

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Yuriy Shukhevych, arrested in 1948 at the age of fifteen. Still in the Russian concentration camp because he refused to betray his father and his father-land.

U, C, I, S.
200 Liverpool Rd
London, N1 1LF

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



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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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For Change Of Western Policy

DÉTENTE POLICY

Détente — as a unilateral act of the West — has resulted in the weakening of the national revolutionary liberation processes within the nations enslaved in the USSR and the satellite countries. As a consequence of it the interference by Moscow in the internal affairs of each one of the Western countries has been intensified, and any interest that the West might have had in the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated in the Russian colonial empire has been totally minimized, although one should bear in mind that the liberation of these nations should not be considered an internal affair of the empire. Moscow is continuing its ideological struggle inside of the West and directed against the West, — in Africa, Asia, America, under disguise of the so-called national liberation armed wars (Angola), in the form of the so-called civil wars or class struggle (e. g. in Italy, Portugal, Spain) or by instigating disturbances (as e. g. in the Near East).

Its goal is to take possession of the still free part of Europe after choking up NATO and chasing away the United States from Europe, to extend its rule over the Near East and to continue its envisaged usurpations and conquests. The détente policy will eventually ruin the West, should the front created by the captive nations become demobilized, for the captive nations continuously prevent the seizure of the remaining part of Europe by the enemy of mankind, i. e. Moscow.

AFTER HELSINKI BELGRADE

One of Moscow's major achievements in Helsinki is the declaration made by the US President and the Governments of free Europe to the effect that they have no intention whatsoever to have the status quo with respect to the subjugation of nations changed, in other words they do not envision the liberation of the captive nations in the Russian empire and satellites, e. g. Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland, Georgia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Byelorussia, East Germany, Latvia and others. By making the said declaration the USA has contributed to the demobilization of the front of fighting nations and has lost its most trustworthy allies. Basket No. 3 of the Final Act of Helsinki concerning Human Rights is but a bluff. Human Rights do not exist for the nations subjugated within the empire — the USSR as long as the fundamental right — the right of a nation to its independent national democratic statehood — has not been realized. The selection of Belgrade as a place of Conference for examining whether the human rights are observed in such a totalitarian mini-empire as Yugosla-

via which itself is enslaving Croats, Slovenes, Bulgarians and others is utter irony.

NOT A DÉTENTE WITH TYRANNY BUT A LIBERATION POLICY

It is in the Free World's own interest to win over the hearths of the members of the captive nations in order to decisively weaken the military potential of the Bolshevik empire. This means that the policy of détente with tyrants ought to be replaced by the policy of liberation — a policy of active support to the national liberation struggle of Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Georgia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, East Germany and other peoples enslaved in the USSR and the satellite countries, for their national independence.

THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS

The ABN Executive asks President Pinochet to continue his action in favour of exchanging Anticomunist prisoners for Communist ones. It requests him in particular to intercede on behalf of Yuriy Shukhevych, son of the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) who died in the battle in 1950, sentenced to another 10 years of strict regime imprisonment after having served already 20 years for refusing to renounce his father and his ideas, for the release of the historian Valentyn Moroz who has been sentenced to 14 years of prison and for other political prisoners of Ukraine and other subjugated nations. The ABN Executive submits similar requests to the Presidents of Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and to the governments of the other Anticomunist states. It appeals to the US President to exert pressure on the governments of the USSR and other Communist ruled countries for obtaining the release of political prisoners in 1977, which is the Political Prisoner's Year.

APPLICATION OF THE UN RESOLUTION OF 1960/1972 ON DECOLONIZATION TO THE USSR

The ABN Executive appeals to the governments of the Free World states to apply the UN Resolution on World Decolonization not only to the areas of the no longer existing British, French, Belgian and other Western empires, but primarily to the USSR, the last existing empire which must be disintegrated into independent national states.

The ABN Executive further appeals to these governments to apply the Resolution (concerning "support for the national liberation struggle of a captive nation against colonial rule which any nation may conduct by all the means available including primarily armed struggle") adopted by 107 votes at the UN on December 20 to Ukraine, Lithuania, Azerbaijan and other subjugated nations in the USSR and behind the Iron Curtain in general, to the same extent as this Resolution is applicable to Namibia.

K. Glinski (Byelorussia)

ABN, Great Britain Conference

Manchester, 15th-17th October, 1976

May I first of all extend my warmest greetings to all present, and especially to Mrs. Slava Stetsko, a member of the Central Committee of the ABN, and the mainspring in our activities as well as the most energetic and inspiring fighter for our common cause which, as you know too well, could be summarized in a few words: freedom, the right to self-determination of all nations and true independence within their ethnic boundaries. These are the ultimate goals laid down by the Central Committee of the ABN.

It is necessary also to underline that these principles are in accordance with the resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the UN and known as the International Covenant on Human Rights, the relevant article 1 reading:

"All peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

(The same principles have been adopted by EFC, BLEF and WACL).

I think it would be useful at this moment to recollect some historical facts. After the October Revolution of 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized power in imperial Russia, they proclaimed on November 15th, 1917 the Rights of the Nations of the Russian Empire. The main principles, based on Lenin's doctrine were: —

a) Equality and sovereignty of all nations within the Russian empire.

b) The right of nations to freedom and self-determination, including the right to secede and to form independent states.

It should be pointed out that these principles have never been abandoned

by the Russian Communist Party and are even incorporated in the present Constitution of the USSR (Art. 17: "Every Union Republic shall have the right to freely secede from the USSR").

A number of countries and nations first subjugated by the Russian Tsars proclaimed and attained their full independence in 1918-1920, but when the Bolsheviks had consolidated their power, these nations were subjugated again. I shall mention but a few and in alphabetical order: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Georgia, N. Caucasus, Turkestan (Kazakh, Kirg., Tadjik, Turkmenia, Uzbek.) and Ukraine. Only Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland were able to achieve independence, which lasted until the last war.

The so-called "voluntary" union of these countries to form the USSR is the most flagrant international fraud, deception and mockery of justice and law. Under the Russian Communist regime justice is enslaved in the same way as people have been and are. Even the governments of the Soviet Republics have been subordinated to the highly centralized Russian-dominated Communist Party ruled by a Politbureau which consists of a small, ruthless and tyrannical party clique which stands above the power and law of the state.

(Art. 126. Const.: "... the Communist Party ... is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both governmental and non-governmental").

The principle of self-determination so often quoted and highly publicized has never been allowed to manifest itself in the largest colonial power existing in the world today, the multinational Soviet Union, where more than half of

the population are non-Russians. On the contrary, the slightest sign of deviation from the official party line has been and still continues to be punished, in some cases by death, long sentences of imprisonment or slow death in concentration or hard labour camps in very remote parts of the Siberian Tundras from which escape is impossible. Recently Moscow's rulers introduced an innovation in the form of psychiatric institutions or prisons for opponents of their ideology. This kind of empire needs barbed wire fences and mines along its borders to keep its own people completely isolated from the West even now, contrary to the agreement signed by the Soviet Russian representatives at Helsinki.

I have scanned only briefly these vast and complicated problems the understanding of which might help to grasp the true meaning of Communist "morality" justifying everything that is "in the interest of the proletariat".

"We subordinate" — Lenin said — "our Communist morality to that task and struggle. Morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all toilers around the proletariat creating a new Communist society".

To achieve this final goal, this morality justifies all means towards its end; lies, false accusations, false propaganda, and ultimately murder.

Let us remember the following thesis which was adopted by the Second Russian Communist Congress in 1920:

"The Communist Party must combine the strictest loyalty to the ideas of Communism with the ability of making all necessary compromises, to attack, make agreements, retreats and so on".

I quote Alexander Solzhenitsyn:

... "Communism considers morality to be relative. Depending upon circumstances, any act, including the killing of thousands, could be good or bad. It all depends upon class ideology, defined by a handful of people. In this

respect, Communism has been most successful. Many people are carried away by this idea today" ... (Reader's Digest, May 1976, p. 64).

The price for implementing Communism since the October Revolution of 1917 has been very high indeed, reaching astronomical figures. According to estimates drawn up by the British League for European Freedom, 1971 Statement, the number of people killed as a result of applying Marxist-Leninist ideology in the Soviet Union amounts to 48 million. Solzhenitsyn reckons that the number of victims of Communism including the losses incurred during the last war is around 110 million. (TV interviews, March, 1976).

This also illustrates quite clearly that none of the comments, agreements or treaties made by Moscow's rulers can be taken seriously at their face value. The Soviet Russian propaganda concerning Moscow's peaceful intentions and the highly publicized principle of granting to all peoples the right of self-determination, is sheer mockery intended only for export, although it is cleverly exploited in all continents and countries outside the USSR and its satellites.

It is worth while to quote again from one of the best experts on the Communist system, famous today, Solzhenitsyn:

"It is a system where its constitution has never been adhered to for a single day, where all decisions mature in secrecy, high up within a small, irresponsible group and are then released on you and me like a bolt of lightning. What are the signatures of such people worth in documents on détente?" (Reader's Digest, November 1975 p. 172).

The question is this: what value have the signatures of the Communist representatives in the Helsinki agreement, a document which is not even legally binding but concedes or legalizes, if not "de jure" at least "de fac-

to", the Soviet Russian post-war conquests and accepts the present borders and divisions of Europe. If according to the Helsinki document there is to be a free flow of peoples and ideas across the frontiers marked by the "Iron Curtain", let us press the various Western governments to strengthen broadcasts to the countries within that Empire in the languages of the respective Union Republics in order to give people some encouragement and the will to survive the darkest period in the history of mankind. These broadcasts would have considerable influence on the morale of the peoples of the USSR and on the Red Army, and would be an important psychological weapon in fighting Communism inside the USSR. Let us not doubt for a minute that those peoples would be the most valuable allies of the West in case of conflict which, according to Communist doctrine, is inevitable.

The Soviet rulers are very sensitive and vulnerable to any kind of propaganda, especially to radio-transmissions, which, despite very expensive and extensive jamming (Radio Free Europe and Voice of America) still can penetrate to many corners of that vast colonial empire. Their sensitivity can

be judged by the example of Shelepin, not so long ago one of the most influential members of the all-powerful Politbureau and the expected successor to Brezhnev. Yet even this man was destroyed, and I am not exaggerating when I say that Mrs. Stetsko and the Ukrainian group were instrumental in the first place, although other groups and the press helped considerably. Her booklet entitled "The Shelepin File" has certainly done the trick.

Unfortunately in our work and struggle for a free world we have not been helped in Great Britain and, I think, in Europe by the mass media: radio, television and the newspapers. Noisy, small and sometimes violent demonstrations are normally given very little publicity.

Despite this we have achieved a certain amount of success. Ours is a slow but never-ending steady march towards freedom. United we cannot fail, united we shall win. God help us in our just struggle.

On behalf of this ABN Delegation I thank our British friends, and those who have come from abroad, and our Ukrainian friends, for their financial support and the accomodation which they have provided.

Messages to the ABN Conference, November 1976, Manchester, Great Britain

On the happy occasion of the Opening Session of the ABN Conference, please accept our warm greetings and hearty congratulations!

At a time when the future of all humanity is at stake, when the International Communists are bent to conquer the Free World by sheer force, all freedom fighters throughout the world should join their forces. United we stand; divided we fall. Let us try all our best to encourage those shut behind the Iron Curtain to arise and shake off their shackles. Recent defections of the two Soviet pilots have indeed strengthened our belief that

freedom, justice and democracy shall prevail, and that tyranny and totalitarianism shall eventually be discarded and overthrown by all.

Let us trust the power of our Almighty God for He is our refuge and strength and our very present help in trouble (PSALM 46-1).

Now, on behalf of the members of WCACA China Chapter, I sincerely wish your admirable Conference a complete success. May our Lord bless you.

**C. Y. Chang, Honorary Chairman,
World Christian Anti-Communist
Association
Taipei, Republic of China**

Do They Still Want to Bury Us?

Remarks by Lee Edwards

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is fond of presenting us with only two alternatives in the field of diplomacy — détente or nuclear holocaust. It does not seem to occur to him that there is a third way — a combination of political, economic, and psychological warfare which could put the Soviet Union and the Communist nations on the defensive if only the Free World would attempt it.

Such political-economic-psychological warfare demands realism, but not pessimism, in analyzing the struggle between freedom and tyranny around the world. Too many anti-Communists insist on seeing a Communist under every bed. Too many anti-anti-Communists insist that there are no Communists under the bed or anywhere else. The truth, as those of you at this conference know, is that there are Communists under many beds and even in some beds if that is where the KGB wants them to be.

In my own country, I see some signs of a new realism about Communism. The euphoria about détente has dissipated somewhat, but its intoxicating fragrance lingers in some quarters, particularly certain buildings in New York City and Washington.

As an antidote, the American Council for World Freedom has endeavored to conduct a series of research projects about the activities of Communism around the globe. I would like to share with you today a few highlights of our more recent findings, with a view toward answering the central question, "Do the Communists still want to bury us?"

The United States

It is now estimated that there are close to 2,000 diplomatic officials from Soviet Russia and its Communist satellites in Eastern Europe in the US. About

40 percent of them are spies — trained, hard-core intelligence agents. These 800 KGB agents spend most of their time seeking classified information.

Because of the still continuing anti-FBI campaign, the Federal Bureau of Investigation no longer keeps as close surveillance as in the past on these spies. The result is increased boldness and effectiveness by the KGB in the US.

It is questionable whether the KGB is as necessary to Moscow as it was in previous years. Increasingly, Soviet Russia receives openly what it once was forced to steal.

Since 1972, for example, the US has sold the Soviet Union 164 precision machines that can produce the miniature ball bearings used in guidance systems of multiple warhead missiles. Gen. Daniel Graham, former head of the Defense Intelligence Agency, has said flatly that the Soviets "couldn't have gone into production" of the multiple warhead weapon called MIRV without the US machines.

Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, reflecting what should be of wider concern, has stated that "we must tighten up the present management of technology transfers lest we sell or give away all our secrets to those who seek the downfall of the US and the Free World."

At the same time, the Soviet Union continues its own awesome military buildup while preaching the virtue of stopping the arms race.

Moscow's latest missile, for example, is the mobile SS-20, with a range of 3,400 miles, which could blanket all of Western Europe. Experts agree that the deployment of the SS-20 means that additional longer-range missiles can now be targeted against the US.

In the last eight years, the Soviets have perfected and deployed the SS-16, the SS-17, the SS-18, the SS-19 and the mobile SS-20. All carry more mega-

tonnage than any US Minuteman Missile or Submarine Launched Missile.

One Washington authority has estimated that by 1980, "the Soviets will have increased their throw-weight advantage from 2-1 up to 4-1, compared with the US," because the MIRVed warheads of the Soviet missiles have yields five times greater.

Why do the Soviets need such numerical advantage in the key area of nuclear missiles? To protect themselves against Ukrainian nationalists — another Czech rebellion — or to try at some future time to blackmail the US into accepting Soviet domination throughout the world?

Latin America

The Communists are concentrating on the two "C's" in Latin America — the Caribbean and Chile.

Using Guyana and Jamaica, Fidel Castro is moving to widen Cuban and Communist influence in the Caribbean. Jamaica is being turned into a Marxist state under Prime Minister Michael N. Manley, a close personal friend of Castro. For example, Jamaican police are now being trained in Cuba.

In Guyana, Castro now enjoys the "maximum" support of Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, who has promised that Cuba could use Guyana airfields to transport troops and supplies in any effort to "liberate" Rhodesia and South-west Africa.

The Communists openly admit that they are stepping up their campaign to depict the Pinochet government of Chile as a fascist dictatorship. The recent murder of the former Allende foreign minister, Orlando Letelier, in Washington, D.C. has given Communists a martyr to use against Chile.

Castroite terrorist organizations are active in Nicaragua, Colombia, Guatemala and Argentina. However, the governments of these countries have stepped up their "search and destroy" operations. In Argentina, for example, the death of Marxist guerrilla leader

Robert M. Santucho has dealt the extreme left there a blow comparable to the 1967 slaying in Bolivia of Che Guevara.

Also, the Organization of American States has indicted Communist Cuba for increasing violations against political prisoners. The OAS report stated that Cuban political prisoners have been victims of inhumane treatment by torture, lack of food and medical attention, forced labor, solitary confinement for long periods, degrading conditions, mixing political prisoners with common criminals and pressure to compel political indoctrination.

Clearly, Communist tactics regarding political prisoners are the same the world over — whether in Havana or Moscow.

One news agency has estimated that there are 60,000 political prisoners in Castro's Gulag Archipelago.

Europe

As you know, what happens in Europe, East or West, depends heavily on Moscow. It would be amusing, if it were not so serious, to read in some Western journals about the "independence" of the Communist parties of France and Italy. Yes, they are "free" — free to do what they want to do as long as their activity advances Communism and Soviet hegemony in Europe. For example, I have yet to hear of any Italian or French Communist leader attacking Moscow for failing to live up to the Helsinki agreements.

But parliamentarians from Great Britain, France, Eire, Austria and Norway, meeting in Strasbourg earlier this year charged that since Helsinki, the Soviet Union "has flouted the principles" of that summit. They accused Moscow of interfering in Portugal's internal affairs, "invoking and sustaining the use of force" in Angola, on land, at sea, and in the air," and "disregarding the right of minorities to equality before the law, the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms".

I only wish that President Ford would be equally candid and forceful about Moscow's failure to live up to the Helsinki agreements.

We can take some comfort from the narrow victory of the Christian Democrats in Italy and considerable satisfaction in the victory of Gen. Antonio Ramalho Eanes in Portugal. General Eanes received 60 percent of the popular vote while the Communist candidate, Octavio Pato received only 8 percent.

Perhaps the most significant Communist meeting in 1976 was the international conference in East Berlin in June when the leaders of 29 East and West European Communist parties met. Only Albania did not show up. Yugoslavia's Tito attended, ending a 19-year boycott of Communist conferences.

It was an impressive demonstration of Communist solidarity but inside the Soviet Union itself internal pressures continue to manifest themselves in a number of ways.

Here are a few examples:

The so-called Soviet Republic of Georgia has been hit by a wave of bombings and arson causing extensive damage to government buildings and public facilities.

Thirteen Soviet officials of a major construction project near Moscow were jailed for having built themselves a luxurious retreat along the Volga river with \$ 845,000 of state money.

A mutiny exploded aboard the Soviet destroyer *Storosjevoi* last November. The crew attempted to sail for Sweden but while still in Soviet waters was intercepted and stopped by fighterbombers.

More and more "pirate" radio stations have appeared, supplementing the underground anti-Communist press already flourishing within the Soviet Union.

These underground radio stations are known to exist in Georgia, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.

These brave anti-Communists, these anti-Russian nationalists, are the

strongest and most dependable allies that the Free World has.

It is a severe disappointment to many Americans that our government has contented itself with pro-forma resolutions every July on the occasion of National Captive Nations Week rather than taking positive steps to encourage freedom and national independence behind what is still an Iron Curtain.

The Middle East and Africa

Since President Anwar Sadat abrogated Egypt's friendship treaty with the Soviet Union last March, he has steadily moved closer to the US and the West. Oil nations like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are firmly linked to the West by economic and political factors.

But Moscow never stops probing, and preparing. The Soviets have built up their naval strength, both in total navy ships and combat ships, to such a point that their ship count in the Mediterranean is far greater than that of the US. The eastern Mediterranean, unhappily, is becoming a Russian lake.

In Africa, there are now 15 militant governments, ranging from Algeria to Angola to Tanzania. This bloc can count on six to eight other nations that are becoming markedly more radical in their foreign policy, including Nigeria, Ghana and sometimes even Chad and Niger.

The militants are just short of a majority in the Organization of Africa Unity — with 21 to 24 of the 47 member states.

It is likely that this militant bloc will approve, seek and in some cases aid Soviet and Cuban intervention in southern Africa.

Meanwhile, in Angola, pro-Western guerrillas of the National Union (UNITA) continue to fight the Cuban forces backing the Marxist Popular Movement (MPLA) government. Freedom fighters have killed an estimated 1,500 Cubans and wounded another 2,000.

In South Africa, the riots in black townships outside Johannesburg and

other major cities have resulted in the deaths of more than 300 blacks and whites. Some reliable observers have blamed at least part of the continuing violence on Communists and other militants.

Southern Africa, including Southwest Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia and South Africa, is a prime target of Moscow aid with good reason — it is of major importance to the West, strategically, economically and politically.

Asia

China is the palm of Asia with the nations of Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Indo-China and India stretching out like five fingers. When China is at peace, all of Asia is at peace. When China stretches, all of Asia shakes.

Fortunately for Asia, mainland China is in a state of confusion, chaos and uncertainty following the death this year of her two long-time leaders, Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung.

No one can say with any confidence who or what will succeed Mao in the long run. Hua Kuo-feng is an interim pope and unlikely to last for more than a few years. The radicals and the pragmatists will continue their struggle to gain control of the most populous nation in the world.

All we in the West can do is to watch and wait and not take any moves — such as the US granting formal recognition to Peking — which would strengthen one side or other.

Meanwhile, Communist subversion persists in nations like Burma and Thailand. Vietnam has set up a training camp in northwestern Cambodia to train Thai insurgents in guerrilla activity. It is estimated that more than 2,100 Russian, Cuban and Polish agents are operating in Laos.

Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser has blamed the pro-Communist Builders Labor Federation for staging anti-government demonstrations.

In Burma, the martial law government of President Ne Win rounded up

47 leading members of the underground Burmese Communist Party.

International organizations are sending Philippine subversives funds of a "magnitude that we never envisaged before", Defense Secretary Jean Ponce has stated.

With nearly one half of the world's population and much of its natural resources, Asia remains a primary battleground for Communists.

What does this brief survey of Communist activities around the world suggest? That the protracted conflict between freedom and tyranny continues and will continue until one side or the other wins. At present the Russians are confident of the outcome.

At the 25th Soviet Communist Party Congress held in Moscow earlier this year, the following points were emphasized:

World trends are moving in the Soviet Union's favor and against the US. The "glorious victory" in Vietnam was emphasized along with the Helsinki recognition of Russian domination of Eastern Europe.

"Détente" is not the preservation of the status quo as some wishful thinkers would like to think, but rather a "peaceful coexistence" in which Moscow will (1) avoid nuclear war with the US, but (2) intensify competition and struggle in the economic, political, military-readiness, psychological and ideological fields, and (3) restrain the West from "exporting counterrevolution", i. e., resisting Communist wars of national liberation as in Angola.

Who was the superstar of the Soviet Party Congress? Fidel Castro. In addition to Brezhnev's special words of praise, several Soviet delegates thanked Castro for his generous words about the Soviet Union and its "transcendental role" for the future of mankind.

In turn, Castro has linked himself closer than ever before to Moscow. The participation of some 12,000 Cuban troops in the Angolan War is the most obvious demonstration of Cuban solidarity with the USSR.

The almost ebullient mood of the 1976 Congress was in marked contrast to the somber tone of the 24th Congress in 1971 which was preoccupied with US power and "imperialism". The Soviets have good reason to celebrate; In the last five years, Communists have acquired South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos and contributed to the overthrow of governments in Portugal, Peru and Greece, nearly adding Chile to their list of "socialist" nations.

As Brezhnev bluntly put it, "by relying on the might, cohesion and activity of world socialism and its strengthening alliance with all progressive and peace-loving forces", a new alignment of world power has been brought into being and a new base established for relations among nations.

In other words, the Russians are still determined to bury the US and the other remaining free nations, and they believe that time is on their side.

But time can be on our side, freedom's side, if we use it properly. There is nothing inevitable about the outcome of the conflict between Communism and democracy unless we fight a defensive game in which we never advance beyond our own fifty yard line.

There are a number of things we could do which would put the Communists on the defensive. For example, we could make further trade conditional upon democratization within the Soviet empire.

We could require the Soviets to live up to the Helsinki agreement of August 1975, allowing families and friends to cross borders, and exchanging journalists, academicians and scientists.

We could point out that the right to leave a country is an intrinsic right and that not only Jews but Christians and Moslems and even the non-religious should be allowed to leave the Soviet Union if they want to.

We could increase the broadcasts over Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which carry the truth into the heart of the Soviet empire.

We could do many things if we put our minds to it, if we decided that there must be no more captive nations, realizing that if we do not act we will one day become a captive nation too.

Conference of the Ant bolshevik Bloc
of Nations, Manchester, England,
Saturday, October, 16, 1976

GREETING ABN

Freedom Council of Canada (WACL)

Dear ABN Freedom Fighters:

Your Conference in London this year might well be the most important Conference the ABN has ever held.

The tragedy of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos should have alerted the Free World to the false idea of "détente" cleverly exploited by the Russian Communist imperialists. This time using Castro Cuban troops armed with sophisticated Soviet weaponry the Russian Red tyrants were able to grab Angola virtually unopposed. Has the Free World, especially America, abandoned its intention to block Communist expansion? Now we see Kissinger trying to repeat his sell-out of South East Asia, this time in Rhodesia and South West Africa.

Happily our hope and faith lies in the intransigence of the Captive Nations who have no illusions about the "sincerity" of Communist promises. ABN, the European Freedom Council, WACL and WYACL are **all in the vanguard** of the Freedom Fighters who place principles ahead of expediency, **love of freedom ahead of slavery.**

We trust you will have many fruitful discussions and a successful public rally. Please give our best wishes to all our friends in Great Britain. **We are with you in spirit and share your determination to liberate the subjugated peoples from the yoke of Russian Communism.**

Sincerely yours in the struggle against godless Communism,

Patrick Walsh

The Balkans

One of the Critical Areas in the Present World Crisis

The confrontation between tyranny and liberty is becoming more dramatic and acute every day. By now it is worldwide.

To overcome internal frictions and economic difficulties the Communist system is strengthening its military potential and is simultaneously becoming more aggressive on the international level.

The West ignores and underestimates the Communist danger and the fact that the only means to overthrow the Bolshevik order are the captive nations which for the time being are subjected to Red terror. These nations having been incorporated into the Communist Bloc by force — those subjugated within the colonialist and imperialist Russian empire as well as those of its Sovietized colonies gently called satellites — will overthrow tyranny and provide for a just order for all mankind.

One of the most critical and dangerous zones in the world is the Balkan Peninsula. This situation goes back to the time of the Russian Tsars whose colonialist and imperialist policies in this area have been taken up and are pursued now by Moscow. The Congress of Berlin and subsequently those held at Bucarest and Neuilly deciding the fate of this area in an atmosphere of tension and power politics brought about an artificial state in this potential and permanent zone of conflict.

The Balkans consist of six states, four of them being Communist, i. e. Albania, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria. Rumania and Bulgaria are members of the Warsaw Pact. Albania is under Chinese influence and Yugoslavia is under the tyrannical rule of Tito. It must be pointed out very emphatically that Tito's regime is Communist and must be treated and fought as such. Assuming that Tito is a democrat is ridi-

culcus; Bleiberg where thousands of Croats were massacred and other crimes should be sufficient to prove this. The extermination of Croatian people cannot and will not be forgotten.

Turkey and Greece are the remaining two states of the Balkan Peninsula, both being members of NATO. However, their disputes concerning Cyprus considerably weaken the south-eastern flank of NATO.

Tito's multinational Yugoslavia, an artificial state created after World War I, is undoubtedly the most explosive Balkan state, since it is dominated by Serbs trying to maintain the status quo at any cost, while Croatia — its major problem — has always been striving for the restoration of its historical independence. The other critical points are the region of Kossovo inhabited by about one million Albanians and those areas of Macedonia and east of the river Bulgarska Morava populated by more than one million Bulgarians. Further, there is Voivodino where 800,000 Hungarians are living, and there are the Slovenian, Dalmatian and Montenegrin ethnic groups.

If the United States want to preserve the status quo in the Balkan states they will certainly not succeed. They must change their policies and must prevent the psychological and military advance of Russia by adopting policies in agreement with the past history of the Balkan states.

We hope that the West will finally adopt a fair and strong anti-Communist policy that will be of help to the peoples of the Balkan states and to all nations under Communist oppression in their fight against imperialism and Sino-Russian Communism.

Our fight for independence and freedom must continue until the day when the Balkan states will attain self-determination, independence and freedom.

After Helsinki What Now?

Before proceeding to tackle the question of what happens now after the Helsinki affair, we must look back briefly at that European Security Conference and ask what was its purpose, the result of it and what were the mistakes and failures. Then we can forward suggestions what to do in order to prevent a similar presentation of a *carte-blanche* to Russian imperialism.

Who did actually want the Conference to take place in the first place? You will find that the initiative came exclusively from the Soviet Union, and why? — the Soviet Union was the only participant who had a pre-determined plan to not only obtain official Western recognition of the European boundaries actually existing at the time of the Conference, thereby cementing her grip on her Empire, but also secure economic, technological and financial aid from the West and give the West a false sense of security vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. Ironically, when opening the Conference, President Kekkonen said: „It is essential to be clear about what we seek and why“.

The purpose of the Conference was *inter alia* for the participating states to respect and encourage the effective exercise of the fundamental freedoms and for subject nations to afford full opportunity for the actual enjoyment of human rights and national freedoms. Yet it was doomed to failure from the start because why should the Soviet Union having signed similar conventions and not fulfilled them — suddenly start observing what she had signed now?

