its Keflavik base in four years.

Libya, has forced US withdrawal from its giant Wheeler Field base, and has invited Russia in.

India, once our friend and recipient of over \$ 7 billion US aid, has formed a treaty of alliance with Russia.

Japan, ignored in our Red China decision and rebuffed on trade, is considering a possible neutral position.

South Korea, stunned by US Red China stand, is now, for the first time, inching toward reconciliation with Communist North Korea.

Red Sea Area. Fanning out from Communist Yemen, Red China is forging links with Ethiopia, Sudan and other nations.

North Africa, Egypt, Libya and Algeria have granted bases to Russia.

Chile, has become a communist nation.

Peru, has become a hardened enemy of the US.

Ecuador is following Peru's example.

Argentina, once the bolt of the US position in South America has now turned toward neutralism.

Canada, under its Left-leaning Premier Trudeau, has now separated Canada from the US in foreign policy.

We have won

President Nixon has won permission from Red China to come to Peking and listen to Mao Tse-tung's wishes.

Distributed by:

Truth About Cuba Committee

Against Increasing Terror in Ukraine

Joint Political Rally of 15,000 Canadians and Americans Protesting the Recent Wave of Political Arrests in Ukraine, Toronto, June 25th, 1972

In the latest drive against dissidents in the Soviet Union more arrests have taken place in Ukraine than anywhere else in the USSR. Among the many arrested since January, 1972, whose total number exceeds one hundred, the following names have been so far disclosed: Ivan Dzyuba (author of **Internationalism or Russification?** published by Weidenfeld & Nicolson), Vasyl Stus, Ivan Svitlychnyi, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Mykola Shumuk, Zenoviy Antonyuk, H. Mynaylo, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Stefaniya Shabatura, Stefaniya Hulyk, Vyacheslav Chornovil (author of **The Chornovil Papers**, published by McGraw-Hill), Mykhaylo Osadchyi, Ivan Hel, Hryhoriy Chubay, Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk, Hryhoriy Kochur, Yuriy Melnyk, Ihor Kalynets, Nina Strokata and Yuriy Shukhevych.

Why has the KGB singled out Ukraine as a special target? It is important to realize that national sentiments have been on the rise again in the various republics of the USSR. Nowhere, however, have national feelings been more strongly held than among the 50 million Ukrainians — the second largest East European nation next to the Russians. The entire history of Soviet Ukraine is one of continuous strife, of attempts on Moscow's part to come to terms with the country by methods ranging from invasion and open warfare (1918-1921) and outright terror (the 1930's) to policies of forced Russification and the banning of the Ukrainian language from institutions of higher learning, the assignment of Russians to key positions, etc.

Russia's difficulties were increased during and after World War II. The struggle for national independence of the Ukrainian people reached a new peak again, when approximately

200,000 men waged a relentless guerrilla struggle in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) for a whole decade (1942-1952) — against the Nazis till 1944, and against the Russians thereafter. The scope of this struggle has been illustrated in Khrushchev's memoirs:

... After the war, we lost thousands of men in a bitter struggle between the Ukrainian nationalists and the forces of Soviet Power... It took a large-scale military and police operation, with all the paraphernalia of tanks, aircraft, and heavy artillery, to break up the rebel forces, composed of dedicated Ukrainian nationalists, deserters from the Soviet armed forces, former prisoners of war, and displaced persons of all kinds and many nationalities — all united in fear or hatred of Moscow."

(Khrushchev Remembers, p. 147)

Today's Rally also commemorates the 30th Anniversary of the official creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

At present, the strong-arm methods are superseded by cultural and administrative Russification which has today created a situation which the regime considers potentially just as dangerous as the military forays by the Ukrainian guerrillas in the recent past.

In the mid-1960's a new breed of concerned Ukrainians came to the fore, known as the "Men of the Sixties". The protest of these young intellectuals against specific policies of the Russian regime has **not** been voiced in anti-Soviet terms but rather in legal terms. They have not criticized the Soviet laws as such, but rather those who have consistently violated them — the

carriers of Russian chauvinism, that is, the police, the courts, the censorship, the Russian-controlled Soviet bureaucracy.

To the extent that they have opposed forced Russification and have called for unhindered cultural development for their country, they have done so on strictly constitutional grounds (Soviet Constitution, Articles 124 & 125). Others have either alluded to, or have openly come out in favour of separate Ukrainian statehood but, again, basing themselves on the constitution (Article 17) which guarantees the right of secession to all republics of the USSR, and on the civil and political rights recognized and adopted by the 21st Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization. Consequently, in 1965-66 the KGB descended on these young intellectuals, arresting about one hundred of them. And it is the same breed of men and women who are being persecuted now.

While Ukrainian national aspirations have mainly been led by intellectuals (as they have been in every country over the past century), there is mounting evidence that they have struck a responsive chord among the ordinary citizenry. The massive scale of present-day repressions in Ukraine (and in other republics) is an indication of how much Moscow fears what it rightly judges to be the beginning of a mass movement of dissident in the country.

In January 1971, workers' revolts broke out in the Ukrainian cities of Kharkiv and Kyiv, in part organized by former Red Army soldiers of Ukrainian nationality. Also, eight months before the Polish workers' rising (December 1970) the industrial city of Kharkiv had been on the verge of a workers' revolt which had summoned CP Secretary-General L. Brezhnev to the scene of trouble for purposes of appeasement.

What many in the West do not know is known to the Ukrainians and with

them to the other 100 million non-Russians in the USSR: the fate of Polish workers as well as of those in the other satellite countries is decided not only in Warsaw, Prague, or Budapest, since only violent political and national seismic shocks in the economic and cultural centers of the second largest Slav nation, the Ukrainian, can develop the explosive force necessary to bring about any radical change in Eastern Europe, and these centers are: Kyiv, Lviv, Rostov, Odessa, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, the Don Basin.

Furthermore, the social liberation struggle of all nations behind the Iron Curtain is organically connected with their national liberation struggle. The driving ideological and emotional force is a new nationalism — liberation nationalism. In this lies the dialectic of the anti-imperialist revolution in the East: social freedom not without national freedom, and vice versa: national freedom not without social freedom. Those voices of protest raised today in Kyiv, Lviv, Odessa, Kharkiv, Minsk, Riga, Vilno, or Szczecin and Poznan, are not only demanding bread but also to eat it in freedom.

What concerns all those taking part in today's Political Rally as citizens of Canada and the United States, is the obvious bias, lack of interest, and discrimination by the media which is for all practical purposes silencing this growing movement of political and social dissent behind the Iron Curtain, despite the vast flow of smuggled documents, pleas, petitions and underground publications. These materials obviously will not be published in *Pravda*, but it would certainly not hurt the circulation of Canadian or American newspapers nor upset our Radio and T. V. audiences. The words of such Ukrainian intellectuals in the USSR as the historian Valentyn Moroz or the literary critic Ivan Dzyuba, tried in secret courts, deserve at least an equal share of the publicity given to Angela Davis, Herbert Marcuse, or "The Chi-

ago Seven". These intellectuals do not want to wait for another Hungarian Revolution or another Invasion of Czecho-Slovakia for the world to consider their testimony of a more real brand of imperialism, dictatorship, police brutality, and mock trials.

When placed in the perspective of the international balance of powers manipulated by expedient diplomacy, on the one hand, and those universal inalienable Human and National Rights sealed by U.N. Declarations, on the other — the International Human Rights Defense Committee, founded and chaired by the Rt. Hon. John Diefenbaker, has a unique value. Its aim is to sensitize world opinion, to awaken the conscience of mankind to an inhumane reality that has been camouflaged and smoke-screened from the eyes of the world by high level power politics. Its work and endeavours will be conducive to positive actions that will some day guarantee and safeguard individual as well as national justice and liberty for all men and nations.

It is most appropriate that the man who introduced and implemented the Bill of Rights into the Canadian Con-

stitution, should now take upon himself this important task for the benefit of all fellow men.

In concluding, let the words of Ivan Dzyuba, spoken at Babyn Yar before the mass graves of Ukrainian and Jewish victims of Nazism re-echo today from behind the bars of a Soviet prison:

"There are tragedies, whose immensity cannot be expressed in words and about which more can be said in silence. However, silence says much only where everything which could have been said has already been said. When everything is far from having been said, when in fact nothing has been yet said — then silence becomes a partner of lies and slavery. Therefore we speak, we must speak wherever possible, taking advantage of all the opportunities which come our way.

"At the same time we must remember that Fascism did not start with Babyn Yar and does not end with it. Fascism begins with disrespect of the individual and ends with the destruction of the individual, with the destruction of peoples."

(*Revolutionary Voices*, p. 142)

Unrest in Ukraine

Over 10,000 people, rebelling against the Moscow rule in Dniprodzerzhinsk (Kamyans'ke, Dnipropetron'sk region), damaged the KGB and Ministry of State Security buildings, destroyed all the political documents, passports and citizens' personal data, smashed windows, damaged doors and tore down portraits of Brezhnev, Lenin and other Soviet leaders, killing one KGB agent during the uprising. Other groups of demonstrators destroyed the buildings that housed the regional administrative, party and military (including the Comsomol) bodies.

According to reliable sources, the uprising in Dniprodzerzhynsk on the 25th and 26th June, involved between 10 and 12 thousand people, half of which were young people and women.

The units of the KGB opened fire, killing 10 people and injuring hundreds of others. One Ukrainian died in the fire of the KGB building. Several of the KGB agents and the Military Police also died in similar manner, while about 50 were injured.

According to the information, which reached the West, everything began with the arrests of several youths, who teased one of the military as being identified with the Russian occupation of Ukraine. The Russians used everything they had against the demonstrators — local military garrison, units of the KGB and fire brigades. Within two days 9 buildings were either destroyed or damaged. Many people were arrested after the uprising.

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS
CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

Second Revised and Extended Edition
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Edited by **Slava Stetsko, M. A.**
Foreword by **Ivan Matteo Lombardo**

Revolutionary Voices



This book contains articles and protests to various Soviet Russian officials which were written by Ukrainian intellectuals who are at present incarcerated in Russian concentration camps, including recent works by Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, sentenced by the Russians to 14 years imprisonment for voicing his opinion.

The Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, Chairman of the European Freedom Council, states in the foreword of the book:

"Autocratic machinery has always prevailed in Russia, either at the times of the tsars or in the present so-called Soviet Union, and it is there that the source of responsibility rests. From the Okhrana to the KGB, there is no solution of continuity. The tradition of reaction and repression is being spelled by incarceration, terror, persecution and by the extirpation of all liberal and human ideas, because they are alien to the imperial-colonialistic mentality..."

"Among the colonized and repressed peoples, the Ukrainians are singled out by the Moscow overlords as those to be hated most and are most severely dealt with for their national and political consciousness, for the moral and cultural heritage they cherish to the utmost."

Price: soft cover \$ 5.00, hard cover \$ 6.00

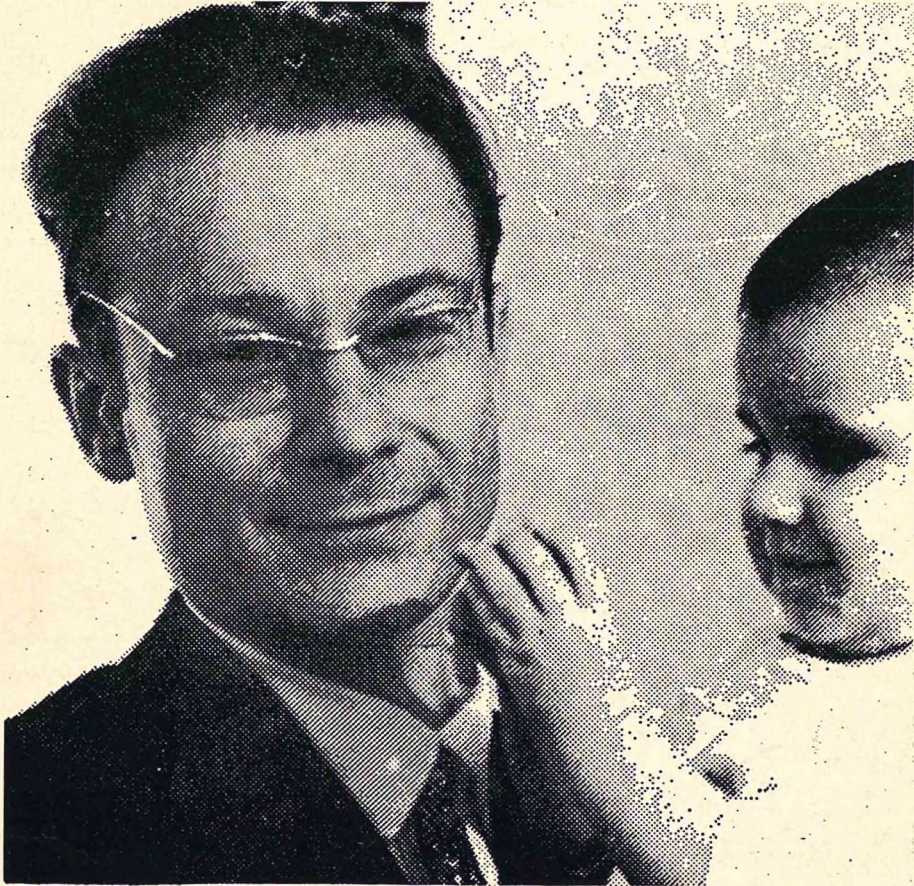
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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Release Yuriy Shukhevych



Yuriy Shukhevych, 39, and his 2-year-old son.

Sentenced again to 10 years of hard labour camps and 5 years of exile on September 12, 1972, Yuriy had already served 20 years in Russian concentration camps. His guilt: being the son of a man who led the Ukrainian Resistance against Hitler and Stalin during World War II.

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Reinforcement of NATO Not Helsinki Conference Needed

Statement at the Mass Rally in London, November 4, 1972

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

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Government of the USSR, the satellites of Moscow and Communists and Sovietophiles the world over attempt to conceal the imperio-colonialist character of the USSR, and the entire so-called Communist bloc, established by the force of arms, in particular in the present age characterized by the national idea over the imperialist one, the dissolution of empires and the establishment of independent national states in their stead in other parts of the world.

After the downfall of the tsarist empire independent, national, democratic states of nations previously subjugated in it, were reestablished and existed between 1918- 1921-22 as a consequence of revolutionary, national wars of liberation.

Due to armed aggression of the Russian Bolshevik armies and Communist deception, numerous newly independent states were subjugated again and forcefully incorporated into the USSR — the new form of the Russian empire, in spite of the fact that Lenin's Bolshevik government recognized the renewed independence of Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Turkestan and other nations. White Guard troops, later annihilated by the Red Army, assisted Red Russians in liquidating independent states which rose on the ruins of the tsarist empire.

The so-called national republics of the USSR are mere Russian colonies, and not "sovereign states" as it is maintained by Bolshevik propaganda. On December 30th of this year the Russian despots will mark the 50th anniversary of their conquests and colonialism, while the subjugated nations will observe the 50th anniversary of their liberation struggle against the Red Russian invaders.

The actions of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), whose 30th anniversary was observed this October, the insurrection of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Turkestani, Byelorussian and other political prisoners in concentration camps in 1953-1959, the revolt of the Germans in 1953, of the Hungarians in 1956, the disturbances in Poland in 1956 and 1970, the 1968 events in CSSR, the recent demonstrations in Lithuania (Kaunas, May 1972), the latest national disturbances in Ukraine (Dniprodzerzhynsk, Dnipropetrovsk, 1972) and in the Caucasus, the resistance in Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia and Turkestan, the national liberation struggle of all the subjugated nations in the USSR and the so-called satellite states and of the Croats and other peoples in Yugoslavia for national independence and human rights, the opposition of cultural leaders and entire nations to Russification and Moscow's attempts to create a single, so-called Soviet nation — actually the Russian nation — with the assistance of cultural genocide and the in-

termingling of nations, reveal not only that the USSR is in no way a solution of the so-called national question, but also that the subjugated nations are the Achilles' heel of the despotic Soviet Russian empire.

The ABN asserts that the USSR is a new Russian prison of nations and individuals and not a free union of nations, and appeals to the public opinion of the Free World to support the nations subjugated in the USSR and in all Communist-dominated countries in their struggle against imperio-colonialism and totalitarianism and for national independence and human rights.

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

The concept of the balance of power among nuclear and technological superpowers is not a guarantee of a just and lasting peace because it preserves and consolidates the present state of Russian conquests and Communist domination of nations, neglecting the forgotten superpower — dozens of subjugated nations and hundreds of millions of oppressed people, who undermine the Russian empire and the Communist system from within.

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

Therefore, the ABN appeals to the Free World to express its solidarity and to support the liberation struggle of Ukraine, Hungary, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Latvia, North Caucasus, Czechia, Rumania, Slovakia, Croatia, Poland, Albania and other subjugated nations for their national independence and human rights and the reunification in freedom of Germany.

The ABN sharply denounces and protests against mass imprisonment and harsh sentences meted out to cultural leaders and fighters for national independence and human rights in the countries subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism in the USSR — the prison of nations — and the satellite states, against barbarous internment of political prisoners in psychiatric clinics and prisons and concentration camps of the most severe regime, demands the placing of this matter for discussion and decision of the UN General Assembly and appeals to political, patriotic, humanitarian and religious circles of the whole world to stage actions for the liquidation of concentration camps and the release of political prisoners, who exceed one million in the USSR alone.