The result of the Conference is that the West has surrendered the Captive Nations in the Soviet Union and Satellite Countries and has accepted the status quo of enslavement without any reservations. This act was illegal for only these nations can decide their

own future. Furthermore, President Ford violated the Congress Law concerning the enslaved nations which had been unanimously approved by the US Congress as a directive for any US Government's foreign policy, to fight for the national liberation of the captive and subjugated nations. Also why were Ukraine, having a population of 50 mill. and Byelorussia as co-founding members of the UN not present, while Monaco and Luxembourg were? Thus the participants of the Conference attempted to legitimize the Soviet Union's colonialist occupation of its neighbouring nations by illegal methods.

The West completely failed to understand the Soviet Union's ideological position and its relation with the West. The President of the USA declares that we have moved from the age of confrontation into the age of *détente*, that the goal of his administration is to create a generation of peace. This is fine but what price does the West have to pay for this *détente*? Furthermore the meaning of *détente* in the West is completely different from its conception in the Soviet Union.

The dictionary defines *détente* as a relation of tension and bringing together of two rival camps, but does not imply that the Soviet Russia has abandoned its goal of world conquest. To understand the meaning of *détente* from the Soviet Russian point of view, we must understand what they mean by „peaceful co-existence“. It has been continually stressed by Soviet Russian leaders that „peaceful co-existence“ does not imply abandonment of the struggle with the West and that co-existence with bourgeois ideology in the long run is rather impossible. It is only a temporary measure in their struggle against bourgeois states to be adapted to the international situation on the understanding that it might at any time be

replaced by military confrontation to extend the revolution. The West, however, does not realize the true Soviet Russian meaning of détente and enables the Soviet Union to obtain from the West various advantages to propagate their struggle. The Soviet Union seeks technological and economic gains and military concessions. The West, on the other hand, appears to be striving only for political lessening of tension and increased co-operation with the Soviet Union coupled with a slowing down of the so-called arms race and the recognition of the status quo. Time and time again it has become evident that the Soviet Union has obtained real advantages by way of economic, technological and (ludicrously cheap) financial aid in exchange for empty promises, and the West's ultimate dependence and reliance on Soviet materials ironically produced by the West's aid. What has the West obtained in exchange for these advantages?

Nothing at all! Indeed only an imperialistic attitude on the world scene increasing tensions and eventually leading to talks and Conferences similar to Helsinki, where the Soviet Union's empty promises to reduce tension are once again exchanged for concrete financial, technological and economic advantages. Thus the process starts again on an upward spiral, akin to economic inflation when the ultimate result will be bankruptcy of the West enabling the Soviet Union to take over.

What can be done to avert any future Conference like Helsinki and to redress the present situation?

The most serious problem facing the West is that it doesn't realize how its own freedom is slowly being eroded without its becoming aware thereof. For freedom like good health is a treasure many people do not really appreciate until they lose it. Increasing efforts therefore must be made to continuously mobilize the public opinion against the erosion of fundamental rights of nations and human beings. This should not only be made at na-

tional and international levels but also locally through the local press and radio, and utilizing local institutions and Universities and Colleges. New local organizations for the protection of individual rights should be set up associating themselves with the existing organizations and supporting the ABN in this struggle. Information centres can be set up to inform the populace of the dangers of the present policy and attitude towards the Soviet Union at local, national and international levels. Thus the populace can be better equipped to combat Soviet propaganda.

Let us demand and continuously demand at all levels that the Soviet Union adhere to the Treaties and Conventions which they have signed. We have the signed Declaration of Helsinki — we can use this and other declarations signed by the Soviet Union against them and keep demanding that they observe the same at every opportunity and occasion. The West should break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union referring to the violation of the basic national and human rights and give political and moral support to the liberation movements of the subjugated nations.

Economic war should be declared on the Soviet Union, for this, short of military war, will have the greatest effect. For generations the West has continuously been helping the Communists every time their defective economic and political systems brought the Communist countries close to defeat or revolution. The West has pumped vast resources into the Soviet Union and its allies in carrying through new projects, constructing plants and industrial complexes. Sophisticated technology has been volunteered so that the Soviet Union can bridge the gap between itself and the West. Long term credits and loans at low interest rates, not available to the free citizen, are handed out which with economic concessions have bolstered the Communist systems and provided them with consumer goods while they concentrate on

armaments. How ludicrous it is to supply the Communists with aid and then to increase the West's defence budget to counteract this!

Dr. Anthony E. Sutton, an expert on Communist Economies, declared that the West's policy of subsidizing self-declared enemies is neither rational nor moral. The annual attacks in Vietnam and the war in the Middle East were made possible only by Russian armaments and the West's preceding assistance to the Russians. We had built ourselves an enemy — we keep that self-declared enemy in business. Yet Soviet technical dependence is a powerful instrument for peace if we want to use it. Let us make sure we use it before the technical gap has been bridged!

The Captive nations are the West's first line of defence and yet the West ignores them and surrenders them to the Communists. The West must give political and moral support to the liberation movements of these nations and other subjugated nations. Furthermore they should recognize as the spokesmen of the incarcerated and subjugated nations the representatives of the national liberation movements, and

not the Soviet puppet governments which are imposed on them. The Soviet Union should not be allowed to use the UN as a platform for its own propaganda. Furthermore a new international organization, including representatives of all subjugated nations and not of the Soviet puppet governments, should be created.

There is still time to avert the Soviet Russia's world domination, but the West must act quickly and in unison before it is too late. The West must cooperate with their allies and with the underground liberation movements of the Captive Nations, project a united front to combat Communism. When the Belgrade Conference (the counterpart of the Helsinki Conference) is held next year, the participating states must demand that the Soviet Union observe the fundamental freedoms, otherwise the West will take appropriate action. The anti-Russian imperialistic and anti-Communist policies hereinbefore mentioned must be carried out to avert future Helsinki Affairs and the growing influence of the Soviet Union. Then and only then can the Soviet Union and Communism be destroyed in due course.

J. Bunchuk, Major

Less Words More Action

(ABN Conference in Manchester)

It is my contention, that we should analyze and if possible resolve, the tragic deception on the part of the Free World and its policy towards Russia.

It is my personal belief that this delusion was instigated by a determined Communist propaganda, referring to disastrous consequences for the world, if the differences between East and West were not resolved soon. It seems that the propaganda was fully absorbed by the western politicians, because not any contradicted it. On the other hand, there was no specific policy in the West towards Russian expansions anyway.

The well worn phrase of "détente" was renewed with vigor and enthusiasm. Mr. Brezhnev confidently proposed the so-called "Helsinki accord", in which once more, he made many promises to co-operate on a speedy agreement on Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT). His proposals were accepted unanimously by the West.

In August of last year, representatives of 35 nations from East and West met in Helsinki. Many agreements were concluded, warm congratulations exchanged, all became friends. More promises were made on mutual non-interference in internal affairs, more consul-

tations on mutual problems; more extensive trade arrangements and a well acclaimed so-called basket three — inferred on the freedom of individual movement and the exchange of information.

Everybody was happy, but Mr. Brezhnev more happy than anybody else because he had achieved what he wanted. He secured for his shaky economy supplies of all necessities from the western countries, including more bread from America, butter and beef from Western Europe, machinery and electronic equipment. The rest of the agreements did not matter to Mr. Brezhnev, because he had no intention of complying with it in any case. He also secured a free hand in continuing Russian occupation in Eastern Europe, where he could proceed as he wished with respect to the so-called dissidents and extend his Russification programme to non-Russian countries. To Russia this was very important, even though Western Leaders saw no significance in it. But it humiliated and demoralized many freedom fighters and eroded all hope for non-Russians of getting any help from the West.

Soon after Helsinki, Russia made extensive purchases, mostly on credit. It is worth to mention here Lenin's prophecy that "the capitalists will sell you the rope to hang them with, just for business".

Helsinki agreements in Russia were forgotten, supplies of arms and war equipments were promptly increased to terrorists and revolutionaries in many parts of the globe, i. e. to the Middle East, to Portugal, Angola, South Africa, South America and Malaya.

A few days later Mr. Mason, the Defence Secretary of Great Britain read a report on Russian arms, which stated that "during 1976 Russia will bring into service more than 200 new intercontinental ballistic missiles, 1000 combat planes — swing-swing types, more than 700 helicopters, 3000 tanks and 4000 ar-

moured personnel carriers. Russia will also bring into service 10 nuclear submarines, of which six will carry 12-16 ballistic missiles of 4800 miles range and new aircraft carriers. It estimated, that Russia now deploys 1000 surface to air missile launchers".

This is only an example of the Russian response to the Helsinki spirit and promise to reduce weapons and arms. Yet the State Department's view is that „Russia must be drawn into relationships which are both concrete and practical, and the West must create the maximum incentives for a moderate Soviet course". Agreements on disarmaments are dead-locked and it looks as though it will stay that way, there are new obstacles all the way. Freedom of movement and information does not apply to Russia. At the same time the Soviet arms buildup and production have increased rapidly.

In April this year General George Brown, Chairman of the American Joint Chiefs of Staff, said: Since 1965 the Soviets have increased their active military personnel strength by one million from 3.4 million to 4.4 million, while we have dropped to 2.1 million, which means that the Soviets have more than 2:1 superiority. Both Dr. Kissinger and his adviser Mr. Sonnenfeldt seem to believe that America has no choice but to appease the Russians.

To top it all, for some unknown reason, President Ford only last Thursday stated categorically that he believes that all East European countries are free States. It could be laughable if it were not so tragic.

Can anyone comprehend a statement of this nature uttered by a politician of a super-power? Which is supposed to lead and protect the free-as yet-world? If it is not a delusion on the part of the leading power, then what is it?

In view of those facts, we must seriously consider not only the big fiasco in Helsinki, but whether we should continue to rely on those leaders? We must find an answer to this quickly.

Caroline Hicks (Great Britain)

The Importance Of Nationalism

In seeking to espouse any well formulated views on nationalism we should first look more closely at the definition of this much maligned word. The dictionary tells us that nationalism means "patriotic feeling, and a policy of national independence". For those of us who care at all for the lessons of history and for the present and future well-being of our respective countries, we see no validity for the present trend which denigrates the patriotism and independence that most people feel towards their mother country. To deny the mental, moral and physical manifestations of nationalism is, I believe, a major step towards the eradication of freedom and initiative which has long been the backbone of this country.

However, I would submit that this is a state of affairs which has not come to pass by accident. There has been a long and sustained campaign over past years to impose upon the people of this country, and indeed of other countries, a guilt complex of such magnitude that we are becoming afraid by thought, word and deed to defend that which previous generations fought so gallantly to defend and preserve. If we do not stem the tide within the very near future we shall reach the point of no return. Many of you whom I am honoured to address today are living testimonies not only of an appalling tyranny which has been imposed upon you, and your home and families, but of how best the qualities of endurance in the human race can be utilized to rescue this situation. By your fortitude and faith you have carved out for yourselves a new life where you can continue the battle for those left behind who reside in an atmosphere of evil and oppression, and who look so pitifully to the Western world for succour.

It is with a sense of great shame that I witness not only the lack of fibre and

determination in British governments in their attitude to those demonic regimes behind the Iron Curtain, but the sickening enthusiasm with which these same governments seek to curry favour with the perpetrators of such regimes. There is now indisputable evidence to prove that the Communist countries would probably never have reached such pinnacles of power had it not been for the material and economic support of the West.

At this stage we should briefly examine those ideologies which allow this state of affairs to exist. They are conceived in the domains of liberal and internationalist minds and given birth upon the ideas of uncertainty and loss of identity. They are cultivated by the misguided intelligentsia and the powerful machinery of Party politics, and, finally, launched well-groomed, and well-financed as the only road to the Brave New World. For many of us here in Great Britain we see such a glaring example in our membership of the E. E. C., whose stated aim is the ultimate achievement of World Government. Do not for one moment be deceived into believing that such an organization will be a bulwark against the evils of Communist domination from which you have sought sanctuary; to be effective the E.E.C. must, by its very nature, adopt a policy of more and more centralization and harmonization and thereby totalitarianism. Even today we see the net closing; we are being strangled by legislation and bureaucracy in a manner which is totally alien to the nature of the British people. I would humbly submit that what you have suffered by the gun and the bomb we are now suffering by false doctrines and economic power politics. If we do not recognize these factors we not only deceive ourselves, but jeopardize

the last vestiges of liberty for future generations.

I have been asked today to address myself particularly to the younger section of this gathering, but I believe that the best approach is the team work which both older and younger generations can, together, use as a formidable spearhead. In this way, experience and unity of purpose combined with energy and action, provides an essential factor in the work in which we are involved.

To return to the theme of this address, do not be afraid of nationalism. In my view, it's healthy, it's natural and it is an essential component part of a well integrated and adult mind. Earlier this year I had the honour of attending the World Anti-Communist League Conference in South Korea and I came away both impressed and encouraged by the determination of the Youth delegates in their battle against the corrupting influence of totalitarianism both in their own countries where it existed, and on behalf of those behind the Iron Curtain. I have taken great heart from what I have heard from the younger delegates here at the ABN Conference

in Manchester, and especially their desire for more informed information and their awareness of the dangerous influence which is exercised through the channels of education. I consider it imperative that we give them all the moral and physical support at our command, so that they may the better confront their contemporaries who seek to subvert the foundations of this country with their Marxist ideologies.

Finally, I believe that we should not be dismayed by the shadows of the evil darkness which confront us. If we have anything to be proud of in the past, and anything to offer the world for the future, we must operate from a strong and proudly felt nationalism. We should no longer feel ashamed of our history, of our national characteristics, our traditions, our religion, our language, our Monarchy or indeed of our emotional attachment to, and love for all these things. If we forsake our own beliefs and aspirations we also forsake any possibility of turning the tide of evil and rending asunder the cloak of enslavement which threatens to extinguish the light of truth and liberty.

WISHES OF SUCCESS

On behalf of the Byelorussian Liberation Front in Australia I hasten to convey to you our warm greetings on the occasion of the forthcoming ABN General Conference, and extend to you — and to all the participating delegates — our best wishes for a successful Conference.

The ABN's policy for the complete dismemberment of the Russian Slave Empire into Independent Republics is the only rightful and just solution to the problem of world crises which constantly and forever seem to dominate the Free World, and the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations must press on for the adoption of this policy by the Free World as a matter of urgency . . .

It is a great pity that the Free World has not listened to the ABN in the long past, because if it had done so — then there would not have been the problems of Communist slavery and the danger of Communist enslavement of the whole world as exists at present.

The ABN must not hesitate in pursuing its sound policies for the liberation of the enslaved nations — and sooner or later the Free World will see the light and will adopt them for the restoration of freedom and safeguarding the civilization . . .

With kind regards and best wishes once again, Yours faithfully,

A. Olechnik
Byelorussian Liberation Front
Australia

G. Tamsons (Latvia)

Is the Western World Still Capable?

Let us look back at the Hungarian uprising in 1956, the freeze after the Czecho-Slovakian Spring in 1968 and the strikes in Poland in 1972/73. Let us also remember that the uprisings in Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia could be suppressed only by active intervention of the Soviet Armed Forces. The strikers in Poland escaped this fate only because they yielded to promises, most of which were not fulfilled.

How did the Western inactivity then differ from their present-day passiveness under the seal of non-intervention born out of the Helsinki Conference? Not at all — except that now the Russian imperialists are supplied with a safe platform from which they can plan their adventures into the areas in the Western world with greater confidence. Recent events in Mozambique, Rhodesia and the continuous guerrilla warfare in Northern Ireland is ample proof of this.

The Western world, having achieved a victory during the Second World War against an enemy, whose technical might and discipline required an outstanding effort for this, have displayed an equally outstanding lack of determination and action in the face of Soviet Communist expansion since the war. It must be clear by now that détente only ties the hands of Western politicians.

What is the alternative then to the policy of détente?

The selling of people and nations to Russian slavery must end. It is high time that the people in the free world request their politicians and governments to observe the Charters and Treaties they themselves have written and signed, and it is high time that the people demand that their statesmen equally insist that other signing partners also abide by and observe these documents.

It is time that moral strength, integ-

rity and courage return to the scene of politics and that anyone who does not possess these qualities is dismissed. There is no longer any room for power-drunk, conscience lacking, immoral political salesmen — because there is very little left to sell. The politicians must be made to realize that only their determination to do the right thing and their insisting on the right thing being done by others will save this world from a catastrophe unparalleled in the human history.

Let us dismiss the various treaties and agreements, but insist that the basic documents — the Human Rights Declaration and the Magna Carta — are observed, and that the right of an individual and a nation to be free be upheld.

This is not a call for open war to begin this very moment.. But it is a demand to any freedom-loving country and government to have nothing at all to do with those who violate these rights.

This determination would end the unmotivated support of our enemy, which is the most important factor in its survival. This determination would also show the great strength of which, I believe, the western world is still capable.

— — —

Kindly express for us the solidarity of "United Cubans in the Fight against Communism" (C.U.B.A.) to all our brothers and sisters representing the different nations enslaved by Russian and Chinese imperialists.

Stay together and the victory will be ours!

Respectfully yours,

Felipe Sin Garciga
Secretary of Foreign Affairs
Cubanos Unidos en la Batalla Anticomunista, New York, USA

Ukrainian Youth During the XXI Olympiad

During the two weeks of the Olympic Games the Ukrainian Youth Association was in the forefront of demonstrations and various actions. Our main aim was to show the world at large, the gross injustice of Moscow's imperialistic policies, not only in official government policies, but also in sports. The Ukrainian youth came to Canada to demonstrate and to give full support to the athletes of the Captive Nations, who were forced to participate under the blood-stained banner of the Soviet Union.

In the large number of over 600 athletes from the USSR well over two thirds were members of the Captive Nations. This clearly shows that the imperialists are willing to go to the furthest extremes, to gain as much power in every field as possible.

During the Olympic Games there were more than 1000 Ukrainian people, directly or indirectly, involved in actions and demonstrations in one way or another.

Our gathering point was the central place in the olympic complex, between the main stadium and the veledrome, where every evening during the two weeks, more than 200 young Ukrainians, at a time, gathered to wave Ukrainian flags and to distribute literature. By this action alone, many hundreds of thousands of tourists were able to see and hear about the situation in Ukraine and in other enslaved nations.

Over 50,000 leaflets were distributed during that time. Our actions reached the zenith at the end of the first week, when over 500 members of the Ukrainian Youth Association staged a massive demonstration in the centre of the Olympic complex, which ended with the burning of the Russian flag, which was pulled down from the main mast containing the flags of all competing na-

tions. During this demonstration and especially during the burning of the flag, the Ukrainian youth showed that it is ready to follow in the footsteps of its brothers and sisters in their homeland, who are ready to fight Russian imperialism and Communism.

There was not one event, especially in which the Soviet team was participating during which, demonstrations were not held. The easiest way to demonstrate was to become a walking banner. A group of 14 young people, each with a T-shirt, on which there was an appropriate letter of the alphabet, always were present when the Soviet Union was playing a game. On their T-shirts were the words FREEDOM FOR UKRAINE. This action always upset not only the Russians, but also the police and olympic officials. But not even threats of arrest would refrain these young people from demonstrating.

During the semi-final of the soccer tournament, one of our members jumped out onto the field of play of the main stadium waving the Ukrainian flag and shouting out the words „Freedom for Ukraine“. The game was stopped for a few minutes. This action was reported in most Canadian national newspapers.

The Canadian media gave full coverage of all our actions, saying in one comment, that the biggest problem for the security people and police were scalpers (those who sell tickets on the black-market) and Ukrainian demonstrators.

There were many official complaints by the Soviet delegation to the security people and the IOC, but fortunately no steps were taken against us.

During the above period, all other Soviet points in Montreal were visited, and appropriate actions carried out, i. e. at Expo, Inturist etc.

During the Olympics 7 Soviet flags

were pulled down from various places in Montreal.

During the closing ceremonies, in the presence of 75,000 people, members of the Ukrainian Youth Association raised, by the aid of helium balloons, a large banner with the words „Freedom for Ukraine“. Also during the final march, our young girls paraded a large banner with the same words around the stadium. These two actions were greeted with warm applause and widely commented on in the press. For once we cannot accuse the Canadian mass media for not publicizing our actions,

because this time we received the widest possible coverage.

I call upon all our young friends of the Captive Nations to involve themselves more into various actions and demonstrations, to organize discussion groups among our British colleagues to explain to them the plight of the people, subjugated by Communism and Russia.

Let the Ukrainian Youth Movement and other Movements be the symbol of our uncompromising fight against the biggest and worst empire of today — **Soviet Russia.**

**TELEGRAMS to ABN Conference,
November 1976, Manchester, Great Britain**

All my warm wishes and deep congratulations for patriotic initiative for freedom.

God is with us — Freedom for Ukraine

Olelkcij Dovhorukyj
Ukraine

Wishing you a successful outcome of the ABN Conference

Mr. W. Bezchlibnyk
Chairman,
Canadian League for Liberation of Ukraine

ABN in Canada extends greetings to ABN crusade for freedom. We wish to counter successfully Soviet Russian imperialist expansion. Let the Russian smoke screens of treacherous détente not fool the roads of goodwill.

Dr. Kaskelis,
Chairman,
Lithuania

Eng. Bezchlibnyk,
Secretary-General
Ukraine

Best Greetings to ABN Conference, wishing success for the liberation from the Russian Communist colonialism of subjugated nations, Ukraine among them.

**Ukrainian Central Representation
in Argentina**

Best wishes to your Conference. May your and our work throughout the world help in the struggle of our nations subjugated by Russian Communist imperialism. May our peoples regain their peace and national independence and live free from Russian domination.

Dr. R. Malaschuk,
World Ukrainian Liberation Front
President

“I am opposed to the Helsinki agreement and from the outset considered it a dishonourable agreement.

One is not surprised that the present British Government should have been a signatory to it when under the Premiership of Harold Wilson.

The Treaty is inevitably in the interests of Soviet imperialism and against the interests of subjected peoples throughout Eastern Europe and indeed elsewhere in the world.

It is naive of our Government and those of Western Europe and lamentably, the USA, in the light (or rather, darkness) of President Ford's blunder in the televised debate.

I salute your cause and wish you every success with your Conference and in your unwavering pursuit of freedom for your enslaved countrymen.”

Yours sincerely,
B. H. Tetlow,
Bolton, England

Ethnic Voters Organize Themselves

(AWB) --- The dissatisfaction of many segments of the American society with a complete lack of interest by the presidential and congressional candidates to expound a constructive policy toward the nations enslaved by Communist-Russian imperialists and to adequately oppose Moscow's expansionism has roused many citizens, descendants from those enslaved nations to some organized action. Delegates of various organizations representing descendants from Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Croatia, Cuba, Estonia, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, Turkic peoples, Ukraine, Don Cossackia and others gathered on September 18th in New York with the intention to coordinate their attempts at pressuring the candidates to give more attention to the great threat to this country stemming from Russian colonialism and the historical duty of the freedom-loving American nation to help the enslaved peoples to liberate themselves.

It was the second conference of a rising voting bloc which may in a few years number many million citizens. There were represented: the Bulgarian National Front, the Byelorussian Congress Committee of America, the Cossack Liberation Movement, the Croat Liberation Movement, the Municipalities of Cuba in Exile, the German-American National Congress, the American Latvian Association, the Lithuanian American Council, the Committee to Liberate Captive Turks and the Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front. Delegates and observers came from such far-away localities as Miami (Florida), Phoenix (Arizona), Chicago (Illinois), Cleveland (Ohio), Washington (D. C.) a. o.

The process of forming such a coalition started in 1975, when the first conference was held in New York last December. Since then the coalition issued a statement of purposes and positions, which is being distributed among

all candidates. Articles were published in the ethnic press (Ukrainian, German, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Cuban a. o.) in which explanations and arguments were given in favor of establishing a new long-lasting non-party voting bloc. The two major reasons thereof are: 1) under-representation of the participating nationalities on the federal level and 2) neglect by the Administration of the enslaved nations. The conference was ably chaired by Dr. Nohemi Labrada of Washington, D.C., with the assistance of Dr. Mira Niessner of New York as vice-chairman and Miss Nusia Vokh of Jersey City, N. J., as recording secretary.

After the various representatives delivered their reports, the conference dealt with the coming tasks. It was decided to prepare a study of the demographic location of the voting strength of the coalition. Next, the group has to be legalized and formalized. State and district committees throughout the country have to be set up with the goal: "Let prepare ourselves for the 1978 elections of at least a dozen of our candidates to the Congress!" Fund-raising was discussed. An honorary committee will be formed to which outstanding Americans of the various nationalities' backgrounds will be invited. Finally, a coordinating committee of eleven representatives was elected on behalf of whom Dr. Anathole W. Bedriy will carry on the daily activities.

The Conference, held at the six-story high newly acquired building by the Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, was preceded by a meeting of the Executive Council of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, an organization incorporated in 1950. The AF-ABN set itself the task to support the liberation movements of the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism, which are united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations with headquarters in Munich, West

Germany, presided by Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, last prime-minister of independent Ukraine.

The AF-ABN meeting was presided by its chairman Dr. Anathole W. Bedriy. Four new nation-wide organizations were admitted to membership. The action program for the period Fall 1976 to Spring 1977 was adopted. Setting up of new chapters in several cities and states is being prepared. Various educational and informational projects were approved. 27 nationality representatives and observers of 12 na-

tionality organizations attended this highly successful meeting, at which lively debates and agreement on serious decisions were witnessed.

There is a growing conviction that the United States should become more active in assisting the peoples in the Soviet Union, in Central Europe, in Cuba and elsewhere, those who came under Russian colonial slavery to liberate themselves. Also the under-representation of many millions of American citizens on the federal level will have to be rectified.

Message to the Conference of a Voting Bloc in the USA

I am honored to greet on behalf of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in the United States the delegates and guests to the second conference of a voting coalition of American nationality groups. It is a special pleasure for us to be hosts in our newly acquired building to such an eminent gathering of representatives of various nationwide organizations.

Our Ukrainian Liberation Front signed the statement initiated by this coalition of like-minded groups. We hope that by means of such a voting bloc, which might some day number millions of citizens, all of us will achieve better representation of our views and desires in American politics.

We understand the immense difficul-

ties ahead of us in achieving this aim. But because each of our communities did not achieve sufficient representation according to our strength during the past decades, perhaps in the future we will have better results if we join forces.

With knowledge of serious organizational, informational, tactical and fundraising problems to be solved, I express our best wishes to this important conference and pledge all-out support of the Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in the USA.

Andrij Sokolyk

Secretary General
of the Organization for
the Defense of Four Freedoms
of Ukraine

MESSAGES TO THE ABN CONFERENCE

On behalf of the London branch of the Association of Croats in Great Britain we express our solidarity with all captive nations in the world, and we send our greetings for the success of the Conference.

Miško Tkalec,
Chairman.

The common struggle for freedom will continue to the victory regardless

if today or tomorrow the international policy might be favorable or not to our cause.

With best greetings to all,

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Ivan Docheff
President

Bulgarian National Front, Inc.
New York, USA.

Resistance Grows In Ukraine

Zynoviy Krasivskiy Transferred To Lviv Psychiatric Asylum

Zynoviy Krasivskiy, allegedly a former member of the Ukrainian National Front, a clandestine organization which operated in Ukraine in the fifties and early sixties, was transferred from the Smolensk psychiatric asylum to the Lviv facility this past spring.

The press service also reports renewed arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in Kyiv and Ivano-Frankivsk.

Krasivskiy, 46, was born in the Lviv region. In 1947, while he and his father were being resettled to Siberia, young Krasivskiy escaped. He was apprehended and sentenced to five years in incarceration.

In 1967 he was again arrested for alleged participation in the Ukrainian National Front, and that year he was sentenced to five years in prison, seven years in concentration camps, and five years exile for treason.

He was charged by the court of being a cofounder of the organization, of publishing the underground magazine "Batkivshchyna i Volia" (Fatherland and Freedom), and for distributing over 7,000 nationalistic brochures.

Krasivskiy was originally confined in the Vladimir Prison. In 1972 he was taken to Moscow's Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry, where he was declared insane.

He was subsequently moved to the Smolensk institute, and in 1975 he contracted a cardiac ailment.

The Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric asylum has been known for holding many Ukrainian political prisoners, and among its current inmates is Petro Trotsiuk-Kozliuk a former UPA soldier.

Following World War II, Kozliuk was sentenced to 25 years in prison. After serving about half of his term he escaped.

He lived in freedom six years. During that time he married and had a child.

In 1962, he was recognized by a neighbor and disclosed to the police.

He was ordered to complete his sentence, and in 1971 he was charged according to article 102 of the Criminal Code which deals with so-called "OUN terrorist activities".

The next year he was declared insane by the Serbsky Institute and committed to the Dnipropetrovsk facility.

Last year a teacher in Kyiv, Vasyl Pysmenny, was arrested for alleged improper conduct before his students. He was sentenced to eight years confinement.

In 1972, Pysmenny was arrested for the first time for publicly defending the use of the Ukrainian language.

In the Donbas region, Oleksa Tykhiy was warned by the KGB about concealing "contraband" literature. On June 15th of this year his quarters were searched by the secret police and several handwritten manuscripts about the history of the Ukrainian language were discovered.

Tykhiy is an ex-convict who was sentenced in 1958 to five years incarceration for treason.

The KGB initiated a crackdown against Ukrainian Baptists in Ivano-Frankivsk, amongst whom is a man named Lesiv.

Samvydav publications are also circulating the names of 19 Baptist prisoners incarcerated in the Vynnytsia and Zhytomyr region concentration camps.

Rev. Romaniuk Renounces Soviet Citizenship

Asks Ukrainian Churches In Free World,

US President, Congress For Help

Says Terrorism is Way of Soviet Life

Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk, the incarcerated Ukrainian Orthodox priest, became the fourth known Ukrainian poli-

tical prisoner to publicly renounce his Soviet citizenship.

In letters to Ukrainian Catholic, Orthodox and Baptist hierarchs in the free world and the National Council of Churches, Rev. Romaniuk wrote that he wants no part of Soviet citizenship, while in a brief letter to the US President and Congress, the incarcerated priest asked the American government to grant him American citizenship.

Copies of letters which Rev. Romaniuk wrote to western governments, and religious and humanitarian institutions, telling about repressions in the Soviet Union, were made public in the West.

"Distinguished Senators, and honorable Mr. President, please grant me the citizenship of your free country, because in the country where I now live, life is unbearable", pleaded Rev. Romaniuk.

At the end of 1974, Danylo Shumuk became the first Ukrainian political prisoner to renounce Soviet citizenship. He was subsequently followed by Vyacheslav Chornovil in March of 1975, and Valentyn Moroz in the spring of 1976, in the letter to American officials that oppression in the Soviet Union is a "gross violation of elementary human rights".

Rev. Romaniuk said, "I may die in the Soviet concentration camp, just as many more before me died, but let me at least have the citizenship of your country which is the fortress of freedom and truth on earth", he pleaded.

Rev. Romaniuk told hierarchs of the Ukrainian Catholic, Orthodox and Bap-

tist Churches in the West that it was his duty to tell the clergy and faithful of the three denominations that "in the Soviet Union officials trample the basic provisions of the Helsinki Accord's Final Act, which are regarded as the basis of friendship and cooperation between nations".

Rev. Romaniuk wrote that letters are constantly confiscated from him, and for five years he has unsuccessfully sought to acquire a Bible.

"I beg for your mercy Most Reverend Archbishops, Bishops and brothers, do everything you can to alleviate the repressions against me", he wrote.

Rev. Romaniuk cited the inhuman working conditions which exist in the concentration camps in his letter to the National Council of Churches. He said that conditions in the glass-polishing workshops are unhealthy and many inmates suffer from inflamed intestines and livers. Food is inadequate and medical attention is rare, he added.

"Analizing all repressions and considering that all inmates here were sentenced because of their convictions, I have arrived at the conclusion, though not for the first time, that inhumanity, terror and tyranny have pervaded the life and style of the officials of this country to such an extent that any attempt to find humanity, compassion and sympathy is an exercise in futility", wrote Rev. Romaniuk.

He also requested that they send their representative lawyer or correspondent to meet with him. Rev. Romaniuk asked the National Council of Churches to help his wife and son emigrate from the Soviet Union because he does not want "them to die in concentration camps or to become human 'guinea pigs' in a psychiatric asylum".

Rev. Romaniuk was sentenced in 1972 to general regime confinement in a concentration camp in the Mordovian ASSR, and five years exile.

Two years earlier he wrote letters to the Soviet Ukrainian Supreme Court

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Send in your subscription for
ABN Correspondence
immediately!**

questioning the incarceration of Moroz. When Soviet authorities searched his home in Kosmach, they confiscated many Ukrainian books.

Mykhaylo Diak, Former Ukrainian Political Prisoner, Dies

Mykhaylo Diak, a former Ukrainian political prisoner and member of the underground Ukrainian National Front, died several months after being released from incarceration, according to Anatoly Radygin, a one time political prisoner in the Soviet Union now living in the United States.

Diak, 41, was arrested in 1967 for his participation in the Ukrainian National Front and for signing petitions to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

He was sentenced behind closed doors to five years imprisonment in the Vladimir Prison, seven years confinement in the Perm concentration camp, and five years exile.

Due to the severe illness he contracted and the lack of medical attention, his sentence was commuted.

Civilian doctors were unable to halt the spread of the disease, and he died soon after he returned to his native Ukraine.

Hel Seventh Month without Food

Ivan Hel, a Ukrainian political prisoner incarcerated in one of the Mordovian concentration camps, remained seventh month without food.

Hel, 39, apparently began his hunger strike last May in protest against the camp officials' refusal to designate him a political prisoner. He also demanded that representatives of the International Red Cross, the UN Human Rights Commission and other international organizations be allowed to inspect the prison camp.

Hel's wife, Maria, and brother, Bohdan, are frequently interrogated by the

KGB. As a result of the questioning Hel's brother had a heart occlusion and was taken to a hospital.

There the secret police threatened to take away his university diploma if he did not cooperate with them.

Hel, a technician, was arrested on January 13, 1972, and sentenced the following August to five years imprisonment and five years exile on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

He previously served a three year-term from 1966-69.

New Arrests

A group of students was arrested in the Chortkiv area of Ukraine in January of 1973, in the wake of the people's continued struggle against Russification.

Among others KGB arrested Stepan Sapelak, born in 1950, Volodymyr and Mykola Marmus. They were accused of allegedly forming an underground youth organization, distributing leaflets denouncing the occupation of Ukraine by Moscow, flying the Ukrainian national flag at city hall and KGB buildings on Ukrainian Independence Day, January 22, and other anti-Soviet activities. After one year of intensive investigation by the court in Ternopil, the students were sentenced behind closed doors to long prison terms.

In May of 1975 unknown persons distributed leaflets on streets and in trolley-cars in Lviv demanding independence of Ukraine.

In Pukiv, district of Rohatyn, the Ukrainian blue and yellow flag was raised on the school building in 1975. Investigation by the militia and KGB proved fruitless.

In the last few years the resistance movement has been intensified by various acts of sabotage as well as by passive opposition under the slogan "work slow" which cause insolvent state plans and lagging agriculture. This is evident in all the republics in

the Soviet Union. The KGB is powerless against such resistance. At the same time, assassinations of party officials have increased in retaliation for their cruel treatments of the people. In places where such acts took place, it is harshly forbidden to discuss them under threat of long imprisonment.

The day before the "proletarian" holiday in 1975, Ivan Drozd, born in 1951, a cement factory worker in the village of Ternopilla, district of Mykolayiv, tore down the Soviet flag from his house and handed it to the village administrator. Consequently he was arrested and sentenced for "hooliganism".

Mykola Shalay, a student born in 1949, in a protest against the Russification of Ukraine, publicly destroyed his Komsomol card and resigned from the organization. For this he was suspended from the Lviv University and threatened with an arrest.

Ivan Tsytsyk, a student at the technical institute of Lviv University, was expelled from the University for writing nationalistic poems and his friend, Ihor Antoniuk, has been sternly admonished.

Olexander Bilakov, assistant professor of English at Lviv University, was discharged and arrested for not adhering to Communist views and expressing publicly sympathy for Ukrainian nationalists.

Maria Bushko, senior assistant at Lviv University, Department of Mathematics, was dismissed from the University in 1975 and accused of copying and disseminating "samvydav" literature. The accusations were never proven.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

**The Soviet Union
A Prison of Nations**

(Comments on the Foundation
of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

Valeriy Lysy, born in 1954, a worker in a Kyiv factory, was harassed, dismissed from work and excluded from Komsomol for wearing a religious medallion and expressing dissident views. The secretary of Komsomol in Kyiv, Valery Mukhin, and his assistant Victor Lozov put strong pressure on Lysy to renounce his dissident views but he flatly refused. Consequently Lysy was dismissed from work and the Komsomol and threatened with arrest.

Ihor Tomkiv, born in 1957 in Lviv region, went Christmas caroling in 1975 with a group of boys. On the way home Tomkiv was murdered, as was evident by marks on his body. However, the police insisted that he froze to death even though it was not cold at the time of his death.

Wasył Fedoriv, long time leader at a collective farm in the village of Stinka, district of Ternopil, was continually harassed because his wife, Vasylyna was a very religious person. On June 17, 1975, Fedoriv was found dead. The KGB claimed he committed suicide.

Hryhoriy Balush, a financial secretary of the Orthodox Church in Lviv, was arrested and sentenced in 1975 for resisting the closing of churches by government authorities and encouraging youth to study for priesthood.

In the village of Vistria, district of Ternopil, Soviet authorities banned the celebration of Easter. Easter Sunday was proclaimed a day of work, with a warning of arrest if not adhered to.

A church in the city of Yaremche was converted into an atheistic museum, as was the church in the village of Khotin, district of Ivano-Frankivsk. V. Krytsak, an official of Ivano-Frankivsk oblast committee and a militant atheist, has been responsible for these deeds.

According to information received, Mykhaylo Kosiv and his wife Ludmyla Sheremeteva have been instrumental in the arrests of Ukrainians in Lviv in 1972-73. Kosiv is now working in the Lviv Museum and his wife is said to be a KGB agent.

Malozhensky Questions Soviet Legality

After being arrested and sentenced twice, apparently for alleged crimes committed by him prior to 1949, Vasyt Malozhensky asked the Soviet Ukrainian Attorney General and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR for a review of his case, which he claims is illegal under Soviet law.

According to Soviet law, Article III, paragraph 42 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, if a person is convicted for past crimes, all sentences connected with that time period must be deducted from the present sentence.

Crossed Border

Malozhensky was born in the Lviv oblast. Prior to World War II, he was drafted into the Polish Army and in 1939 he was captured by the invading German armies.

He escaped from the POW camp and returned to Ukraine. The Germans sent him to work in Germany where he allegedly joined the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

He admits to have performed certain acts for which he was charged during his arrest in 1967.

On New Year's Day 1949, Malozhensky crossed the Polish-Soviet border and was arrested. He was sentenced to 18 months in prison for not having proper identification and border crossing permits.

Some two decades later he was arrested again for alleged crimes he committed prior to 1949. In January 1968, a Lviv oblast court sentenced him to 15 years in prison without deducting the time he already served.

Letters Unanswered

His letter to Soviet Ukrainian officials remained unanswered.

On December 8, 1975, he wrote to an Atty. Shveisky asking whether there are any amendments to Article III pa-

ragraph 42 which would void what he believed was true, and if not what administrative organ might review his case in accordance with Soviet law.

That letter was not answered, as well as its follow-up of April 20, 1976.

Increased State Control

State control over the lives of the citizens in Ukraine has increased to such an extent that the KGB has been expelling "undesirables" from the ranks of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the Communist Youth League (Komsomol).

Since the beginning of 1975, Ukrainian officers have been relieved of their commands in the Red Army. Senior officers were retired, while junior grade officers were reassigned. They were substituted by Russian personnel.

Ukrainians have had an increasingly hard time getting assignments in the Red Army.

Internal Passports

In line with the issuance of internal passports in 1975, certain KGB officers have been eliminating Ukrainians from important positions by randomly labeling them as "qualified" or "unqualified".

The "unqualified" people are relieved of their duties and closely guarded in their private lives. The service said that in case of a war these "undesirables" would be herded into concentration camps.

Language Discrimination

Ukrainians who possess Ukrainian-language diplomas are having a hard time finding employment in their fields. For the most part they are offered positions in Kazakhstan, the Far East or in Russia.

Recently Slobodianyk was arrested for anti-Soviet agitation. The term of the sentence was not known.

As was reported in the West last summer, Valentyn Moroz was confined in the Mordovian concentration camps to serve the second phase of his three-part sentence. His address is: Sosnovka, p/ya ZhKh-385/6, Potma Station, Mordovian ASSR.

Moroz was assigned to the glass polishing factory and, as other political prisoners have said, the conditions there are not healthy. The glass dust is extremely dangerous to a person's health.

Svyatoslav Karavansky is incarcerated there also.

Last year, I. Hel was transferred from the prison camp to a Lviv prison where the KGB demanded that he repent his views. He refused and was subsequently taken back to the camps.

He demanded that the authorities allow Western journalists to inspect the facilities, grant him the status of a political prisoner, ensure adequate medical care, permit inmates to receive packages from relatives and friends, and other rights for the prisoners.

The service said that he was still on the strike as of August 1976.

The Soviet secret police also attempted to persuade Vasyl Stus to renounce his writings. In 1975 he was taken from the Perm camps to Kyiv. The efforts proved unsuccessful and he was moved to Mordovia where he was placed in solitary for 15 days.

Iryna Senyk and Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets were also confined in solitary for undetermined lengths of time. Kalynets wrote a letter to the United Nations asking the organization to place her under their care. The letter was intercepted by the authorities and she was placed in solitary as punishment.

**Is it not love that unites, builds
and creates, just as enmity de-
stroyes?** Hryhoriy Skovoroda

Camp officials confiscated some 150 art works by Stefania Shabatura, the Ukrainian artist and political prisoner made during her free time. She protested by refusing to work and was put in solitary confinement for six months. From March 15-29, 1976, she staged a hunger strike.

Strokata, Afflicted with Cancer, May be in Danger of Death

Nina Strokata-Karavanska, a Ukrainian microbiologist and former political prisoner, is said to be suffering from breast cancer and her life is in danger because she is unable to receive proper medical attention.

After she was released from incarceration last year, Strokata was exiled to Tarus, a small town south of Moscow. She was not allowed to return to Ukraine or travel outside of the town.

With the help of friends, Strokata attempted to undergo a medical examination at Moscow's Oncological Institute, but the authorities did not allow her to leave Tarus.

Medical facilities in Tarus are inadequate to treat tumors, and Strokata's close friends fear that if she is not treated soon, the cancer may spread and eventually kill her.

While Strokata was incarcerated she did receive some medical attention, but it was suspended once she was released.

Among the many organizations to stand up in defense of Ukrainian female prisoners is the American Society of Microbiologists. Strokata is the organization's sole member in Ukraine, and one of five in the Soviet Union.

They bar her from any employment, they have threatened her with eviction from her apartment, they refuse to deliver mail from abroad, including publications of the American Society of Microbiologists to which she as a member is entitled.

The struggle in Ukraine Continues

In October 1975, in the city of Vynohradiv, Transcarpathian oblast, unknown persons poured gasoline over and set fire to the apartment of the Chairman of the Vynohradiv Municipal Council, Kostak. His parents who were at home extinguished the fire.

In November 1975, in the village of Yablunky, Bohorodchanske district, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast, an unknown patriot shot at a window in Stefanyshyn's (Chief of the "Verkhovyna"-kolkhoz) house.

On the eve of the anniversary of the Bolshevik counter-revolution in 1975, tridents were found drawn on the traffic signs on the road Boryslav-Truskavets, Lviv oblast.

In the city of Chervonohrad, Lviv oblast, Zynoviy Horak, a 26-year-old miner, born in the village of Ostriv, Sokal district, was arrested and sentenced to 2 years for allegedly committing rowdyish acts and stealing clothing from a store. The true reason for his arrest was that he was suspected to have written "Long live the free Ukraine!" on the municipal building of the village of Ostriv.

Stefania Shabatura was transferred from camp to a psychiatric hospital for half a year disregarding the fact that only 8 months were left for her to serve.

Z. Popadiuk, a former student of the University of Lviv, was transferred to Vladimir prison.

In Lviv, Oleksiy Hunza, born 1940, and his mother were charged with the preparation of religious material.

Levko Lukyanenko was not allowed to work in his profession.

In Lviv, Mykhaylo Kosiv working in the Museum of Atheism has been very active in the sector of militant atheism. As a result in 1973 the Orthodox popes Mykhaylo Fedorak, Anton Sokolov (both from Ivano-Frankivsk) and Yvan Kryvyyi from Lviv were arrested together with several other persons and were sentenced in February

1974 to 4 years each on charges of having distributed Greek-Catholic literature.

In 1974 the two priests Prokopiv (living in Vilnius) and Sokil were sentenced for requesting that Greek-Catholic congregations be organized, and were released after 6 months.

On charges of conducting Greek-Catholic ceremonies for children the Redemptorist monk Mykhaylo Vynnytsky was arrested in Lviv in winter 1975.

Intensified Repressions Against Serhiyenko

Reports from Ukraine indicate that the Vladimir Prison officials have stepped up their repressions against the Ukrainian political prisoner Oleksander Serhiyenko.

Serhiyenko, 44, was arrested in 1972 and sentenced to seven years incarceration and three years exile. He is suffering from tuberculosis. In March of this year Serhiyenko was placed in solitary confinement for two weeks.

His mother, Mrs. Meshko a resident of Kyiv, made all possible efforts to have her son released from prison. She has written many letters to party and government officials on his behalf.

After discovering the harsh steps taken against her son, Mrs. Meshko asked a doctor in the medical sector of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) how he views the confinement of a severely sick person in solitary, the lack of proper rations for him, and the denial of fresh air.

"We cannot change the regime. If he violated the law, he is imprisoned. We only treat him," he replied.

She asked him to recommend that Serhiyenko be released from prison for medical reasons.

He told her that prisoners "who have to be carried" are occasionally freed, "but even then after a lot of begging".

On April 30, 1976, she went to see the director of the Department of Inspection, Bolisov, and asked him why her son was detained in solitary for two weeks. She learned from him that Ser-

hiyenko wrote 84 complaints in one year, not only in his case but for others as well.

BolISOV also accused her of improperly raising her son.

She said that she could not have done that because she was imprisoned in concentration camps for 10 years.

"He was raised by the schools and the society, and if while being in an in-

human environment he continued to think about his neighbour, then his education was not that bad", she retorted.

She again spoke with Soviet officials about her son a few days later and said: "If my son and I are not to your liking, then expel us from the country."

Serhiyenko, a former art teacher, was initially accused of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

Congressman Eilberg Urges Brezhnev to Release Moroz

Congressman Joshua Eilberg, of Philadelphia, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration, forwarded a letter to the General Secretary of the Communist Party of USSR, Leonid Brezhnev, urging him to release Valentyn Moroz from imprisonment and permit him and his family to emigrate to the US.

The letter reads as follows:

We American citizens are concerned about the young Ukrainian historian, Valentyn Moroz, who for the second time is imprisoned.

We Americans honor and respect freedom for all people and principles of freedom for all people, also Ukraine, which has behind it over 1,000 years of culture. We cannot understand that Valentyn Moroz and hundreds of other Ukrainians are imprisoned just because they referred to the Soviet constitution to express their ideas on the traditional culture and Russification of their country.

I, Congressman Joshua Eilberg, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration, have a wide acquaintance among Ukrainians in the United States and many friends among them whose tireless efforts are made on behalf of Valentyn Moroz, whose ordeal is troubling even myself.

With this I call upon you, Mr. General Secretary, to personally intervene on behalf of this human being, who only recently broke his fast in protest and was written up by every American newspaper.

I personally wish to ask you, Mr.

Brezhnev, to call upon the KGB to release Valentyn Moroz and to permit him and his family to emigrate to the US. Only then will I be convinced of the true meaning of the Helsinki agreement.

I shall be grateful for your intervention and reply to my letter.

Banished Bishop Accused as „Chronicle's Editor"

Bishop Julijonas Steponavičius, banished to the town of Zagarė in 1961, was accused of editing the Chronicle and sending it to Poland, from where it was allegedly relayed to the West. The accusation was made at a Party "seminar" in Vilnius, on February 3-6, 1976. It was mentioned in the seminar that some of the issues of the Chronicle were not "reactionary". A report on the situation of the Kaunas Theological Seminary disclosed that, owing to the rapid decline of the number of priests, one priest will soon have to service two parishes. The activity of clandestine nuns in hospitals was also mentioned.

31 Priests Demand End to Religious Persecution

Thirty-one priests of the Vilnius Archdiocese challenge the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party to put a halt to the persecution of religion in Lithuania. (Summary of the letter, dated October 4, 1975, was published in the August issue of ELTA Bulletin.)

Dr. V. Horbovy Requesting Permission to Join His Son

An open letter by Dr. Volodymyr Horbovy addressed to A. Kossygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, dated July 28, 1976, has reached the West.

Dr. Horbovy was born in January 1899. Prior to World War II he was living in western Ukraine working as an attorney. He became a man of renown after defending Stepan Bandera and other Ukrainian political prisoners. On the eve of the war he presided over the Ukrainian National Committee in Cracow. After World War II he lived in Czechoslovakia where he worked as legal adviser to the ministry of agriculture.

On August 1, 1947 he was arrested by Czech authorities and on July 9, 1948 given in charge of the Communist Government of Poland. When detained in the prison of Warsaw Dr. V. Horbovy attempted to jump out of the window and broke his leg. As a result of insufficient medical care he became a lifelong cripple. In 1949 Dr. Horbovy was given in charge of the Government of the USSR. After lengthy investigations during the same year a military tribunal OSO consisting of 3 members sentenced Dr. Horbovy in his absence to 25 years of imprisonment. He served the major part of this verdict in Camp No. 5 in Mordovia. After being released Dr. V. Horbovy returned to his native village Obolonya where he was notified that he was to live in the same house where he was born. Irrespective of the steps taken by him to emigrate to the CSSR in order to join his wife and his son he has so far not been allowed to leave.

The full text of the open letter of Dr. Horbovy to A. Kossygin reads as follows:

"From Volodymyr Hryhorovych Horbovy, oblast Ivano-Frankivsk, district Dolyna, village of Obolonya to the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, A. Kossygin:

1. Innately every human being strives to preserve his personal dignity and his public respectability. The position of the individual within his social environment and society as a whole is conditioned by compliance with these basic requirements. I used to always base all my undertakings and actions on these requirements of social ethics, for instance during the Polish occupation of western Ukraine during the years 1919 to 1939 and also during the NAZI invasion. As a result I was persecuted by the Polish regime and tortured in the Polish concentration camp of Kartuzka Bereza. Ukraine was especially heavily stricken with the German occupation during World War II. The German concern for "Lebensraum" (vital space) had aroused my attention already prior to the war. Therefore, we had to take steps to meet Hitler's invasion appropriately and above all preserve our national dignity. I was first elected President of the Ukrainian Committee designed to help captives and refugees in Cracow. At that time this was the only organization in the so-called General Government exclusively in charge of the first victims of war. Therefore it was imperative to collect money on a voluntary basis for this purpose and get into contact with the magistracy of Cracow as well as competent authorities of the German administration in order to provide sustenance, clothes and shoes for persons in need of assistance. Our request for support did not (and could not) involve any political declarations because such rights and obligations were not stipulated in the statute of this charitable society. Never in my life did I make any declarations to any foreign authorities that might have been in contradiction to the national dignity of a Ukrainian citizen.

Subsequently I had the honour to preside over the Ukrainian National Committee which adopted at its Con-

gress in Cracow (on June 22, 1941) a manifesto that rightly reflected the situation of the Ukrainian people at that time. This manifesto explicitly stated that "within the framework of an independent Ukrainian state the Ukrainian people shall be master of Ukraine". On behalf of the Committee I signed a corresponding note whose tone was in line with the manifesto and forwarded it to Hitler.

This note, of course, infuriated the German political leadership. I was at once arrested and put in "Monte Lupish" prison in Cracow, where living conditions were appalling. In 1946 I fell ill in prison. After checking my state of health the German medical committee advised that I be transferred to Professor Kostrzhnevsky's hospital for infectious diseases in Cracow, 15 Copernicus Street. The matter was submitted to the Supreme Command of the Security Service of the German Reich. On July 14, 1942, a German security service officer entered the hospital and gave instructions that I should be released in view of the state of my health. Although the German arbitrary rule had undermined my physical health morally I had not been harmed at all. I was satisfied that my good name had not been stained and that I had asserted the rights and the honour of my people with dignity.

The manifesto issued by the Ukrainian National Committee has been preserved up to now in German and Soviet Russian archives. Writers and journalists from the USSR got acquainted with it at the trial of Nürnberg. Although first they seemed to admire the courage of the authors of the manifesto and of other similar declarations relating to the Ukrainian question they soon changed their attitude completely. They began to maliciously attribute a pro-German tendency to the manifesto alleging that its motto was "collaboration for achieving a common goal" etc. Moreover, they circulated a forged do-

document alleging that I had sent Hitler a greeting having the following wording: "Great Hitler! We greet you in the name of the entire Ukrainian people and assure you of our loyalty. Heil Hitler! Volodymyr Horbovy".

To fortify this nasty lie they are referring to my wife Hanna Horbova as being supposedly aware of this fact and ready to confirm it, although she categorically denies this declaring that said greeting is the result of an ignoble fabrication. To clarify this matter a) my wife must be given the possibility to publicly reveal the contentions of the following three authors to be nasty lies: (i) Smolych Yuriy in "With the People or Against the People", (ii) Kharchuk Borys in "Do You Hear Brother?" and (iii) Dmytruk Klym in "The Fatherless"; b) the full text of the UNC manifesto must be published.

Already in the sixties I twice applied to the Attorney-General of the USSR to prosecute Yuriy Smolych and Borys Kharchuk for offending me in their publications. However, the Attorney-General did not deign to look into the matter although the Constitution guarantees the protection of the rights and interests of every citizen.

2. My life is characterized by assiduous work and unexceptionable conduct. Before the war I was member of the Attorney Council in Lviv, during the war I acted as judge at the Polish Court of Appeal, and after the war I worked as counsellor of the ministry of agriculture in Czechoslovakia. The records of these institutions on my behalf were highly favourable. The organs of the committee in charge of the USSR state security are in possession of corresponding documents.

During the period of the personality cult I was repressed and detained in prisons and concentration camps for 25 years without having been sentenced — as at no time of my life I had committed an offence. According to the presumption concerning innocence as

valid in the USSR I am a full-fledged citizen.

I am a 77 year-old invalid of Group II. I do not receive a pension, and for three years following my release from prison (August 1, 1972) I did not benefit from social security altogether. In 1975 I was allotted a piece of land (60/100 hectares) which is not sufficient, however, to secure a dignified existence for a human being. Curiously enough, Soviet administrative practice requires my rehabilitation, that is to say the restoration of rights which legally I had never been deprived of.

3. During my imprisonment as a foreigner I repeatedly requested permission to leave the USSR for Czechoslovakia where I was living before being arrested. In spring 1972 I submitted a corresponding written petition to the ministry of domestic affairs of the USSR, however without success. I still maintain my request and intend to go to Prague where my son Roman is living with his family.

I am familiar with the USSR Constitution, its laws, international law, the

UN Declaration of Human Rights and especially with the outcome of the Helsinki deliberations. Especially the spirit and the conception underlying Helsinki and the statements on page 13 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights guarantee freedom of movement to the human being implying the freedom of joining his family. If comparing these humane resolutions with the picture of Soviet reality as set forth above one must draw the conclusion that all these humane resolutions are not always duly respected in the USSR.

Therefore I request the USSR Government to take appropriate steps

1) to ensure that the unprovoked attacks in Soviet publications on my person be ceased and refuted;

2) to provide me with means of existence in compliance with the dignity of man; and,

3) failing this, to allow me to leave the USSR.

Obolonya, July 28, 1976

Dr. Horbovy V."

Meeting of the WACL Executive in the USA

On the 8th and 9th of January, in Houston, Texas, a meeting of the WACL Executive (World Anti-Communist League) was held in order to prepare the 10th WACL Conference, which is to take place in Taipei, Taiwan, April 1977 under the slogan "Freedom forces unite against Communist tyranny".

The meeting of the Executive was opened by the WACL Chairman, General Honkon Lee, from Korea. As a Guest of Honour, US Congressman Steven D. Symms was one of the main speakers. Amongst the speakers were the WACL Honorary Chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-kang — China, Dr. Roger Pearson — USA, Hon. Hyung Keung Kim, Consul General — Korea, Rep. Roger

A. Keats — Member of Illinois House of Representatives and General Daniel O. Graham — former Director of US Defense Intelligence Agency, who spoke on the world menace — Bolshevism.

An interview with Congressman Symms and Slava Stetsko who represented ABN on the authorization of Yaroslav Stetsko, member of the WACL Presidium, was televised on channels 11 and 13.

A reception for the participants of the meeting was given by the Consul General of the Chinese Republic — Hon. K. C. Dunn.

The Conference approved a joint Communiqué.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

10th Pre-Conference Executive Board Meeting
Houston, Texas, USA, January 10, 1977

The World Anti-Communist League (WACL) Executive Board met in Houston, Texas, USA from 9th to 10th January 1977 to finalize details for the 10th WACL General Conference and to review the international situation.

Board members from Africa, Asia, Europe, Middle East, Latin and North Americas as well as international organizations representing the Captive Nations and the younger generation discussed plans for achieving freedom from Communist tyranny and thereby world peace.

An appeal was made to the new administration of President elect Jimmy Carter to manifest the American tradition of freedom and democracy by encouraging and supporting all those throughout the world who oppose Communism.

A review of international developments since the last WACL Conference in Seoul, Republic of Korea, in May 1976 encouraged Board Members who found that the Communists' own internal problems would lead to their collapse if the free world took advantage of this situation as well as strengthening their own position. This review resulted in the following conclusions and decisions:

The Russians are finding it increasingly difficult to control internal dissent, and to control the nations within the USSR and the satellite countries. The Chinese Communists are finding control of mainland China more difficult due to increasing internal power struggles and discontent. Even the North Korean Communists have resorted to narcotic trafficking in order to survive.

Notwithstanding their internal difficulties and differences, the international Communists still have world domination as their objective and are using

subterfuge to lull the free world into a false sense of security. One method is to pursue a policy of presenting a false picture of international Communist conflicts and free world Communist parties trying to free themselves from Moscow control. This encourages the free world to support the Russians against the Chinese Communists, the Chinese Communists against the Russians, Tito's Yugoslavia against Russia and many other cases including accepting Western Communists as 'different' Communists. In reality, they are all 'Trojan Horse' policies to cover Communist expansionist and aggressive campaigns, whilst at the same time the Communists carry out internal purges and suppression of their own populations combined with the complete denial of human and national rights.