A precondition to security is the withdrawal of Russian troops from all occupied countries and the reestablishment of their national independence. Without the realization of the concept of national independence of nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, there is no security and peace in the world.

The ABN is fighting for national independence and human rights.

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS !

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS !

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union - A Prison of Nations

(Comments on the Foundation of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

(Conclusion)

Mode of Existence of Peoples in the Soviet Russian Empire

The foundation of the USSR did not only imply a reconstitution of the old Russian tsarist empire, but this Russian empire was considerably enlarged in the Soviet Communist period (see: **Who Is the Imperialist?** published by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, 1971). Lenin noted that 17.4 mill. km² out of 22.8 mill. km² of the territories of the tsarist Russian empire were colonial possessions (cited from: **Istoria gosudarstvennogo stroitel'stva v SSSR, 1917-1936**, Moscow 1968, page 20). These colonial possessions also included Finland and part of Poland. As already mentioned, many countries had become independent after the overthrow of the tsarist regime. The Soviet Russians conquered them again. A new Russian empire came into existence, now called the Soviet Union with the Communist ideology as label. In 1970 241,720,000 inhabitants were registered in the Soviet Union; 129,015,000 thereof were said to be Russians. We do not know whether these figures are correct for, during the registration the people questioned were advised to have themselves registered as Russians if they knew the Russian language. Should, however, the above mentioned figure be correct — which we do not believe since Russians falsify statistics to their own advantage — 112,705,000 people living in the Soviet Union are non-Russians. Compared to the registration figures prior to 1917, the Soviet Russians succeeded in considerably cutting down the number of non-Russians. As is well known, the Russian tsarist empire was composed of 43 % Russians and 57 %

non-Russians prior to the Communist regime. The census of January 15, 1970 in the Soviet Union reveals that the number of Russians had increased by 16,310,000 against that of non-Russians. Why were there fewer non-Russians? There is no source of information, but it can be assumed with certainty that part of the non-Russians had been physically annihilated because of their national views and calls for freedom. One might recall the **compulsory deportation of Crimean Tatars, Volga-Germans, Kabardins, Balkars, Chechens, Ingush and Kalmycks** from their homes after 1946. Others were assimilated with Russians. It is unimportant how many non-Russians there are in the Soviet Union, but what actually counts is the position of non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Government and Party mechanism.

1) The non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union certainly have their own respective culture and history. They all existed as nations having their own states. According to Soviet views only 15 national groups have "sovereign states" now. 20 peoples, however, have the status of autonomous SSRs. What do sovereignty and autonomous rights actually mean for the peoples in the Soviet Russian empire? Their only purpose seems to be the formal incorporation of the peoples into so-called republics or autonomous regions, i. e. administrative units only. It is true that the Constitution of the Soviet Union grants the Union republics the right to secede from the Union. That is all! There is no disposition laying down the mode for expressing a people's desire to secede from the USSR, and there is no constitutional law court in the Soviet Union. If, for instance, the

wish to secede is to be expressed before the Supreme Soviet (let us call it Soviet Parliament), how is such a request to be formulated and in what manner is a motion for secession from the Soviet Union to be substantiated and put to vote? It is known that any deputy of a "national" Soviet republic who would dare to make such a petition must reckon with his removal. Supposing the petition for secession is put to vote, the Russian majority in the Soviet Parliament would certainly say "no" for, the Russians' national pride aims at dominating others.

2) It is said that the peoples have sovereign rights which they can exercise within their respective republics. There is no official, however, in the "national Soviet republics" who would be in the position to take a decision without Moscow's consent. Nobody has such a right because the Party officials have no autonomy within the framework of the Communist Party apparatus. The Government officials are responsible to the organs of the central power according to Soviet laws. On the other hand, arbitrary actions annulling Soviet laws are legally prohibited.

3) The Union Government does not have proportional representation of the individual national groups in its administrative organs. The so-called Council of Nationalities and Union Council have no influence on legislation. Briefly, anything the **Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decides is to be considered law**. The individual peoples, therefore, have no right to represent their own interests freely.

Thus the peoples do not have national sovereign rights or autonomous rights as such. As is well known, the Russian officials support the regime and centralized power within the "national Soviet republics" as well. Particularly the Army, the Police with its security service and the media of communication are controlled by Russian

Communists. Russians living in the Union republics are the pillar supporting the regime in non-Russian countries. There are 21,267,000 Russians living and working outside the RSFSR in national Soviet republics. In the RSFSR there are 107,748,000 Russians; 50% thereof are living and working in the so-called national autonomous Soviet republics. Everywhere in the national Soviet republics Russian officials occupy Government and Party posts (from the bottom to the top). Moscow succeeded in establishing a system of control over all peoples that has remained operable so far.

The peoples in the Soviet Union, the prison of peoples, formally have a national existence. Their national tongues have been utilized as interpreters of Communist and Government propaganda. Culture may be national in form only, but it must have a socialist content. Hereby the Russian culture has already assumed a predominant rôle over the national cultures. Former tsarist Minister of Culture Tolstov and missionary Il'minsky would be pleased with the significance presently attributed to the Russian language for the non-Russian peoples, if they could rise from their tombs and realize that their dream of Russifying the foreign peoples in the Russian empire through the Russian language is coming true. The tsarist policy concerning the merging of peoples into the Russian people has become a chief object of the present Soviet Russian regime. The assimilation of peoples is part of the programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, too. In the guise of internationalism, Moscow aims at Russifying the non-Russian peoples in the USSR. School education, i. e. teaching young people of non-Russian nationalities in Russian, also greatly contributes to the assimilation policy. Thus the so-called **national Soviet states** have actually become **forefields of the struggle against these nations**.

The periodical "Soviet State and Law" (1962, No. 12) clearly stated that "na-

tional statehood and federation have on the whole fulfilled their historical mission . . . **by means of mutual assimilation of nations, the territorial autonomies, even in the Union republics, are being denationalized**". It follows that Moscow proceeds against the nations in the guise of national Soviet statehood.

The Imperialist Nature of the Soviet Union

It would be completely wrong to claim that the USSR is a world power based on a voluntary union of peoples. The USSR is not a voluntary community of peoples but a power scheme construed by Russian Communists, based on Russian national sentiment though operating on behalf of the peoples. There is not one Russian Communist, however, who would renounce the tsarist imperialist patrimony, even if he pretended to be an internationalist. The Soviet Union's power actually serves to satisfy Russian great-power chauvinism, a few non-Russians having been won over as supporters of the regime. If some non-Russians are cooperating with the Soviet power apparatus this does not at all imply a cooperation of the peoples. Besides, it would appear incredible, even unnatural, if the Russians could not find a dozen of usufructuaries among the non-Russians. **Camouflaging Russian imperialism under the name USSR does not mean burying it altogether.** It has remained particularly active in those countries of the Soviet Union that are dominated by Moscow and it is also very active abroad, as is revealed by the following:

A) Annexation Policy

The conquest of a series of countries and regions since 1940 and their incorporation into the Soviet Union is the result of Moscow's annexation policy which, also in the view of Soviet ideologists, is a symptom of imperialism. There are numerous examples showing Moscow's planned annexation policy. It should also be

recalled that the USSR itself is a product of Russian annexation policy.

B) The Satellite State System, a Method of Ruling over Peoples

The system of satellite states is an ancient trick of rule. Moscow considered this system suitable for controlling several peoples. The peoples of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, Yugoslavia and Mongolia constitute a satellite system under Moscow's direct supervision. The measures of punishment taken against these peoples are the same as applied to the peoples of the Soviet Union; see for instance the radical punishment of Hungary in 1956 and of Czecho-Slovakia in 1968. The question, however, why the Soviet leaders could not punish Yugoslavia and Albania for their disobedience in the way they punished Czecho-Slovakia cannot be discussed here.

Russia intended to include China in her system of satellite states. However she did not succeed in suppressing Chinese chauvinism which opposed Russian chauvinism. At present Eastern and South-Eastern Europe belong to the Russian sphere of power; see the Brezhnev Doctrine.

C) International Communist Propaganda

It is generally known that nowadays the Soviet Union engages in worldwide Communist propaganda. Moscow aims at the exclusive Communist domination of the world. There are numerous publications in Communist and non-Communist countries revealing that the rule of Communism in the whole world is the final goal of the Soviet leadership. Therefore, Communist movements are supported wherever possible. Various motivations are successfully used as camouflage by the Communist movement, such as **coexistence, peace, security, liberation of peoples, liberation of workers, struggle a-**

gainst capitalism, colonialism and imperialism, etc. A good deal of the wealth of the Soviet Union is in fact used for Communist propaganda. On the other hand, the peoples of the Soviet Union are supposed to continue waiting for a high standard of living until Communism will have conquered the whole world. The international propaganda for extending Communism in the world only implies Moscow's silent, but definite claim to world rule. Propaganda aiming at a disintegration of humanity and the attempts to introduce Communist regimes among the peoples very clearly reveal Moscow's imperialist appetite. For this purpose Soviet leaders have organized an international Communist movement.

D) Soviet Russian Power outside the USSR

With the aid of the Soviet Union Cuba became Communist. Using Cuba as base Moscow could then extend its activity to Latin America. The disputes between Arabs and Israelis offered Moscow the opportunity to act as a power in the Mediterranean area. Through amicable agreements with Egypt and Iraq (in 1972) Moscow strengthened its stronghold in the Near East. By concluding an agreement of friendship with India (in 1971) Moscow definitely contributed to Pakistan's defeat in the war with India. Moscow's "peace policy" advocated war in East Pakistan. The proclamation of the Socialist People's Republic of Bangla Desh counts as a success of the Soviet Union. In India and Afghanistan the influence of the Soviet Union is particularly notable. The world already knows about Soviet Russian disintegrating activity in Turkey. Thus Moscow has created particular zones of action in Africa, Asia (except Soviet Asia) and Latin America. Today one can no longer ask: "Where is the sphere of action of the Soviet Union?" But rather: "Where does Moscow's sphere

of power or zone of influence in the world end?" Moreover, Moscow has its secret colonies everywhere in the free countries. The press in the free world writes a lot on this subject but nobody dares to take steps necessary for fighting these colonies. Should anyone dare to point out the realities and dangers of Soviet Russian politics he is immediately denounced, in the very West, as a "Cold Warrior". Some people in the West tend to depreciate Soviet Russian Communist disintegration policy and consider it a symptom of anarchism. Many people, however, do not realize that it is the anarchic water which makes the mill of Moscow's power politics turn.

People continue to live in prisons, too. Thus the peoples in the vast prison of the USSR, isolated from the world, are certainly also living. The prison guards are intoxicated with power enjoying their growing success in the world. They know, however, that peoples can break the prison lattices when the time has come. Therefore, they severely guard their prisoners.

If the desire for freedom takes hold of all oppressed peoples in the Soviet Union, if the democratic free world presents a concept for the liberation of the peoples of the USSR and tries to realize it without fearing Moscow, only then the vast concentration camp of peoples can be dissolved. Moscow's rulers will from time to time feel obliged to allow for the non-Russians' national feelings in order to preserve the prison of peoples. This might bring about a period of transition to final national liberation for the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union or promote a national uprising. There may be various, internal and external, inducements to an uprising of peoples, or both together may promote their insurrection. Thus, the dissolution of the Russian empire — it is a historical necessity in conformity with natural law — cannot be halted.

The Present Stage of the Liberation Struggle of the Subjugated Nations

(Conclusion)

Man's attitude decides as to the good or bad utilization of material value. Atomic energy can benefit mankind, but it can also destroy it. It can bring it Armageddon but it can also further the growth of civilization and improve conditions for cultural development. A human being decides. His spiritual faculty decides. Hence, spiritual revolution is inseparably bound with the manifold national one, including the social revolution, a simultaneous revolutionary process. The above-mentioned simple formula of one of the underground authors provides a concept of a political and cultural revolution as well, or more precisely, a return to the national traditions, the picking up of threads severed by the occupant. Political revolution removes obstacles which prevent the many-faceted self-expression in various spheres of life of the nation, as the highest human society.

The essential meaning of revolution in certain underground authors is the clearing of the field, soiled by Russian mud, for unhindered development of the traditional, original national elements in all phases of national life. Their understanding of the revolutionary spirit essentially boils down to the slogan: "To the sources of Ukrainian spirituality", and when we do return to them — then as a consequence, the national, political, social, economic, inherently Ukrainian order will manifest itself. In numerous authors in Ukraine these Ukrainian elements reach back to the pre-Christian era of Ukraine's history. Of course, the realization of the Ukrainian way of life can take place only after the take-over of power by the Ukrainian nation on its own land. But the struggle for statehood must be and

is being waged in all fields of life of the nation which contrasts with the enemy not only in the concept of the essence of one sphere of life, but in its entirety. Ukraine stands in opposition to Russia. Two worlds are opposing each other.

Ideas, methods and people are components of the process of liberation. At this stage of the revolutionary liberation struggle, organized by the underground — the revolutionary OUN — ideas and the road to liberation are distinctly visible. Nothing ever happens without people, without the commanding, leading stratum. Who, how, and what for?! — are precisely defined. It is necessary to say a few words about the "who". We have already spoken about the ideological radiation and reflex action of the underground in the complex of the ideo-political mobilization along the lines of a) semi-legal forms, with a spontaneous emission of leaders without weapons, but armed with spirit, will power, character and b) underground methods: from 1959 until the present — clashes with the occupant similar to those occurring in Novocherkask or Donetsk, where a Ukrainian commander of the "pacification" unit refused to fire at the workers and was then himself condemned to execution, later commuted to 25 years of hard labour. In these clashes, as well as in strikes and revolts in concentration camps, new leaders came to the fore, the commanders of an armed struggle, and have manifested themselves as such to the people. There is still another type of leaders — the anonymous leaders of the indestructible underground, the revolutionary OUN, who are the objects of

searches, but who are difficult to be caught; yet they are present everywhere and personify the legend of the three letters — OUN. In the great strategy of the rebirth and rising of the nation, some are to encourage the people, serve as an example. In the essay "Among the Snows" Moroz argued that they must prove that Man is stronger than the appalling terror apparatus.

The task of others, as organizers, is to prove to the people that armed struggle has a chance and that the occupant is not always strong enough to quell an uprising. The third must demonstrate to the people the elusiveness of leaders and their omnipresence in spite of the system of the KGB . . .

It is our task to unite ideologically and politically the leading centers of underground activity, to bring to their attention the guidelines of political and other activity, to give to them and not necessarily to take from them, although it is important to confront ideological and political, programmatic and strategic positions.

Our movement is a nationwide movement, that is, it is united as to goals and actions, of the young leading elite and the popular masses. And this is a guarantee of success. This is not our allegation, but it has been confirmed by foreigners who have spent some time in Ukraine. It is the exact opposite of the Russian dissident movement, which is described as a movement limited to a small group of intellectuals without any resonance among the people. However, in our opinion, the overwhelming majority of these intellectuals are of non-Russian origin, with only an insignificant exception of full-blooded Russians. Fundamentally, Russians are reformists, revisionists, who want to save the empire by reforms and new deceptions.

Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that our movement is a popular movement with an inexhaustible source of replacement from the midst of the masses, it is the task of every revolutiona-

ry strategist to achieve his goal with the least possible sacrifices, and it is not the style of a prospective strategist to achieve instant success, or glory at all cost. Decisive is success in the long run. The end sanctifies the deed, not the ephemeral success.

The strength of our movement was always to be found in the people, who continuously produced ever new heroes. We can use the phrase **heroic people** without exaggeration, precisely because more than once in our history many have reneged, some from the leading strata have committed treason, but the people have remained true to themselves, giving forth ever new geniuses, heroes, prophets. For long periods of time the town — alongside the village — was the bulwark of the nation. The Brotherhoods uniting townspeople and the role they played are well known. Now it is of significance to us that the burden of ideological struggle and partially of the actions passed to the cities. This does not mean that the village is not holding the front, is not a mainstay of national traditions and traditional struggle. It is significant that the city is also becoming a part of the struggle. This is an important phenomenon. The countryside was the mainstay of the OUN-UPA to the greatest extent. It is a good turn of events that the city is taking over its due role. To demoralize the village is the enemy strategy. Ukraine's reply: while defending the village, a successful advance upon the city. The intellectual elite, the students, the workers are standing on the frontlines . . . Not only an ideological but also a de facto struggle has developed, e.g. the actions of students and workers. The same things are occurring in Lithuania (Kaunas), Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, Croatia, North Caucasus, Byelorussia, Poland, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

In this connection, it is important to draw several historical parallels or contrasts from the point of view of re-

volutionary strategy as a consequence of the ideological aim. Mao's main support came from the village; Lenin's mainstay was the city. From the fact that the countryside was Mao's mainstay it follows that the Maoists wager on a common front of the national "bourgeoisie" and the proletariat against the colonialists in a sense of "national liberation wars" with a deceptive bait of the national and with the concealed role of the Communist Party as the avant-garde. From the fact that Lenin's mainstay was the city it follows that the Lumpenproletariat of the city had a distinct and clearcut role, hence the Communist Party, without the concealment of its role. The fact, that Mao divides the world into the rich, industrialized nations of the North and the developing, non-industrial nations of the South, gives rise to a racial conflict: the colored peoples vs. the whites, which is a contradictory, imperialistic Red Chinese and not internationally Communist category. Furthermore, one of the strongest industrial nations of the world — Japan — is colored.