The governments and peoples of the free world should not be fooled by these tactics and should use this opportunity to destroy the Communists from within by working for the freedom of mainland China, North Korea and East Germany as well as the national independence and freedom of countries such as Angola, Azerbaijan, Albania, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Cuba, Croatia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Laos, Latvia, Lithuania, Mozambique, Poland, Turkestan, Slovakia, Ukraine, Rumania, Vietnam and others enslaved by Communism. Also action should be taken to prevent Communist take-over plans elsewhere. In particular, concern was expressed about the false 'democratization' campaign, to take over the whole Iberian peninsula.

The policy of détente should be replaced by a policy of freedom and national independence as well as a demand for the decolonization of the Russian Communist empire. Double standards in dealings with the Chinese

Communists should be replaced by a policy of support for free China. Free World governments should demand the release of all political prisoners by the Government of the USSR and other Communist regimes. The unjust condemning by the Free World "liberal" elements particularly those in the USA of Communist-threatened countries like Chile and Argentina under the pretext of 'human rights' should be exposed as serving Communist purposes and preventing economic and military help going to these countries.

The international Communists have always retreated when faced with determined forces of freedom and therefore the free nations must never allow themselves to be divided by minor differences or by the Communists who are bent on their united front plot of division and conquest through "normalization of relations" and other approaches. The Communist multifront expansion must be countered by the free world nations drawing a clear line between enemies and friends and also stopping all aid and trade with the Communists without which their economies and aggressive plans would have collapsed.

In order to pave the way for victory over Communism, all free nations of the world must cast aside once and for all any hope of dealings with the Communists or of obtaining peace through negotiation, compromise or withdrawal. Defense forces must be strengthened

and in particular the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Africa and the early establishment of an island chain of anti-Communist defense in the Western Pacific and North East and South East Asia.

The new administration of President-elect Jimmy Carter should show the importance of free nations abiding by treaty obligations and defense commitments by denouncing Communist aspirations for the withdrawal of US troops from Korea and US commitments to the Republic of China.

The Executive Board decided to hold the 10th WACL General Conference in Taipei, provisional capital of the staunchly anti-Communists Republic of China, from 18th to 22nd April 1977 with the theme of "Freedom forces unite against tyranny". The 23rd General Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), which is a regional organization of WACL, will take place simultaneously.

Participants of the WACL Executive Board Meeting expressed their appreciation for the work of the host chapter, the Council on American Affairs, as well as the strong anti-Communist speeches at the meeting made by guest speakers Congressman Steven D. Symms from Idaho, Representative Roger A. Keats from the Illinois House of Representatives, and General Daniel O. Graham, former Director of the US Defense Intelligence Agency.

REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE
the protest writings of
VALENTYN MOROZ

edited and translated
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Report of the ABN Delegation in Great Britain

This report is intended to cover the period from the last ABN Conference held in London during August 1973, just over three years ago.

During the period between the 1973 Conference held in London and the present one here in Manchester, the Delegation held 17 meetings, on average about once every two months. The majority of members of the ABN Delegation are also active members of the British League for European Freedom, as well as in their own national organizations which enabled us to coordinate our activities, using one or the other platform as the situation demanded.

The General Meeting of the Delegation of ABN in Great Britain was held in Nottingham on the 5th October 1975, in which 43 delegates, representing 6 national groups in Great Britain took part.

The Meeting was very successful. The Central Committee of the ABN was represented by Mrs. Slava Stetsko, who addressed the Rally of approximately 400 people in the same hall that evening.

The attendance at that ABN Conference also convinced the delegates that among our people there exists great demand for information about the realities of life in the Russian-Communist Empire and also about the struggle of the subjugated nations for their freedom and national independence.

1974 and 1975 saw widespread protests in defence of political prisoners in the USSR.

The delegation sent many letters of protest to prominent people in the United Kingdom stressing that the West could not continue to ignore the plight of thousands of people incarcerated in prisons and concentration camps.

The delegation sent greetings and best wishes to the participants of the

Anticommunist Conferences in Washington, Rio de Janeiro and in Korea. Among the numerous protest actions that ABN supported was the demonstration directed against Shelepin's visit to Great Britain, which received the widest publicity in the British national media. ABN sent respective letters of protest to the ministers of foreign and home affairs, stating that the visit of Shelepin, a professional gangster and murderer, was an affront to all those who value freedom and human dignity and who rejected the brutal oppressive methods of the KGB.

When it became clear that the Home Office would nevertheless grant an entry visa, the ABN Delegation made its own contribution to the organization of the protests which eventually led to Shelepin's moral and political suicide in Great Britain and to his removal from power in the USSR.

It is certainly worth mentioning, that all active groups within the ABN cooperated wholeheartedly in the above mentioned protest actions.

Since the 1973 Conference in London, the ABN Delegation has tried to recruit young people into the ranks of its members and has held talks and discussions about the ideas of ABN with them. This drive has not yet been completed and therefore it is difficult at present to comment or assess its success in this matter.

During the course of the last two years a marked improvement has been achieved in many aspects, especially in widening the circles of our friends from among the British. This coupled with the injection of fresh blood into our organization, gives us the cause to be optimistic not only about the future of the ABN Delegation in Great Britain, but also about the future of our free and independent nations.

In view of the Helsinki Conference, the Delegation sent a warning to the representatives of Helsinki indicating

that the Soviet objective was to obtain Western recognition of their conquests in Eastern and Central Europe. It was a reminder to all Western Governments of the dangers of signing treaties with Soviet Russians.

The Delegation sent greetings to President Ford on the occasion of the 200th Anniversary of the American Revolution and has received a reply signed by the President himself, in which he expressed that he was extremely pleased to receive a letter of greetings from ABN on the momentous occasion in the history of America.

At the end of last year Dr. Carlo Barbieri, Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League, visited Great Britain. He was the guest of the British League and of the Delegation of ABN.

Dr. Barbieri's visit was very successful. He met a number of British parliamentarians and also visited national groups who work together with ABN.

At the meeting Dr. Barbieri was informed about our activities in Great Britain and showed special interest in

them. Thereafter he explained his work in WACL on the international level concerning the struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism.

Several meetings took place at various ABN Delegation centres and we would like to specifically mention the very active discussion, which took place in the Latvian Centre during which the Byelorussian Bishop Sipowich was present.

Of course we are all aware that everything we did is not enough, indeed, it never can be enough until we reach our main aim — which is freedom for our subjugated nations.

This will only happen when the Russian-Communist empire is dismembered and its enslaved nations shall live as free, independent, self-governing states in an atmosphere of trust and cooperation.

May God help us all in our noble and just endeavours to help our nations in their fight against the Russian-Communist tyranny to achieve their national INDEPENDENCE.

Bulgarian Commemorial Service

On September 12th 1976, a commemorial service was held in the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of St. Volodymyr in New York on the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of occupation by Russian imperialist forces of Bulgaria. After the church service a commemorial meeting was held, chaired by Dr. Ivan Docheff, President of the Bulgarian National Front. Representatives of Byelorussia, Don Cossackia, Hungary, Germany, Rumania, Turkestan and Ukraine took part, as well as members of the American Conservative Party.

On behalf of the Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in the USA Dr. Anathole W. Bedriy delivered the following eulogy:

"Dear Dr. Ivan Docheff, dear Bulgarian Friends: You are commemo-

rating today a sad anniversary, the 32nd year of the conquest of Bulgaria by the Communist Russian forces and its inclusion into the last great colonial empire. It is a well-known fact that the Bulgarian nation is not dominated by native Communists and therefore your struggle is primarily not anti-Communist but anti-Russian and anti-imperialist for regaining the lost national independence.

The Ukrainian people are basically in the same position, except that we have been fighting for national independence since 1918 when we lost it to the same enemy. And many other nations are sharing the same fate in slavery with the Bulgarians and Ukrainians.

The leaders of the liberation movements came to the conclusion long

ago that one of the ways to achieve victory over the colonialists is by uniting our forces into an international front of all national Freedom-fighters. For that purpose the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was established back in the 1940's.

Here in the United States we have for purposes of cooperation a similar organization, the American Friends of ABN.

Yesterday's feat of a group of Croatian patriots and nationalists dramatically revealed to the whole Western world that the national liberation of scores of peoples from the Soviet-

Russian and Yugoslav Titoist imperialists is the most important task of freedom-loving humanity. While we condemn the bombing which killed a New York policeman, we must categorically reject Major A. Beame's description of this group of patriots who have highest patriotic and moral qualities, as a "gang of madmen".

I firmly hope that the Bulgarian-Ukrainian cooperation will expand and last, because when we fight together, we will quicken the pace of liberation and restoration of national independence and freedom to Bulgaria and Ukraine."

Civil Defense in the USSR

The recently published book of Professor Leon Gouré of the University of Miami, USA, about civil defense in the USSR has caused a great sensation, in western political and military circles. The book entitled "War Survival in Soviet Strategy: USSR Civil Defense" has been edited by the Center of Advanced International Studies at the University of Miami. It contains a detailed study about the Soviet Russian program for civil defense showing that it is regarded as a fundamental component in USSR military strategy and foreign policy — in contrast with the West where civil defense is being systematically neglected.

Détente has by no means prompted the Soviet Russians to reduce their military endeavours. On the contrary, they have elaborated their program for civil defense bringing it up to an advanced level which is rightly denoted as "readiness for war" by western military experts. The preparations of course include the possibility of a nuclear war. The workers in the Soviet Union are made believe that they need not be afraid of a nuclear conflict while, on the other hand, any enemy of the Soviet Union would be destroyed by Soviet nuclear weapons

in the case of a nuclear war. Soviet Russian military experts hold that nuclear, biological or chemical warfare can be postponed by conducting delaying negotiations. In this way, they think, measures can be taken to protect industry and secure supplies, civil defense being of vital importance in this connection.

Precisely during the current year the public is being thoroughly informed on this matter. Numerous articles have been published on this subject by the USSR press; moreover, several million copies of a leaflet entitled "What everybody must know and how he should proceed" have been distributed. In radio and television information is forced in this respect and even in the news reels of movies items dealing with civil defense are faded in. In all major towns a "Civil Defense Day" or even a "Civil Defense Month" is held annually, on which occasion practical exercises are performed, films are shown and lectures are given as a rule. Persons engaged in civil defense must spend 100 to 120 hours per year for training. In elementary and secondary schools civil defense is a compulsory subject. In addition civil defense camps are organized by the "Komso-

mol" and the "pioneers" with several million young people participating annually.

According to estimates of US experts 30 million USSR citizens are covered by the defense. They are trained under military supervision also in special fields like radiology, biochemistry, maintenance of special machines and radio communication.

In 1970 the civil defense management issued directions concerning the evacuation of industrial areas and large cities in case of war. The evacuated are to settle in rural areas during war. Each working class family is to be assigned a "safe" place of abode. Transportation is controlled centrally, any "self-evacuation" being strictly prohibited. These evacuation measures are meant to minimize losses in case of a nuclear attack, i. e. reduce them to about 5 to 8 percent.

The construction of over 60 percent of new industrial plants in minor towns in rural areas since the midsixties is also due to civil defense strategy, to prevent these plants from becoming objects of nuclear attack. This plan is attributed to the late Minister of Defense of the USSR, Marshal Grechko, who ordered that most of the industrial plants of vital military importance be transferred to regions beyond the Ural in order to protect them from a nuclear attack and bring them closer to the Siberian raw material sources.

There exist special plans providing for reserves of food, water, oil, raw materials and spare parts. Corresponding caches being strictly concealed are also scattered all over the Soviet Union. These war reserves are "intangible" even in case of food shortage such as presently afflicting the USSR.

Civil defense expenditures — like any military preparations — are disguised in the budget in order to avoid giving any evidence to the West. However, US experts estimate that since 1972 they have increased by over 1 billion US \$. This was necessary, if only

for building more shelters and reserve stores. Especially in rural areas bunkers are increasingly being built that are resistant to atomic beams. These shelters are equipped with most advanced means such as filtered ventilation, fresh air renewers, oxygen bottles, electric generators, heating facilities, water supplies, washrooms, telephones, radio sets, first aid medicaments and sleeping places. A standard bunker can shelter 300 people on an average. In the subway of Moscow which is developed as a shelter over 1 million people can be accommodated.

One of the objects of civil defense is to furnish each member of the working class with a gas mask and protective clothes as well as medicaments for treating wounds caused by atomic beams.

These are just a few of the details given in Professor Goure's book showing how systematically the USSR is preparing its population for a nuclear war, while the West is still striving to make its population forget the danger it is exposed to and what measures could be taken to safeguard it against this danger.

(From "West und Ost", August 6, 1976)

Violations of Human Rights in Lithuania

Gvidonas Dovydaitis describes in an open letter the persecution of religious students in his former high school of Lukšiai, where decorating a Christmas tree resulted in the interrogation and intimidation of children.

Security agents **Limauskas** and **Lazarevičius** searched the apartment of **Henrikas Klimasauskas** in Kaunas for six hours and came up with a copy of "The Gulag Archipelago".

Workers at a kolkhoz in Kapsukas raion went on strike, December 11-12, 1975, because the new kolkhoz chairman was elected "illegally", against the will of the workers.

Peter Reddaway

KGB Strikes at Ukrainian Group Monitoring Helsinki Accords

Letter Sent to the British Press

The Soviet authorities have struck against an unofficial Ukrainian group set up recently to monitor Soviet observance of "basket 3" of the Helsinki Final Act. Their action preceded the current offensive against the Moscow-based "parent group" headed by the physicist Dr. Yury Orlov, against which a criminal case has been opened.

According to information from the only Moscow member of the Ukrainian group, the well-known dissenter General Pyotr Hrihorenko, the KGB raided the homes of five members in Ukraine on December 22 and 23. Among the items confiscated were compromising objects which, the victims say, must have been "planted" in advance. They fear these may provide the basis for arrest and imprisonment on criminal, non-political charges.

*350 US dollars were taken from the Kyiv flat of the group's chairman, Mr. Mykola Rudenko, a well-known writer, former editor of the paper *Dnipro*, and member of the Soviet group of Amnesty International. Pornographic post-cards were removed from Mr. Oleksander Berdnyk, a popular writer of science fiction. And a firearm was "discovered" in the house of Mr. Aleksei Tykhy in the Donetsk region, where the KGB had earlier confiscated materials on the history of the Ukrainian language during a search in June.*

Apparently nothing compromising was found in the homes of two lawyers, Mr. Lev Lukyanenko and Mr. Ivan Kandyba, who live in Chernighiv and Lviv respectively.

Attempts to reach General Hrihorenko by phone in the last few days have failed. Several seconds after a connection is made the calls are cut off. In recent months this practice has been applied with increasing frequency to calls involving persons under KGB surveillance such as Dr. Andrei Sakharov.

KGB Arrests 'Helsinki Observers'

The Soviet security police, the KGB has intensified its crackdown on dissidents and arrested two leaders of a Ukrainian group pledged to monitor the Kremlin's observance of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki declaration.

Reports reaching Moscow from dissident sources said that a weekend sweep netted Nikolai Rudenko, 56, a writer, and Olexa Tykhy, a teacher, during raids in Kyiv and Donetsk. No charges have so far been laid.

The two men arrested were said to be members of an Ukrainian group of ten which was set up last year, in November.

(The Daily Telegraph, Tuesday, February 8, 1977.)

POLISH DEFENCE COMMITTEE TO CONTINUE

The Polish "Workers' Defence Committee", set up unofficially last year to aid workers victimised for their part in the June food-price riots, said yesterday it will continue its work despite the authorities' promise of an amnesty.

It said limitation of the amnesty to those "ready to repent" was humiliating. It demanded "a full and free pardon for all those imprisoned for their part in the unrest, reinstatement in their jobs, and punishment of those responsible for police brutality".

Once these conditions were met, the committee said, there would be no further reason for its existence. The 23 writers and scholars who formed the committee have been harassed by the police but none has been arrested or prosecuted.

(The Daily Telegraph, Tuesday, February 8, 1977.)

UN ASSEMBLY SUPPORTS WAR TO GET RID OF COLONIAL RULE

On December 21st the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution that for the first time declares that the Assembly upholds armed struggle as a means of throwing off colonial rule.

Passed by a vote of 107-6 with 12 abstentions, the resolution states that the Assembly supports the armed struggle of the people, to achieve self determination, freedom and national independence in a united nation.

The resolution was recommended by the Assembly's Colonial Committee December 10.

Never before had the Assembly gone beyond endorsing the struggles of liberation movements "by all the means at their disposal". Assembly resolutions serve only as recommendations and not mandates.

12 JANUARY PROTEST PICKET OUTSIDE SOVIET EMBASSY

January 12, 1977 marked the fifth anniversary of the KGB's clampdown in Ukraine, which subsequently developed into a pogrom of the national movements in this and other non-Russian republics of the USSR. Western experts maintain that the Ukrainian patriotic movement sustained in 1972 the heaviest single KGB assault since 1953 of any dissenting group in the Soviet Union. Purges affected every sector of Ukrainian life and well over a hundred individuals — mostly young writers, artists and scholars — were arrested. Their offence consisted of openly protesting against what they believe to be official discrimination against the Ukrainian language and culture within the Ukrainian SSR, as well as criticizing other violations of the civil and nationality rights guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. Most of the arrested were sentenced — de facto in camera — to inhumanly severe terms of imprisonment and exile of a kind which bears no relationship to the alleged 'crimes' and are clearly designed to intimidate and silence the most courageous spokesmen for civil and national rights in Ukraine.

According to the well-known Ukrainian political prisoner, Vyacheslav Chornovil, "12 January is annually marked by a hunger strike and petitions. Ukrainian political prisoners, and also sometimes patriots from other nations, take part in this". This day marks not only the date of Chornovil's arrest, but "the start of a wide repression campaign aimed at the final liquidation of the movement of the generation of the 1960's in Ukrainian literary and public life" (see **Index on Censorship**, vol. 5, no. 1, pg. 69).

To commemorate this date, and to focus attention on the plight of the victims of the 1972 KGB crackdown in Ukraine and other non-Russian republics in the USSR, a peaceful demonstration was held outside the Soviet embassy at lunchtime on Wednesday, 12 January 1977. The participants included David Markham and his colleagues and members of the Group Against Repression in Ukraine. Members of the press were cordially invited to cover this event at around 1 p. m.

Unrest in the USSR

The one internal danger always facing the central Soviet leadership in Moscow is that all the disgruntled nationalities from the Baltic to the Far East and down to the Caspian and Black Sea, might unite in a concerted action against Russian domination. Now there is new evidence that an attempt is being made to bring that about.

An underground resistance organization in Ukraine (which should for prudence sake not be more precisely identified) has sent out an appeal, in clandestine leaflet form, to all nationalities in the Soviet Union, proposing the setting up of a countrywide resistance organization to act together to break the overlordship of the Russian dictators in Moscow. The appeal states in part:

"The Soviet Union has finally become a traditional prison of Great-Russianism for the various nationalities . . . The non-Russian peoples are suffering from national and social oppression and are being russified . . . (Brezhnev and his associates) are constantly trampling upon the human rights and national rights of the various nationalities . . .

Through KGB terror, deceptive propaganda and economic pressure the new Tsars endeavour to keep the peoples in fear, subjugation and isolation, and strive to conceal them and the peoples the world over the internal decadence, contradictions and permanent crises . . .

The new Tsars are sitting on a volcano of the peoples suppressed rage . . . They are aware of their weakness and know that all things might end in failure when the enslaved and labouring people of all nationalities in the Soviet Union rise to resist.

For the first time the organization concerned also appeals to the 'oppressed peoples' of the Soviet satellite countries in eastern Europe to unite with

them for a joint struggle against the oppression from Moscow. It reminds the east European countries that 'the real power is in the hands of the people', and that if we all of us unite the central dictatorship in Moscow will be powerless since all could not simultaneously be held back.

The appeal states further: 'Brezhnev, all the time and everywhere, pays lip service to the concept of national liberation. Let him and his associates liberate first of all the Soviet people of various nationalities and the oppressed peoples of eastern Europe who are suffering under Moscow's yoke'.

One Way Détente

The Ukrainian organization also makes an appeal to the West, warning the countries of Europe and the United States that Brezhnev's is a delusive one way détente policy, designed to extract favours from the West in order to reinforce his oppressive might. It reminds the West and the peoples of the non-Russian nationalities that Brezhnev is able to carry out the policy of 'oppression and exploitation only as long as he can succeed in holding the peoples in awe'.

The importance of this appeal must not be exaggerated, but it is possible that it might in retrospect be seen as the first effective attempt to build a united front against the Russian oppression from Moscow. Significantly, it is not an anti-Russian appeal, because it specifically invites Russian nationals who feel exploited by Moscow into its ranks.

The KGB is at present seeking the members of the organization responsible for the appeal, but so far without success.

(Intelligence Digest — 1st January 1977)

Book Reviews

What Everyone in the Free World Should Know About Russia by Jan V. Nanuashvili, Vantage Press, New York N. Y., 1973.

This book deals with an issue of stringent actuality: the existence of a third force in the world — the captive nations, as an important factor in world politics. All the Western powers committed the same error of neglecting this factor and because of this lost the wars they waged against Russia.

Jan. V. Nanuashvili is of Georgian origin. He was a soldier of free Georgia when it defended itself against Russian aggression, a fact which entitles him to write about the imperialism of that country, either when it was ruled by Tzars or under Bolshevik domination. Having become now an American citizen, Nanuashvili wrote this book to draw the attention of the West, and, especially the leaders of his new country, to the military weaknesses of the Soviet empire due to the enslaved peoples it rules who in case of a war will join the Western side and fight against Moscow.

Russia is in an offensive position on all fronts, in Europe as well as in Asia, implacably pursuing its traditional aim of world domination. The West is in a defensive position and it behaves badly because it simply does not know its adversary. It evaluates this enemy solely on the basis of recent information, refusing to analyze its psychology and past. "This attitude provides the adversary with unrestrained political initiative, enables him to choose any tactics of successive attack at the most convenient time." The confusion which dominates actions of the West favors to such a degree Soviet expansion that "in its actions the Red Camp manages to suggest its wishes to its adversary in such a way that the latter volunta-

rily carries out a portion of the Red's program". The Western leaders have become involuntary accomplices of the Soviet Russians striving to achieve world domination.

After World War II, in the political arena, only two principal powers were left: Russia or the "Red Camp", as the author calls it, and the Western democracies or the "West Camp". The other empires disappeared: Turkey, Austria, Germany, France, Japan.

The author shows how, one by one, the other imperialisms were eliminated. All great empires were established with the help of small enslaved nations obliged to participate, with their human and economic potential, in the actions of the conquerors. The Turks, Napoleon, Hitler and Tzars of Russia were no exception. They used the aspirations to freedom of these peoples during the war period so that, after the war, another yoke could be placed upon their necks.

The time has come when the small nations should realize their power and organize jointly to regain their lost freedom. The nations enslaved by Moscow form "the third camp" which will play a decisive role in a future war. Today, history gives them a decisive voice. In the past, the imperial wars were waged for conquering a whole continent. Today only two powers have remained in the thick of battle: the East and the West. The battle will be fought for world domination.

During centuries long gone, the West saved itself owing to the clashes between continental imperialisms but today on the European continent there exists only one single power: RUSSIA. To defeat Russia, the West has in its reach a powerful and precise weapon: the alliance with the enslaved peoples. The West must not repeat the error

committed by Hitler who wanted to crush Russia, substituting Moscow's yoke with his own yoke of slavery.

The West should learn from this lesson of the past and in its own interest, not to treat the fate of these peoples with indifference. "Above all, the 200 million enslaved nationals wish to tear themselves away from the machine of the imperialism which is fighting for the domination of the world. They have no wish to fight on the River Elbe, nor to push on to the Atlantic, for in that they see loss of their ideals and their own physical destruction. For centuries they have fought, and wish to continue to fight, against the power which today threatens the whole world. No helping hand may be extended to them in the process, but they must not be forced to become patriots of the USSR, and the synthetic Soviet nation. That could distort the direction of their struggle, and on the coast of the Atlantic such a situation would be difficult to correct."

The author goes on to analyze the "third camp" destined to play a decisive role in a future conflict between the West and East. This "third camp" exists in a natural way, like the expression of the instinct of "self-preservation". The doctrine of this camp derives from the tragic situation of these people who are tortured in the slavery of Russian imperialism. All these peoples aspire to is to throw off the Soviet Russian yoke and form independent States.

Among the subjugated nations today the aspiration to a common unitary front being formed against Soviet tyranny is a predominant tendency. This unity must be made on a basis of equality and with the unique purpose of destroying the last multinational empire ruled by Moscow. The cooperation among these nations on an equal basis and the coordination of their efforts is essential for their freedom as well as for the salvation of Western democracy. "Only a struggle

organized in such a manner can lead to the transformation of an aggressive Russian empire into a Russian national state, so that humanity may be freed from the perpetual menace of war."

Dr. A. E. Ronnet

American Scene

American Scene by Arejas Vitkauskas,
Editor: World - Wide News Bureau.

In a red brick shed with a straw roof, in a large, smooth field in Lithuania, surrounded by drunken Red soldiers, 3 Lithuanian partisans (Reds called them "bandits") bravely fought back. When the roof caught fire, a woman appeared in the dormer window, her smoldering clothes silhouetted against the red flames. And she began to sing. She sang loudly, not in keeping with the melody, which was the old Lithuanian anthem. She was not singing, she was shouting. The dying scream that way . . . Algirdas Pozera, the Lithuanian poet acclaimed by the Russian occupants, witnessed all this, and he thought "We are a great people. Unequaled. That girl was more powerful than Joan of Arc. The fire carried her up to the sky . . . She'll become a saint . . . And I . . . I'm nothing . . ." Will an American girl sing our national anthem if the time comes for Reds to "liberate" us? . . . The home of the brave, surely, will produce our Joans of Arc! . . . Meanwhile, too few pay any attention to the rape perpetrated on a small Baltic country, Lithuania — when, believing in the Atlantic Charter, with the hope of coming help, thousands of brave Lithuanians died for the freedom of their land . . . Efraim Sevela, a Jew born in Moscow, as a war correspondent participated in the Red Army and the KGB detachments fighting Lithuanian partisans, lived in Lithuania for 7 years, knew its language, and he loved Lithuanian people; he brought, from Israel to New York, a book in Russian about Soviet armed forces' war on Lithuania's partisans; the publishers, Doubleday & Co., trans-

lated this book into English but it became a novel, instead of a collection of facts: **"Truth Is For Strangers"**, A Novel About a Soviet Poet, \$ 6.95. A great eye-opener, this book should penetrate the hearts of all Americans — for we ARE on the first list to be "liberated" by Reds.

What is Just Communism?

The answer to this question — from an economic angle is given in the latest American best-seller "The Russians". The author and journalist Mr. H. Smith after living for three years in Moscow and having toured the USSR, confirms that the high ranking Soviet Russians have a much better standard of living than the western bourgeois society. Party leaders, army commanders, a certain section of actors and technocrats amount to approximately one million of this privileged population in the USSR with its 250 million people who "have to wait in long queues in order to purchase such basic necessities as food and clothes".

Clash with the USSR Remains Greatest Threat to US

A book published by the Brookings Institution entitled "Setting National Priorities", is co-edited by Henry Owen and Charles L. Schultze, both of Brookings, an independent research organization founded in New York in 1927.

It says the United States can and should seek agreements with the Soviet Union, especially in the area of arms controls, but adds that the possibilities of conflict will continue.

"The USSR will remain a totalitarian, heavily armed empire, determined to continue to dominate Eastern Europe and to extend its influence in the world, whatever we may do", it says.

As explained by Owen, the book concludes that the US defense efforts should be directed primarily at areas of vital interest, Europe, Japan and the

Middle East, since "we cannot use force effectively" in most other areas, the book says.

Among other things it supports the withdrawal over a period of time of US ground forces from Korea — but not air forces — and earmarking of additional forces "to counter the Soviet build-up" in Europe, Owen said at a news briefing on the book.

Forces earmarked for European defenses would not actually need to be based in Europe, he added .

The book concludes that the shifting of US spending from defense to social programs cannot continue and suggests that defense spending would need to increase in the future although not at the same pace as in the past.

"The prospect is for a continuing and expensive competition in arms which will maintain an uneasy peace at best — and then only if we approach defense policy in a more selective and innovative fashion than hitherto", it says.

"The worst threat to our well-being remains what it has been ever since World War II — a clash between US and Soviet armed forces", it adds.

With respect to the nation's economy, the book says the nation must "distinguish more clearly between tasks the government can and those it cannot accomplish".

Schultze said that with respect to both income security and welfare, the total amounts now being spent are enough to "accomplish our objectives" and blamed the shortcomings in existing programs in the way they are structured and financed.

Trade for Freedom: Détente, Trade, and Soviet Jews by **Morris Brafman and David Schimel**. New York, Shengold Publishers, 1975 96 pp. 23 cm. Bibl. p. 93-94 (Bibliographical notes by Dr. Aleksander Sokolyszyn, Senior librarian-BPL).

This interesting study in four parts, presents the continuing struggle to li-

berate about three million Jews in the Soviet Union. The so-called "Russian Jews" liberation movement aims to repatriate these people to the Jewish national homeland, the State of Israel. By 1973, only 100,000 Russian Jews had emigrated. The Soviets have a need for American economic and technological help. This was an opportunity for the American Jews to persuade the American government and business people to incorporate in their agreements some provisions for relaxing the emigration procedure for the Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel. We had a trade agreement with the USSR (1972) and Trade Reform Act (1974) with an important (Senator Henry M. Jackson) Amendment, the H. R. 10710. From the Kissinger-Jackson exchange of letters in October 1974, it seems that the Soviet Russians responded positively to Sen. Henry M. Jackson's Amendment. This was a trade for freedom and a confrontation to the détente policy so much needed by the USSR. This Jackson-Vanik-Mills Amendment to the Soviet American Trade Bill of 1974 became an important issue of the foreign policy of both superpowers. The Soviets received credit of \$300 million instead of \$3 billion as they had requested. This agreement was supposed to ensure the freedom of emigration for everybody in the USSR, not only for Jews alone. But the emigration of Jewish nationals from the Soviet Union and other members of the Captive Nations is proceeding very slowly. The civilized world should struggle for free emigration and for the defense of human rights. It is proper to mention that, in 1968 the International League for the repatriation of Russian Jews was created, and in 1971 the First International Conference on Soviet Jewry was held in Brussels, Belgium. Also a National Conference on Soviet Jewry was created, which is very active nowadays.

Dr. Al. Sokolyszyn
Senior librarian BPL

Gilford, Henry, **Black Hand at Sarajevo**. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill, 1975, 176 pp. \$ 6.95.

There has been a veritable explosion of many special studies on the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand or works covering the origins of World War I. Among the many works featuring or mentioning the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914, see: Hertha Pauli, the **Secret of Sarajevo: The story of Franz Ferdinand and Sophie**, Appleton-Century, New York, 1965; Vladimir Defijer, **The Road to Sarajevo**, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1966; Virginia Cowless, **The Russian Dagger: Cold War in the Days of the Czars**, Harper, New York, 1969, Chapter X, "Who Planned Sarajevo?" pp. 281-320; Paul W. Schroer, "World War I as Galloping Gertie: A Reply to Joachim Remak", **Journal of Modern History**, Vol. XLIV, 3, September, 1972, pp. 319-345; Hans Konig, **Death of a Schoolboy**, Harcourt Brace, Jovanovich, New York, 1974; Dwight E. Lee, Chapter 13, "The July Crisis, 1914", **Europe's Crucial Years**, University Press of New England, Hannover, New Hampshire, 1975, pp. 370-401; Rudolph Binion, "From Mayerling to Sarajevo", **Journal of Modern History**, Vol. XXXVII, 2, June, 1975, pp. 280-316; Sidney B. Fay, **Before Sarajevo: Origins of the World War**, Vol. 1, Free Press, New York, 1967; D. R. Bridge, **From Sadowa to Sarajevo: The Foreign Policy of Austria-Hungary**, Routledge & Kegan Paul, Boston, 1972; Immanuel Geiss, Ed., **July 1914; the Outbreak of the First World War, Selected Documents**, Norton, New York, 1974; Robert W. Seton-Watson, **Sarajevo: A Study in the Origins of the Great War**, H. Fortlig, New York, 1973; Joachim Remak, "Sarajevo: Design & Accident", **Journal of Central European Affairs**, Vol. XXI, 2, July, 1961, pp. 165-175; Roberta Straus Feuerlicht, **The Desperate Act: The Assassination of Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo**, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1968; Lewis S. Feuer, "Favrilo Princip: The Bosnian

Student Movement Blindly Provokes the First World War", Chapter 3, pp. 76-87, in **The Conflict of Generations: The Character and Significance of Student Movements**, Basic Books, 1970; etc.

We are noting here the outstanding studies of the Sarajevo "incident", since Gilfond cites not a single reference, possibly because he wants to suggest that he has something special to offer in his small book. His is the story of intrigue, the double-dealing, the struggle for power among the European nations which preceded World War I; it is also the story of the Black Hand, its organization, its purpose, the manner in which it recruited and trained its assassins. Gilfond's story differs, however, and is probably unique among the many works we have noted by being very readable, focused around the personalities involved in this historical drama. Within this framework we also find meager references to the problem of Austria-Hungary's nations which, one can claim, gave rise to the assassination. Thus the specialist has been told nothing new but the general reader is possibly told enough.

Joseph S. Roucek (Ret.)
City University of New York

Kanet, Roger E.: Soviet & East European Foreign Policy; a bibliography of English and Russian language publications, 1967-1971. Santa Barbara, Calif., ABC (American Bibliographical Center) Clio Press, Inc. (c1974) 208 p. 24 cm. (Bibliographical note by Dr. Aleksander Sokolyszyn — Senior librarian-BPL).

After the publication of Thomas T. Hammond's "Soviet Foreign Relations and World Communism", published by Princeton University Press in 1965, a selected and annotated bibliography of 7,000 books in 30 languages, this publication is intended to be an addition to that field. In the beginning we can see that this book is limited only to publi-

cations in Russian and English, and that not all printed books are included. For a scholar language difficulties is not an excuse. It should have been more comprehensive. Despite the author's mentioning of his consultation of the "Ukrainian Quarterly", we can find only item no. 567, listing Prof. Lev. E. Dobriansky's article: "Trade with the Red Empire", (UQ 1967, 23: 141-160). Other important political periodicals, such as the "Ukrainian Review", published in London, and the "ABN Correspondence", published in Munich, Germany, are ignored.

In the preface it is mentioned that some valuable sources of information were not included in this book, such as the "Current Digest to the Soviet Press", but the author fails to mention the "Digest of Ukrainian Press", published for many years in New York, "Radio Liberty Dispatches and Research Papers", and others. The Soviet & East European foreign policy bibliography, 1967-1971, with the countries arranged by authors or titles in alphabetical order, items 1 to 3237 and an index follow the preface and the list of journal abbreviations and other journals consulted. Information about Ukraine is limited to seven items only and is included in the "USSR Republics, role in foreign policy". Those are publications of Ukrainian professors in the USA, such as Oleh S. Fedyshyn, Konstantyn Sawchuk, with his book "Ukraine in the UN" and some by Soviet Ukrainian authors. It is true that a bibliographical control on that topic is difficult to organize, but it could be done with the help of Captive Nations Scholars living in the United States, Great Britain, Canada and Australia. We could expect to have some scientific institutions devoted to the study of all the Captive Nations and their enslavement in the Soviet Russian Empire. It is not enough to study the Muscovite-Russian institutions, but we should also study the relations of the other nations, now subjugated in the USSR. A revised edition of this

valuable publication should take into account the above.

Polonsky, Antony, *The little Dictators: The History of Eastern Europe Since 1918*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975. 212 pp. \$ 16.50.

According to the author, his book aims to give "a short account of how and why democratic political institutions broke down in Eastern Europe after 1918 and to describe the character of the regimes which replaced them". (p. xi.)

Although there are numerous pages giving us a lucid account of the political history of the different states in Eastern Europe, the work also shows the perils of serving up large and complete subjects in simple form. The attempt to cover the region's interwar history in brief, 15-pages-per-country chapters on Poland, Hungary, Austria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, frequently results in superficiality. One must wonder more specifically, why Chapter 6, "The Czechoslovak Exception", (pp. 107-126) spends seven introductory pages (pp. 107-113) on Macedonia, Greece, Albania, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland; obviously the chapter's title is misleading. The "Statistical Appendix" (pp. 157-191), summarizing the national composition of some of the states of Eastern Europe, together with percentage of the religious composition of the various states is valuable. "Suggestions for Further Reading" (pp. 194-205), together with the bibliographical "Notes" accompanying the seven content chapters, are useful, although Polonsky does not include quite a number of standard studies available in this field.

Basically, considering also the steep price, this small study is more competent than brilliant. The most valuable are the introductory and concluding chapters — "Introduction" (pp. 1-25), "Epilogue" (pp. 125-156).

Joseph S. Roucek (Ret.)
City University of New York

UPA WARFARE IN UKRAINE

by Yuriy Tys-Krokhmaliuk

UPA Warfare in Ukraine depicts the Ukrainian war of liberation during the years of World War II and continuing until 1953. This was the struggle of the Ukrainian people for independence under the political leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists with its military arm, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Until the years following World War II, the Ukrainian war of liberation was the only one in which the insurgents were not supplied or supported by a foreign government. They were totally dependent on themselves and the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian nation was placed in the unenviable position of fighting two foreign empires, the Communist Russian and the Nazi, whose goals were identical: the occupation and colonization of Ukraine with its fertile lands and many natural resources.

The author did extensive research, utilizing existing documents, manuscripts, reports, and other materials in the Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian languages. To date, this is the most extensive work about the Ukrainian resistance during World War II and post-war years.

In his book the author discusses Ukrainian partisan tactics, including their flexibility, methods of attack, defense, ambush, diversions, raids, etc. He also discusses Communist and Nazi offensive tactics used against the Ukrainian Partisan Army.

The content of the book, UPA Warfare in Ukraine, is especially interesting in the light of the fact that the United States has just recently concluded a partisan war in Southeast Asia.

The years since World War II have shown us that partisan warfare is the conflict of the future and that the western world should be prepared.

Georgi Vins

GOD WILL LEAD HIS PEOPLE

One of the best-known Baptist leaders in the Soviet Union is Georgi Vins, currently half-way through a five-year labour camp sentence. The photograph below, taken in the first half of 1976, shows him in labour camp in Yakutsk, Siberia. At the end of his sentence, Vins will have to serve five years in internal exile before he is allowed to return to his home in Kyiv.



Vins himself is of German origin, but his family is from Ukraine and it is evident from his book, *Testament from Prison*, that he has come to love the country deeply. In 1968 when he was serving his first labour-camp sentence, the beauty of a spring night inspired Vins to write a poem about his homeland:

The spring forest murmurs even with light breaths of wind, and is echoed by the deep spring river, born in the taiga. The camp zone is asleep, except for the guards. I go out of the barracks and listen to the voices of spring.

Somewhere far away is my home — Ukraine, which is so dear to my heart. It is the homeland of my wife and our children, and now it is my homeland too. The last twenty years of my life are linked in the most intimate way with Ukraine and with the dear Ukrainian Evangelical-Baptist brotherhood.

Good news from my friends in Ukraine has arrived in the camp. They are praying and waiting for me . . .

*All sleeps in peace. Only the sentry
Stands on the watch-tower guarding
the camp.
But I cannot sleep at the midnight
hour;
I am thinking of my beloved
Ukraine;*

*The mighty river Dnieper and the
bright Desna,
The shining Carpathian mountains,
Bright spring in flowering gardens
And the expanse of the Black Sea . .*

*God will lead His people through the
storm
To the victory of life over the abyss
of death!
The spring choir sings to me of this
And the forest whispers: 'Do not
turn back, believe!'*



NEWS FROM UKRAINE

Information About the Current Struggle For National Independence and Human Rights

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UKRAINIAN HERALD

Underground Magazine from Ukraine

Issue IV

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

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Ukrainian Women World Over Demand Release Of Political Prisoners From USSR



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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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Memorandum

In Re: The Forthcoming Conference for European Security and Cooperation to be Held in Belgrade, the Capital of Yugoslavia, in June 1977.

As spokesmen of the peoples living in the Soviet-Russian sphere of power under Communist rule, i. e. Ukrainians, Georgians, Turkestanians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Byelorussians, Northern Caucasians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, East Germans, Croats, Hungarians, Bulgarians Rumanians, Slovaks, Czechs and others, we consider it to be our bounden duty to draw the attention of the Western participants of this Conference, as well as that of the world public at large to the facts pointed out below, in order to obviate the perils resulting from the development — for which Helsinki has paved the way — for the overall political situation in the world in general and for the Free World in particular, i. e. perils which entail disastrous consequences.

1. The so-called Final Act of Helsinki exhibits a series of grave shortcomings due to which it is virtually ineffective as an agreement binding upon the states having participated in that Conference. For instance, this document solemnly declares inviolable the existing boundaries in Europe. This clause is equivalent to the recognition of the integrity of the entire Soviet Russian sphere of power which in turn equals to the legalization of Russian colonial rule to which, in an unchallenged manner, not only the numerous nations within the boundaries of the so-called Soviet Union alone are subjected, but, since the end of the last World War, also quite a number of Communist-ruled satellite countries in Europe.

A significant evidence of the fact that all these countries are presently condemned de facto to the **status of Russian colonies** is to be found in their very constitutions where it is laid down that the allegedly sovereign Communist states will have to remain for ever bound with Moscow politically, economically and militarily as with the stronghold of the so-called "proletarian internationalism". This stipulation, however, is conspicuously contradictory to the United Nations Declaration of December 14, 1960 concerning "the granting and restoration of full independence to all peoples living under colonial rule" which has also been endorsed by authorized representatives of the Soviet Union itself, which signed this declaration. This fundamental declaration by the United Nations was further explicitly confirmed by the General Assembly of the UN world forum in 1970 when it passed the "Programme of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration". Yet these declarations and programs should not be limited to the list of the Special Committee of 24 dated 1975. There must be included as an object of the Declaration on the Decoloni-

zation above all the entire Russian colonial empire — USSR together with its satellite countries. Finally, in connection with the events in Namibia — on December 20, 1976, the General Assembly of the United Nations also explicitly acknowledged for each and every people that lives under colonial rule the right to fight for its independence by means of armed force, in which case the UN members would assist it in any respect. In the light of the above it appears inconceivable to us on which legal, or moral grounds all those peoples nowadays forced to suffer under Russian Bolshevik colonial rule, should be deprived of the same right sanctioned by the UN world forum in favour of the peoples of Africa.

And what about our peoples that are being oppressed by the Russian colonial overlords inside the USSR and satellite countries, are they not deserving support on the part of freedom-loving nations in their struggle for their independence and human rights?

2. The so-called Basket Three of the frequently cited Final Act of Helsinki, laying down the obligation to respect human and national rights (Paragraphs VII and VIII) exhibits still another not less ponderous shortcoming. The very fact that this provision was agreed upon with Communist-ruled countries, which according to Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, "a priori" negate all fundamental rights of man, beginning with freedom of conscience, through freedom of speech and written word, up to freedom of assembly and the right to free political activity — let alone the sacred right to national self-determination — and incriminate any exercise of these rights, renders appropriate Helsinki agreements in principle completely illusory. Moreover, in its notorious Brezhnev Doctrine the Kremlin has "ex cathedra" proclaimed Moscow's claim to holding in strict tutelage all peoples in the so-called socialist camp, denying them their national sovereignty. Thus Basket Three of these much praised Helsinki agreements in its entirety appears as a self-delusion for the democratic participants of this Conference, just as in the eyes of the Communist contracting parties acquiring the integrity of their colonial despotism all those obligations assumed on paper only, could from the first solely be meant as a deceit of the Free World .

3. The fact that the Communists have deliberately misled the Western contracting parties in Helsinki is nowadays reaching the people's conscience far more than ever in view of the day in — day out highly official protests by the Soviet Union and its satellite countries against alleged interference in their internal affairs, whenever objections are raised in the Free World against the gross disregard and violation of elementary human rights in the Soviet-Russian sphere of power. A significant example are the incidents concerning the so-called dissidents and regime critics in Communist-dominated countries. In the light of Moscow's intolerance and allergic reaction it becomes absurd to have the elementary human

rights respected, as agreed upon in Helsinki, if, in Kremlin's opinion, the Western contracting parties of Helsinki are to be precluded and prohibited from actually checking whether the obligations assumed by the Communist contracting parties are observed by them — let alone from demanding that they be observed.

4. We wish to conclude by pointing out the unambiguous wording of Paragraph VIII of the Final Act of Helsinki sanctioning the independence of nations and their right to freely determine their political, economic and cultural life; sanctioned also by the signatures of all Communist participants of the Helsinki Conference. Contrary to this the reality behind the Iron Curtain presents an entirely different picture to everybody who remained unbiassed and has preserved a good conscience. The subjugated nations within the Soviet Union itself as well as all peoples in the Soviet Russian satellite countries are suffering now as before, under Russian foreign rule, are economically exploited by Moscow, and their nationals must pay for each attempt at resisting the brutal Russification or attaining national independence with prison punishments when not with their lives. Even in Yugoslavia whose regime is considered to be independent of Moscow's power of command it suffices to admit being a Croat for becoming suspect to the authorities and for being thrown into prison as a potential enemy of the state.

In view of all these dismaying facts it is high time now that the Western participants of the Belgrade Conference resume the realistic language and use all the means at their disposal in order to actually put a stop to the continuous oppression of people and nations. Only in this way, the solemn resolutions of the United Nations could become universally valid, the present world institution could recover its right to exist and have the authority due to it.

Only in this way could the unbridled aggression of Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism be checked, and the Free World preserved from making ever new concessions to the Kremlin and from even supporting its expansionist policies, until the day that it would possibly capitulate to the will of the Kremlin despots.

ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Central Committee

Documents about Encroachments upon Human Rights in the USSR

published by **Amnesty International (AI)**, January 1976

Section of the Federal Republic of Germany,

registered association

2000 Hamburg 76, Stückenstr. 70

Revolution — The Only Way To Victory

Ahead of us lies a year full of important actions for the liberation of the nations subjugated in the USSR and satellite states. In March 1977 60 years have passed since the March Revolution in 1917 at which time the nations subjugated in the Russian-Tsarist Empire began an armoured overthrow of the prison of nations and reinstated their independent statehood. This armed revolutionary struggle of the subjugated nations was started by Ukrainian soldiers in Tsarist regiments on Russian territory. The Russian Empire fell under the impact of the subjugated nations! The national independent states existed for a number of years in constant battle with the new Russian-Bolshevik invasion. In October 1917 the Bolshevik counter-revolution, in a junta-like style began, through diversion and deceit to salvage the Russian Empire. As had often happened before, the West in this case helped the Bolshevik junta to re-conquer the re-established national states. Even though our states fell under the impact of the enemy, the fight for freedom did not cease. Bolshevism, (victorious with the aid of the West) which was on the edge of down-fall during the Second World War was once again rescued by its Western allies. Instead of supporting the Ukrainian or Lithuanian war in two fronts, that is, the front of the subjugated nations against both enemies — Nazi-Germany and Bolshevik-Russia, the Western countries sided with Moscow. And today, Bolshevism already threatens the whole of peace-loving mankind.

Bolshevik aggression is strengthening more and more trying to salvage itself from the destruction by the simultaneous liberation revolutions, by invading and plundering new countries and disintegrating by the policy of the one-sided so-called détente those nations which are still free.

This is in the words of the present Bolshevik chief Brezhnev, only a military trick of Moscow.

The empire is turbulent, nations and the people have overcome their fears and are leading a revolutionary struggle for freedom, for the down-fall of the empire, the destruction of Communism and for the restoration of independent national states. The pressure for the enslaved nations is making the situation difficult for the oppressors.

The oppressors decided to pursue the détente policy with the West, at the expense of the subjugated nations and the free world accepting the one-sided détente policy, by signing the Helsinki Agreement — with the acknowledgement of the status quo of enslavement and the undisputable frontiers of the empire and its system. There is no relaxation whatsoever, either within the empire or in its relationship with the West.

An overwhelming march of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean Sea, and the mounting up of Soviet divisions near the frontiers of Norway, the Berlin Wall separating the enslaved nations from the free world, eleven thousand spies in W. Germany, the Bolshevik takeover of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia where the Communists murdered over a million men, women and children within one single year, direct occupation of various states in Africa e. g. by Castro's troops, or a step by step, planned Bolshevik takeover, and the supply of Soviet weapons, as well as infiltration of Bolshevism in Italy, France, Spain and Portugal, the threat of the 'People's Front' in Greece, guerilla warfare in South America, the disruption of American society — these are only some examples of the one-sided détente policy. And today, as in the past, the Western world is offering the Bolshevik empire — at the verge

of its downfall — economic and technological aid, while acknowledging the status quo of enslavement and denying any kind of moral or political support to the national freedom fight of the enslaved nations.

Presently the enslaved nations are relying on their own strength. They can only liberate themselves through an armed revolutionary uprising. They cannot expect to achieve their liberation through evolution, liberalization of the empire and its Communist system toward 'democracy'. Terror is inherent in every empire just as dictatorship and the military occupation of the enslaved nation are. This applies to all aspects of Communism, whether it is viewed as a one-party system, a class system, an anti-nation system, an atheist system, or as a totalitarian system which is in fact a one-party dictatorship over the proletariat, over the workers and over the whole nation, since it denies freedom and violates individual and national rights.

The empire and the Communist system can only be overthrown by force, through revolutionary warfare, by an armed rebellion of the nations. Our task is to strengthen the revolutionary liberation struggle in every way possible. We must mobilize the national liberation front against Bolshevism and the Russian empire, to hoist the ideals of nationalism against the concept of imperialism, national rights against totalitarianism, theistic strength against belligerent atheism, the heroic concept of life against a materialistic concept of life, to raise the believers in the nation and the heroic individual against the camp of sceptics and relativism, which create nothing at all, but bury every ideal.

We must mobilize the world anti-Bolshevik front pointing out the present facts and processes of the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations in the Russian prison of nations, publicize the documentation of this fight in

various languages, in separate books, through periodicals like "ABN Correspondence", organize and participate in various international conferences as part of a plan of psychological warfare, organize mass anti-Bolshevik rallies and attract all peace-loving powers of the free world. We must stand in defense of our political and religious prisoners, informing the world of the acts of terrorism committed against these people, expose concentration camps, ethno-cultural genocide, psychiatric prisons, economic exploitation, Russification, collectivization — which kills creativity in man, and mobilize hundreds of thousands through our acts of demonstration.

1977 — is the year of the political prisoner in the Russian prison of nations.

1977 — marks the 60th anniversary of the seizure of power by the Bolshevik Junta and the beginning of the biggest, most reactionary counter-revolution — the darkest era in the history of all nations.

1977 — is also the anniversary of the beginning of a great burst of willpower in the days of March, which started to demolish Russian-Tsarist absolutism, imperialism, and colonialism. Although the Bolshevik evil has intermittently triumphed in our lands, the light of truth, good, justice, heroism and self-sacrifice shines brighter and clearer from the underground of the subjugated nations and the catacombs of the churches onto the whole world bringing with it the restoration of the ethical, political, national and religious values. Ex Oriente (but from the **catacomb-like East**) Lux! To uncover the crimes of the Bolshevik counter-revolution (the blackest reaction of all times), organize mass demonstrations before the various buildings where the tyrants' missions are housed in the free world, especially on the day of this anniversary, the day when massive killings and erasing of nations started (with the

cost of 70 million victims) — this is our task for this year.

We must publish, in various languages and especially in those countries which belong to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the full texts of the documents issued by world-wide organizations such as the United Nations and others, dealing with the decolonization of all world empires — including the Russian empire — and with international laws acknowledging the necessity of an armed struggle by the subjugated nations for their independence and sovereignty against colonial rule; the texts of the Laws of the US-Congress dealing with the subjugated nations from 1959; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and other documents of this kind showing that the world trend from the empire to the national state, from despotism and totalitarianism to respecting the rights and dignity of man, from state capitalism to social fairness and the solidarity of all nations, and from the hedonism of the egoist to the heroism of the nationalist, is inevitable.

At the time of major or minor international events e.g. the Olympic Games, educational or artistic rallies, meetings or conferences, and so forth ... we must publish and circulate appropriate literature. Furthermore, we must publish and circulate literature for the countries behind the Iron Curtain, for the fighters in the Soviet and satellite armies and organise our own radio broadcasting stations. We must broaden even more than previously the fight for our ideals in the free world and thus develop an ideological war against the Russian empire and the Communist system, to overcome the policy of détente, and replace it with the policy of liberation!

The subjugated nations and their liberation struggle constitute a spiritual and political super-power, which tomorrow will determine through over-all-national revolts, the future of the empire and its system. If we have the

spirit of the nations behind us we will have everything we need — including the arms of the tyrant which will fall equally to the disposition of the enslaved.

We believe in the unfettered, everlasting soul of the people and nation and their final victory.

There is no other way to liberating the subjugated nations which must depend on their own strength.

For conducting our own, independent policy and strengthening freedom, we must have our own financial base.

Therefore, we appeal to the emigrés of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the satellite states to build up the ABN fund, to donate, not on odd occasions a minimum amount of money, but a fixed percentage of their earnings for the fund which stands for our common fight and activities.

We should also start a fund raising action amongst our supporters in the free world, because the fight of our nations precludes the invasion of their countries by Bolsheviks. This is a decisive factor for attaining victory.

No-one will liberate us, if we do not liberate ourselves. Liberators as a rule impose their own "liberty" on foreign lands. Our victory lies exclusively in armed combat. The invader will never give up our countries willingly, he must be driven away by armed strength. We must thoroughly rebuild our own forces.

Our financial base — is the basis of our own independent policy.

Let us all donate generously to the ABN funds!

Long live the independent states of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the satellite states.

Long live national-liberation revolutions — as a sure road to the rebuilding of our own national states!

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

Tenth WACL Conference

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

10th WACL & 23rd APACL Conferences
Taipei, Republic of China, April 22, 1977

The 10th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and the 23rd Conference of the Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League (APACL) jointly took place in Taipei, Republic of China on April 18-22, 1977, with the participation of 350 delegates and observers from 76 national member units, 15 international organizational member units and numerous other units in all parts of the world. Peoples thus represented include subjugated ones behind the Iron Curtain.

Through careful examination of the WACL Movement in the past decade and the history of APACL since its foundation in 1954, the participants are ever more strongly aware that, in the face of the unchanged Communist drive for world conquest and human enslavement, the WACL Movement should be further enhanced and expanded. The Taipei undertaking has been a powerful demonstration of the unity of freedom forces for hewing of a brighter future for mankind.

The World Anti-Communist League, established first on the foundation of APACL, has long grown as a strong current of our time surging ahead for the safeguarding of man's freedom and for the dealing of blows at Communist aggressors. As clearly indicated by the themes of the two Conferences — „Freedom Forces Unite Against Communist Tyranny“ and „Save Asia Through Anti-Communist Unity“ — WACL and APACL will strive on for the security of mankind, human freedom and national independence.

The participants of the Conference are deeply indebted to President Yen Chia-kan of the Republic of China, Vice-President Mario Augusto Sandoval of the Republic of Guatemala, and H. E. Too Chin Paik, Chairman of the Yusinjeonguhoe (Association for Revitalizing Reforms) of the Republic of Korea's National Assembly, for their personal presence to deliver inspiring addresses. Sincere gratitude is also expressed to President Pinochet of Chile, Crown Prince and Regent Fahad of Saudi Arabia and many other political and civic leaders throughout the world for their messages of felicitation and encouragement. Appreciation similarly goes to the outgoing Chairman General Honkon Lee for his address „Freedom and Security Not by Words but by Deeds“ and to Conference Chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-kang for his address entitled „Develop a New Stage for a Final Victory of Freedom“.

Through five days of extensive discussion, the conferees' consensus of opinion is that:

First, the fight between forces of freedom and Communist forces is a historical one to decide man's destiny. **Campaigns for human rights and national independence are inseparable from Anti-Communist struggle**, and only through a total victory over Communism can the world status of "half free and half slave" come to an end and can humanity forever be assured of freedom and dignity.

Second, the ideology, political system and way of life under Communism are **totally incompatible with man's aspirations to national independence** and must never be permitted to spread or persist. Only through enhancement of outstanding cultural tradition and through termination of the Communist tyranny man can live and grow under reasonable conditions.

Third, much of the world turmoil has resulted from the Communist use of misleadingly phrased lies about "peaceful coexistence", "the future of the Third World", etc. and sinister united front maneuvers to achieve their goals through "parliamentary struggle" and "coalition governments". Only by casting aside all groundless hopes and by resisting Communist enticement and infiltration **can we assure national independence and security for a free, prosperous and peaceful world to be built.**

After careful analysis of the world situation today, the conference participants are never more firmly convinced that, although the Communists are still rampant and vociferous because of the encouragement they have received from the policy of détente, a thorough exposure of the Red tactics has aroused the freedom-loving peoples and ushered in a new stage of anti-Communism characterized by the following features:

— Communist-created crisis in Asia, Red expansionist moves in Latin America and Moscow, Cuba-instigated military interventions in Africa have prompted the free nations of these regions to strengthen their unity, national resilience and fight for survival.

— The Soviet Russian manipulation of the European Security Conference for Western recognition of the result of aggression **as fait accompli** and for weakening NATO strength has prompted the free Europeans to strengthen their strategic position for regional security

— The continuous Russian and Chinese Communist treatment of the USA as their archenemy despite the Red bloc rift and America's concesive moves have made justice-respecting Americans raise their voices for measures to enhance the confidence of the Free World in Washington.

— **The rise of intellectuals in the Soviet Union, the effort of the subjugated nations in the USSR and satellites to free themselves of Moscow's control** and the intensified power struggle on the Chinese mainland after Mao's death have made the Free World believe that the rule of Communist slavery will inevitably fall. **An amalgamation of freedom forces on both sides of the Iron Curtain is thus being accelerated.**

The participants at the WACL and APAFL Conferences firmly be-

lieve that the governments and peoples of the free nations will strive hard to come closer to unity in the near future.

The following resolutions have therefore been adopted as new guidelines for stepped-up League efforts:

— Pooling of resources and strength of anti-Communist forces for the destruction of Communist tyranny and for winning freedom for all, as provided for in the WACL Charter.

— Support of President Carter's move for human rights as an encouragement to the subjugated peoples now under Communist rule. Special attention should be paid to the continued Chinese Communist crimes against humanity.

— Constant vigilance is needed against Communist and other attempts to disrupt the unity of the Free World through malicious distortion of the human rights issue.

— Support President Carter for giving special importance to the strategic positions of the Republic of Korea and the Republic of China, for respecting treaty obligations and defense commitments for these and other anti-Communist allies and for awareness of the inevitable consequences of hasty troop withdrawals from vital areas like the Korean peninsula, without substantial guarantees.