A consequence to be drawn by us, as far as historic teaching on various strategic concepts with respect to the Russian empire is concerned, is that Mao's strategy of peasant uprising is one-sided. Lenin's strategy of a proletarian uprising is one-sided as well. Furthermore, it is a purely Russian concept. The national conception of an uprising is a joint uprising of town and village — the UPA and the clashes of workers and students in the cities. Wishing to make the unity between city and village impossible, the Russians demoralize the village (organized drunkenness, etc.), for a revolt in the city without the support of the village will fail. The city guerrillas without the support of and without guerrillas in villages, mountains, forests, and steppes will not achieve lasting success. The Donbas was Ukrainianized and revolutionized by the "kulaks" and other

peasants, fleeing from planned, Russian-organized famine at the time of forced collectivization. Those are two mutually supplementing roles and tasks: taking control of city centers of government, administration, the communication network, radio stations, and simultaneously receiving armed assistance from the countryside, an uprising in the country as a whole. This is an organic concept of our revolution, an uprising which guarantees victory. Gaining control of the capital is decisive, but its holding is impossible when there is no assistance and armed action in the village. A two-hour occupation in line with a plan of radio stations Lviv-Kyiv-Odessa and their surrender, even after a fight, would do a great deal for the mobilization of revolutionary forces. This would cost many victims, but numerous battles would also result in no lesser sacrifices.

A number of reasons existed which justified the strategy and tactic applied by the UPA, which made a great contribution in a successful development of revolution and immensely enhanced the significance of the Ukrainian factor on the world political scale.

Our present planning must be conducted with this aspect in mind. Our strategy is a national not a class strategy. Therefore, neither the experience of Lenin nor of Mao can be adopted by us. Our doctrine of liberation war — our insurgency — is nationwide, popular. This was grasped and defined not only by us here in the West, but also by the fighters in Ukraine. This was formulated by one Ukrainian author, calling the period 1942-1953 a nationwide insurrection. Thus, we are also formulating our revolutionary liberation strategy of struggle — a nationwide uprising, and not a peasant revolution, or city guerrillas, for all of the above are only fragments, while the point in question is the struggle of the entire nation, the struggle of the subjugated nations against the Russian occupant and imperialist.

Trojan Horses on the Rhine

Only the future will tell whether the West German Parliament's ratification of the treaties with the USSR and Poland means temporary detente or serious trouble. The optimists assume that, because the USSR is under pressure in the East, it needs peace in the West. The pessimists fear that, precisely because the USSR is building all options of strength against the Chinese threat, it does not want to rely on words but wishes instead to destroy the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and to control the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG).

The West German treaties belong side by side with the package of United States - USSR treaties, including the strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT), and they are one major step on the road to the European security conference long sought by the Soviets.

The Bundestag debate on the West German treaties was one of the greatest parliamentary battles in history. The discussions turn mainly on the question of whether the treaties are a substitute peace treaty from which the Western powers are excluded and which will prevent the reunification of Germany; or whether they merely organize a temporary *modus vivendi* on the basis of present realities.

A Bundestag resolution, accepted nearly unanimously by all parties, stated that the FRG does not ask for border changes and does not claim territories. The Eastern treaties are to serve European peace and West German security, but do not prejudice German self-determination. Without this resolution, which corrected Moscow's interpretation of the agreements, the treaties would not have passed.

The arguments about self-determination, though they were foremost in German minds, conceal the real issues:

Will West Germany be neutralized like Austria? Will the FRG become radicalized on the Yugoslav pattern? Will the United States be ejected from Germany? Will NATO be destroyed?

The answers to these questions depend in large part on the policies of the German Social-Democratic Party (SPD).

In its infancy, the SPD, which is more than 100 years old, was closely linked with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The SPD was the model Marxist party before 1914. During World War I, it supported Germany's aggressive policies. After World War II, it temporarily became a nationalist party.

For decades, the SPD actively promoted the Russian revolutionary movement, and between 1915 and 1917 top SPD leaders helped implant Lenin and his crowd as the government of Russia. Yet, subsequently, the SPD was hostile to the Communists, and international Communism regarded the SPD as its arch-enemy. Moscow preferred to deal with Hitler.

Initially, the SPD did not want any ties with NATO. While it supported NATO during the 1960s, it now is looking toward a "European security arrangement," which might terminate the United States presence on the Continent.

In 1959, the SPD adopted a strongly reformist program, which — though it still called for the restructuring of the social order — seemed to write off Marxism.

Leftist SPD Leaders

A few years later, the party began to veer leftward. Herbert Wehner, an expellee from the German Communist Party, established himself as the dominant influence within the SPD. Leo Bauer, an ex-Communist and ex-agent,

became West German Chancellor Willy Brandt's main ideological adviser and contact man with foreign Communist parties.

Brandt, himself, has a concealed radical past. A 1971 biography distributed by the German Information Service describes him as a "left-wing socialist" during the late 1930s. Brandt was in Spain during the civil war there.

Brandt held membership in the Socialist Workers Party, a splinter group that stood to the left of the SPD, and, almost like today, he favored a united front between Socialists and Communists.

Brandt's and Wehner's rise to power was accompanied by a substantial infiltration into the SPD machine. Bureaucrats in the party's "educational" departments and union ideologues made money available for the publication en masse of Socialist classics, Communist tracts, and New Left literature. The SPD secretly pushed the rebellions by New Left Communists plaguing German universities and cities, especially Berlin.

Did Wehner cease being a Communist or did he become the most successful infiltrator since Martin Bohrmann? Perhaps Wehner does not know himself. Most observers think he just acts true to his character and wants to beat his rival, Walter Ulbricht, the East German leader, at the game of building socialism.

Communist Party: SPD MODEL

Wehner imposed practices on the SPD bureaucracy that he copied from the Communist Party model and, under his inspiration, the SPD top structure was reorganized to elevate Wehner to a position resembling that of a Stalinist secretary-general.

In 1966, the SPD together with the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Christian Social Union (CSU), the parties of the late Konrad Adenauer and of Franz Josef Strauss, formed a

coalition government. The coalition had been forged in the belief that the SPD was sold on Bonn's NATO-oriented foreign policy.

Brandt served as foreign minister and secretly negotiated with the Kremlin through Bauer and the Italian Communist Party. Egon Bahr, Brandt's former public relations man and now his chief adviser on Ostpolitik (Eastern policy) negotiated secretly with East Germany. The partners in the coalition were kept in ignorance, partly through deceptiveness, an art in which Bahr excels.

Wehner held the portfolio of "all-German questions". He stopped research and publications that reported on conditions in Eastern Europe. Intelligence operations in the East were curtailed. Street unrest and "class struggles" were provoked. The teaching of "Marxism" spread through the universities. A large portion of the media fell under leftist influence.

In 1969, at a moment when a clandestine liaison between the SPD and the Kremlin was already functioning, the coalition was dissolved. In the following elections, the SPD got 43 per cent of the popular vote. The Free Democratic Party (FDP), formerly a free enterprise liberal party, refused to coalesce with the CDU and the CSU, instead enabling Brandt to take over. It is a matter of court record that the Communists had infiltrated the FDP's leadership group.

"Detente" Talks Begin

Promptly, talks were initiated with Moscow and Warsaw. Brandt claimed he was seeking detente arrangements, but would not harm German and allied interests. Bahr, with an occasional assist from Brandt, conducted the negotiations. The treaties were ready in late 1970.

Bahr, to whom no one ascribes the virtues of Caesar's wife and who enjoys only minimal credibility, was the

wrong negotiator. Wehner was functioning as Brandt's main speaker in the Bundestag, the lower house in the West German Parliament. Although the government had only a slim majority, Wehner goaded the opposition by telling them that their votes were not needed. His dictatorial, capricious and uninformative manner of replying to interpellations was in the worst style of Nazi Herman Goering.

The opposition requested to see the protocols of the negotiations so that it could obtain an authentic interpretation of Germany's new commitments. This request was rudely denied. Wehner's behavior and Bahr's deviousness were so scandalous that several SPD and FDP deputies quit their parties and joined the CDU/CSU opposition. Brandt's majority fell to two votes.

The Russians warned of dire consequences — even war — if the treaties were not ratified. Those threats confirmed that Moscow had not relinquished its pretended right to intervene, perhaps forcefully, in German internal affairs. The opposition's worst suspicions seemed justified. Washington ignored the Russian threats.

Extracts from the protocols were leaked. They indicated that, indeed, the Brandt government had not been telling the truth and had committed itself to promote Russian strategic goals within NATO; i. e., evict the United States from Europe. Bahr had been trying to transform the Federal Republic of Germany into a junior ally of the Kremlin.

Under the heading of reparations, Brandt had volunteered to give the USSR free financial aid. There was not one real Russian concession.

Brandt Loses Majority

Thereupon, the opposition tried to unseat Brandt through a vote of "no confidence". This move failed: One or two deputies feared that votes were lacking to form a new government. The

"revolutionaries" already were taking to the streets. But Brandt lost the next vote: The budget, already late by five months, did not pass. The government no longer had the votes to obtain ratification over the heads of the opposition.

At this point, Brandt consented to negotiate with the CDU/CSU. With the help of the Soviet ambassador, the government and the opposition were hammering out the aforementioned resolution. It was agreed that, if all parties accepted this resolution, the opposition would vote affirmatively.

Yet, maneuvers by Wehner, legal uncertainties, doubts in the SPD's good faith, Moscow's initial rejection of the resolution and acceptance a few hours later, and new trickery with the protocols induced 10 CSU deputies to vote against ratification, while the remaining 238 members of the opposition abstained. The SPD and the FDP cast 248 affirmative votes. Both opposition parties abstained in the Bundesrat, the upper house, and thereby saved the treaties.

The trickery with the protocols just before the vote involved the Brandt government's refusal to make them available to the opposition for inspection. In fact, a CDU deputy, who long has held a clearance for secret documents, was even denied a look at the protocols. Instead, Foreign Ministry officials, in a highly unusual procedure, sat the cleared deputy down and began reading the protocols to him aloud. They had gotten only about a fourth of the way through the voluminous documents by the time of the vote, and the CDU deputy had no way of knowing whether everything in even that fourth had been read to him.

The Brandt government, which was committed to incorporate the four-party resolution into the ratification instruments, acted ambiguously. The USSR declared the resolution was a purely internal German matter, thus negating its impact on the treaties.

Defeat from Victory's Jaws

So, the CDU and most of the CSU had been duped once again and, after they had successfully blocked a defective and deceptive treaty, they threw their victory away and made ratification possible.

Where will Germany go from here? There will soon be elections which may return the CDU/CSU to power. In the recent election in Baden-Württemberg, the CDU obtained 53 per cent of the popular vote. Thus, statistically speaking, the chances of the two union parties appear to be excellent, but it can be argued that the CDU leadership has proved itself to be deficient. Lack of conviction and courage does not attract voters..

The SPD leadership is in bad shape, too. Yet Brandt may profit from the halo of his seeming success: Regardless of his blunders, he did get the treaties ratified.

The SPD, which has strong party discipline, is not reconciled to losing — the leftward trend must be sustained. The USSR also wants the SPD to stay in power. Hence, the election campaign may be accompanied by terrorism. Radical union leaders already have called for the activation of the "extra-parliamentary movement". Incredibly, Brandt himself has referred to the need of winning the elections through "woodcutting" and mobilizing the factories.

Encouraged by Brandt and Wehner, the Yusos (Young Socialists) are winning intraparty elections and may soon dominate the party. Those left extremists have perfected the unique German talent of weaving cloth from hot air. They may not all desire a Communist Party dictatorship, but most of them will do everything in their power to divorce Germany from Western "capitalism". To them, the road to reunification goes through revolution.

What SPD Control Means

Prolonged SPD rule could have very serious implications for United States security. It was, for example, incompetent to antagonize the opposition. For that matter, the USSR cannot place much value on treaties that are acceptable only to a minority.

Indeed, a strong suspicion of subversion is raised by the evasiveness and duplicity of Brandt's policy. The infiltrators may actually be highly competent individuals who, in order to prepare a revolutionary takeover or provoke Russian intervention, aim at political polarization.

The SPD and the SPD-controlled media often are openly anti-American. But their main objective is to create a socialist Europe that wants to send the the "Amis" home and hopes the Russians remain where they are or get lost in China.

The SPD is particularly anxious that membership in the European Common Market (EEC) does not make European socialism irrelevant. Hence, a major operation is under way to coordinate the parties of the Second (Socialist) International. A socialist bloc is emerging between West Germany, Austria, Finland, Sweden and, to some extent, Yugoslavia, with Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme saying what the others do not yet dare to tell the United States.

Preparing Socialist Bloc

Sicco Mansholt, a Dutch Socialist planner in the EEC, may begin this fall to put together a European Socialist Party with its main goal the transformation of the EEC into a socialist bloc. Mansholt is strongly supported by Brandt and Wehner, but Harold Wilson, the former British prime minister, and François Mitterand, the French leader, also seem to find the adventure exciting.

Wehner has proclaimed that the SPD should "force upon" Germany's European allies its notions of social reconstruction. Can anyone visualize the French and British submitting to compulsory SPD advice?

While Wehner works for German-instigated socialist revolution of Western Europe, Bahr was promising Americans that German Ostpolitik would ultimately cause a liberal evolution in East Germany and the USSR.

A German government that wants to remake East and West Europe — and which, incidentally, also supports Mediterranean, Arab and African revolu-

tionary movements — is megalomaniac and unfit to rule; it also endangers the Western allies.

A loud alarm about Germany must be sounded. Fortunately, numerous courageous democrats survive in the SPD and will try to reverse the trend. If they fail, the SPD may be split. This may be the only denouncement which could save West German democracy. Meanwhile, a chain reaction is underway which may result in the breakup of NATO, which could easily lead to armed clashes in Europe.

**The American Security Council
Washington Report, July 14, 1972**

ABN Activities During the Olympic Games in Munich

The activities of ABN inside the Olympic Village, the Olympic Park and throughout the city of Munich were intended to inform the international public about the nations subjugated by Russia, and the horrible terror, Russification and genocide perpetrated by Russian chauvinists in the subjugated countries, as well as about the subjugated peoples' resistance and liberation activities. ABN urged free nations and individuals to take a decisive stand against the Russian Communist imperialists and to render moral, political and material assistance to the national liberation movements opposing the Russians. Particularly active were the Ukrainians, the Balts, the Croats, the Georgians and the Czechs.

The activities were conducted in several fields: mass information, condemnation of the fact that the subjugated nations are not represented as national units at the Olympic Games, establishment of contacts with athletes from the subjugated nations competing on the USSR team and exposing to the people of the free world the presence of the KGB at the games and their attempts to restrict the movements and

the freedom of speech of the USSR sportsmen.

Over 100,000 leaflets and pamphlets in English, German, French, Spanish, Ukrainian and Russian were distributed and special posters and stickers were stuck all over the city. Particularly active were members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) from Great Britain, France, Belgium, W. Germany, Canada, the USA and Australia, who gathered daily at one of the Olympic hills to sing patriotic songs, thus attracting the attention of thousands of visitors to the Olympic Games.

Particular attention was devoted to the International Press Center located in the Olympic Village. All informational material especially published for this occasion was made available to reporters and favourable reports about the action appeared in various newspapers throughout the world including the **New York Times**.

The fact that our campaign was a success can be seen from numerous angry attacks upon the ABN in the Russian and satellite publications.

The Future of Soviet Dissent

It is particularly timely that Peter Reddaway's publication of the first eleven issues of the *Chronicle of Current Events**) should have appeared at this moment. Instead of just issuing a full run of the journal in English translation, Mr. Reddaway has wisely, and exercising excellent editorial judgement, chosen to select and classify the information by topic.

A remarkable achievement. And yet, and yet... The nagging question remains: how much has our understanding of the USSR, or Soviet society and Soviet politics, been enhanced by the vast mass of samizdat suddenly made available to the West. This may sound paradoxical, but I have an uneasy feeling that overall it might have created an even more distorted picture than the one that existed before. A bright spotlight suddenly turned on one small feature of the landscape can only make the surrounding darkness seem even deeper.

The impression is created, for instance, that organized opposition to the Soviet regime began only after Khrushchev's 1956 secret speech, and, more specifically, in the mid-'sixties. Nothing could be further from the truth. Opposition to the regime was far stronger and more widespread before 1956. In Ukraine and Lithuania, to mention but two examples, a protracted and sanguine guerrilla war raged for ten years after 1945. Only the West chose to take no notice of it. Or take political trials: Western writings on Soviet dissenters convey the notion that this characteristic feature of Soviet life fell into abeyance between Stalin's death and Khrushchev's fall. Not at all: "anti-Soviet" organizations, real or i-

maginary (and many of them far more important than those described in samizdat) were being rooted out all the time — and punished more harshly than now, with numerous executions. A considerable literature exists about the five minute demonstration of protest against the invasion of Czechoslovakia — how many people know about the mass meetings at the time of the Hungarian Revolution, when official speakers were thrown out of the hall and even beaten up?

It is no reflection on the courageous and idealistic men and women of the Russian civil rights movement to point out that their Western supporters have — with the best of intentions — drawn up a somewhat misleading general picture of their aims and activities. To begin with, they have been awarded the rather grand title of the Democratic Movement (with capital initials). This implies a degree of unity and organization, or at least co-ordination, which simply does not exist. There is no such thing as a Democratic Movement. Unlike our Western authors, the Soviet dissenters themselves never, or hardly ever, use the phrase. As far as I know, it was favoured only by Andrei Amalrik, a highly untypical lone wolf, much disliked and even reviled by most of the other dissenters. The actual signature of 'Democratic Movement' is found, I believe, on only three samizdat documents, distinguished from any other samizdat publication by concomitantly a) remaining anonymous, b) containing a really deep and far-reaching analysis of the general situation inside the USSR, and c) being sharply criticized by the *Chronicle*, which normally refrains from expressing editorial opinions. For all one knows, they may all have been written by one person: Russian revolutionary history knows similar cases.

*) *Uncensored Russia* edited by Peter Reddaway (Cape £ 5.00)

The civil rights movement — which is what Mr. Reddaway is really writing about — is no more than one out of many divergent currents of dissent. Its membership is minute. At the height of the signature campaign in 1968 about 200 names appeared under various letters of protest. Hardly any of them were seen a second time. And towards the end there remained just a handful of stubborn protesters, inside prison and out — the very same names that have been regularly appearing for the past ten to fifteen years. It is magnificent — but is it a Movement?

But there is more to it than just a question of numbers. Even if we include all the 2000-odd signers we are struck by a curious feature. Probably the largest group among them are the physicists; then come mathematicians, biologists, philosophers, philologists, some poets and teachers, a few engineers and doctors. There are hardly any students — the backbone of all modern protest movements (a point made by Mr. Reddaway) — no workers to speak of and not a single peasant. In short, the civil rightists all come from the intelligentsia and especially its scientific elite.

The main reason why the Russian civil rights dissenters (for all their incredible moral toughness), present so little danger to the regime is that they are a movement of the intelligentsia, by the intelligentsia and for the intelligentsia. What are their demands? The abolition of censorship, freedom of scientific research, tolerance for heterodoxy, freer contacts with foreign colleagues, no punishment for political views, greater press freedom. All very well, but hardly the stuff to fire the masses.

Where, in the whole of samizdat literature, can we find a coherent attempt to tackle the basic social problems of the USSR, to describe the enslavement of the peasantry, the brutishness and poverty of the masses, the universal drunkenness, corruption and immorali-

ty, the ghastly housing conditions, the food shortages, the degradation of women, the rampant anti-semitism and racialism, the glaring social and economic inequality, the luxury and profligacy of the ruling Communist caste? Nowhere. Amalrik tried to do it — he became a pariah for his "anti-patriotism". The only three serious and large-scale samizdat studies of Soviet life were written by the Medvedev brothers: they deal respectively with the stifling of scientific research, the lack of foreign scientific contacts, and the destruction of the Old Bolsheviks. No samizdatchik has shown any interest in studying the bloody workers' rebellions in Novochoerkask, Temir-Tau, Chimkent, Odessa, Riga and elsewhere, or any of the innumerable strikes and go-slows.

Facing up to an immensely powerful totalitarian regime demands heroism of the highest order. But for any chance of success it also requires a cause that will rally people of all sorts and conditions around it. The slogan of freedom of expression for the intelligentsia can never achieve this. Yet there is no shortage of real causes in Soviet Russia. The country, behind its bland Brezhnevian facade, is seething with discontent. It took more than a year to collect 2000 signatures throughout the USSR under protests against the repression of intellectuals — in tiny Lithuania a petition over the persecution of Catholic priests has just gathered 17,000 signatures within a few days. And it was followed by mass riots. Such is the real stuff of popular protest.

Of all the troubles brewing in the USSR the most explosive is the nationalities question. Nationalism has proved itself to be the greatest dynamic force of the century, and the USSR, the last of the multinational empires, is no exception. Anti-Russian nationalism is the one cause that fuses intellectual and peasant together. The genuine tragedy of the civil rightists is that, true

liberals that they are, they fear the potentialities of nationalism almost as much as their rulers.

As always, the chief danger spot is Ukraine. The Chronicle handles nationalism with kid gloves. It reports a few — a very few — of the trials of Ukrainian nationalists, but in such a way as to make them, too, seem good liberal civil rightists and nothing more. Our Western authors go even further. Mr Reddaway seems rather worried about the Ukrainians getting out of hand and starting to demand more than mere civil rights. He writes about "the Democratic Movement's Ukrainian wing" — by definition a non-existent entity — and deplures unhealthy nationalistic tendencies: "Practically none of the literature referred to in this chapter uses the word nationalist: that word still implies — not only to officials but also to most dissenters — a non-democratic, extremist orientation . . . For the moment phrases like 'national movement' and 'equal national rights' are respectable to democrats in both Kyiv and Moscow, while the words nationalist and nationalism are not."

I very much fear that Mr Reddaway's well-meaning faith in the "Democratic Movement" as one big happy family, espousing the liberal virtues of civil rights, working together for a democratized USSR, and eschewing ugly, divisive and irrational concepts like "nationalism" have carried him quite a long way away from reality. The resistance movement that has been, rapidly growing in Ukraine in the last ten years — and which has been subjected to far harsher repression than the Russian civil rightists — is an openly nationalist movement, aiming at national independence for their country and therefore enjoying support that far transcends the ranks of the intelligentsia.

Here is what the Ukrainian nationalist dissenters really demand. Levko Lukyanenko is a remarkable young U-

krainian revolutionary, a national hero to his own people (but mentioned only in passing in Reddaway's book). In 1961 Lukyanenko was sentenced to death (later commuted to fifteen years) for organizing an illegal nationalist party. Years later he wrote from his prison camp: "In the twentieth century — when the colonial empires split up one after another, and powerful national liberation forces grew out of the vortex of turbulent agents, when these forces determine the spirit of the present age and provide it with a banner — in this age the attempts to suppress the desire of Ukrainians for national freedom appear as a terrible anachronism and a terrible injustice."

Mr Reddaway is naturally aware of the deep divergencies between the Russian civil rightists and the Ukrainian (and other) nationalists. He notes the appearance since January 1970 of an illegal Ukrainian Herald quite independent of the Chronicle, and the gradual decline in the amount of Ukrainian material printed in the Chronicle. But as a faithful believer in the "Democratic Movement" he glosses over these differences: "It would, however, be surprising — also seriously damaging to the unity of the Democratic Movement — if future relations between the two journals were other than close and basically friendly."

Issue No. 5 of the Ukrainian Herald, which appeared after these hopeful words were written, has effectively exposed the fictitiousness of Western notions of any "unity" of the "Democratic Movement". An editorial statement castigated all the leading figures and institutions of the civil rights movement — Sakharov's Committee for Human Rights in the Soviet Union, the Action Group for the Defence of Civil Rights, various other underground circles, even the Chronicle of Current Events itself — precisely for their consistent neglect of the nationalities question and their extreme vagueness with regard to a possible democratic

solution of national grievances. The Chronicle, complain the Ukrainians, "has arrogated to itself a supranational or all-Union position", whereas in reality it represents only certain circles of the liberal Russian intelligentsia.

The Ukrainian Herald sums up the nationalities policy of the Russian civil rights movement in a bitter phrase: "One gets the impression that the members of these groups, while striving to achieve radical changes in many spheres of public life, desire nothing more than the preservation, in one form or another, of the status quo with regard to the nationalities question." It is hard to disagree with this.

And here we come to the fatal weakness of the civil rights movement. They are liberals and they are Russians. They speak up bravely for the right of Jews to emigrate and of Crimean Tartars to return to the Crimea — but that is the extent of their involvement

in nationality problems. Neither demand would undermine the status quo.

Essentially, what the civil rights movement wants is the emergence of a liberalized USSR. Yet if there is one totally inconceivable political fantasy it is the existence of a liberal and democratic Soviet Union. For if the USSR were ever to go liberal the secession of all its non-Russian territories — Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic states, the Caucasus, Central Asia — would take place much faster than even the collapse of the British Empire. And when that happens the rump of Great Russia will be far less important in world affairs than, say, Britain or Japan are today. This is the reason why no Russian government can ever afford to liberalize and why there will never be civil rights in the USSR. This is why the civil rights movement, with all its heroes and victims, idealism and selflessness is alas doomed to impotence. (The Spectator, July 22, 1972)



At the 6th WACL Conference in Mexico City, August 1972:

Sitting from l. to r.: Professor S. Halamay, Minister I. M. Lombardo, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, Dr. R. Malashchuk, Dr. Stjepan Hefer, Mrs. E. Rodze. — Standing: members of the Ukrainian delegation and Mr. Rama Swarup (extreme left) and Col. N. Nazarenko and Mr. P. Vankerkhoven (extreme right).

What Does "Nationalism" Mean in Eastern Europe?

In his report dealing with the situation in Yugoslavia (F.A.Z. of July 4) Andrew Razumovsky mentions Ivan Zvonimir Čičak, the vice-chancellor of the University of Zagreb, who has been arrested. Čičak made the following statement which has since become the slogan of the Croatian Student Movement and should be recorded by all Spartacists, Trotzkyists, Anarchists, Neomaxists and so-called human Communists in the West: "You are asking me whether I as vice-chancellor have ever advocated more liberty for Catholics? All my life I have been committed not to liberty for Catholics, but to liberty for all men. Totalitarianism, be it Catholic, Communist, Stalinist or racist always remains totalitarianism, no matter what colour it has. There is no leftist, rightist, socialist, civil or intermediate liberty. Either there is liberty or there is none".

There is one point in Andrew Razumovsky's report, however, to which I as former political prisoner of Stalinist labour camps in Vorkuta (1950-56) cannot agree: he holds the view that today in Yugoslavia "nationalism" is an abstract concept apparently comprising "all varieties of manifesting dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs". Why abstract? The "existing situation" in Croatia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan and other countries of Eastern Europe essentially corresponds to the status quo of colonialism, imperialism, foreign rule and foreign exploitation, practiced e.g. by Serbs (in Croatia), by Russians (in the Baltic countries and in Ukraine). Thus nationalism is a natural reaction to the prevailing state of colonialism.

Considering not only the trials of Belgrade and Zagreb, but also those of Kaunas, Lviv, Odessa, Kyiv, Riga and Tashkent, the "particular question of Croatia" (Andrew Razumovsky) turns out to be the problem of colonialism as valid for all of Eastern Europe.

Some time ago, in May 1972 the 20 year-old worker and evening student, **Romas Kalanta**, died by self-immolation on a public square. He was not the first living torch in the Russian-occupied part of Europe. In 1968 **Makukh**, a Ukrainian, burnt himself on **Khreshchatyk** in Kyiv, then **Jan Palach** did so in Prague.

In 1969 **Ilja Rips**, a Latvian student tried to burn himself on the **Square of Liberty in Riga**, but was prevented from doing so by sailors who put out the fire. The Latvian student of mathematics held a poster in his fist reading "I protest against the occupation of Czecho-Slovakia". From August 6 to August 15, 1971 **Yuriy Vudka**, a Ukrainian political prisoner, staged a hunger strike in a Mordovian concentration camp because by order of the camp director guards had taken away his bible from him. On August 21, 1971, the political prisoners **Rodyn**, **Vudka**, **Shilkrot** and **Kvashevskyi** showed their solidarity with the Czechs and Slovaks by staging a hunger strike in the notorious prison of Vladimir.

Ukrainians were upset by another hunger strike staged by imprisoned Ukrainian intellectuals on December 5, 1971, celebrated as "Human Rights Day" by the United Nations. The following intellectuals refused food and medical treatment: **Yosyf Tercza**, sentenced to 8 years of imprisonment, charged with "Ukrainian nationalist propaganda"; **Roman Semenyuk**, sentenced to 25 years of forced labour for being a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN); in 1965 Semenyuk tried to escape with another prisoner, **Antin Oliynyk**, but they were discovered; **Oliynyk** was shot and **Semenyuk** was sentenced to 3 more years of forced labour; **Yaroslav Lesiv** — a village teacher from southern Ukraine — charged with belonging to the illegal "Ukrainian National Front" (UNF)

was sentenced to 6 years of forced labour; **Zynoviy Krasivskyi**, writer and author of the short story "Bayda", member of the UNF, was sentenced to 15 years of forced labour in a concentration camp; **Dmytro Kvetsko** (born in 1953), organizer and theorist of the UNF, editor of the illegal journal "Fatherland and Liberty", graduate from the University of Lviv, was sentenced to 15 years of forced labour. Finally there is **Svyatoslav Karavanskyi**, a known philologist and writer belonging to the elder generation, who had already served a 16-year sentence in a concentration camp when in 1966 he was rearrested and sentenced to 8 years of imprisonment in a labour camp. In prison Karavanskyi wrote poems, open letters and memoranda of protest which are now circulating in the Ukrainian underground.

On December 27, 1966, **Nina Strokata**, Karavanskyi's wife living in Odessa,

Chornomorska doroha 56a, Apt. 12, wrote a letter to the camp commander Korolkov and to Leonid Brezhnev, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, reading as follows: "In the course of 18 years the administration of the camp has not been able to reeducate the prisoner Karavanskyi in accordance with Soviet ideology and, up to now his family has not been allowed to visit him in the camp. Therefore, I, Karavanskyi's wife, request to have my husband shot in order to put an end to his sufferings and the permanent conflict between him and the administration of the camp. I am writing this as a mentally healthy person being conscious of the meaning of my words".

Wolfgang Strauss
Weiding, Oberpfalz

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,
July 21, 1972)



Bedford, England, September 30, 1972

Ukrainian demonstrators protest the recent imprisonment by the KGB of Yuriy Shukhevych and other Ukrainian cultural leaders.

Freedom Betrayed

"Oh beautiful, oh dear, oh sweet freedom,
the gift in which the Almighty gave us all treasures,
you are the source of all our glory,
and only ornament of our country.
All silver, all gold and all human lives
cannot be recompense for your pure beauty."

(Ivan Gundulić, 1588-1638)

The Croatian history is a history of permanent struggle of the Croatian people for their freedom. This struggle has been going on since the beginning of their history in the 7th century and they never gave it up. Their ideal of freedom is concisely expressed by the above anthem to freedom, written by the Croatian poet Ivan Gundulić. These were words of a genius because freedom is a universal treasure of all peoples. These words, better than anything else, explain the traditional Croatian faithfulness to all those who suffer and fight for freedom and to those who respect the sovereign Croatian will for freedom and independence.

In human history the ideal of freedom has been violated many times but never so seriously as in this 20th century when we all are witnessing the betrayal of freedom.

The Croatian freedom was flagrantly betrayed after the First World War when, against all the principles of freedom and even against the aims of that war, the Croatian people were denied their freedom and against their will they were simply "given" to Serbia which then received the name of Yugoslavia. Not only have the Croats lost all their national rights in this state, but even their national name disappeared overnight, and since then the world thinks, writes and speaks of an invented "Yugoslav people".

The Croatian freedom was betrayed for the second time at the Yalta Conference. At that time the Croatian peo-

ple were still fighting against Tito's Communist guerrillas not for the victory of Nazism which was losing the war, and not for the restoration of Yugoslavia, but for their freedom and independence. Nevertheless, after the war, according to the Yalta Agreement, the Croatian people again were denied the right to be free.

We are of the opinion that no international conference, no international agreement and no power in the world have any right to force the Croatian people against their will to live in any Yugoslavia and deny them the right to live freely in their own independent state of Croatia.

The betrayal of universal freedom became obvious when the Western democracies accepted the Communist bait of so-called "coexistence". In the first place this meant a complete sell-out of freedom of so many enslaved peoples of Europe and Asia. Furthermore, the "coexistence" is just a step forward in Moscow's plan for the conquest of the world. Korea, Vietnam, the activities of Communist parties everywhere, the influence of Communists in trade unions, demoralization and depravation of Western youth, etc. clearly show this.

The mighty world press, radio and television do not care much about the suffering of millions of people under the Communist rule. The Communist atrocities in Vynnytsya, Bleiburg, Hrá, etc. do not concern them. They would be very happy if the Communists con-

quered South Vietnam tomorrow, as they are happy that Moscow rules over Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic states and all the other non-Russian peoples in the Russian empire and that Belgrade rules over Croatia and other non-Serbian peoples in Yugoslavia.

The recent ceremonial toasts at Peking and Moscow represent the greatest slap in the face of all those who suffer under Communist tyranny and of all of us who more than a quarter of a century are exposing to the free world the horror of Communist oppression.

The final betrayal of freedom will be sealed by the Moscow-inspired so-called "European Security Conference" which is scheduled for 1973 and which will formally endorse the betrayal of Yalta.

The unreality of this so-called "real Politik" is already being condemned by those who are mostly concerned, i. e. by the enslaved peoples themselves. First, the Croatian students demanded freedom and independence of Croatia. Then Moscow was forced to act against the Ukrainian intellectuals who demanded freedom of Ukraine. The Jews from the Russian empire did not cease to demand their right to emigrate to Israel, and during Mr. Nixon's visit to Moscow a Lithuanian youth immolated himself for freedom and independence of Lithuania.

If the Western politicians did not receive the message of the enslaved peoples, we hope that all those who genuinely believe in freedom have received it. Freedom is universal and must be shared by all peoples. Therefore, it is nonsense to speak about freedom of the Communist states, where freedom does not exist.

A justification for the policy of "co-existence", appeasement and retreat is the fear of a "nuclear holocaust". In fact, this holocaust will never occur because the nuclear arms in Moscow's hands are only instruments of black-

mail aimed at holding under permanent oppression all those peoples which are already enslaved and to conquer the rest of the world by other means without ever using the nuclear arms.

The enslaved peoples are already in the holocaust of Communist tyranny but they are not yet dead. On the contrary, they are very much alive and give signs of their life and believe in the victory of freedom. These signs are also a warning to all those outside the Communist orbit to stop bargaining and talking at the expense of the enslaved peoples with those whose principal aim is the total destruction of freedom everywhere.