— Strongly condemn the Communist regimes of China, the Soviet Union, North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba and others for their intensified warlike posture and adventurist design. In this context, we would like to remind the world of the August 1966 axe-murder of two American military officers at the Panmunjon truce village. The world should also know what the Communists are up to, because they are trying to win over the United States for "normalization of relations" as a result of the Nixon-Chou En-lai "Shanghai Communiqué" which in fact contradicts international law. We also urge the US not to "normalize" relations with Communist Cuba.

— The world should further be made fully aware of the Communist designs to use the United Nations as a base to agitate against the Free World. While condemning Cuba's Castro regime supported by Moscow, we sternly demand that Cuban troops be withdrawn from Angola and Zaire. The presence of Cuban and Russian troops in Africa is further aggravating rather than mitigating the African problems.

— Extend support to the free nations for their respective efforts to maintain their national integrity and mutual defense. The Yushin System (Revitalized Reform) of the Republic of Korea should be emulated by the other free nations, none of which today is free from Communist threat and provocation.

— Appreciate the anti-Communist measures taken by various countries such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt, by Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia

and other free nations. Australia, New Zealand and other Pacific countries should be made alert of the Communist danger and infiltration. At the same time stress should be laid on cooperation among free nations in the military, economic and cultural fields.

— Urge all the Free World's mass communication media to watch out for the Communist united front propaganda conspiracy and safeguard human rights and Free World unity, security and peace.

— **Immediate and substantial support should be given to the heroic national liberation movements struggling for the national independence of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union and satellites, such as those of Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Rumania, North Caucasus and Croatia, as well as to the peoples of Angola, Cuba, Vietnam, Khmer and Laos; further, support should be given to the unification efforts in freedom of Germany, Korea and others.** We wholeheartedly support the efforts of the people of the Republic of China to recover their mainland from Communist tyranny.

The Conferences of WACL and APACL solemnly proclaim that the two Leagues have absolute faith in the **final victory** of anti-Communist forces which **will result in securing human dignity, individual freedom and national independence.**

After concluding the successful deliberations in Taipei, we have decided that the 11th WACL Conference will be held in Washington, D. C., United States in May 1978 and the 24th APACL Conference in Bangkok, Thailand, also in 1978.

And finally, the participants express their sincere gratitude to the people and Government of the Republic of China for their unparalleled support which they extended to the two Conferences and praise the highly satisfactory preparations and efficient arrangements made by the WACL/APACL China Chapter for the successful deliberations of the Conferences. Deep admiration and respect are expressed to the Chinese people for their warm hospitality and for their firm belief in the final victory of the Free World over Communism.

INSTEAD OF A FINAL STATEMENT
by VALENTYN MOROZ

In 16 languages: — Ukrainian, English, French, Bulgarian, Croatian, Slovakian, Spanish, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Hungarian, Flemish, Dutch, Persian, Turkish.

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God, Fatherland and Liberty

Speech by H. E. Mario Augusto Sandoval Alarcon Vice President of
the Republic of Guatemala
at the Joint Opening WACL-APACL Ceremony, April 18, 1977

ANTI-COMMUNIST BROTHERS:

I have been given the honor to be designated as the first Speaker at this most important convention, which gathers men from all parts of the world who fight to safeguard the basic right of man, "HIS LIBERTY".

I will not analyze the theme of this great assembly "Freedom Forces Unite Against Communist Tyranny" since this topic will be thoroughly studied and defined accurately during this conference with wisdom, intelligence, courage and with strength.

Therefore, anti-Communist brothers, I will limit myself to making an apology of the deep faith which animates me, which animates you and which encourages all men who are struggling throughout the world, to maintain unblemished the principles of: GOD, FATHERLAND and LIBERTY.

Because, our conscience tells us that this trilogy symbolizes really what makes man bearer of the eternal values.

We have seen how in Asia, the Republic of China, Korea, Vietnam, Thailand, and Cambodia, blood has been shed, so much suffering and tears in order to safeguard these eternal values of man.

They have offered their lives and have fought, and learned how to defend themselves, being examples for other men who did not experience and

suffer the Bloody Horrors of Communist Tyranny.

The abnegation and patriotism of Dr. Sun Yat-sen are worthy of admiration and all the history written by The Generalissimo CHIANG KAI-SHEK is engraved everywhere in the world; they are heroes whom we must emulate.

When in America Guatemala experienced the first advance of Communism on the continent, the Communists assumed power during the Presidency of Jacobo Arbenz but thanks to the re-vindicating action of Colonel CARLOS CASTILLO ARMAS, the pro-Communist government of Arbenz Guzman was expelled from our country.

So, we also see the patriotic, and virile attitude of General Augusto Pinochet in Chile, who in union with the people and army of his great country, succeeded in saving it from the claws of Communism and therefore, seeing so many examples of abnegation and patriotism, we feel the desire to fight for the cause of God, of our Fatherland and of Liberty; this obliges us all to be ready to offer our lives, knowing that these values could be inexistent, as they do not exist in countries subdued by Communism... Without doubt these are the incentives that the Creator has given to man to make him... a man.

With deep faith, conviction, confidence and complete mental clarity, I

REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE the protest writings of VALENTYN MOROZ

edited and translated
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have dedicated and will dedicate all my life to fight for this cause; for this I was imprisoned, exiled and tortured; I lost my possessions . . . ruined my health . . . and above all . . . I lost my best friends, in this almost never ending fight.

But when in lonely hours I meditate, when I lose myself in the infinite, I feel fully satisfied, at peace with my conscience and with God, because I think that when He created man, not only he thought of sending man to earth, to accumulate wealth, honors and positions, but also required man to fight for the divine attributes which the Creator gave him . . . such as deciding for himself his own destiny rather than other men who guided by the spirits of evil today intimidate, torture and murder millions of human beings.

Many times we have felt weakness, when, powerful countries in which we laid our hopes and our faith, and gave our unrestricted support, with incomprehensible myopia and almost with cowardice, have deceived us.

Many times we have felt weakness, seeing many "Snobish boys" playing with Communism, without comprehending that it goes against the interest of

their own countries, and most serious of all, when one of the most solid bastions in the fight against Communism, our Catholic Church, which represents millions of people, has been, to this day, one of the most important vehicles with which Communism has reached our villages, natives and common people. This happened after the II Vatican Council.

All of this hasn't intimidated us because our decision to fight against Communism is firm and each of us was free to make it or not. Our fight against Communism was not imposed by any government, religion or political party.

This is a decision taken by all men and women who LOVE GOD, LOVE THEIR FATHERLAND AND LOVE FREEDOM.

MAY GOD HELP ALL OF MY FELLOW MEMBERS OF THIS MEETING.

Be assured that free men like I, will be grateful to you all gathered here, to have come from distant lands, despite so many problems and so many difficulties, to bring a small and a big grain of sand for this big wall that we have to build to vanquish a common enemy: Communism.

A free man salutes you!



Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, WACL Chairman with Vice President of Guatemala Mario Augusto Sandoval Alarcon (right).

World Situation

Speech by S. A. Archduke Dr. Otto von Habsburg at Forum on Global Anti-Communist Situation Third WACL Plenary Session, Thursday, April 21, 1977

It is indeed a great joy for me to be once more in this wonderful city of Taipei, the capital of the Republic of China. I like to come here not only because I have many dear friends and because I truly admire your people. The better one knows the Chinese, the more one feels attached to them. This is not only because of a culture and civilization, from which all humanity can learn a lot. There is also the fact that when one is pessimistic about the world situation and sometimes believes that when we, the free, are on the decline, one needs some bright spots, in order to regain faith in the future. Here, in Taiwan, you clearly show what men can achieve under the most adverse circumstances, if there is courage to risk freedom within the broad limits imposed by the rights of others. Free men — your country teaches us — are still stronger than slaves; freedom and progress are inextricably linked. There is no genuine way ahead in slavery; we, the free, have it in ourselves to vanquish even seemingly unsurmountable obstacles.

I am also glad to say here, how encouraging it is to see, that the unforgettable principles of the great Sun Yat-sen, faithfully maintained by the late Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and his worthy successors, are still valid even under much-changed circumstances. The precepts of the Master cope with the problems created by our modern inventions. Seen thus, we can trust in freedom and in reason, and this is why I want to thank you, dear Chinese Friends, for what you have done for all of us.

I came here to speak as a European. I do not pretend to know enough about the specific problems of this area. So if you will bear with me, I shall pri-

marily give you a picture of how we Europeans see the situation, how we feel about it, and for this purpose use European examples. Many of our experiences could perhaps be of some use to you, while your experiences are certainly invaluable for us Europeans in order to chart our course.

There are many problems in our days, created by technical development, by the new dimensions of our economy, by the fact that trade and industry and, last but not least, agriculture are changing, compelling us to adapt ourselves ceaselessly to novel conditions. These economic problems can be mastered, provided that we clearly understand that politics is more important than economics. True, man cannot live without bread or rice. Still, political power is the most destructive of all, and hence the most dangerous to manage. A false decision in the political field can destroy in five minutes what twenty years of hard work have built up in the economy.

Seen thus, one of the problems of our days is dwarfing all others, as irritating as they may be. It is the rise of totalitarian particularly Communist power. To put this rise into a statistical perspective: while Communism in 1939 oppressed 6% of the world's inhabitants, it has in the meantime extended its hegemonial domination over 37% of humanity, more than one third of the total population of the world.

When I call myself a European, I want to make it very clear that for me and my friends the continent does not end at a line, drawn on a tragic day in February 1945 by non-Europeans across our continent in Yalta. Western Europe as we know, is thus only a part of Europe. Of course it is the starting point whose unification in freedom is

our present target. But while working towards that end, we shall never forget all those nations of Europe which live today under the Soviet hegemonial rule and which are no less European than we who enjoy the privilege of being free. For us all these nations, the Hungarians and the Czechs, the Slovaks and the Croats, the Poles and the Ukrainians, the Bulgarians, the suffering people of the Baltic States and, last but not least, the Germans behind barbed wires are just as much Europeans as we are; they have a sacred right that we should always sustain — their self-determination. If we forget them we shall no longer be worthy to be called Europeans. And we are obliged to tell the world that in this period of decolonization, it is intolerable that the USSR be permitted to continue as the last unchallenged colonial empire in the world. We will not rest until all of Europe has been decolonized. Of course we will be called cold warriors. So be it. Modern history should have taught us at least that running away from scarecrows and paper tigers is always a bad policy.

The Communists claim that this is due of the superiority of their doctrine. This assertion must be a matter of serious consideration on our part. An objective analysis is therefore called for, in order to assess factually the causes of the present development, without trying to hide what is wrong on either side of the fence.

The great break-through of the Kremlin is due, I submit, to three main reasons.

There is first the fact, that, for 60 years, since the times of Lenin, the Communist leadership has always clearly pursued one paramount goal: "world revolution". Of course, by now the initial ideological enthusiasm has largely faded. Many Communists obviously understand that there are some grave flaws in their programme. Nevertheless, they continue to march on, since they have simply given the old

slogan a different meaning. Today "world revolution" means the extension of the hegemonial predominance of the ruling bureaucracy. Fundamentally, as far as we are concerned, nothing has changed. Clarity of purpose helps subversive activities and international diplomacy, since it is always easier to be effective when one knows where to go, than when, the services are simply called upon to defend the existing situation against hostile initiatives.

In the pursuit of its over-all aims, Communism shows complete and brutal realism. In the Soviet language we often hear the term "self-criticism". This has been more than once derided in our press and mass media. There is really no justification for doing so. Self-criticism is a very good practice in politics, since it permits one to realize the faults which have been committed, and thereby to avoid repetition. This factual vision has allowed Communism to escape one pitfall into which too many democracies, and especially the United States, have drifted more than once: the temptation to carry out power politics without using the implements of power. We must admit, because it is true, that one of the greatest secrets of Soviet success has been the fact, that the needed means were put at the disposal of those in charge of operations, and that, with few exceptions by errors of calculation, they were always adequate. The ruling Communist oligarchy in general does not jump before it is almost one hundred per cent certain of success. If it pursues a goal, it does so without mental reservations. There are no Bays of Pigs on the road of Marxist totalitarianism towards world control. But the leaders also understand, that there are days when waiting for the right moment is the better part of success.

There is finally one added advantage on the Communist side over us: they totally lack any notions of morality. For us, civilized people, there are means which we cannot use. For them,

such barriers do not exist. Lenin time and again declared openly, that all means were good and justified in order to reach the end. Murder, treachery, treason, lying, are thus legitimate weapons. We, on the other hand, still believe that even the noblest goals do not justify the use of criminal instruments. We thus are, at least short range, at a definite disadvantage in our struggle with the aggressive enemy.

To these powerful Communist weapons come some democratic weaknesses:

There is first the undeniable fact, that most democratic countries so far have only had defensive goals. The idea, that it may be our task to expand the area of freedom is widely denounced as mentality of cold warriors. This of course puts the Free World at a distinct disadvantage, especially when we see this ideology accepted by some of the most important and most powerful democratic countries. This is the reason of the inefficiency and of the innumerable set-backs of our Western-European and American diplomacy. You cannot win a worldwide contest, by just reacting to the initiatives of the other side. In our technique we concede to our adversaries a sanctuary in which they will not be challenged. We accept what they have conquered by force or by stealth as belonging to them legitimately. So the enemy can suffer many defeats without being contested in his basic positions. We, on the other hand, cannot afford one single defeat, because once the enemy has occupied a territory, it is being conceded to him on a permanent basis. This kind of negative defensive spirit will lead nowhere.

The problem applies also to domestic affairs in every country, where totalitarians are permitted to partake in parliamentary life. The totalitarian party can lose election after election. Each time their democratic opponents offer it another chance. But if once the tota-

liarian has won, then there is no second try for the democrats. In other words, in world diplomacy, as inside of each country, the acceptance of co-existence with totalitarians is like sitting down in a card game where one side is allowed to cheat, while the other has to stick to the rules.

The imbalance is rendered worse by another element. We live, — and if I say "we", I particularly mean the mass media and the governments of Western Europe and the USA, — in a dream-world. We give the words used by the Communist totalitarians a meaning which has nothing to do with reality. We believe that "détente" means lessening of tensions in every area and that "peaceful co-existence" means just that. Henceforth we feel, the lamb and the lion will live happily together and the lion will be ready to drink milk and eat grass. With that, the Soviets are quite frank in telling us what they really want to convey by these two words.

It is a tragedy that we have not read the great speech which Brezhnev held on February 25th, 1976, before the XXVth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in which he told us in all honesty, that this so-called "détente" is a notion which may exist between state and state, but that certainly the Communists would never accept what he terms "capitalist oppression and exploitation" and we would name "liberal democracy". So when he strikes, he can always claim that he has warned us. And this is perfectly true.

We simply prefer to believe what we want. When the former Secretary General of NATO, Manlio Brosio was preparing his trip to Moscow, he spoke beforehand with many political personalities of Western Europe. Amongst them he also received the head of Italy's Communist Party, Enrico Berlinguer. The latter, in my opinion, gave him the only advice worth listening to.

He said: "Take seriously what the USSR is telling you". Our tragedy is that we all too often do not take seriously what the Communists tell us, and concerning which they thus rightly speculate that we shall ignore the message, while their friends will get it.

If we draw a balance in the light of these facts, it is no wonder that the Communists are delighted. Our newspaper people have dutifully noted that, since the Helsinki agreement, Brezhnev's health has signally improved, and that he looked like a happy and strong man. No doubt about this. He would be ungrateful if he really looked despondent. Certainly he has had some outstanding successes. This must be taken into account, when we, often much too late, get ready to make our own self-criticism. It is principally our responsibility if Communism was able to make those signal advances which today threaten the peace — even the survival — of the free world.

There is however one fact which we should note, because of its great long-range importance: the language which the Communists are using. This language is characterized by vituperative hysteria, nothing is normal in the choice of words on the other side. We only hear mentioned: war, battles, campaigns, confrontations, enemies, conspiracies and espionage. We never hear the cool and moderate language of one who is secure. Even the most dire threats convey a message of uncertainty. Things are not normal in Communist countries. We thus hear of economic and of cultural revolutions, never of evolution, we hear of struggles and fights and anti-party groups and evil ones, because all the time the unhappy population must be mobilized against a mythical enemy. While the international situation is such, that one could expect the Communist leaders to be satisfied with themselves, and consequently to be calm, or at least to use the dignified language of success, the exact opposite happens. Lan-

guage, as you know, more than anything else discloses the deeper underlying thinking and feeling of those who use it.

This fact should make us think. If the enemy despite his victories is unable to calm down and is still speaking the language of the insecure upstart, then there must be, despite his successes, hidden elements of which he is rightly afraid. There must be forces which undermine the powerful position which Marxism has built in the last decades. There are signs, that despite this chain of victories, totalitarian Marxism is doomed.

A basic weakness of Marxism-Leninism is, that it turns against man and his nature. It is an inhuman system. Man instinctively likes privacy. He wants to acquire property and to enjoy the fruits of his labours. Man likes peace and he likes his family. Man loves success, and while he favours equal rights, he does not like mathematical equality which means cutting down the hard-working and the successful to the smallest common denominator. All this, however, is inherent in the Marxist doctrine. Marx in his philosophy has conceived a type of man who does not exist. We therefore witness, on the part of his followers, the blasphemous attempt to reach into the skies, to take the place of God and to recreate the world in Marx's image. That this cannot be done with the consensus of the majority, is clear. After all is said and done, we are moderately happy in this world, and see no reason why it should be fundamentally changed. So Marxism is compelled to use continued pressure in order to advance its revolution. But since Man, as we know him, is the least changeable element in creation, he always returns to his old ways and consequently pressure must continue unending.

It is hence logical that one of the main and most shocking characteristics of the Marxist-Leninist Communist

states is that they impede the free movement of their citizens. For us Europeans the long line of barbed wires, mines and watch-towers, is the outward sign of the advance of Soviet hegemonialism. In the past, these walls and wires characterized concentration camps, in which criminal totalitarian dictatorships imprisoned their political opponents. Now whole nations are being locked up in concentration camps.

This ban on circulation is not determined by the wish to keep the people in their prison. Even more important for the Marxist rulers is to prevent their subjects from seeing how the rest of the world lives. Marxism cannot stand comparison with other political systems. People have to be taught that "slavery is paradise" and they must not be allowed to witness life with freedom.

From the human point of view, another element in Marxism is bound to have a catastrophic effect: it is its fundamental, or, as they say, "scientific" materialism. Marxism cannot admit that Man has been created in the image of God, and that he has consequently elements which escape the hands of the human planners or the all-powerful grip of the State. They cannot admit Man's innate rights. Uniformity is hence the essence of the materialistic concept. Now Man, whatever the form of society, presents major phenomena which no one can control, such as death and love. Death can usually not be planned ahead. It is not only the inevitable high mark, the only certainty of life; in this final accord, the collective disappears and the human being stands alone. Love, too, cannot be channelled by bureaucracy. Marxism, unable to suppress these two destructive factors, must hence try to ignore them as much as possible. Freedom — this may sound macabre but is a reality — has these two invincible allies. Since no power on earth can ever destroy them, Marxism will be defeated, because bureaucratic planning is always

bound to fail, if it ceases to be all-embracing.

This element is by no means the only weakness in the apparently powerful structure of World Communism. Equally important is the fact that Marxist economy cannot succeed. Here, too, the creation escapes the planners, especially those sectors closest to nature and thus depending on the incalculable, such as the weather. And they — a hard blow to our Marxists — are the most important in the long run. Man can live without nearly all the inventions of the industrial age, but he cannot survive without eating. Though agriculture may today be often underestimated, and its part of the GNP is small, it is still the indispensable base of human life. In the fields, Marxism is at a loss.

This fact is dramatized by the plight of the Soviet Union. A totalitarian Marxist order is economically unviable: where Marxism is in control, productivity ceases. From this point of view the available data are eloquent.

After the destructions of the Second World War, we in Western Europe have rebuilt our countries thanks to the generous help of the United States under the Marshall Plan. 16 billion dollars were provided by our transatlantic friends. This was the foundation of what may rightly be called the "European economic miracle. On the other hand, we have the most recent report of OECD from early 1977, which tells us, that at this moment the indebtedness of COMECON towards the countries of OECD has risen to more than 40 billion US dollars, two and a half times the monetary mass of the Marshall Plan. Despite this, the Soviet economy still lags far behind. True, there was the colossal Soviet re-armament programme. Still, even taking this into account, the figures remain impressive. With that, we have not yet seen the end. Russian papers have told us recently, that the Soviet Union expects another 10 billion dollars in the course

of this year. Our credits to the Soviets have rates of interest and durations which we refuse our own population. We have thus the paradoxical situation that our beloved governments and our idiotic capitalists are subsidizing their implacable enemies to the detriment of their friends and their populations. Here we reach a fictitious world as aptly described in "Alice in Wonderland": we finance our own executioners — out of greed of some and out of the imbecillic hope of others — to bribe those who have sworn to bury us.

Even more significant is what happens in Soviet agriculture. Before 1914 Russia was the greatest wheat exporter of the world, well ahead of the United States. Sales abroad were not curtailing the supplies destined to the Russian population. According to statistics from 1912 and 1913, the average standard of food consumption in the Czar's Empire was equal to that of Western Europe, while today Russian per capita consumption, both in quality and in quantity, lies between 60 and 70%, of that of Western Europe. In 1973 for instance, one slave working in Russian agriculture, was feeding 3½ persons. In Western Europe the average peasant was providing for 39 persons, while the American farmer produced enough to satisfy the needs of 140. This dismal performance in the USSR is not due to the bad quality of the Russian peasant. Not only was he able, as we have seen, to feed the world before 1914: even today the Soviets have to admit for the year 1973, that 48% of all the food from Russian soil which has reached Russian markets, was furnished by those 2% of the land which still remains in private hands.

It is bureaucratic inefficiency which compels the Soviet Union to purchase wheat in the whole world, especially in the United States. Here, let me just add one modest thought. Of course, we profoundly admire the generosity of

the United States of which we, ourselves have benefited a great deal. Nevertheless, may we respectfully ask those in responsible positions in Washington: do they really believe that, if our free market economy was so bad that our fields would not yield and our crops would rot, and if Marxism was so productive that it could feed the whole world, the Communists would sell so willingly to us wheat with no strings attached, as do the United States when they are saving the Soviet Union from starvation?

There is therefore no escaping from one basic truth: The Marxist economy can only exist as a parasite on the body of market economies. If free enterprise was to disappear, there would be a general economic collapse in the world, a return to the most primitive ways of living. Marxism cannot stand on its feet economically. Of course, it can do remarkable things, because a power which commands over millions of slaves is also able to rise to great heights in a narrow section. Records, however, are not decisive: he pyramids, too, did not assure the well-being of the Pharaohs' subjects. What counts is the average; here Marxism is unfit to enter competition.

Besides these two basic features in the Marxist structure practical elements also add to the weakening of the whole system. We have, in the first place, the heroic fighters for human rights and freedom, whom we deeply honour as the truly great amongst our contemporaries: Solzhenitsyn, Sacharov, Bukovski, Amalrik and many other less known persons, who are to challenge tyranny, so as to uphold Man's dignity. These men, who come from all horizons, have one thing in common: they have lost fear. If we are weak, because we are frightened, they have become formidable, because they refuse to be afraid. It is this fearlessness which, if it spreads, might sound the death knell of the Communist regime. True, the way ahead is littered with the torn

and bleeding bodies of martyrs who have disappeared in the Gulags and in the cellars of the KGB. Still, today as in years gone by, the rule of the executioner is not forever. Sooner or later even he will tire. If there are enough people to stand up for freedom, they will be successful.

These fighters for freedom are also a hard but excellent lesson for the West. They are the mirror in which we see the despicable face of our cowardice and of our appeasement. They are the people who show us what could be, who reveal the weakness and nakedness of the tyrants and who invite us to follow their path. Of course, many say that all this will be in vain. I do not believe it. There is an old proverb which says that trees never grow to reach the sky. The same also applies to Marxism-Leninism.

When looking at these long-range problems of the Communist powers, we shall come to the conclusion, that despite the appearances, Marxism is struggling against the clock. The great trend of events is on our side. Recently one of the most knowledgeable political experts of the European continent, told me, on the basis of a long-range analysis, that for us the next ten years would be crucial. After that, the destructive forces within the Marxist realm will begin to be felt. Our problem, he said, was to last till then. And, I submit to you, this is really what we ought to do. For we, who believe in freedom, must understand that time is on our side. We, therefore, must see how best we can use it.

In order to do that, we need first of all have patience. We must have a clear vision of things, and we must not indulge, as we have done hitherto, in wishful thinking. Only a hard-headed ice-cold analysis of the true situation in the world will permit us to gain that knowledge which is indispensable for planning a right kind of policy.

In the second place, I do believe that we must fortify our own free system

in each country. I do not need to tell my Chinese friends that this is necessary, but it is indispensable to bring this out in other countries where there are still illusions. We must insist that co-existence between freedom and totalitarianism is impossible. We must resist totalitarian encroachment under whatever mask it may appear.

We have a specific problem here in Europe, which may turn out to be deadly for us: the so-called "Euro-Communism". As you know, we have today three Communist parties, in France, Italy and Spain, respectively, which pretend that they have developed a new approach and that consequently they belong to the democratic camp. Many people in the West, in their quest for the illusion of "peace in our time", are all too willing to swallow this propaganda, hook, line and sinker. With that, the leaders of Euro-Communism are honest enough to tell us, what they really mean, if we only wanted to listen. Berlinguer, the Italian Communist boss, has circumscribed Euro-Communism as the "Italian road to Communism". This was received with cheers in the West, as a courageous declaration of independence from the Soviet Union. The truth is however that it may be anything but not that. Berlinguer tells us, that his road leads to Communism, that is to say exactly to the system of government as it exists in the Soviet Union. His insistence that there is an "Italian road" to Communism, means hence only a tactical, not a strategic statement. After all, even a small child knows that you cannot use the same methods in Italy as you use in Spain or in Russia. Each nation has its own characteristics which political action must take into account. If one tried to act in Italy as one does in Russia, no results could be achieved. A poster in Chinese characters would convey no message to the people of Barcelona. But Berlinguer has unequivocally declared time and again, that the goal is Communism. Thus Euro-

Communism is revealed in the words of its greatest representative as a sham. It is only a shame that too many, allegedly intelligent Westerners, have fallen for this obvious lie.

Furthermore, we should not accept any declarations of independence on the part of Communist parties, if it is only words and not deeds. The basic strength of the Communist parties in our democratic countries lies in the financial support they receive from the Soviet Union. If they really want to prove to us that they are independent, they ought first to demonstrate that they have cut all their financial ties with the USSR.

In the hard years ahead, special and continuous efforts should be made in order to enlighten our public opinion. I know, there are many who say that this issue is boring people after six decades. Well, the Communists have been at it for a long time, and they did not grow bored — so why should we? Furthermore, if we do not have the patience and the courage for continued resistance, we are not worthy of victory.

In our global relations we should always support the strengthening of our military position. You have done well in this country, — so, here again, I do not need to know that a credible policy means power, and that it is only by determination to stand firm and to give our wealth and our development its security dimension, that we will be able to survive in a world full of international highwaymen. By the same token, our strength will permit us to give more effective help to our friends beyond the barbed wires and the minefields. We do not have the right to forget about the forces of freedom and human rights, we must act in order to expand their area in the world. We should not leave to our enemies the privilege of a dynamic policy. I at least do not see why we should permit one side to tell us that they will bury

us, without responding in kind — namely that we are not ready for the Communist slaughterhouse. If we want freedom and human dignity, we must want it for everyone, not only for ourselves. Once an ideal has lost its missionary drive, it is due to perish. It is not only economic wealth which entails the obligation to charity. Political wealth too, the realization that we hold the truth, compels us to charity, namely to see to it that our truth is spread to all nations around the world. The American President Abraham Lincoln said in his famous Gettysburg address that his country could not be "half free and half slave". Today, we should say that, in a time when the world has grown small, the same applies not only to single nations but to humanity as a whole. If we truly believe in freedom, we must believe in freedom for all mankind.

In this connection, dear Friends, may I end on a frank remark. You call the great organization gathered here "World Anti-Communist League". This is certainly a fine name and a very worthy goal. I nevertheless feel, that sooner or later you will want to add a positive dimension to your anti-Communist determination. Anti-Communism is a defensive thought. True, we still have a few years of defensive action before us. However, we must think further ahead, because we do not want to stand forever in a defensive posture, — we want final success. In this sense we should not limit our action only to the time till victory is achieved, but should show the people the positive goals to be attained tomorrow — if only we are worthy of those who have created our great civilization before us. We should, I think, not hesitate to tell today that we want a world in which everybody will be free to travel and to speak at will. That we want a world in which people no longer need to be frightened of the totalitarian threat. That we want a world in which there will be peace, because the political

systems of all nations will be such, that they will no longer feel the need to arm. That we want a world no longer threatened by hegemonialism and imperialism, such as the one which started on humanity's tragic day, when

Lenin and his companions seized power with the deliberate goal to rule the earth and to enslave all nations. That we want, in a word, Man to be respected as He was created by God and endowed by Him with inalienable rights.

Ukrainian Delegates To the 10th WACL Conference



Memo From Kyiv

DECLARATION and MEMORANDUM No. 1 of the UKRAINIAN PUBLIC GROUP TO PROMOTE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS Kyiv, Ukrainian SSR

We, Ukrainians, live in Europe, which in the first half of the twentieth century has been twice ravaged by war. These wars covered with blood the Ukrainian land as they did the lands of other European countries. And that is why we see as illegal the fact that Ukraine, a full member of the UN, was not represented by its own delegation at the Helsinki Conference on European Security and cooperation.