On the banners of the "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and of the European Freedom Council we Croats see the freedom anthem:

"Oh beautiful, oh dear, oh sweet
freedom,
the gift in which the Almighty gave
us all treasures",

and we are convinced that it is worthwhile to live, fight and die for these treasures.

Let us not forget that those who have lost their freedom appreciate it most. The Communists know this and therefore they persecute all champions of freedom. They can murder them, but they never can kill the idea of freedom.

It is high time that all those in the free world who remained faithful to freedom show their solidarity with the real soldiers of freedom of all oppressed peoples and join their fighting ranks by combating the enemy within their still free countries and by giving moral and material support to the Liberation Movements of all enslaved peoples.

The free world must awake and revenge the betrayed freedom. All peoples must and will be free and among them will also be our Croatian people!

Communist Hand Extends to Mother's Womb

In spite of severe destruction, the Hungarian nation has proved that it is stronger than estimated by Russian imperialism. Realizing that this nation cannot be brought to its knees, the Communists have chosen the way of destroying the children, the only hope of the Hungarian people, instead of using force as the means of destruction.

Now, the chief executors of Moscow in Budapest sabotage birth in Hungary by the application of treacherous orders and regulation. The bloody knives of the Communists extend to the wombs of the Hungarian mothers which are the source of Hungarian life. As noted from the free world's press and statistics published by the Communists, the Enforced Child Abortion Law, which was promulgated after the October 23, 1956 Hungarian Revolution, has been in force for 16 years and during this time 3 million fetuses were killed.

Specially organized medical boards are charged with applying the said law on forced abortion of children.

It is learned from well-informed sources that the Communists nesting in the Hungarian Ministry of Health have destroyed more than three million children since the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. Doubtlessly, this figure is far under the real figure, because it is the official figure mentioned in the statistics published by the Hungarian "Ministry of Suicide!" and published by the press of the free world.

The bitter truth is that these children belong to the Hungarian nation. Nobody deals with this grim reality, just as nobody paid any attention to the case of 63,000 Hungarian youths who were deported to Siberia after the Hungarian Revolution. This bitter fate has made Hungary forget the sorrow in-

flicted by the loss of lives in the war. This sorrow is far greater than the grief connected with the losses suffered in the war. The Hungarian youths, who died for the independence of Hungary, have given their life for their country. But what will be the reason given to console us for these millions of children killed before birth?

To a foreign visitor, Hungary seems to be in fairly good order today. But this is not true. This is an illusion. Communist Hungary spends large sums of money for misleading propaganda intended to deceive the people.

Where is the money necessary for the child of an expectant mother? The Hungarian families, the Hungarian mothers, are not in a position to raise their voices against the terrible lie labeled "Economic Order", against the murderers who murder their children before they are born. And Communist radios, Communist propaganda, Communist press announce these murders as the salvation of the Hungarian nation and invite the Hungarian mothers who attempt to have children to abide by this law.

And what about the Russian women?

The Russian women are not subjected to this law. The Russian women residing in Hungary are allowed to have as many children as they wish. And this is encouraged by the Communist government. The title "Heroic Mother" is granted to the Russian women having many children. These happy mothers are decorated with medals and presents are given to them.

What should the poor Hungarian mother do?

We also learn from the press what the poor Hungarian mother actually does. According to world statistics, Hungary has the first place in the field

of suicide. And the majority of suicides are women. In addition, Hungary is first in the world as to the number of female alcoholics. The happy, conscientious and home-loving Hungarian mother of one time, now under the fist of the Communist regime which deprives her of her children, kills herself or begins to drink to forget her deep sorrow. According to the weekly newspaper *Magyarország*, alcoholism is particularly widespread among the Hungarian women. Poor Hungarian mothers!

The Russian women having many children, on the other hand, receive medals, are exempted from some taxes and enjoy the privilege of a lower tax rate. The treacherous target of Russian imperialism is the total destruction of the Hungarian nation.

In the June 2, 1966 issue of the magazine *Kanadai Magyarország* (Canadian Hungarian), an article entitled "Isn't There Revolt, Protest?" by Sisa István appeared. It sounded an alarm: "SOS - SOS, Quo Vadis Hungary?" Since then, this cry echoes in the conscience of free men.

Yes, my noble nation, where are you going? Don't you see the abyss to which you have been dragged? And you, free men, don't you see it either?

As a consequence of the said compulsory birth control (child abortion) policy, which has been applied since 1956, Hungary has become a country with the lowest population growth in

the world. The death rate in Hungary is five times greater than the birth rate. If the Communists do not abandon this policy, there will be no way out for Hungary. Within 100 years the Hungarian nation will cease to exist.

This is the very aim of Soviet Russian imperialism. This method is being applied not only in Hungary, but also in Turkestan, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Lithuania, etc.

According to official statistics, the results of this genocidal policy are as follows:

Figures showing the rate of abortions

1957 - 162,000	1965 - 200,000
1958 - 183,000	1966 - 200,000
1959 - 187,000	1967 - 200,000
1960 - 196,000	1968 - 210,000
1961 - 203,000	1969 - 215,000
1962 - 197,000	1970 - 225,000
1963 - 208,000	1971 - 222,000
1964 - 200,000	

In total, more than 3,000,000. In reality this figure is much higher. These are the official figures of the Hungarian Ministry of Suicide. They reveal the fact that the Hungarian nation is being sacrificed by the Communists who hold the power of production in Hungary in their hands. The free world learns of it gradually but constantly. The Soviet Russians, with their treacherous policy of murder, aim to destroy the Hungarian nation completely and the West is silent.

Telegram to President Nixon

Mister President,

While in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, will you please intervene to ensure the release of arrested Ukrainian intellectuals who have committed no crime except for expressing their love for Ukraine, its culture and people.

Ukrainians in Bradford, Yorkshire, England

After the Withdrawal of the British

The Persian Gulf — Russian Base of Tomorrow?

After four years of endless conflicts, hard bargaining, noisy disputes, unsuccessful attempts and the determined reversal of direction by Bahrein and Qatar, which, in a space of two weeks, made themselves into independent states in late summer 1971, in December the small "Federation of the United Sheikdoms of the Pirate Coast" was proclaimed in Dubai.

Lots of Desert and Underdevelopment

Six of the seven dwarf states belong to it; they bring with them 154,000 inhabitants, a lot of desert and a lot of underdevelopment. The economic viability of the new state is almost completely dependent on the mineral oil of Abu Dhabi, which in 1970 gained 360 million dollars from its production, and — to a lesser extent — from Dubai, the mineral oil country, commercial centre of the Central Gulf, and the supply centre for gold smuggling to India.

The founding of the Federation forms the conclusion to the 100 years of "Pax Britannica". The English are withdrawing by the end of the year. The old treaties of protection have been replaced by a treaty of friendship.

But a political formula, which could be regarded as a really useful substitute, has not been realized; the efforts and the pressure from Great Britain, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait for a permanent grouping, have failed to prevent the balkanization of the region. The desired larger Federation has not been achieved, thanks to the unbridgeable differences between Bahrein, Qatar, Dubai and Abu Dhabi, each of which made claim to leadership.

The existence of the small federation which has now been brought about is being constantly threatened by fric-

tion, envy and unsettled quarrels over frontier areas. The Federal member Um al Quwain, which has all together 3,700 inhabitants, has already disputed the Sheik of Sharshah's right to conclude a treaty with Iran on the stationing of Persian armed forces on the island of Abu Musa, on which it claims right of ownership itself.

No Longer an Unimportant Area

The Persian Gulf and its coastal states, however, are threatened by quite different dangers, such as the uncertain future of the Saudi monarchy, the unmistakable Russian intention of getting their foot in the door, the efforts of the revolutionary Iraq to gain influence over the small states, a growing Chinese presence, and, last but not least, revolutionary underground movements, whose declared aim it is to extend revolution over the whole Gulf area.

The Gulf is constantly considered as an area out of the political limelight. But this conception is no longer valid, since the region has acquired decisive importance for the security of European oil supplies and has been drawn into the world political plans of the Soviet Union.

Shah and Faisal Are Decisive

What happens in the Persian Gulf, how stable it is, must be regarded today as a leading question. The area is a centre of political crisis and will very probably become in the next few years the scene of serious events.

Nothing much can be expected from the small rulers of the Pirate Coast. There is hardly any doubt they are incapable of statesman-like thinking and are only Bedouin sheiks, whose horizons hardly extend beyond the affairs

of their own tribes. Those of Qatar, Dubai are, it is true, surrounded with the whole material brilliance of the big world and they also understand everything about business and investments. But because of this they are far from being statesmen.

The Shah and King Faisal of Saudi Arabia have as few illusions about them as about Iraq, the most dangerous trouble-maker. They have therefore formed a "marriage of convenience", and have agreed to work together to achieve political and military security and stability in the Gulf after the British withdrawal, in which it is obviously being left to the Shah to take the initiative in military matters.

It is by no means settled whether the monarchies of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and perhaps also Persia will still exist at the end of this decade. What is certain is that the almost painless end of the Libyan monarchy is no model for a possible change in the ruling structure in the Persian Gulf. In Persia, despite all present tensions, the throne is much more deeply rooted than in any other Arab country. Nevertheless, in a revolution, the old differences between the towns, the peasants and the Nomads would break out again.

The Situation Is Fermenting Here Too

If the Saudi regime were to be overthrown, and perhaps also if Faisal were to die prematurely, chaotic conditions would arise in Saudi Arabia. Despite the enormous progress made in the last few years, neutral observers are not exactly optimistic. A new middle class of intellectuals, businessmen and officers are pushing upwards, and are no longer interested in the patriarchic patronization of the members of a family.

The modern social revolutionary ideologies have more supporters than is apparent at first glance, and the sections of the population, forcibly brought into one but nevertheless still very different from each other, could easily be

made by a putsch to adopt their own course. Of course a revolutionary state of affairs cannot yet be spoken of in Saudi Arabia. But the fact remains that the country is in no sense exempt from upheavals and new attempts at putsches.

In Kuwait the intellectual youth has long been at work undermining the regime, although it has no material grievances to present. This is still mostly the kind of social revolutionary reasoning with Arab nationalist colouring, which was developed by Nasser and introduced into Kuwait by the many Egyptian teachers.

Lately, however, there have been reports of an increasing radicalization with leftist tendencies, Maoist-inclined, which however has not especially troubled the regime, as the state administration remains intact and the population is not prepared to exchange away their material prosperity for an insecure revolutionary future.

The Reverse Side of Sudden Wealth

It can neverless be easily noticed that both in Kuwait and in Saudi Arabia and even more in the few small oil sheikdoms in the Middle Gulf, the transition from a Bedouin society still living almost in the age of barter, to one of sudden wealth causes, as it were, indignation, which is not to be cured with the normal remedies, such as schools, hospitals, advisory popular representation. The time is rapidly coming to an end in which one ruling family considered the country and its mineral resources as its own possessions and was able to make as much of the income obtained available to the population as it thought good.

The native progressive thinkers want to get rid not only of the foreigners but also of the old rulers. The search for new forms of political freedom is being promoted through the success of modern movements in other Arab countries.

The wage economy, a result of oil

production, has undermined the old tribal life. Fortunes are no longer reckoned in date gardens but in oil reserves, and money is no longer counted in hundreds of rupees or dinars but in millions of dollars. Development is no longer determined by the nomads but by the cities.

The young men demand a quicker process of modernization in all spheres and are rejecting more and more interference from narrow-minded religious groups. They want to be free from being treated like children, and they thoroughly detest the feudal structure of society with its paternalistic absolutism, trimmed with a false democracy.

Police State Is No Solution

Here as well as there the regime is seeking to protect itself through an effective police system. No one can say how long this artificial protection will last.

The Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, who already exist everywhere, have gotten the idea of the "people's revolution" into their heads. China teaches them how it is done. In Saudi Arabia, in Kuwait and in the small oil sheikhdoms systematic subversion, as has been found out, is being carried on by propaganda workers brought in under the disguise of workers. The mineral oil companies know all about this.

The way is easy, since the small native population cannot meet the demand for even semi-skilled workers or is unused to fixed working hours and does not accept them. This is particularly true of Kuwait and the Middle Gulf.

It is reported that the Shah, who is uneasy about this development and its possible consequences, has urgently advised the different oil sheiks during their visit to Teheran slowly to give up the previous form of government and to allow the people to take a larger share in responsibility through elections: only in this way was it possible to avoid unpleasant surprises. The

sheiks are hesitating, seem to be hoping in Allah and want to let things reach the state of a trial of strength.

Russian Interest Grows

The Soviet Union is well aware of this state of affairs. It saw before the Western governments the political, strategic, military and economic importance of the Persian Gulf. At the latest since the outbreak of the Yemen War in 1962 the Gulf has become part of the Soviet Russian Middle East policy. Khrushchev said this openly in Cairo in 1964.

Under Brezhnev and since the Six Days War Russian interest in the area has grown. It may perhaps be asked, why? Since Persia, the Gulf and the Arabian peninsula are perhaps even more important for the attainment of the aims of Soviet world policy than the Suez Canal and the Arabian Mediterranean countries, since Middle East oil has long since become the Achilles' heel of the West European economy and the Soviet Union today is even more interested in Gulf oil than a few years ago.

The Russian presence at the moment exists only in the initial stage and a strengthening and acceleration of the present revolutionary forces, which are mainly Chinese-orientated, do not seem to be intended by Moscow in the foreseeable future, even if the Russian Vice-Chairman Novikov declared at the end of June during a visit to Bagdad that the Arabian peoples on the Gulf could count on the help of the Russians in their struggle against imperialism. Like the Americans, the Russians are also avoiding any direct intervention, so as not to be suspected of wanting to take the place of the British. Their presence finds its expression in other ways.

Bases for the Russian Fleet

At more or less regular intervals the Soviet fleet units anchor in the Iraqi harbour of Fao, which has become a

kind of supply base. They are not exactly big: destroyers, frigates, hardly more.

But they are a sign that Russia is interested in the Gulf and can attack at every point of the world's oceans. This doesn't cost much. But warships, however small they are, create, according to old experience, a political magnetic field around themselves, which has an effect on the situation in critical areas. Ships can shift the weight of the situation, and that is a lot.

The Russian sea power at the moment is suffering from a lack of suitable bases. To obtain them is the object of present Soviet efforts: the flag is of secondary importance in this. Political influence is necessary for this.

It has already been partly won in the Mediterranean; in the Persian Gulf, which is of importance for the Indian Ocean, this is being aimed at. Iraq has proved suitable for this. Soviet engineers are at the moment enlarging the harbour Umm Qasr to make it suitable for the desired military requirements.

This is putting into effect Russian expansion policy, which is aiming at the Indian Ocean. In this the Gulf plays an important military role and as a supply of mineral oil. It has, incidentally, long since ceased to be a mystery that the Eastern Bloc is looking for oil supplies outside its own sphere. A start in this direction has been made in Southern Iraq, where supplies are being developed and exploited with Soviet help.

Here the worries of the coastal states are beginning. Under no circumstances do they want Great Britain to be possibly replaced by Russia. The various political measures being taken by the Shah and King Faisal must be seen against this background.

China's Activity

Nobody can escape noticing the quick progress which Chinese trade is making in the Gulf. The silent, uncom-

monly active Red Chinese naturally bring the Maoist Bible with them. Kuwait and Iran maintain diplomatic relations with Peking, to be able to keep a better check on the Chinese propaganda work.

The main centre of Red Chinese Near East policy seems recently to be the Gulf, with the base in Bagdad, if one ignores Aden, where the Chinese preponderance has long since become a nuisance even to the Russians.

Red China employs for its Middle East policy the underground organizations, in particular the "People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf", a military organization, built up, trained and operating according to the Red Chinese model. This organization has its headquarters in the Osman province of Dhofar, in the southeast corner of the Arabian peninsula, which possesses the political and material backing of the South Yemen People's Republic (Aden), and whose declared aim it is "to bring revolution into all countries of the Gulf as far as Kuwait".

It is regarded by Red China as a "genuine national liberation movement" and receives extensive Red Chinese help. It regards itself as a "revolutionary people's movement", which is supposed to be firmly grounded in the workers and students. It has, as is admitted by official sources, branches in Abu Dhabi, Bahrein, Dubai, Bas el Khaima and Kuwait, in Iran and in Saudi Arabia.

Future Very Uncertain

This propaganda has not remained without success in the oil sheikdoms. It is expressed in a stronger rebelliousness among the intelligentsia and the workers. The Soviet Union has long displayed emphatic restraint, not to endanger its relations to the Arab governments, but is said recently to have provided material support to the People's Front, via the South Yemen, so as not to leave the field free to the Chinese.

Under these circumstances it is becoming understandable that the Shah and King Faisal are doing everything to fill the vacuum left by the withdrawal of the British.

But it is very open to question whether Iran will be able to effectively protect the Gulf at the same time from the determined revolutionaries, Chinese propaganda and Russian influence. At all

events the Persian Gulf is a crisis area, whose future is extremely uncertain and which will in the foreseeable future become the subject of interest. Any other prognosis, and there are several in which a boundless optimism can be heard, are nothing more than dangerous pipe dreams.

(Digest from the East)

Terrorism Practiced by Russian Government Should Be Examined

His Excellency

Mr. Kurt Waldheim

Secretary General of the United Nations

New York, USA

September 29, 1972

Your Excellency,

On the occasion of your having included the question of international terrorism on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, we take the liberty of exposing the view of the representatives of the nations subjugated by Russian colonialism on this problem.

We think that this question is of greater importance than is usually admitted. We therefore express our opinion in the hope that you will communicate our observations to all members of the United Nations and that accordingly you will extend discussions on this topic. In view of international justice this appears necessary to us.

It cannot be denied that in the case of struggle for independence, for liberty and rights of the subjugated nations, against national and social injustice, of the oppressed against their oppressors, of an enslaved people for its liberation, the core of the problem are not the methods of struggle but the actual causes necessitating it. Thus it would be a great mistake in this case to regard the cause as the consequence, in other words, to condemn the oppressed and enslaved and justify their oppressors and enslavers.

We are in particular thinking of terrorism in connection with the situation of nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism. In this case, the essential problem is the system of enslavement, government terror, unprecedented colonialism and genocidal Russian imperialism that a priori excludes national and social justice.

In this connection, we request you to include on the order of the day this particular form of international terrorism which is somewhat concealed in order to avoid rendering evident that it is sanctioned. We are thinking of terrorism practiced by the Soviet Russian government, whose characteristics enumerated below should be examined by the General Assembly:

1. Genocide and terror practiced by the Russian occupants within the borders of their empire — the USSR — in particular in Ukraine, Lithuania, Turkestan, Georgia and Byelorussia and towards other subjugated nations, by throwing people into concentration camps, prisons and insane asylums for the sole rea-

son that they are fighting for the liberty and independence of a nation, for human rights and for national and social justice. One should mention e. g. the cruel suppression, unheard of in the history of humanity, of the political concentration camp prisoners' insurrections in the years 1953-59, the crushing of 500 Ukrainian women prisoners by tanks in Kingiri and the merciless annihilation of prisoners because they requested justice, human rights and respect for the dignity of man.

One must also recall the genocide of the most recent intellectual elite of the Ukrainian nation through deportation into concentration camps and prisons. The prisoners are being exhausted or poisoned — as the political prisoners L. Lukyarenko, I. Kandyba and M. Horyn stated in a letter to the United Nations in June 1969. They are terrorized or annihilated as the fighter for liberty M. Soroka was done away with on June 14, 1971, or they are sent to mental homes (e. g. Vasyl Stus, a poet, Anatol Lupynis, a musician, Gen. P. Hryhorenko, N. I. Yakubenko, a worker).

The Ukrainian intelligentsia is also annihilated outside the concentration camps; e. g. the artist Alla Horska was murdered by the KGB in Vasylkiv near Kyiv on November 28, 1970. One should also recall some barbarous sentences, for instance 14 years of imprisonment and deportation passed on the historian Valentyn Moroz or on Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, who refused to repudiate his father and, therefore, having already served a 20-year sentence was again sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment, or the writer Svyatoslav Karavanskyi sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. These few facts chosen out of a great number show the existence of a mass terror practiced by Russia — a colonial empire — towards Ukrainian writers, artists, students and the people as a whole.

We are enumerating only some of the most recent events, but one should not forget about the remoter ones, for instance the Russian occupants organizing a planned famine and annihilating 5 to 7 million Ukrainians in the years 1932-1933 and waging a bacteriological and chemical war against the UPA in the years 1945-1947.

2. The terror of the Russian imperial government — the USSR — through its secret police outside the borders of the USSR, even in free countries, taking the form of assassination or kidnapping of fighters for the liberty and independence of subjugated nations.

In 1959, for instance, on the orders of its government the KGB assassinated the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, Stepan Bandera, in Munich, as they had killed the political scientist Lev Rebet in 1957. In 1962 the Supreme Court of the Federal Republic of Germany convicted the assassin, a Soviet KGB spy, stating and emphasizing that the government of the USSR (Shelepin, Krushchev and Voroshilov) were directly responsible for these murders as they had ordered them. In this matter the leader of the government fraction, Heinrich von Brentano, interpellated in the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, G. Schröder, intervened before the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Gromyko. The publication of the US Senate "Murder International, Inc., Murder and Kidnapping as an Instrument of Soviet Policy", March 1965; Senate Committee of the Judiciary approved October 29, 1965, includes the case papers of the Supreme Court of the Federal Republic of Germany and other documents relating to international terror as practiced by the government of the USSR.

The above-mentioned assassination, however, was not the first act of terror committed by the Soviet Russian government and its secret police in the free world. In 1926, on the orders of the Soviet-Russian government, the President of the Ukrainian National Republic, Symon Petlyura, was assassinated in Paris; in 1938 the Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Colonel Evhen Konovalets, was killed in Rotterdam. Similar terrorist acts were also committed towards leaders of other nations (e. g. the Hungarian General Maletér).

3. The Soviet-Russian military forces also committed acts of terror when attacking Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Latvia, Armenia, Byelorussia, Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary and other countries, exterminating millions of Ukrainians, deporting North Caucasians, Crimean Tatars and others, as well as liquidating the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) and the Ukrainian Catholic Church (UCC) by force, physically annihilating their bishops, persecuting and liquidating the faithful and clergy, including the Metropolitans of the UAOC, V. Lypkivskyi and M. Boretskyi, and the Bishops of the UCC, M. Charnetskyi, T. Romya and others, with Archbishop Major Josyf Cardinal Slipyi being the only one who remained alive after 18 years of concentration camps, and finally by forcing the Churches into catacombs. The Bishop of UCC, Vasyl Velychkovskyi, received the death penalty, later commuted to 15 years in prison and subsequently another three years. Recently he was permitted to emigrate to the West.

4. The terrorist empire "USSR" is the largest prison of nations and people of all times. For extending its influence and power over other nations Russian imperialism uses international terrorism, as the events in the free world clearly show.

Unless the causes of the evil, i. e. the Russian colonialist empire, are removed, unless the independent states of nations presently subjugated in the USSR and the satellite countries are reconstituted, unless liberty is extended to all nations and people and national and social justice are realized in the world, one will not be able to remove so-called international terrorism. Its cause and chief promoter are the oppressors, whatever their color, who apply terror to the enslaved nations and not the oppressed. The main cause of the evil is Russian genocidal imperialism. This imperialism very often abused the efforts made by other remote nations, even on this side of the Iron Curtain, for achieving national independence and social justice.

Not the enslaved nations, but their enslavers are terrorists. Not the subjugated nations, but the colonialists are causing terror. So far Moscow has been at the head of colonialists and terrorists.

We accuse the Soviet Russian government of promoting and practicing international terrorism and appeal to you, the Secretary General of the United Nations, as well as to all nations of the free world to be aware of the real cause of the evil and of the distinction to be made between cause and consequence.

Not those fighting for liberty, national and human rights should be condemned but those suppressing and destroying the rights of nations and men. We are convinced that the United Nations are in a position to defend truth and national and social justice.

Kindly accept our best regards,

Yaroslav Stetsko
former Prime Minister of Ukraine,
for many years prisoner of
NAZI concentration camps

1 Encl. Arrests and Persecutions in Ukraine

30 Years in Russian Prisons

Just for Being the Son of a Ukrainian Patriot
Yuriy Shukhevych-Berezynskyi (born 1933 in Lviv)

In 1948, when only 15 years old, Yuriy Shukhevych was arrested and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment, just because his father was the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). His father, Roman Shukhevych (known as General Taras Chuprynka), led the fight for an independent Ukrainian State during and after the Second World War. He was killed on 5th March 1950 in a battle against the Russian security troops.

During his 10-year imprisonment the Russians tried to blackmail him, promising Yuriy that as a reward he would be released if he denounced his father and the underground Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. This he refused to do.

On the 21st August 1958 when he should have been released, a new warrant for his arrest was issued. This was ordered by the General Prosecutor of the USSR, M. Rudenko, on the basis of false testimonies made by 2 KGB agents, accusing Yuriy Shukhevych of conducting anti-Soviet activities during his 10-year term at Vladimir prison.

In July 1967, during his second prison sentence, he wrote an open letter to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR, strongly protesting against the unjust sentence passed upon him and the violation of the Soviet law system.

In 1968 he was released and banished from Ukraine into exile. He moved to Caucasus and settled in Nal'chyk where he found a job and continued his education. During this time in 1970, he signed a collective protest letter in defence of Valentyn Moroz, addressed to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and to the First Secretary of the Communist Party.

In March 1972 Yuriy was arrested in Nal'chyk for a third time. According to press reports from Moscow, he was very recently sentenced once again to 10 years of imprisonment for "national activities".

If Yuriy survives this 10-year prison sentence in the concentration camps, he will have spent 30 years, almost all his life in prison. This is the kind of human justice which the Soviet Union (a chief member of the UN) practices while condemning other nations for terrorism and the violation of human rights.

CAN YOU SIT BACK SILENTLY AND ALLOW THIS KIND
OF JUSTICE TO TAKE PLACE !

Ukrainian Protest Committee in Defence of Political Prisoners
49, Linden Gardens, London W. 2.

An Excerpt from the Open Letter

by Yuriy Shukhevych-Berezynskyi

**to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet
of the Ukrainian SSR in July, 1967**

"Out of my 34 years of life I have spent 19 years in prison. For the first 10 years I was imprisoned on the basis of an order by the Special Council at the Ministry of State Security of the USSR. And although the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declared the Special Council at the MGB an illegal organ, its decisions have not been declared null and void, and therefore many people, myself included, have continued to suffer imprisonment, and some still do. I received an additional 10-year sentence on direct instructions from the KGB on the basis of evidence fabricated by them. They continue to persecute my mother, Natalia Shukhevych-Berezynska. And all this happens to resounding declarations about justice, legality and so on.

"No, I have long ago ceased to believe in the declared justice and legality, which I have never seen embodied in real life.

"Therefore I turn to you now, when only one year is left before the second term of my imprisonment runs out, not because I have any illusions on your account, not because I hope that you are able to intervene and vindicate justice trampled under foot. No!

"I turn to you because it may happen that in a few months' time a new crime will be perpetrated against me. The security police will again fabricate a new case to get me sentenced for the third time.

"And if not, there is no one to guarantee that in a few months' time I shall not be killed from behind a street corner by hired assassins as was done with many a political prisoner after their release. I should like to mention just the cases of Lytvyn, Vartsabyuk, Bergs, Melnikans and others. Or I shall die a mysterious death.

"Or it may happen that a mass crime will be repeated on political prisoners in Mordovia (and everything is ready for it)—that they all will be physically destroyed, and later the executors of this crime will be annihilated.

"This is the reason that has prompted me to write to you, so that you would not be able to say that you had not been properly informed, that all this was done without your knowledge, and that you bear no responsibility for such actions by the KGB."

To the Conscience of the World

(An appeal to the students and youth of the world by the World Conference of Ukrainian Students.)

In view of the planned offensive of the Russian Communist totalitarian system against the Ukrainian nation and its historical, cultural and religious heritage, and its socio-economic resources; and in view of the recent wave of arrests perpetrated by the Soviet Russian police which has victimized over 300 Ukrainian cultural leaders and citizens, we, the Ukrainian students and youth in the Free World, and the World Conference of Ukrainian Students, do not regard Russia's destructive action against Ukraine as a sporadic occurrence, but, rather, as a deviously planned policy continuing since the very first Russian occupation of Ukrainian territories.

The World Conference of Ukrainian Students brings to the conscience of the civilized world all the instances of persecution and inhuman abuse perpetrated by Russia against the presently enslaved Ukrainian nation and her cultural and material wealth as eloquent testimony of a political system which has passed all possible limits of colonial policy and whose ruthlessness and murderous corruption have far-reaching consequences of international significance.

The World Conference of Ukrainian Students PROTESTS these acts of Russian Communism against the Ukrainian nation; acts which in the realm of international law are crimes of the highest degree, and ACCUSES before the authoritative opinion of the Free World the imperialistic Russian Communist system of lawlessness and colonial subjugation.

The World Conference of Ukrainian Students appeals to the Security Council of the United Nations to examine all the facts concerning the enslavement of Ukraine and to adopt pertinent and necessary measures.

The World Conference of Ukrainian Students appeals to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to investigate the relevant source materials and to examine the facts pertaining to the Russian subjugation and plundering of Ukraine and to hand down a verdict.

The World Conference of Ukrainian Students appeals to the academic, cultural and political circles of the Free World to condemn the criminal policies applied by Russia to Ukraine and other nations enslaved by Russian imperialism.

Fellow Students!

The epoch in which we live and grow is writing a new page on mankind's scientific achievements, on the development of independent nations and on religious tolerance. In these times, you, the students of many nations, are enjoying full freedom of collective and individual expression; you are studying those branches of human knowledge which are in accordance with your inherent capabilities or preferences, and you are attending those institutions of higher learning which best meet your needs. Without fear of reprisal from a political system, you read those publications which interest you, and you express your thoughts on various topics dealing with your country or with international affairs. And we rejoice that you can enjoy these privileges, which are guaranteed to you by the constitutions of your countries and by the Declaration of Human Rights.

Only recently we were witnesses of the struggle for independence of many of your countries, during which many of you were in the vanguard. And we rejoiced with you when you attained complete independence, freeing yourselves from colonial subordination, from imperialistic fetters or from despotism of totalitarian regimes in your countries. Our sympathies were always with you, on the side of the fighters for freedom in every country, in every part of the world.

Aware of your noble strivings, we believe that you will wholeheartedly support us in our struggle for the freedom of the Ukrainian people, so that its youth and students will be able to enjoy all those lawful and natural privileges that you are enjoying today.

Therefore, convinced of your support, we address ourselves to those of you:

- whose countries have been able for centuries to lead independent lives on their territories;
- who only recently have thrown off the shackles of slavery and bondage;
- who like us, the Ukrainian students and youth, are struggling against enslavement.

Join forces with us in the defense of fundamental human rights, which are being purposefully destroyed in Ukraine by Russian imperialism and Communist totalitarianism, a remnant of the most ruthless colonial system in our times.

Unite with us in the defense of academic freedom, which is denied and persecuted by the Russian regime in Ukraine.

Help us to stem the linguistic and cultural genocide, conducted by the Russian regime in Ukraine.

Help us to establish a concerted defense of the Ukrainian students, writers, and cultural leaders, who are suffering in the jails and concentration camps of the USSR.

Join us in a concerted struggle for the freedom of our Ukrainian nation, for equality among nations, for the respect of human dignity, national sovereignty, and social justice.

At the practical level, we ask you to present the facts of groundless arrests, of Russification, of national discrimination, and of the persecution of academic freedom in Ukraine.

Dear Friends, Fellow Students of the World, let us strive together for the coming of a new era, in which our generation will be able to live in a new world in which there will be no countries of slaves nor countries of masters, but in which there will exist the opportunity for the overall development for every nation, for every race, religion, and individual.

We are convinced, Fellow Students, that you not only know, but also feel deeply the essence and the price of freedom; therefore we call on you to join us in the defense of the freedom of nations and of human dignity and the freedom of the individual.

Elimination of Bolshevism Through Active Efforts

ABN report to the Sixth WACL Conference in Mexico, 1972

The primary attention of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) is directed at rendering all-round support to the struggle of the subjugated nations in their native lands and the development of the world anti-Russian and anti-Communist front. ABN's ideological, political and strategic positions have justified themselves in the revolutionary liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples. The Russians and Communists have failed to create the so-called new type of man — a Soviet or a Communist man — without traditions, without national sentiments and without religion. They were unable to liquidate nations. On the contrary, Russian chauvinism and imperialism, the identification of the Soviet people with the Russian nation, forced Russification, destruction of national cultures and traditions of the subjugated peoples, forced imposition of Russian, Communist way of life upon numerous peoples resulted in the growth of national consciousness and national sentiment, particularly among the youth of the subjugated nations. The bankruptcy of Marxism, Sovietism, internationalism and Communism has been confirmed by the national and religious revival of the young generation, which has become patriotic, religious and nationalist. The Communist henbane turned out to be a deception which is backed by naked Russian imperialism, colonialism and chauvinism. The young generation of nations subjugated in the USSR and in the satellite states has taken up the struggle for the dissolution of the Russian empire — the USSR — into independent national states, for the extermination of the despotic Communist system, and against exploitation of individuals.

Liberation nationalism and the struggle for human rights, the renewal of national traditions of every nation and

their application to intellectual creativity, as well as to social institutions characteristic of every nation are becoming the motivating forces of struggle. Thermonuclear age is simultaneously an ideological age. De-Christianization, collectivization, colonial-type industrialization and forced resettlement from village to town constitute a destruction of traditional, national structures having catastrophic consequences, writes one of the young underground authors. He sets off national, historic, cultural and religious traditions to the anational society of the Soviet type. He considers the denationalization of life as its de-heroization and de-culturalization. He fights on a world scale for the nation versus the empire, for the nation versus the nationless society, for Kyiv as the symbol of the nation, national culture, tradition and religion versus Babylon, namely a non-national society, the mixing of tongues, versus Moscow as the symbol of the empire and violence, extermination of nations, their cultures and religions. . .

How strong is the enthusiasm about the national, anti-Russian and anti-Communist idea is proved by the instances of voluntary self-immolation of patriots of the subjugated nations as a protest against subjugation of their homelands. Why is the free world silent in the face of such facts, while publicizing self-immolations by some Buddhist monks, instigated by the Communists, in Vietnam? It was not silent either in the case of the Communist terrorist Angela Davis, who was detained for some time in a comfortable prison.