We realize that according to the treaty of December 27, 1922, forming the Soviet Union, all international agreements, signed by the Government of the Soviet Union, also encompass Ukraine. It follows, therefore, that the Declaration of Human Rights as well as the Declaration of Principles, on which the signatory nations of the Helsinki Conference are to base their relations, are in effect also in Ukraine.

Experience has shown that the implementation of the Helsinki Accords (especially the humanitarian sections) cannot be guaranteed without the participation of the public of the signatory nations. For this reason, on November 9, 1976, we formed the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. Since the humanitarian articles of the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation are based wholly on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Ukrainian Public Group has set for itself the following objectives:

1. To acquaint the Ukrainian public with the Declaration of Human Rights; to strive to have this international legal document become the basis of relations between the individual and the nation;
2. Convinced that peace among nations cannot be guaranteed with-

out free contacts between peoples and the free exchange of information and ideas, to actively promote the implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation;

3. To strive to have Ukraine, a sovereign European nation and member of the UN, represented by its own delegation at all international conferences dealing with the implementation of the Helsinki Accords;
4. In order to promote the free flow of information and ideas, to strive for the accreditation in Ukraine of foreign press correspondents, for the formation of independent news agencies, and the like.

The Group sees as its prime objective informing the signatory nations and the world public about violations in Ukraine of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the humanitarian articles accepted by the Helsinki Conference. To this end, our Group:

- a. Accepts written complaints about violations of Human Rights and does everything within its power to bring them to the attention of the governments that signed the Helsinki Accords and the world community;
- b. Compiles this information on the state of legality in Ukraine and, in full accordance with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, disseminates this information without regard for national boundaries;
- c. Studies instances of violations of Human Rights with respect to Ukrainians living in other republics in order to bring this information to light.

In its activity the Group is guided not by political but by humanitarian and legal considerations. We realize that the entrenched governmental bureaucracy, which continues to grow, can take countermeasures against our legitimate aspirations. But we also fully understand that the bureaucratic interpretation of Human Rights does not reflect the full meaning of international legal agreements, signed by the Government of the USSR. We accept these documents in their widest interpretation, without bureaucratic distortions or arbitrary limitations by officials or official agencies. We are fully convinced that only through this understanding of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords can a real relaxation of international tensions be achieved. It is to this end that we dedicate the humanitarian and legal activities of our Group.

The Members of the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords: *Name, Signature, Address*)

Oles BERDNYK, Kyiv-159, bulvar Lukhachova 8-b, kv. 16.

Petro HRYHORENKO (Pyotr Grigorenko), Moskva, H-21, Komsomolsky prospekt, No. 14, kv. 96.

Ivan KANDYBA, Lvivska obl., s. Pustomyty, vul. Shevchenka, 176.

Levko LUKYANENKO, Chernihiv, vul. Rokosovskoho, No. 41-b, Kv. 41.

Oksana MESHKO, Kyiv, 86, vul. Verbozna, 16.

Mykola MATUSEVYCH, Kyiv, vul. Lenina 43, kv. 2.

Myroslav MARINOVYCH, Kyivska obl., Vasykivsky r-n, s. Kalynivka.

Mykola RUDENKO (Group leader) Kyiv, 84, Koncha-Zaspa, 1, kv. 8.

Nina STOKATA, — — —

Oleksiy TYKHY, Donetska obl., Kostyantynivsky r-n, khutir Izhevka.

November 9, 1976

The signed copy is retained by the Group.
12/5/76 (signed) Mykola Rudenko

The Effects of the European Conference on the Development of Legal Consciousness in Ukraine

1. The Formation of the Ukrainian Group

The evolution of the movement for Human Rights in the Soviet Union led to the formation on May 12, 1976, of the Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the USSR. Yuriy F. Orlov, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, was elected leader of the Group. Orlov was summoned by the KGB and warned that his efforts to organize the Group were provocative and could be considered anti-Soviet. International support of the Group, however, forced the KGB to refrain from repressive measures against the Group's members, and within a few months, the Moscow Group accomplished much in promoting the implementation of the humanitarian articles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Today, the Group's activities are winning support even among the Communist parties of the West.

Although the Government continues repressive measures against civil rights activists, these measures are clearly losing their effect. Government officials are forced to conclude that prisons and concentration camps not only do not strengthen their position, they weaken it. In fact, they weaken it more than would the unhindered activities of dissidents, if they were allowed.

But then, excessive optimism is as dangerous today as underestimating the democratic movement and its effect on the Government. One thing can be said with certainty: the struggle for Human Rights will not cease until these Rights become an accepted norm of society.

In these circumstances, the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords was formed on November 9, 1976. It includes the following members:

Oles BERDNYK — Prisoner of the Beria concentration camps (1949-1956); science-fiction writer, prominent in Ukraine and abroad; author of close to 30 books, some translated into English, German, Portuguese and other languages; expelled from the Writers' Union of Ukraine in 1972 for deviating from Socialist Realism; currently earns his livelihood from physical labor.

Petro HRYHORENKO (Pyotr Grigorenko) — Former major-general and department head at the Military Academy; for his legal aid to the Crimean Tatars, who seek to return to their homelands, he was stripped of his rank and placed for over 5 years in a special psychiatric hospital; released, he renewed his active struggle for Human Rights; author of numerous scientific articles and books. He is the representative in Moscow for the Ukrainian Group.

Ivan KANDYBA — Lawyer; one of the authors of the program of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union; although the Union was never formed, he was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment, which he served in full; now lives under surveillance in Lviv Oblast; deprived of the right to work in his profession, lives in extreme hardship.

Levko LUKYANENKO — Lawyer; one of the authors of the program for the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union; at first sentenced to be shot, but later he and his co-author, I. Kandyba, received 15 years' imprisonment; served his sentence in full; lives under surveillance in Chernihiv, where he works as an electrician; known abroad for his numerous appeals in defense of Soviet political prisoners.

Oksana MESHKO — Prisoner of the Beria concentration camps (1947-1956); mother of Oleksander Serhiyenko, now a political prisoner in Vladimir Prison; active in the Human Rights movement in Ukraine; listeners of foreign radio broadcasts know her for her fervent

appeals on behalf of her son in which she raises today's crucial problems.

Mykola MATUSEVYCH — Historian; born 1946; denied the right to complete his education when dismissed from the university for his views; once jailed for 15 days for Christmas caroling; dismissed from work several times for supporting political prisoners; lives from odd jobs.

Myroslav MARYNOVYCH — Electrical engineer; born 1949; does not work in his profession; for his independent thinking and friendship with dissidents, he was thrice dismissed from his job; presently editor for the Tekhnika publishing house.

Mykola RUDENKO — Prominent Ukrainian poet and writer; author of over 20 books; was an army political instructor during the siege of Leningrad; was severely wounded and is now a disabled war veteran; expelled from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Writers' Union of Ukraine for his philosophical and economic works; until recently, worked as a watchman; member of Amnesty International and head of the Ukrainian Public Group.

Nina STOKATA — Microbiologist; wife of the well-known Ukrainian political prisoner, Svyatoslav Karavansky; sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment for defending her husband; presently lives under surveillance in Kaluga Oblast; forbidden to work in her profession.

Oleksiy TYKHY — Teacher; from 1957 to 1964 he was in prisons and concentration camps for his political views; barred from his profession, he works as a fireman and laborer; interested in problems of education; in June 1976 his home was illegally searched; he was detained for 2 days and brutally mistreated.

Immediately after its formation, the Group was the victim of a vicious act. On the night of November 9, 1976, the home of the Group's leader, Mykola Rudenko, was devastated. Someone threw bricks through the windows. For several minutes the building shook

from the hits. At first neighbors thought there was an earthquake. Following the attack, eight sharp brick fragments, ranging from one-half to one-fifth of a brick, were found amidst the broken glass in M. Rudenko's apartment. A member of the Group, Oksana Meshko, was injured by one of the fragments. The police, summoned to the scene, refused to file a report; but a week later, police officials confiscated the brick fragments, explaining that they would be examined for possible fingerprints. Needless to say, the matter was dropped; they only wanted to dispose of the evidence.

If you take into account that M. Rudenko lives in the woods where privileged officials hunt boar and elk, it becomes clear that the attack was an obvious warning. Only the support of world opinion can protect the Group from merciless reprisals.

2. Common Violations of Human Rights

From the first years of Stalinist dictatorship, Ukraine became the scene of genocide and ethnocide. To show that we are not merely exaggerating, let us review the definition of genocide. Here it is:

GENOCIDE — one of the most heinous crimes against humanity, consisting of the destruction of national, ethnic, racial or religious populations... especially, the deliberate creation of living conditions that lead to the total or partial physical destruction of any population group.¹⁾

That is the definition of genocide in the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia. The authors of the article, however, do not cite examples of genocide — examples for which they would not have to search very far.

In 1933, the Ukrainian nation, which for centuries had not known famine,

¹⁾ Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia, Volume 3, page 186.

lost over 6 million people, dead by starvation. This famine, which affected the entire nation, was artificially created by the Government. Wheat was confiscated to the last grain. Even ovens and tool sheds were destroyed in the search for grain. If we add the millions of "kulaks" who were deported with their families to Siberia, where they died, then we total more than 10 million Ukrainians who in the short span of some 3 years (1930-1933) were destroyed with premeditation. That was one-quarter of the Ukrainian population. Then there was 1937, when hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian prisoners were shot. Later, there would be the war with Germany, which would destroy 7 to 8 million more Ukrainian citizens. And after this, another war was to begin: the destruction of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which took up arms against Hitler and would not put them down at Stalin's command. Along with the insurgents, innocent people were also killed. Hundreds of thousands of minors, women and the elderly went to concentration camps only because some insurgent drank a cup of milk or ate a crust of bread in their home. Some "insurgents" turned out to be Chekists in disguise. The prison term was uniform: 25 years. Later, more years would be added. Few of these martyrs returned to their homeland.

If one looks at the last half-century of our history, it becomes clear why our native language is not heard today on the streets of Ukrainian cities. Here is what the Ukrainian political prisoner M. Masyutko wrote from a concentration camp in 1967, that is, at a time when we were expecting that the barbed wire would be coming down forever:

If a traveler somehow were to evade all categorical prohibitions and succeed in entering a camp for political prisoners in Mordovia, of which there are 6, he would be astonished. Here, thousands of kilometers from Ukraine, he would

hear at every step the Ukrainian language in all its present dialects. The traveler would naturally ask, "What is going on in Ukraine? Disturbances? Insurrections? How do you explain such a large percentage of Ukrainians among political prisoners a percentage that reaches 60 and 70 per cent?" If this traveler were to visit Ukraine soon after this, he would immediately see that there are no insurrections nor disturbances in Ukraine. But then a new question would arise: "Why is the Ukrainian language so rare in the cities of Ukraine, but so prevalent in the camps for political prisoners?"

Where can we find the source of these horrors that have befallen the Ukrainian people? In our opinion, the answer lies in the fact that over the course of 30 years of Stalinist dictatorship, Human Rights, which were proclaimed in the Declaration of the Rights of Workers and Exploited Masses and in the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia, were ultimately reduced to nothing. As a result of the bureaucratic destruction of the principles contained in the Declaration of the Formation of the USSR, the national rights of Ukraine as a member of the Soviet Union ceased to be socially real.

In the 1960's Ukraine suffered another calamity. The most talented members of the young Ukrainian intelligentsia were thrown into prisons and concentration camps. These intellectuals had grown up under Soviet rule. They had been taught to believe Lenin's every word, and they believed. They ended up in concentration camps and special psychiatric hospitals because of this belief.

Here, the national question is paramount. For decades, the Ukrainian had it pounded into his head that for him there is no national question, that only the accused enemies of Soviet rule could contemplate the separation of Ukraine from Russia. Even an inadver-

tent thought on this subject was so frightening that it had to be immediately forgotten. And God forbid that someone should mention it to a friend, or even one's brother. A worse crime has never existed during the entire 1000-year history of Ukraine.

Then, behold, a young person begins to learn Soviet law and unexpectedly discovers that such yearnings cannot be considered a crime at all; they are legal under the Soviet Constitution. Neither does the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR say that agitation for the separation of Ukraine from Russia is a criminal offense. The Code (Article 62) speaks of something else: "Agitation or propaganda conducted with the intent of undermining or weakening Soviet rule." Such agitation is punishable by imprisonment of from 6 months to 7 years.

But the separation of a republic from the Soviet Union does not necessarily have to weaken Soviet rule. On the contrary, this rule could find greater support among the populace — the republic remains soviet (**soviet** — a council), but is completely independent. In this case, there is absolutely no agitation against Soviet rule. Or if there is, then it should be noted that such "agitation" is also present in the Treaty of December 27, 1922, by which the USSR was formed:

The union is based on the principle of voluntariness and equality of the republics, with the right of each republic to freely leave the Union.²)

We could cite dozens of quotes from Lenin, which show that it is precisely in this **voluntariness** that one should interpret the spiritual and political nature of the Soviet Union.

As a matter of law, it cannot be inferred that a young person who dreams of the separations of Ukraine from the USSR yearns simultaneously to weak-

² Lenin, V. I., **Collected Works**, Volume 45, page 360.

en Soviet rule. Let us, therefore, assert that even the restructuring of the economy on the basis of "capitalism which exists alongside Communism" (NEP) was just another form of Soviet rule — a truly Leninist form for that matter.

In spite of this, Levko Lukyanenko was sentenced to be shot, his sentence later commuted to 15 years' imprisonment. Levko Lukyanenko certainly did not intend to eliminate Soviet rule in Ukraine; he simply wanted the Ukrainian people to realize their constitutional right. With this as their goal, the young lawyers L. Lukyanenko and I. Kandyba, who sincerely believed in the Soviet Law they had learned so conscientiously, prepared a relatively moderate draft of a Program of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union. That was all they did, nothing more. The Union itself, naturally, was never formed.

But then, when several persons sit around a table, discussing something serious, that, according to the standards of the KGB, is an "organization". Article 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, in this case permits the application of all articles of the section entitled "Especially Dangerous Crimes Against the State" — Articles 56-63. Treason is also listed here (Article 56) and it is punishable by death. That was the justification for the death sentence for one of the authors of the Program.

Actually, there was no legal basis for sentencing L. Lukyanenko and I. Kandyba. There was none because they never agitated against Soviet rule, and only such agitation can be considered a crime. And it is totally incomprehensible how they could receive punishment that the Code prescribes for treason.

Here it should be noted that according to Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights even anti-Soviet agitation (if non-violent) is not a crime but merely an expression of personal convictions. Can a nation be considered civilized if it ratifies international agreements that guarantee the

highest of Human Rights and then passes internal laws that nullify these rights?

But then, the issue in Ukraine is not anti-Soviet agitation. None of the members of the young intelligentsia who were arrested in the 1960's and 1970's called for the destruction of Soviet rule; most did not even dream of the constitutionally allowed separation of Ukraine from Russia. The issue was widespread Russification, thinly disguised as "internationalism". The motivating force of this movement was I. Dzyuba, who later, after almost a year in KGB prisons, repudiated his own convictions. But they were not disavowed by V. Moroz, V. Chornovil, V. Stus, O. Serhiyenko, I. Svitlychny, Y. Sverstyuk, and many others. Prisons, dungeons, concentration camps, special psychiatric hospitals, strict KGB surveillance and a half-starving existence are the harsh rewards for their ardent belief in the sanctity of the spirit and the letter of the Soviet Constitution.

Power sits in judgement and not Law. And Power always interprets the laws to suit its needs. What is Soviet in nature is called anti-Soviet, including the Treaty on the Formation of the USSR and the Soviet Constitution.

What gives even the illusory justification (since it is not Soviet Law) for such trials? We often hear that the Constitution of the USSR should not be interpreted literally because of Article 126, which establishes that the leadership nucleus of our society is to be the Communist Party. The Party issues its decisions and positions and the very same Party, and not some document, explains how we are to interpret this or that problem. If, for instance, the Party decides to combat nationalism, then nationalism should, of course, be considered an anti-Soviet activity. Efforts to instill in one's compatriots a love for the Ukrainian language and national culture are then considered anti-Soviet and are punishable by 10-12 years of imprisonment.

The legal contradictions are convincingly exposed by Ukrainian political prisoner Hryhoriy Prykhodko in his letter of November 17, 1975, to the Fourth Session of the Ninth Congress of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Externally, the Soviet Union is the most enthusiastic supporter of the Declaration of Human Rights, while inside the USSR citizens are still so disfranchised that they would not even dare demand those rights; furthermore, the Declaration has never even been printed in Ukrainian.

Externally, the Soviet Union speaks out against colonialism and for the right of national self-determination, while inside the USSR, it smothers every effort of non-Russian nations toward separation from Russia and independence... In fact, the actions of the Soviet Government contradict the very laws of the USSR.

They are contradicted because these laws are always interpreted not as they are written but as the Party leadership demands. In fact, a law in the USSR is a trap for the naive — it provokes, but does not protect from arbitrary application.

Even if it is accepted, however, that the Party must comprise the leadership nucleus of society, it does not automatically follow that any other form of thinking other than the Party's is unconstitutional. The Constitution gives Soviet citizens freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom to assemble and demonstrate. The leadership does not have the right to interpret these democratic articles of the Constitution for its own benefit; its role is limited to ensuring that these democratic freedoms are real and not just formal declarations. If it acts otherwise, then its activities are unconstitutional and not those of citizens who struggle to attain those democratic freedoms. The Constitution is above the will of the Go-

vernment because, theoretically and historically, the Ward of Law is not the Party nor the Government, but the Individual.

The bureaucracy seeks to liquidate this 1000-year-old legal norm. That is why, in practice, the situation again arises about which the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia writes, "He (the serf) was the victim and not the ward of law".³⁾

3. The Savageness of the Sentences

In 1972 massive arrests began in Ukraine. Arrested were scores of young people who sympathized with I. Dzyuba, whose book, **Internationalism or Russification?**, became popular in "samvydav".

A graduate student in philosophy, Vasyl Lisovy, never voiced his support for the "Generation of the 60's", as the young people began to be called. He was absorbed in his studies. But when Lisovy heard of the arrests of I. Dzyuba, I. Svitlychny, Y. Sverstyuk, V. Stus, O. Serhiyenko and others, his conscience would let him remain silent no longer. Lisovy clearly saw that neither universal laws nor Soviet Law could justify these arrests. They were, in essence, illegal and unconstitutional, and, as such, anti-Soviet. Believing in the sanctity of the Soviet Constitution, the Communist Vasyl Lisovy wrote to the Party and Government leadership, citing the illegality of the arrests. Toward the end of his letter he wrote that if these people are criminals, then he is also a criminal, because he shares their views. Socratic consistency then led him to the conclusion that he too should be arrested and tried along with them. Naturally, in writing these words, Lisovy did not actually believe he would be arrested.

But the soulless machine of the KGB immediately went to work. V. Lisovy's "request" was granted with extreme

³⁾ Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia, Volume 2, page 447.

generosity. He was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile.

For what? No one other than government officials and judges had read his letter. The question arises: Are these people so uncertain of their Soviet convictions that they should decide immediately to protect themselves from Lisovy's "agitation"?

Another example: Svyatoslav Karavansky and Hryhoriy Prokopovych never concealed their nationalism; it forms the basis of their beliefs. It is known that V. I. Lenin insisted on differentiating between the nationalism of subjugated nations and the nationalism of subjugating nations. Lenin did not condemn nationalism of a subjugated nation, but justified it morally and politically, especially if it was not aggressive, but legally defensive in character. But S. Karavansky and H. Prokopovych and hundreds of other Ukrainian nationalists who peacefully demanded Ukrainian independence were sentenced after the war to 25 years' imprisonment because of their convictions. Later, under Khrushchev, some were released for several years. But when the Khrushchev thaw ended, they were again thrown into concentration camps for the same thing — for their convictions.

A year to 18 months from now, S. Karavansky will complete his term of imprisonment, which now totals close to 30 years. We ask: Will the KGB lengthen his sentence by another 10-15 years? S. Karavansky does not conceal the fact that he has not renounced his nationalist convictions — they have only been strengthened and hardened. He is also well aware that under Soviet Law these convictions and their propagation are not crimes.

The scheme by which the KGB operates in taking the legally sanctioned nationalism of subjugated nations, a phenomenon Lenin found completely natural and politically justified, and transforming it into a "serious crime a-

gainst the state", is well illustrated by the case of V. Marchenko. A philologist and linguist, he was simultaneously indicted for Ukrainian and Azerbaijani nationalism. This combination by itself is enough to understand that no real nationalism is involved here.

At the trial, the Azerbaijani nationalism was dropped (Article 63, Criminal Code, Azerbaijanian SSR), the charge of Ukrainian nationalism, retained.

The court (we quote the decision of the court) "determined that from the end of 1965 to 1973, Marchenko, V. V., residing in Kyiv, under the influence of nationalist convictions, which resulted from reading illegal anti-Soviet literature, listening to hostile broadcasts of Western radio stations and misinterpreting isolated issues of the nationalities policy of the Soviet State, with the intention of undermining and weakening Soviet rule . . ."

We quote no further, for it is abundantly clear that these simple, normal acts, the natural expressions of social existence, in no way fall under any of the articles of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, not to mention international conventions. But to force the Criminal Code to work for the KGB, the following formula is arbitrarily invoked: "with the intention of undermining and weakening Soviet rule . . ." By applying this formula where it just will not fit, a talented linguist's love for the Ukrainian and Azerbaijani languages was construed as a "serious crime against the state".

On the basis of these obviously demagogic charges, V. Marchenko was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment in a severe-regime corrective labor camp and 2 years in exile.

On September 19, 1974, Vasyl Fedorenko illegally crossed the border at the train station at Chop. The Czechoslovakian border guards arrested him and turned him over to Soviet authorities. In March of 1973, on the basis of

Article 56 (treason, desertion to the enemy) and Article 52 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, the Uzhorod Oblast court sentenced him to 15 years' imprisonment, 5 years of which were to be served in Vladimir Prison.

If we are to adhere to normal logic, then it follows from this inhuman sentence that the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic is an enemy of the USSR. How else could V. Fedorenko have been charged with "desertion to the enemy"?

The point is that V. Fedorenko had earlier served a sentence for his nationalistic beliefs. That is why he was tried under Article 56 and not Article 75 (crossing the border without a valid passport or permit) which is punishable by 1 to 3 years' imprisonment. They were not even ashamed to call Czechoslovakia an enemy state. But then, per-

haps that is what the KGB thinks of Czechoslovakia.

In his statement to the court, V. Fedorenko said:

Citizen judges: Is the independence of my thoughts so dangerous to your order? Can it be that my ideas, and only they, force you to try me on such an unbelievable charge as treason and to issue this brutal sentence?

Soon you will be celebrating the 30th anniversary of Victory. Then you feared neither cannon nor tanks — that was an army! Now you fear my convictions...

Only where the government does not fear its people and tells them the truth about its achievements as well as its failures can freedom and democracy exist... A nation whose government hides the truth from its people can be neither democratic nor free.

V. Fedorenko, in protest against this savage arbitrariness, announced an indefinite hunger strike. Existing on the brink of death, he has continued his protest for many months now.

We could cite dozens of examples where Ukrainian nationalism, real or imagined, leads to inhuman sentences. This clearly shows that it is not Soviet authority that conducts the trials (Soviet laws do not permit trials for nationalism protective of rights), but fanatical Great-Russian chauvinists. Power, not Law, rules.

(To be continued)



Your Help

TO

FREE ALL UKRAINIAN PRISONERS
HELD IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND PSYCHIATRIC PRISONS
IN THE SOVIET EMPIRE

WORKS BY VALENTYN MOROZ IN FRENCH

The works by Valentyn Moroz have been translated into French and are handed to a French publisher. This collection will include: „Report from the Beria Reserve“, „Chronicle of Resistance“, „Amongst the Snows“ and other essays by Valentyn Moroz.

A Message from the Oppressed People of Lithuania

The best source of information concerning the situation behind the Iron Curtain is "The Chronicle of the Catholic Church of Lithuania" — an underground paper. The 22nd and 23rd issues of this secret publication had recently reached Chicago. They are full of very disheartening facts. In the district of Siauliai the cemetery of Agailiai is situated where some freedom fighters of the 1863 revolt against Czarist oppression and serfs tortured to death by their masters were buried. People used to gather there for prayers and constructed a concrete chapel. In 1975 they repaired that little sanctuary. After the repairs were finished, on September 9, 1975, the deputy chairman of the Siauliai district with a group of helpers came and completely destroyed the chapel.

The robbing of churches in Lithuania also became a frequent occurrence. During the night of August 28-29, 1975 the church of Gelažiai was robbed. On March 13, 1976, the churches of Šiauliai and Aukštelke were robbed.

The engineer Antanas Garbštas, who had a job in the administration of industry and mining, was dismissed because during the interrogation he admitted being a believer.

The principal of the Veisiejai middle school with the investigator Zinkevicius very severely interrogated pupils who took part in the devotions on February 16 (former Lithuanian independence day) 1976. Some pupils were so severely beaten that they were hardly recognizable. One pupil — Gintautas Soraka — after this event suffered a nervous breakdown and intended to commit suicide. Only his friends saved him.

Miss Izabele Malukaite, the chairman of the Skuodas district association for helping the blind was dismissed because she admitted frequenting the church. She was punished although in 1975, her chapter of the association ranked as first in the Lithuanian republic.

On October 24, 1975, at Pašušvis all pupils were dispersed from funeral services in the church. The pupils of the Pašušvis school often come home crying as a result of being terrorized because of their religion.

Ona Vedeckiene from the Balandiškiiai village was warned that if her son Sigitas attended church and learned to play the organ, he would get bad marks and would be prevented from continuing his studies.

On October 3, 1975, at Švenčionėliai Vytautas Ivonis died. He was a member of the Communist Party, but secretly he was practising Catholicism and requested a church funeral should he die. His wife acted according to his will. His brothers, Communist officials, tried to influence the local pastor to make him refuse a church funeral. When the pastor did not agree, they took the rosary from the hands of the waked body, hid the crucifix, stayed outside of the church during the funeral services and did not enter the cemetery until the religious rites were finished.

On March 18, 1976 a group of believers came to clean the St. George church of Šiauliai after it was damaged by a fire. There was also one mother there with her 12 year-old daughter. The deputy chairman of the local executive committee ordered the girl to leave the church, however her mother refused to obey.

Pupils are forced to write atheistic compositions in school and answer questionnaires concerning religion.

In December 1975, during the funeral of K. Šulcsiene pupils were forced to leave the church at Židikai. At the Skuodas hospital a weak patient, Bal-tinis, was forbidden the last rites. His relatives had to take him temporarily out of the hospital to enable the priest to administer the sacrament of the sick and Viaticum.

Many shrines of Lithuania have been converted to profane use or even destroyed. The grave of the unknown soldier in Kaunas was demolished, the perpetual flame was extinguished, the Statue of Freedom was destroyed, the freedom bells were silenced. The national shrine of the Resurrection in Kaunas, constructed owing to the donations of Americans of Lithuanian descent, has been converted into a radio factory.

Two bishops of Lithuania still remain banished from their dioceses. The Capital of Lithuania — Vilnius — does not have either an ordinary bishop, or a cathedral. The former cathedral has been converted into a museum.

The functioning of the priests' seminary is restricted to the utmost extent. Only 10 priests are ordained each year in the single seminary left, and each year in Lithuania about 20 priests die. The majority of the clergymen are of advanced age, on an average they are over 60 years old.

The majority of the Lithuanian population are Catholics, however money from their taxes is being used for publication of atheistic literature, and Catholics are not permitted even to print a catechism.

Approval of members elected to the parish committees is rejected, in many instances, because officials want to have more atheists among them. In some cities priests are prohibited from conducting funeral processions and in many instances the ringing of the bells is forbidden.

Priests cannot be members of the church committee. The parish books are often scrutinized by Soviet officials.

Sometimes security police officials come to the rectory asking for a priest to visit a sick, however, they take him for interrogation to police premises. Officials tried to force Rev. J. Paukštys to reveal what he had heard in confession. When he refused, he was slandered by the press.

Many heads of various institutions receive instructions to dismiss those employees who frequent the church, however, giving a different reason for their discharge.

In many cases priests are arbitrarily forced to abandon the rectory, threatened with fines, breaking of windows or even doors. Sometimes priests are taken to the quarters of the security police and vituperated for periods of two-three hours for accepting children to serve at mass. Many priests are undergoing severe pressure to cooperate with the secret police. This is done even with the students of the seminary. Some of the students are not admitted to universities and colleges because they are believers. It is very difficult for young people to enter the seminary. When a teacher of Telsiai middle school expressed the wish to enter the seminary, the security police requested him to act as an informer. When he refused, he was not permitted to study theology. Many seminarists are summoned by the security police or military commissariat and under various pretexts are terrorized to begin informing on each other. From such institutions seminarists then return depressed, crying, tortured by nervous tension.

The bishop of Vilnius, Most Rev. J. Steponavicius, has been in exile for 16 years, punished without trial. The petitions of priests to permit him to return were of no avail.

In 1957 another bishop — ordinary of Kaišederys, Most Rev. V. Sladkevi-

čius, was exiled without trial to a small distant village of Lithuania. Rev. A. Keina, Rev. P. Orlickas were fined 50 rubles each for permitting boys to serve at mass. Rev. Lygnudarys was fined 50 rubles for visiting a sick woman. Rev. Sauklys had to pay a fine for permitting children to take part in a procession. The pastor of Daugailiai — Rev. Baltuška, was fined 30 rubles for inviting priests from the neighbourhood parishes to the parish feastday.