We express our admiration for the heroic posture of Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chaprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) who

fell in battle with the Russian occupation troops in 1950. During his 20-year imprisonment beginning with age 14, Yuriy Shekhevych refused to denounce his father and condemn his ideas. Now he was sentenced again to 12 years of harsh prison for his convictions. We propose him and the young historian Valentyn Moroz, convicted to 14 years in prison, as symbols and models for the youth of the free world, together with the Ukrainian Vasyl Makukh, who immolated himself in Kyiv in 1968 with the exclamation: "Long live free Ukraine", the Czech student Jan Palach, who committed suicide by fire in Prague in January 1969 with the words: "It is better to die in flames than to live under Russian colonial yoke", and the Lithuanian worker-student martyr Romas Kalanta, who set fire to himself in Kaunas in May 1972, as well as the Lithuanian sailor Simonas Kudirka, sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment, who declared at his trial: "I demand freedom for my homeland, Lithuania."

They and analogous heroic fighters for freedom and independence of the subjugated nations should become models and banners for the youth of the free nations, in contrast to the symbols of evil: Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh and so forth.

Over three hundred cultural leaders were arrested recently in Ukraine for demanding creative freedom and for resisting Russification. Some of them have already been convicted to 7-10 years of severe prison. Such prominent intellectuals as Ivan M. Svitlychnyi, Ivan Dzyuba, whose book **Internationalism or Russification?** has been published in the West in English, Italian and Ukrainian, or Vyacheslav Chornovil, whose book **The Chornovil Papers** was published in English by McGraw-Hill, Yevhen Sverstyuk and others whose works could possibly be the pride of all mankind, are languishing in prisons and concentration camps. The struggle is taking place not only

in the ideological and cultural sphere, but also in mass protest actions, as had been the case, for instance, in Kaunas, Lithuania, in May 1972, where tens of thousands of Lithuanians demonstrated after the self-immolation of Romas Kalanta as a protest against the Russian occupants. Their resistance was finally quelled by the KGB paratroopers. The Estonian intellectuals have published a protest entitled "To Act or to Wait?" in which they call for a march of tanks not on Prague and Bratislava, but on Moscow and Leningrad.

In Lviv, Ukraine, during this year's May Day parade, the anti-Russian fighters emptied the sewers into the streets where the Communists were to march, so that the May Day parade had to be called off. During court proceedings against the freedom fighters, the people toss flowers, provided the trial is public, and when it is closed they scatter them along the streets through which the accused are being transported. Students and workers stage anti-Russian street demonstrations. All this is taking place not only in Ukraine, Lithuania or Czechia, but in all other subjugated countries, as for example, Byelorussia, Georgia, Latvia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Turkestan, Armenia and Slovakia.

The events taking place in Croatia are generally known. The Croatian nationalists and fighters for independence openly testify to the fact that the Croatian people combat any Yugoslavia and favor an independent state of Croatia.

The ABN stands for the dissolution of the Russian empire, and the liquidation of Yugoslavia and CSSR into national independent states of the peoples forcefully incorporated into these artificial state structures. It organizes mass demonstrations and various types of actions in the free world against Russian occupation of the subjugated countries and Communist tyranny, storming Soviet diplomatic missions and counteracting the policy of so-called peaceful coexistence and cul-

tural exchange. Extensive documentation can be found in ABN publications as well as in the Western press. Huge anti-Bolshevik demonstrations were held in 1971 in Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal, Canada, during Kosygin's visit, for example. In 1972 spontaneous demonstrations in defence of imprisoned writers of Ukraine and other subjugated countries were held in London, Manchester and Bradford, England, in various US cities, in particular Washington and New York, in Sydney and Canberra, Australia, in France, Germany and other countries of the free world.

ABN believes that it is not enough to counteract Bolshevism in the free world by purely theoretical propaganda and information, but that it is necessary to eliminate Bolshevism through active efforts. It is also necessary to take to the streets to combat Russian and Communist fifth columns.

ABN stands for freedom and justice, not the peace of graves. The concept of the balance of power among nuclear and technological superpowers is not a guarantee of a just and lasting peace because it preserves and consolidates the present state of Russian conquests and Communist domination of nations, neglecting the forgotten superpower — dozens of subjugated nations and hundreds of millions of oppressed people, who undermine the Russian empire and the Communist system from within.

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

We sharply denounce and protest against mass imprisonment and harsh sentences meted out to cultural leaders and fighters for national independence and human rights in the countries subjugated by Russia in the USSR and the satellites, against barbarous internment of political prisoners in psychiatric clinics and prisons and concentration camps of the most severe regime,

demand the placing of this matter for discussion and decision of the forthcoming UN General Assembly and appeal to the patriotic, humanitarian and religious circles of the world to stage mass actions for the liquidation of concentration camps and the release of political prisoners, who exceed one million in the USSR alone.

We support the reinforcement and expansion of NATO and oppose the so-called European Security Conference, which is desired by Moscow in order to gradually remove the USA from Europe, to reinforce the status quo of its conquests, to defeat NATO and to open the road to further Russian conquests in the still free part of Europe and the world.

A precondition to security is the withdrawal of Russian occupation troops from all countries occupied by Russian imperialists in the USSR and its satellites and the reestablishment of their national states. Without the realization of national independence of the subjugated nations and the dissolution of the Russian empire — the USSR — there is no security and peace in the world.

A Short Report on the Activities of the Croatian Liberation Movement in 1970 - 1972

The last Conference of ABN-EFC in Brussels and the Conferences of WACL-APACL in Tokyo and Manila were widely publicized in all press organs of the C.L.M. and many copies of reports on these Conferences were sent to Croatia.

The C.L.M. took an active part in the Captive Nations Week observances in the USA, Australia and Great Britain and in all important rallies of ABN in the free world.

In August 1971, in Toronto, Canada, the Presidium of the C.L.M. held its 3rd plenary session. On the same occasion, the first General Assembly of the C.L.M. took place. It consisted of

the delegates of the C.L.M. from all free countries. This Assembly accepted a resolution denouncing Belgrade's rule over Croatia and especially condemning the so-called "amendments" by which Tito hoped to "pacify" the Croats. The Assembly also accepted a statement condemning the dangerous attitude of a self-styled Croatian politician who does not represent the will of the Croatian people and who wrote that he will liberate Croatia with Russian help.

On this occasion the C.L.M. created the "Self-Defence of the Croatian People", fully aware that the time has come to prepare in all directions for active revolutionary struggle against Belgrade.

During the sad events in Croatia at the end of 1971 and at the beginning of 1972 when Tito's army and secret po-

lice together with other police brutally suppressed the voice of the Croatian people for freedom and independence, the C.L.M. was particularly active. It staged all over the free world massive demonstrations against the tyranny of Tito's Government which acted on Moscow's orders.

The Croatian Liberation Movement was very concerned with the slanders of the Swedish press, radio and television against our compatriots in Sweden and in direct touch with Swedish media succeeded in stopping these slanders.

Finally, the Croatian Liberation Movement fulfilled its financial obligations towards the ABN, EFC and WACL realizing that only with the material support of all of us, the goals of these organizations, and consequently of each of our peoples, can be achieved.

Resolutions of the 6th WACL Conference

Soviet Russian Imperialism and Persecution in Ukraine

On behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), representing over 2 million American citizens of Ukrainian descent, which is a member of the American Council for World Freedom, we have the honor of submitting the following Resolution:

WHEREAS Ukraine, a nation of 47 million people, after losing its freedom and independence to Communist Russia in 1920 after these had been attained on January 22, 1918, is in the state of political enslavement, which fact has been officially confirmed by the US Congress in its "Captive Nations Week Resolution of July 17, 1959; and

WHEREAS the Soviet Russian regime in the Kremlin and its puppet government in Kyiv, known as the Ukrainian SSR, have been practicing a policy of national, cultural and religious genocide in Ukraine; and

WHEREAS these organs of Soviet powers in Moscow and Kyiv constant-

ly denied the Ukrainian people their God-given right to freedom and self-determination, which right is assured them by the UN Charter and the UN Declaration of Human Rights, as well as by the Constitutions of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR; and

WHEREAS the Ukrainian people are being persecuted at random, their Ukrainian language and culture Russified, their rich mineral, natural and industrial resources exploited for the benefit of Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism; and

WHEREAS in 1965-1966 and 1970-1972 hundreds of Ukrainian intellectuals have been arrested, tried and sentenced to long prison terms for defending their culture and their inalienable right to freedom and national independence, in accordance with the principles of international justice and the requirement of human freedom, NOW

THEREFORE, the Annual Conference of WACL unanimously votes:

1. To denounce Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism for its conquest and oppression of Ukraine, and the denial by the USSR of the right of Ukrainian people to their freedom and national statehood;

2. To condemn the blatant and ruthless persecution of the Ukrainian people by Moscow, especially the destruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, the unbridled extermination of Ukrainian patriots and freedom

fighters, and the wholesale Russification of Ukraine;

3. To call on the United Nations and its entire membership to regard Soviet Russian repression in Ukraine and in other non-Russian countries as a crass violation of the UN Charter and the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and to bring the USSR and its subservient minions in Ukraine before the court of international judgment in the United Nations.

International Conference to End the Indochina War Urged

Considering that the protracted war in Indochina has caused untold hardships and miseries to the Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao peoples, expended a great amount of energy and resources of the interested countries, which could have served to promote the well-being and happiness of the Indochinese peoples and spur regional development efforts in Asia.

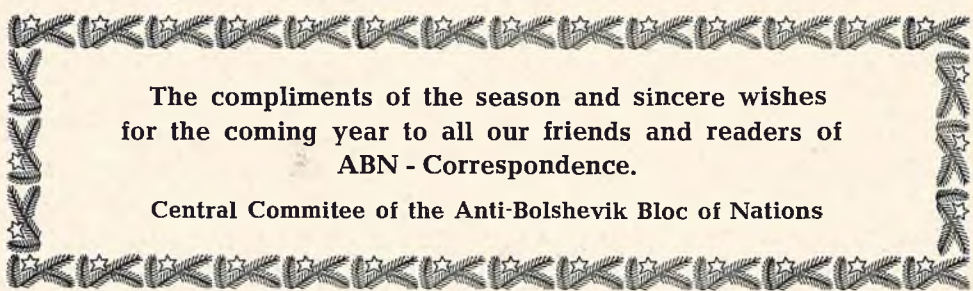
Considering that great powers' involvement in the Indochina conflict over a quarter-century, especially the reluctance of the Soviet Union and Red China to seek a peaceful settlement of the war, has constituted a major road block to an early restoration of peace in this war-torn region. While generous peace overtures have been offered by the United States, the Communist side stubbornly refused to negotiate seriously and took advantage of the weekly session in Paris to mount a malicious propaganda campaign against the Free World.

Considering that the Republic of Vietnam has repeatedly expressed her earnest desire for a just and lasting peace in Indochina, reflecting the genuine aspirations of the Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao peoples. Our proposals for an internationally guaranteed cease-fire throughout Indochina and a political solution for South Vietnam based on the principles of self-determination and national sovereignty are fair and reasonable and therefore should be responded positively by the other side.

It is therefore resolved at this Conference that:

— An International Conference on Indochina be convened as soon as practicable with the participation of great powers and concerned parties to work out a peaceful settlement of the Indochina war.

— Any political arrangements running counter to the aspirations of the Vietnamese, Kmer and Lao peoples should not be imposed on the Indochinese countries by great powers.



**The compliments of the season and sincere wishes
for the coming year to all our friends and readers of
ABN - Correspondence.**

Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

The Sovereign Imperial Order of Constantine the Great

It is edifying to know that there are still public figures and institutions which, as representatives of the Christian tradition, protect and defend Christian civilization against subversion and destruction. It must be valued all the more highly that in a time in which the Marxist-anarchist spirit of confusion and subversion is even allowed into some ecclesiastical institutions, there are secular, Christian institutions of international importance, which are not only immune to this fatal infiltration, but also counteract the general cultural and moral decadence of which we are witnesses. To such institutions also belong without doubt the international orders of chivalry.

These institutions perform activities of common good, in the true sense of the word, in the spirit of their venerable traditions and in consciousness of their historical mission. Among these orders, an outstanding position is occupied by the Sovereign Imperial Order of Constantine the Great, if only because of its imposing historical past.

The Order of Constantine was founded in 312 A. D. Its founder was Emperor Constantine the Great. The original purpose of the Order was the preservation of the victorious banner of the first Christian emperor, as a holy symbol of the Roman, now Christian empire.

The Christian emperors of the Roman Empire were Grand Masters of the Order of Constantine. After the division of the Empire, this office was performed by the Roman-Byzantine emperors. The Order became especially important under the Lascaris-Comneno dynasty.

The Order was able to preserve its existence in altered form even after

the Turks had conquered Constantinople in 1453 and destroyed the Roman-Byzantine Empire, since it was not only a military organization, but also a spiritual institution.

"The exile Greeks, who included the remaining members of the Order, could not abandon the traditions of the Order, which were for them sacred, and they traced them back to Constantine the Great, the founder of Constantinople. On the other hand, they did not want to be made knights, according to the Latin rite. Accordingly, they turned to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was in the area of the Mamelucks, the enemies of the Ottomans. The Patriarch of Jerusalem made certain the interim performance of the office of the Grand Master, after the fall of Constantinople. However, in accordance with its basic character, the Order was a dynastic order, indivisible from the imperial concept, and this concept was also indivisible from the Byzantine Imperial house. Only the completely scandalous behavior of the last Paleologs forced them to turn to the Patriarchs of Jerusalem.

"After the elimination of the last direct Paleologs — who had been converted to Mohammedanism — the office of the Grand Master was claimed for John Theodore Porphyrogennetos, Prince of Lascaris-Comneno-Paleolog and recognized (Acts of the Roman Senate, 16-V-1525, Lib. Decr. 1515, f. 142).

"This Greek prince, advised by his uncle, the famous humanist John Anrew, Prince of Lascaris, reorganized the Order completely in accordance with Byzantine traditions, which made possible the continued existence of the Order in exile." (Dr. Norberto de Castro y Tosi: *L'Ordre Souverain et Impe-*

rial de Constantin le Grand. Madrid 1961, p. 9.)

The main concern of the Constantine Order in exile was to liberate Constantinople and Greece. Organizations to further interest in Greece were founded. The Order and its Grand Masters from the Lascaris-Comneno dynasty, in cooperation with the "Philiki Hetaireia" and other patriotic organizations, were not able to reach their great goal until the independence of Greece was achieved in the 11th century.

"The sovereign Grand Master of the Order of Constantine in the Orient, Theodore Alexios, Prince of Lascaris-Comneno, and his son Andronikos Theodore, Prince of Lascaris-Comneno, who were both supreme heads of the Hetaireia and the Tagma ton Adelphon, played a great part in the liberation of their fatherland. The motto of the Order of Constantine EN TOYTO NIKA appeared on the banner of the Hetaireia between the Saints Constantine and Helene". (Dr. Norbeto de Castro y Tosi: *L'Ordre Souverain et Imperial de Constantin le Grand*. Madrid 1961, pp 10-11)

Whilst maintaining its efforts to liberate Greece, the Order never neglected its cultural mission. It constantly defended the cultural values with which Byzantium had enriched the world.

The Sovereign Imperial Order of Constantine the Great is a dynastic order. As a result of historical development it is indivisibly connected with the imperial house of Lascaris-Comneno. The head of this imperial house is at the same time the sovereign Grand Master of the Order. The organization of the Order is autocratic.

The members of the Order of Constantine live mostly in Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, France and the Latin American countries. The Order has individual members in Germany and other countries as well.

The members of the Order are active in the cultural or social field. They devote themselves to the investigation of historical and social problems. They publish the results of their researches, and thus combat ideas and endeavours directed against religion, culture and society. They are constantly defending the Christian view of life, and work for the preservation and further creative development of the traditional form of society. In this way they make their contribution to fulfilling the tasks of the Order.

The tasks of the Order of Constantine are above all the defence of the Christian belief and the values of Greco-Romano-Christian civilization, the maintenance of the traditions of chivalry, the work of charity and the promotion of the feeling of social responsibility. By fulfilling these tasks, the Order is making its contribution to the defence, protection and promotion of Christian civilization and the traditional social order, which in our present time are more in jeopardy than ever.

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Croat Students Stand Trial

The trial against 4 Croat student leaders charged with the responsibility for lecture strikes and subsequent riots by the Court of Belgrade has started initiating a series of political trials against Croats who fell into disgrace.

On November 22, 1971, a wet and cold autumn day, students of the University of Zagreb arranged a mass meeting. One of their speakers, Govan Dodig, strongly attacked the Yugoslav foreign exchange distribution system which has made Croatia "colonially dependent" on the Serbian central authorities in Belgrade. The meeting decided to suspend lectures at the Croat university immediately.

The announced lecture strike was to cease only after a radical modification of the foreign exchange system. In a resolution the students remonstrated against forces "tending to represent the leftist Croat intelligentsia, in particular Croat students, as national chauvinists and separatists". Five days prior to the strike the student functionaries, Drazen Budiza and Ante Prazdzik, pleaded for **Croatia's membership in the United Nations** ("if Soviet Ukraine and Byelorussia are members of the United Nations we are also entitled to membership") and for a **national army**.

Dr. Veselica, professor and editor-in-chief of an economic journal, supported the students. He publicly attacked Vladimir Bakaric who knows how to put the German Social Democrats in touch with the League of Yugoslav Communists and is at the disposal of West German papers for interviews representing so-called Croat nationalists as heretics and recommending Titoism as a model for democracy and humanity to West Germans. Shortly after, the courageous professor was arrested by the political police and put in pri-

son together with other professors "showing sympathy for the students".

The boycotting of lectures coupled with numerous student meetings lasted **11 days — until December 3, 1971**, — in the course of which not a single window pane was broken, no wall was fouled with slogans and nobody was attacked or injured. Only later on there were **clashes with the police in the streets of Zagreb**. About **40,000 Croat highschool students participated in the strike**.

On December 1, 3 days after the strike, however, Marshall Tito took radical steps: he ordered a purge to which nearly all of the Croat Party elite fell victim. Officials who had been criticized by students struck back. Bakaric and Dolanc, all trade unionists and career-minded candidates for Party posts resorted to a time-tested Communist measure for finishing off real and potential adversaries — i. e. to denunciation.

Before the Croats surprised by the events realized the situation, Jure Bilic, Tito's close assistant, announced that "other hostile forces" were backing the student activities. Milan Miscovic, profiting from the fall of leading Croat Party officials, asserted somewhat more clearly that the student leadership had intended to "provoke a general strike, incidents and difficulties in order to use the situation for counter-revolutionary objectives".

Shortly thereafter Radio Zagreb announced the result of the witch-hunt for victims (**on December 12**): 11 intellectuals (among them 9 members of the Executive Board of the cultural organization "**Matica Hrvacka**") apart from the students Dodig, Budiza and Prazdzik and **35 student functionaries** were put in prison. At the beginning of the inquiries the Court President Vidovic insiduously noted that the **Public Pro-**

secutor's Office had "good reasons" for assuming that the arrested persons have been working towards a violent overthrow of the Yugoslav social order during the last 3 years.

Meanwhile 850 students have been arrested; 2,900 were deprived of their scholarships and 1,600 were expelled from the University of Zagreb. All those arrested and called upon to appear before the Court during the trial against the former students Dodig, Budiza and Prazdzik and Professor Čičak need not expect any good of this trial, for the Party paper of Zagreb "Vjesnik" stated as early as spring 1972 that the student strike had possibly been plotted by Croat emigré organizations.

The paper referred to a turgid appeal of M. Kovačić, who had mean-

while died in Barcelona, published in the emigré paper "Hrvatska Država" (West Berlin, October 1971). In this appeal students had indeed been encouraged to appear in the streets of Zagreb "as a political force for liberating the native country". It seems the Public Prosecutor's Office wants to use the appeal as an evidence against the accused persons, for the indictment alleges that the accused had brought the lecture strike in connection with the foreign exchange problem as a pretence only and, that "in reality they had received instructions from abroad". In other words, not only four university men in Zagreb have been accused, but also those Croats who are organized abroad and object to Titoism as well as to any other brand of Communism.

Paul Wohl

Lithuanian Troubles Jolt the Kremlin

Recent events in Lithuania have hit the Soviet Union where it hurts most. They have cast doubt on the assumed loyalty of non-Russian citizens to the ideal of "a single family of peoples, monolithically united in the multinational Soviet state," as President Podgorny defined it in the latest issue of **Kommunist**.

Nationalist stirrings in the Soviet Union are not new. There have been the demands of Jews to emigrate and the underground writings of Ukrainians. But the Lithuanian disturbances mark the first time that non-Russian nationalists have taken to the streets of a major city to demand independence for their republic.

The demonstrations were sparked by the self-immolation of a 20-year-old student, Romas Kalanta, who set himself on fire crying "Freedom for Lithuania". The news of his action spread rapidly through his hometown of Kaunas, Lithuania's second largest city.

For two days after his funeral, on May 18, several thousand youths shouting "Freedom!" and "Freedom for Lithuania!" swept through the city hurling stones at the militia and starting fires.

On the second day strikes broke out. The big new synthetic fibre factory, the pride of Communist Lithuania, had a sit-down. Eventually the Army was called out. Several hundred rioters were arrested.

Some days later another youth burned himself to death in a town near Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania.

In 1970 there were several cases of individual Lithuanians trying to break away from Soviet Russian rule. In October, 1970, Pranas S. Brazinkas and his son successfully hijacked a plane to Turkey. On Nov. 9, 1970, Vitantas Simokaitis, a mechanic, failed in an attempt to hijack a plane to Sweden with his pregnant wife; he was sentenced to 15 years in a corrective labor camp.

The most dramatic case of all was that of the radio operator Simas Kudirka, who leaped from a Soviet trawler to a close-by U.S. Coast Guard vessel and was returned to the custody of his shipmates.

Kudirka is a famous name in Lithuania's history. In the 1870's, when tsarist oppression was at its height, a Dr. V. Kudirka published an underground journal, called **Varpas**, The Bell, the counterpart of the Russian liberal Alexander Herzen's underground journal **Kolokol**, which also means The Bell.

In May, 1971, Simas Kudirka stood trial before the Lithuanian supreme court in Vilnius. Large extracts from his defense speech reached the underground press.

Speaking in Lithuanian, he said:

"I remember when I studied in Vilnius. Instead of the two prisons which were there under the Germans, there were seven under Soviet rule and they were overfilled until 1955. Already in 1960, waves of Lithuanians with their young went to concentration camps... The death of Stalin saved my people from physical extermination..."

"Now we are destined to die a much slower death — assimilation."

When sentenced to 10 years' hard labor, Simas Kudirka was surprised. He had expected to be shot. Instead of asking for clemency, as the presiding judge had suggested to him, Kudirka cried: "All I demand is an independent Lithuania, one that is not occupied by any army and that has a free democratic system of elections."

A few months after the Kudirka trial, the priest Juzes Zdekkis also put up a spirited defense in which Lithuanian patriotism and devotion to the Roman Catholic Church blended. Other trials against priests followed. More and

more restrictions were imposed on the clergy.

Economic causes have nothing to do with Lithuania's nationalist mood. Economically Lithuanians in recent years have done fairly well. Russification and the influx of Russians have been much slower there than in the other Baltic republics.

Underlying the deep anti-Russian sentiments of a large part of the Lithuanian population are two factors: the country's tragic history of repression under the tsars and the influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

After World War I Lithuania gained a short-lived independence. Then, in 1941, the country was incorporated into the USSR. Tens of thousands of anti-Communist Lithuanians immediately were deported. After that came the Nazis leaving 300,000, mainly Jewish victims in their wake.

When the victorious Russians returned, they were greeted by Lithuania's quite numerous Communists as liberators. But once in power, Russians and Lithuanian Communists started to terrorize the rest of the population. Lithuanian emigres believe that between 1944 and 1952 some 400,000 of their countrymen were killed or exiled to Siberia.

Today Lithuanian Communists and Russian officials are deeply disturbed about the nationalist, anti-Russian mood of the population. While they have not slackened in their struggle against Roman Catholic and other religious influence, they are seeking to win over the nationalists to their cause. This may explain the unexpectedly mild verdict against Kudirka.

With preparations for the 50th anniversary of the USSR in full swing, the recent developments in Lithuania represent a severe jolt for the Kremlin.

(The Christian Science Monitor)

Imperialism and Some Other Things

— Disentangling some concepts —

Nowadays people largely tend to confuse — which is not quite understandable — various concepts. They put all those terms together and throw them into the same garbage can. What is actually meant here is the category of concepts concerning the "nation", the "homeland" and the "fatherland" on the one hand and concepts comprising socialism, Communism and internationalism on the other hand. In this edition the first category is dealt with somewhat more in detail:

People identify love of their locality with national feeling, national consciousness, patriotism, nationalism, chauvinism and imperialism, to mention only the most important slogans. Or else, they regard one of them as the enhancement of another, e. g. "imperialism" as to be derived from "nationalism" constituting merely a more cruel form thereof. It has therefore been attempted to define the terms precisely and to differentiate them from each other.

LOVE OF ONE'S LOCALITY is almost a completely non-political concept relating to a sentiment for a specific geographical region, distinct from other regions, to which a person is tied by his personal memories and a longing for security. Without judging the value of this sentiment one can state that because of its local narrowness and its inarticulate nature — it is purely individual — it cannot be political.

NATIONAL SENTIMENT is somewhat similar in psychological respect to the love-of-one's-locality feeling. The difference relates to the geographical extension and the criteria applied, i. e. not a geographical place, but rather the fact of belonging to a linguistic and cultural community is decisive. If the nation is considered such a community it follows that national feeling is not

consciously political yet, but only vaguely appears as related to a culture.

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS is qualitatively distinguishable from the preceding concept. It implies a conscious identification with a community. However, it is not based on the same criteria as national feeling. Moreover, it can be rendered political to a larger extent.

PATRIOTISM is a historical concept dating from the formation of nations, which is loaded with emotional effusiveness. It designates an attitude of high-mindedness on the one hand and a feeling of obligation on the other, including also loyalty to the state and the dynasty.

NATIONALISM is a politically motivated conscious concept relating to the interests of a geographically limited community and to the effort made for realizing these interests. Such an effort is required in the field of foreign affairs in order to preserve or reconstitute sovereignty as well as in internal politics in order to attain an optimum social order. It does not visualize a fixed image and only regards as its enemy imperialism of any kind and separatist tendencies.

CHAUVINISM is a collective mass psychosis discharged by means of violence towards other nations or minorities. It is not a rational phenomenon that can be explained, but a pathological one based on fear, prejudice and fanaticism.

IMPERIALISM is the opposite of nationalism. If the latter tries to safeguard sovereignty, the former aims at destroying or restricting the independence of nations and favours the formation of vast empires or hegemonial systems. Its basis is chiefly economical, but usually it is motivated ideologically.

A casual relationship can, therefore hardly be ascertained, and it follows that nationalism even excludes imperialism and vice versa. Nationalism as defined above is a prerequisite of any nation's sovereignty, necessary for achieving an optimum social order complying with the needs of the people as well as for fighting against imperialism of any kind.

Unheatable New Flats

In Slovakia new flats are often not heatable when they are taken over. The Department for Investment of the Regional National Committee in Ziar

nad Hronom (Central Slovakia) took over 120 flats last year in the Hlinik housing project, between September and the end of November. But the quality of the flats was so bad that by February 1972 they were already uninhabitable, since most of them could not be heated. In the area of Central Slovakia, a further 36 flats have been taken over, in which the heating did not work either. The Department for Investment in the Regional National Committee in Roznava took over 12 flats without water and electricity, in Kunova Teplica, where the floors were also not laid. (FKD)

Dr. Enrico Martinez Codo Honored

On September 29, 1972, the Ukrainian Information Institute in Buenos Aires, Argentina marked the 15th anniversary of its cooperation with Dr. Enrico Martinez Codo, the editor of the Spanish-language ABN bulletin, **Resistencia y Liberation** (Resistance and Liberation), who was also a delegate to the 6th WACL Conference in Mexico City.

On this occasion a banquet was held with Mr. Vasyl Kosyuk as the master of ceremonies. Mr. Kosyuk, the Institute's vice-president, briefly outlined Dr. Codo's main contributions. Maria Poloz, the Institute's secretary, described his activity throughout the 15 years. Yuriy Lalyak and Mykola Shafoval saluted Dr. Codo from all the contributors of the periodical.

Yulian Seredyak, the Institute's president, presented Dr. Codo with a gold medal bearing the Institute's emblem.

Dr. Codo extended greetings to the Ukrainians of Argentina from Mr. and Mrs. Yaroslav Stetsko. In his speech, he dealt with the Ukrainian problem at the WACL sessions. Dr. Codo expressed his dissatisfaction with the work done so far, saying that it is far too little in comparison with what should have been accomplished. He ended his speech with a wish: "May God permit me to work for another 15 years."

Luis A. Dragani, the chairman of the Committee of Solidarity with Nationalist Movements in Latin America, also addressed the gathering. He mentioned the recent imprisonment of Yuriy Shukhevych saying: "Today the Argentine brother is joined in a common struggle with the Ukrainian brother . . . We are nationalists and wish freedom for all. We hope that these great efforts will unite us all as brothers."

Dr. Ante Vikario spoke on behalf of the Croatian Liberation Movement. He said: "We salute all Ukrainians for their heroic struggle in the name of freedom and independence. We, Croats, are fighting for the same ideals and are on the same front as our Ukrainian brothers. We convey our best wishes to our Argentine brothers as well, in particular to Dr. Martinez Codo."

Mykola Shafoval spoke on behalf of the contributors of the bulletin. He cited V. Moroz as an example of the fighter for freedom, calling Dr. Codo a model of a good worker. Another speaker, Alfredo Palacioz added that "Today, when corruption, murder and robbery have become widespread, the struggle for freedom ranks as number one".

The banquet was followed by a discussion in which the participants exchanged their views.

Book Reviews

Erich Röper: **Geteiltes China. Eine völkerrechtliche Studie.** (Divided China. A Study in International Law.) Published 1967 by v. Hase & Koehler Publishing Co. Mainz, 320 pp.

This study is intended to clarify the position of divided China, as regards international law. In particular the question, whether there is only one or two Chinese states is to be answered, since China has been governed since 1949 by two governments. The question connected with this is also: If there is only one Chinese state, which of the two governments is entitled to represent it?

The author of the study, after careful analysis of the international law position, comes to the conclusion that China, despite the fact that it is governed by two governments, which refuse to recognize each other, is only one object, as far as international law is concerned. His argumentation can be summarized as follows:

"Formosa came under Chinese sovereignty in 1945 (after the capitulation of Japan — CEP). China took over the necessary acts of sovereignty and excluded other states from it. It became a province and in 1947 elected deputies to the National Assembly (of the Chinese Republic — C.E.P.)."

The island of Taiwan (Formosa) was never declared a separate state. The National Chinese government in office there (and on the Pescadores) has always considered itself and continues to consider itself as the government of all China, including mainland China. The Chinese Communist government also considers the island of Formosa and the Pescadores as part of Chinese sovereign territory. Neither the one nor the other Chinese government has declared the separation of their sphere of power from the other part of China.

There is therefore only one single Chinese state.

Alongside many correct arguments, Dr. Erich Römer unfortunately quotes some erroneous ones as well. Thus, he compares the international law position of Formosa with that of Manchuria (before 1945), although these were completely different. The claim of the author that Japan annexed Manchuria is not true. There can be no talk of annexation in this case, for the reason that Japan formally recognized Manchuria, under the name of Mandshukuo, as an independent state. But this state fell to pieces when Japan was no longer able to protect it. Since the Republic of China had not recognized Mandshukuo, it restored its legal position in Manchuria once more after this disintegration.

Dr. Erich Röper is surprised that Japan did not have to formally renounce its claim to Manchuria after its capitulation: "Manchuria was until 1945 under Japanese annexation, even if an attempt was made to give it a different character under international law. But in no declaration, no treaty after Japan's capitulation was Manchuria mentioned... remarkably Japan expressly had to renounce its claims to Formosa, among other areas, in the Peace Treaties of 1951 and 1952, but not to Manchuria." Japan did not have to give up Manchuria formally, because she had never annexed it formally.

The author even includes the Croats in his observations, although this is far removed from the subject of his book: "Therefore it must be left undecided, whether a state of war in accordance with international law, existed between China and Japan before December 8, 1941, — their ambassadors resided in each capital until then — and Japan was unable to create any

state in China, as Germany had done in Croatia in the Second World War". It must be stated here at least that, as far as Croatia was concerned, the independent state of Croatia was not created by Germany but by the Croatian people.

In his thorough analysis of the position of the two governments in China in the eyes of international law, Dr. Erich Röper comes to the following conclusion:

"The Civil War is undoubtedly continuing, and the resistance of the National government as well as their efforts to re-conquer the mainland are neither obviously hopeless nor only nominal: it is conducting the Civil War with a meaningful prospect of success.

"By reason of the 'presumption in favor of the established government', the national government of the Republic of China under President Chiang Kai-shek therefore remains, in the provisional capital of China, Taipei, the only legal government of China, as long as the Chinese Communists claim to represent legally all China, including the present sphere of power of the national government. The recognition of the government of Communist China in Peking is therefore an intervention into the inner affairs of China, that is, a violation of international law."

Dr. C. E. Pokorny

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John Prcela, M. A. and Stanko Guldescu, Ph. D.: **Operation Slaughterhouse**. (Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia.) Published by Dorrance and Co., Philadelphia, 557 pp.

Whenever atrocities are mentioned today in connection with the Second World War, English-speaking people quite naturally tend to think of the horrendous nature and scope of Nazi Germany's crimes.

Equally abhorrent, however, were the atrocities committed by our allies, particularly in the aftermath of the war when power was being consolidated

and centralized by the new Eastern European regimes. In Yugoslavia, the anti-Communist Croat population became the victims of one of the most vicious peacetime purges in the annals of civilized man.

Operation Slaughterhouse relates, in a series of eye-witness documents, the horrible suffering of the entire Croatian nation at the hands of Yugoslav Partisans. Widespread and indiscriminate slaughter of hundreds of thousands of innocents marks the history of newly Communist-dominated Yugoslavia, whose rivers and fields were tainted by unending piles of mutilated Croatian corpses, military and civilian. The authors have traveled the world over to collect these incontestably well-documented accounts from the few survivors of these massacres.

Why has a mysterious silence been maintained by the West over these true and frightening stories? Perhaps because it refuses to acknowledge its blunder in turning all of Eastern Europe over to the Communists after the end of the War; perhaps to conceal the identities and reputations of the Anglo-American figures involved in the wholesale extraditions of the Croatians to the Partisans after the Croatian surrender in Austria. It is more likely, however, that Americans are unaware of the horrors perpetuated upon the Croats by Yugoslav Communists, because the postwar Western press was only concerned with the ignominy of its conquered adversaries and because the victors in any war are never accused of committing "atrocities".

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

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