For their religious ideology the students Aldona and Regina Bielskus were dismissed from the Vilnius university. For taking part in the publication of prayerbooks and of the underground paper, "The Chronicle of the R. C. Church in Lithuania", the following were sent to concentration camps: P. Plumpa — 8 years, P. Petronis — 4 years, V. Kulikauskas — 3,5 years, J. Gražis and N. N. Sadunaite — 3 years, regardless of the fact that the Soviet

Constitution guarantees freedom of the press.

The teachers A. Skiparis and his wife were dismissed from their positions because their son entered the seminary to prepare for the priesthood, although they already had more than 25 years of seniority.

In 1975 B. Kibickaite was dismissed from her position at the Vilnius university because she was found at the home of N. Sadunaite when the KGB came to search it.

The churches are considered the property of the state. The religious communities have to pay rent at the rate of 1 % of the value of the building per year. However, in case of fire the insurance is paid not to the communities who constructed the churches and who repair them, but to the state institutions.



Ukrainian Delegation headed by M. Y. Stetsko, ABN President, with Dr. Ku Cheng-kang (WACL Chairman) and Mrs. Ku Cheng-kang.

Georgian Declaration

Declaration of the Georgian Political Organizations and Periodical Publications Abroad

At the end of 1972 the Kremlin decided in a dictatorial way and in violation of the Soviet Constitution to dismiss the Government of the Soviet Republic of Georgia and install a new one.

The new rulers started without delay "purges" in the party and the public service. In this small country about 30,000 citizens were the victims of these purges; amongst them a great number holding positions of responsibility were prosecuted.

According to the documents in our possession the judicial authorities employed special methods of torture causing in some cases the death of the defendant.

As a result of such methods the prisoners are bound to sign the confessions drawn up in advance by the police.

The aims of the central power are the following:

— remove from the key-posts unreliable elements and hold them responsible for the under-development of the agriculture and the permanent economic crisis, thus creating for the time being in the public opinion the illusion of a better future;

— and, which is still more important, apply a policy of accelerated Russification in a climate of repression and terror.

Such injustice has brought about, as understandable, the resistance of the Georgian nation, a small people but the inheritors of a very ancient civilization.

This resistance shows in the public declarations of renowned writers: Nodar Tsouleiskiri and Revaz Djeparidze, who, on the strength of irrefutable facts, divulged before the Congress of

Georgian writers the policy of Russification of the Government and demanded that the Georgian language be maintained and protected.

Such interventions have not been made public and their authors were severely admonished.

On the other hand, the Georgian Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, headed by Zviad Gamsakhourdia, a reputed philologist, writer and poet, has repeatedly revealed by the channel of Samizdat, the criminal practices of the state security agencies, in violation of elementary human rights: the Government relentlessly hunts the members of this committee on the strength of false accusations. Zviad Gamsakhourdia himself is the object of persecutions and constant police threats. He has miraculously escaped several attempts of gas poisoning and also a set-up car "accident".

And thus, the Government makes it absolutely impossible for the people to manifest their will in a peaceful and democratic way.

During the years 1975 and 1976, several criminal attempts by arson and bombs took place in Tbilissi and several other cities of Georgia. At the time such attempts were not made public and no victims had to be deplored. But police agents spread false information, declaring that these acts had to be attributed to speculators and trafficking traders who had reason to fear the new policy of the government.

On February 3. of this year, the local press announced unofficially that the State Security Department had discovered the author of the above criminal acts, that is Vladimir Jvania, 42 years old, profession unspecified.

The Jvania case was judged by the supreme criminal court. In a "public"

trial, Vladimir Jvania was found guilty and was condemned to death.

In this brief announcement (there is no other official information available regarding this extremely serious case) no mention is made concerning:

- the place or the date of this "public" trial,
- the composition of the court,
- the name of the lawyer of the defence,
- the arguments put forward by the defence,
- and above all, which is still more serious, no mention is made as to the reasons that prompted Jvania to commit these criminal acts.

If Vladimir Jvania acted without motive or aim, justice should have been concerned about his mental condition. Either was the trial not carried out normally or the official communiqué hid the truth.

It has come to our knowledge through unofficial sources, that Vladimir Jvania is alleged to have declared at the trial: "I have carried out these attempts to protest against the policy of Russification practiced in Georgia". If this information is correct, it shows that the action of Jvania is of political nature. Whilst the method employed is condemnable, this act is understandable if one takes into account the circumstance that prompted it. In such a case Vladimir Jvania does not deserve to be condemned to death.

One can claim unmistakably, that Vladimir Jvania is the victim of a police plot or of the intolerance of an arbitrary government. The sentence passed is the result of terror rather than of justice.

We are resolutely against terrorism, practiced either by an individual person or a group or state organizations. However, in view of the particular character of this purely political act of Jvania, a death sentence is not acceptable to a civilized world.

We therefore firstly DEMAND that the sentence of Vladimir Jvania be not carried out.

We thereafter REQUEST that the Humanitarian International Organizations, Amnesty International and the International Association of Jurists, be permitted to examine the Jvania file and check whether the case was dealt with according to the rules underlying Soviet and international law.

Further, we insistently DEMAND that the Kremlin should stop its unjustified repressions as well as its policy of assimilation and Russification with respect to Georgia and that the Georgian people be allowed to work and live according to the universal principles of Human Rights contained in the Declaration solemnly signed by the Soviet Union in San Francisco in 1948.

We APPEAL to the world public opinion to support our just plea.

for the Democrat National Party
Alexis Abachidze

for the Federalist Socialist Party
Nicolas Ourouchadze

for the Union of Free Georgians
Abroad

Othar Zourabichvili

for the newspaper "Iveria"
Michel Kavtaradze

for the newspaper "Tavassouplebiss
Tribouna"

George Nosadze and
Georges Tsereteli

for the newspaper "Merani"
Guivi Beguiachvile
Guia Sardjveladze

Save us unnecessary expenses!

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ABN Correspondence

immediately!

Continuous Atrocities Against Prisoners

The Case of Vasyl Lisovy

BORN: 1937. Married to Vira Hrytsenko, philologist. They have two children.

PROFESSIONAL WORK: Lisovy held the degree of Candidate of Philosophical Sciences (similar to Ph. D.) and worked as a research associate at the Institute of Philosophy, Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR. He was also a lecturer at the Shevchenko University of Kyiv.

PUBLICATIONS (partial list): "Zvychnayna mova ta yiyi vykorystannya z tochky zoru lohiky" (Ordinary Language and its Use from the Viewpoint of Logic), *Filosofiya ta sotsiologia*. Ed., V. O. Nosenko. Kyiv: Institute of Philosophy, Ac. of Sc. Ukr. SSR 169, pp. 233-42.

"Pro sposoby analizy tekstiv povsyakdennoyi movy" (On the methods of Analyzing Texts of Ordinary Language), *Filosofska dumka*, No. 3 (1970), pp. 50-59. "Krytyka stsiyenystkykh kontseptsiy naukovo-tekhnichnoho proghresu" (A Critique of Scientific Concepts of Scientific-Technological Progress), *Filosofska dumka*, No. 3 (1971), pp. 63-71.

Introduction to Logic of Kononovych-Horbatsky, *Filosofska dumka*, No. 3 (1972), pp. 81-82.

ARREST: With Yevhen Pronyuk, Lisovy composed a letter of protest against the wave of arrests in Ukraine in early 1972 and against the Russian cultural and economic policies in Ukraine. The letter was sent to the CC CPSU and the KGB. A few days later Pronyuk was searched and about 70 photocopies of the letter were found on him ready for mailing to various prominent Soviet citizens. When Pronyuk was arrested, Lisovy acknowledged his part in composing the letter. He was dismissed from work and arrested in early July, 1972 (*A Chronicle of Current Events*, Nos. 27, 30).

Lisovy's wife was dismissed from work and left without the means to support herself and her children (*The Ukrainian Herald*, Nos. 7-8).

TRIAL: In Nov. 1973 Lisovy was tried with his friend Pronyuk and his student, Ivan Semanyuk, who had protested against the arrest. He was charged with preparing and disseminating anti-Soviet materials with the intentions of undermining the state, and with helping in the preparation of two issues of *The Ukrainian Herald*. Lisovy pleaded not guilty, but was sentenced under Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of Ukr. SSR. ("anti-Soviet AGITATION and PROPAGANDA") to 7 years in a strict-regime camp and 3 years exile from Ukraine (*A Chronicle . . .*, No. 30).

IMPRISONMENT: Lisovy was sent to Camp No. 3 in Mordovia, where he has been harassed by the administration and severely punished for minor infractions of the regulations. On Nov. 15, 1974 he was thrown into an isolation cell for 15 days and lost his visiting rights for refusing to work and to wear an identity tag (*A Chronicle . . .*, No. 35). In July 1975 Vasyl Stus was stabbed by a criminal and Lisovy wrote a letter to R. A. Rudenko, the Procurator-General of the USSR, describing the incident. For this letter he was punished with 3 months in solitary confinement on a diet of below 1900 cal. per day. In December, 1975, he was brought to Kyiv and pressure was exerted to get a statement of retraction and repentance from him. His wife was allowed to see him in January. Lisovy did not budge from his former position and by the end of the month was returned to the camp. Although his health has improved somewhat since January and he has been permitted a visit from his wife and children, he is very weak and exhausted. Most recently, Mykola Rudenko, head of the Ukrainian Group to

Promote the Implementation of the Provisions of the Helsinki Act, formed in Ukraine, reported that in November 1976 Lisovy was twice put into a punitive cell.

Lisovy's wife is barely supporting herself and her children by working in a kindergarten. The children are not getting the necessary care and are frequently ill. The son who is four, has not been as deeply affected by the events of the last few years, but his older sister, Myroslava, who is eleven, has been so shaken that she has a nervous disorder. Former friends and acquaintances avoid the family. The KGB keeps a very close watch on Vira Lisovy, and she believes, has installed listening devices in her home.

To Amnesty International, from Vira Lisovy

This letter has been circulating in the Soviet Union by means of Samvydava, and has recently reached the West. Letters of similar content were addressed by Vira Lisovy to the International Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, to G. Marchais, the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, and to V. Kashtan, the Secretary General of the Canadian Communist Party.

I do not know whether it is despair or a glimmer of hope that has prompted me to turn to you. If this is a common weakness of women, then, is it such a great sin to surrender to it when two little children ask daily why their father is not with them? I too have demanded an answer to this question from officials, but no one has been able to convince me that my husband has been imprisoned according to legal norms. And no one probably intended to convince me, for I received the same stereotyped answer from all sides: "He is punished justly for anti-Soviet activity."

In January 1972 a national calamity befell Ukraine: many Ukrainian intel-

lectuals were arrested in various cities of the republic. A large majority of those who were arrested are widely known in our society because of their cultural and civic work.

My husband and I regarded the arrests of 1972 as grossly unjust and groundless from the juridical and ideological points of view. Both of us were born in a socialist country. We were raised in working class families and in Soviet schools. We were active members of Komsomol and dreamed of dedicating our lives to high social ideals. The terrible repressions of the Stalin period seemed to us to belong to a distant past — distant although not forgotten. Hence the events of 1972 greatly alarmed us. My husband, Vasyl Semenovych Lisovy, born in 1937, was a member of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union). He held the degree of Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, and was a researcher at the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and a lecturer at the T. Shevchenko State University. He described his feelings in an "Open Letter to the Members of the CC CPSU (the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union)." Appealing to the interests of socialism and to the constitutional and legal norms of our society, he directed the attention of the CC to the illegal and socially groundless nature of KGB's actions and requested that the CC intervene in the events in Ukraine. Because of his patriotic ideals Lisovy could not remain silent. The statutes of the party not merely give him the right but make it his duty to react when socialist legal norms are violated. Vasyl Lisovy fulfilled his duty. On July 4, 1972, he sent a letter to the highest council of the party. Two days later, on July 6, "the reply arrived" in the form of several KGB agents who presented to Lisovy a search warrant from the Procurator of Ukraine. After the search they took my husband away, and promised for the sake of ap-

pearances, to release him in one or two days — I was to give birth in a few days. For twenty months they instructed him in the rights and duties of a Soviet citizen, emphasizing that he had meddled in affairs that were no concern of his and that he would do better to occupy himself with his family. Then they sent him to be "re-educated", sentencing him to seven years in a strict-regime camp and three years of exile. Soon four years will have passed since my children saw their father. When we visit him (once a year), he gazes at them with bitterness because he cannot participate in their upbringing. I still cannot believe that his cruel sentence is real, and because of this I have written appeals to various authorities in my country — to the CC CPSU, care of L. I. Brezhnev, and to the 25th Party Congress.

"Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" ... But who can quote one sentence from Vasyl Lisovy's mouth or pen which rejects socialism or the Soviet order?! In his "open letter" judged to be anti-Soviet because he considers the economic prosperity and the spiritual vitality of the nation to be dependent on the democratization of every facet of life in our country?!

The trial is called "open" in the official documents. Yes, it was "open", because over ten people with special passes were induced to attend it. Even I could get in only at the end of the trial. In order to keep me out of the courtroom 'legally', I was classified as a witness and summoned last among the witnesses to testify ... that I am the wife of V. S. Lisovy.

There were hardly any witnesses at Lisovy's trial. But even the few selected colleagues of my husband from the Institute of Philosophy gave him a positive character reference, stressing his talents, broad erudition, and high moral qualities. His lawyer, V. V. Didenko, who is experienced in such cases, found no legal basis for imposing

on Lisovy the maximum penalty under Art. 62, section 1, of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR. The court took none of the extenuating circumstances into account: the poor state of Lisovy's health, his two small children, his father's death at the front in the 1941-45 war, his mother's (who raised five children single-handedly) condition as an invalid of the first and second category, the high quality of his scholarly works, his spotless record as an active party member who carried out important assignments up to the level of the CC CPU (Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine).

Out of the three and a half years that Vasyl Lisovy has served in a strict-regime camp (his last address was Mordovskaya SSR, Zubovo-Polyansky R-n, poselok Lesnoy, Zh-kh 385-19), he has spent two and a half years under prison conditions (in punishment cells and isolation cells) "for misbehavior", as the camp officials call it, i. e., most likely for participating in political activities at camp — hunger-strikes, written and oral protests against the cruel camp regime — and for recognition of the status of political prisoner. My husband was punished for failing to fulfill the production quota, although there were objective reasons for this — a defective sewing machine which, for all his complaints, was never repaired.

One can judge the "educative" conditions and the actions of the camp authorities from the following incident. At the end of July 1975 a criminal assaulted Vasyl Stus and almost plunged a knife into his back. As a result of a violent blow Stus began to bleed profusely. It is true that Stus was saved from death and that at the insistence of his wife he was operated in a special Leningrad hospital. Lisovy, who probably knew the direct causes of this incident, wrote a protest letter to the Procurator-General of the USSR, R. A. Rudenko. For this he was thrown into camp prison for six months, while to-

tally different grounds were officially announced.

The criminal got off with two weeks in prison. Moreover, Lisovy had returned from a five-month imprisonment only one month before this incident. He returned so exhausted that he could walk only by leaning against a wall. (I saw him in this condition during a visit. He was completely exhausted and so emaciated that I could hardly recognize him.)

I had no legal relation to the actions of my husband, but I was dismissed from work "according to my own wish", and for two and a half years I and my ill children have been forced to live with my parents. Nor am I free of psychological pressures and intimidations. Thus, one of the investigators, who did not give me his name, told me that if my husband does not repent and does not publicly renounce his "anti-Soviet" position, then his term of imprisonment can be prolonged, and after he is released he will not be permitted to resume his scholarly work. In fact, on April 5, 1974, the All-Union Commission of Certification (VAK) deprived Lisovy of his candidate's degree. The same investigator informed me that I too was engaged in libel and anti-Soviet activity because I am passing information to foreigners. This accusation was based on a letter I had mailed to my former student who now lives in the USA. In this letter I described the trip I made with my children to visit my husband.

Respected friends! Help me to release from imprisonment a man who is innocent, a scholar-philosopher of great creative potential, a highly intelligent and selfless person. Help return their father to my children!

March 1976

Vira Lisovy
Ukr. SSR
m. Kyiv 140
vul. Bratislavska 4, kv. 192.

Letter About Vasyl Lisovy

News About Lisovy from Vira's Letter to Her Former Student

We have just come back from our visit to Vasyl Semenovych (i. e., Lisovy - ed.) This time he looks better, but he feels ill. He lacks the energy to work at philosophy. He is writing philosophical essays on literature: T. Mann's Buddenbrooks, a commentary on Rilke's poetry, a philosophical dictionary, a grammar of the Ukrainian language (conceived in an original way that will make children eager to learn grammar), notes on the poetry of Drach (on his contribution to Ukrainian literature). As to his health, he has frequent headaches, pains in the stomach, liver, intestine. The skin on his feet is in ulcers (which are bleeding). After treatment with sulphuric ointment they heal and then break out again.

He does not discuss his convictions with anyone. It would be ridiculous; after all, he is a mature man.

He was very nice with the children, talked and played with them. He gave me a lot of advice on bringing them up.

The children were exhausted by the journey, and yet they are ready to go next year (we waited for two and a half days before we were allowed to see Vasyl), because with him we all become different persons.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union A Prison of Nations

(Comments on the Foundation
of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

THE CASE of MYKOLA BONDAR

Born: 1939..

PROFESSIONAL WORK: In 1968 Bondar began to lecture in philosophy at Uzhhorod University in southwestern Ukraine. In 1969 he was dismissed from work for commenting on the immoderate celebrations marking the Lenin centenary and for criticizing the Communist Party at a department meeting. He supported himself by doing odd jobs. At one time he worked in a boiler house in Cherkassy (*A Chronicle of Current Events*, No. 23, and *Sobranie dokumentov Samizdata*, vol 22, doc. 1102).

ARREST: He was arrested on November 7, 1970, on Khreshchatyk Boulevard in Kyiv, where during an official demonstration he mingled with the marchers and unfurled a banner with the words "Shame upon the present leaders of the CPSU" (*A Chronicle ...*, No. 23, *Sobranie ...*, 22).

TRIAL: He was charged with spreading slanderous lies about the Soviet political and social systems among his university colleagues, in letters to Redko (the chairman of the philosophy department at Uzhhorod University), to leaders of the CP and the state, and to a friend. All these documents, including the letters to Brezhnev, Kossygin, and Podgorny, were attached to the case. On May 12, 1971, Bondar was sentenced by Judge Matsko of the Kyiv Regional Court to 7 years in a strict-regime prison camp for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (Art. 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code). Bondar pleaded not guilty.

IMPRISONMENT: Bondar has been a persistent fighter for recognition of the status of political prisoner by the state and for better prison conditions. September 10 - 12, 1971, he participated with seven other prisoners in Camp No. 17, Mordovia, in a hunger strike to protest against the mistreatment of prisoners' relatives, illegal denial of visits, packages, etc. (*A Chronicle ...*,

No. 22). From November 10 to December 10, 1971, he refused food in protest against his conviction (*A Chronicle ...*, No. 23). In December 1971, on the eve of Human Rights Day, Bondar, with seven other prisoners, signed an open letter to the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Human Rights Commission of the UN, describing the lawlessness to which they and their families are subjected and demanding an investigation by a special UN committee and recognition of the status of political prisoners by the USSR (*A Chronicle ...*, No. 23).

In 1973 Bondar was transferred from Mordovia to Camp No. 35 in the Perm Region, RSFSR and then to Camp No. 36. From there with six other prisoners he wrote a letter addressed to the governments of all countries, to the UN, and to all honest men, describing the life of political prisoners. In August 1975 he was transferred to Vladimir Prison, but his protests did not cease. In February 1975 he demanded the status of political prisoner and was punished with 10 days in solitary confinement. In June with several other prisoners he refused to work and demanded recognition as a political prisoner. From October 1975 to January 1976 he has kept on a low diet of about 1300 cal. per day. In a letter to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Bondar declared civil disobedience, beginning with February 24, 1976.

M. Bondar: I have no intention of abandoning my Fatherland Ukraine Declaration of Civil Disobedience

*To the Presidium of the
Supreme Soviet of the USSR
from prisoner Mykola Vasylevych
Bondar*

I was sentenced by the Kyiv Regional Court on May, 12, 1971, under Art. 62, sec. 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 7 years in a strict regime camp. Since then I have frequent-

ly written to various state and social institutions and organizations, demanding that my civil protest that appears in my accusation is an intentional and conscious distortion. I have met with a heartless indifference to my fate, and this has forced me to declare several prolonged hunger strikes in protest. But not a single person wished to manifest at least that minimum of civic virtue that is part of human dignity.

If the state finds it necessary to condemn me for purely political reasons and feels the urgent need to keep me in strict isolation, then it is obliged to recognize me officially as a political prisoner and to provide the required prison conditions for me.

For this reason I turned to the MVD of the USSR in January 1975 and demanded the status of a political prisoner. Unfortunately, the state saw no need to demonstrate any objectivity, even out of respect for itself. Moreover, having deprived me of the right to defend my human dignity, the state began to repress me in a deliberate and systematic manner. It continually subjected me to the torture of solitary confinement in reprisal for a single declaration of nonconformity to the penal regime that was destroying me. This declaration was my response to the state's refusal to recognize me as a political prisoner. Then, by depriving me of food and medicine, the state tried to force me into renouncing my just demands.

Although the administration of Camp VS/389/36 realized that this torture was senseless and did not believe that I could possibly renounce my demands, it was motivated also by the idea — "Let this be a warning to others".

As for myself, I sent out a large number of petitions about the repressions I was suffering. The numerous letters that I sent to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were redirected to you. To the subsequent series of petitions that I addressed to you, you preferred to reply at first with

a mere supposition (which, by the way, was irrelevant to the main point of my grievances).

The Chusovsky People's Court, which on August 4, 1975, ordered that I be transferred to a prison, was too "ashamed" to call things by their name, to give the real reasons why I refused to conform to the penal code, and preferred to conceal them under the standard phrase: "For refusing to work and for infringing the ITU code." Since I can find no other means to defend my human dignity, I declare as of February 24, 1976, civil disobedience, as a protest against the state's violence and stubborn refusal to recognize me as a human being. My civil disobedience will consist of the following:

1. refusing any correspondence until the end of my term;
2. refusing any visits;
3. refusing any packages that are permitted by the code;
4. renouncing my Soviet citizenship;
5. boycotting the Soviet state;
6. boycotting the prison administration;
7. preserving absolute silence;
8. declaring a hunger strike.

In entering into a mutual contract with the state to acquire the civil rights and liberties that were offered to me, and whose genuineness I did not doubt at the time, I trustingly gave the state the right to control my views, to form them according to its outlook. I subordinated my will and personality to the state. I sincerely hoped that I would fulfill my obligations, and at the same time had faith in the good will of the other side. It never occurred to me that the state could claim the right to deceive me, to speculate... (illegible-ed.)... Rejecting the agreed-upon obligations, the state swiftly hurled at me the full force of its coercive institutions. Although by this act the state had already broken our contract, I tried during the long years of imprisonment to maintain some juridical re-

lations with the state (by means of grievances and declarations). I naively hoped that fair relations might be re-established . . .

Now I realize that it is necessary to legally dissolve our contract.

I no longer wish to identify myself as a citizen of the USSR. Hence as of February 24, 1976, I renounce my Soviet citizenship.

But I have no intention of abandoning my Fatherland — Ukraine, where I was born and where intend I to live when my term is up.

After serving my term I do not intend to get a citizen's passport or exercise the rights and liberties that exist in the USSR — because they are powerless to guarantee my personal freedom. Hence I demand to be recognized as a person without any citizenship and to be granted the corresponding status (according to point 4 of my declaration of civil disobedience).

In connection with this I voluntarily renounce the right, granted me by the state, to defend myself by means of grievances and petitions to state and social institutions and organizations — which deliberately ignore me — and I

surrender myself completely to the arbitrary will of the state.

And if tomorrow the state should want to take life itself from me, I shall not resist or grumble. I shall not lift a finger to defend myself (according to point 5 of my declaration).

As of February 24, 1976, I do not recognize the prison regulations as binding upon me and I reserve the right to govern my conduct in every concrete situation according to my own will and the dictates of my conscience (in accordance with point 6 of my declaration).

From February 24, 1976 to November 7, 1977, I declare absolute silence. While I am imprisoned, I shall not utter one word (in accordance with point 7 of my declaration).

On the day I begin my civil disobedience I declare a one-day hunger strike (in accordance with point 8 of my declaration).

Mykola Bondar
(Translated from Arkhiv Samizdata,
No. 2559)

Amnesty International, the human rights organization, included Mykola Vasylevych Bondar in its "Prisoners of the Month Campaign" for December 1976.



Ukrainian Women demonstration, London 1977

THE CASE of YEVHEN PRONYUK

BORN: 1936. Married to Halyna Dikovska, philologist. They have 2 children.

PROFESSIONAL WORK: In 1965 he received the degree of Candidate of Philosophical Sciences (similar to Ph. D. for his dissertation, *The ideological Struggle in Galicia in the Seventies of the 19th Century: The Revolutionary-Democrat O. Terletsky*. Since 1962 he worked as a research associate at the Institute of Philosophy, Academy of Sciences, Ukr. SSR. Because he was involved in the trial of Ya. Hevrych in 1966, and because *Samvydav* materials were discovered in his office, he was demoted to a bibliographer and denied the right to defend his doctoral dissertation (*A Chronicle of Current Events*, No. 27).

PUBLICATIONS (partial list):

"Shevchenko i O. Terletsky" (Shevchenko and O. Terletsky, *Borotba mizh materiyalizmom ta idealizmom na Ukraini v XIX st.* Ed. V. Yu. Yevdokymenko. Kyiv: Ac. Sc. Ukr. SSR, 1964, pp. 168-84.

"Aktualni pytannya z istoriyi filosofiyi na Ukraini" (Current Problems in the History of Philosophy in Ukraine), *Ukrayinsky istorychny zhurnal*, No. 7 (1965).

"Ideolohichna borotba v Halychyni 70-ykh rokiv XIX st. u vysvitlenni radianskykh doslidnykiv" (The Ideological Struggle in Galicia in the Seventies of 19th Cent. as Presented by Soviet Scholars). *Z istoriyi filosofskoyi dumky na Ukraini*. ed. V. Yu. Yevdokymenko. Kyiv: Ac. Sc. Ukr. SSR, 1965, pp. 148-49.

"Z istoriyi idealizmu v Halychyni (druha pol. XIX st.)" (From the History of Idealism in Galicia [Second Half of the 19th cent]). *Z istoriyi filosofiyi na Ukraini*. Ed. V. Yu. Yevdokymenko. Kyiv: Ac. Sc. Ukr. SSR, 1967, pp. 178-85.

"Z istoriyi poshyrennya marksystskoyi filosofiyi na Ukraini (From the History of the Spreading of Marxist Philosophy in Ukraine). *Rozvytok filosofiyi v Ukrayinskiy R.S.R.* Ed. V. Yu. Yevdokymenko. Kyiv: Ac. Sc. Ukr. SSR, 1968, pp. 39-50.

Z istoriyi sotsyalistychnykh idey na Ukraini (Ukrainska sotsyalistychna literatura 70-kh rokiv XIX st.)" (From the History of Socialist Ideas in Ukraine [Ukrainian Socialist Literature in the Seventies of the 19th Cent.]). *Z istoriyi filosofiyi ta sotsyolohiyi na Ukraini*. Ed. V. Yu. Yevdokymenko. Kyiv: Ac. Sc. Ukr. SSR, 1968.

Articles on I. F. Fesenko and O. S. Shklyarevsky in *Ukrayinska radynska entsyklopediya* (The Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopaedia), Vol. XV, p. 248 and Vol. XVI, p. 336.

ARREST: On July 8, 1972, Pronyuk was detained on the street. In his briefcase were found about 70 photocopies of a letter to the CC CPSU, all ready to be mailed to various prominent Soviet citizens. The letter was written by Pronyuk and Lisovy. It expressed concern over the wave of illegal arrests in Ukraine in early 1972, and gave an analysis of the disastrous effects of the Party's cultural and economic policies in Ukraine (*A Chronicle...*, Nos. 27, 28).

While Pronyuk was in prison his wife was dismissed from the Institute of Languages and her recently defended Candidate's dissertation was rejected by the Higher Certification Commission (*A Chronicle...*, No. 28).

TRIAL: Pronyuk, who was tried with Lisovy and I. Semanyuk in Nov. 1973, was charged with preparing, possessing and disseminating anti-Soviet materials with the intent to undermine the state, and with helping to prepare two issues of the *Ukrainian Herald*. Pronyuk pleaded not guilty. Nevertheless,

he was sentenced under Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of Ukr. SSR ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda") to 7 years in a strict-regime camp and 5 years' exile. He concluded his final statement before the court with the words: "*periant mundi, fiat justitia!*" [Though the world may perish, let there be justice!].

IMPRISONMENT: Pronyuk was sent to camp No. 35 in the Perm Region, RSFSR. On May 12, 1974, he fell ill and did not report for work. In ignorance of camp regulations, he did not report that he was ill. He was severely punished for this: a scheduled visit from his wife was cancelled. His wife had come thousands of miles, and he had not seen her for 2 years. This cruel blow to Pronyuk provoked a month-long

hunger strike against the lawlessness of the camp administration. About 25 prisoners participated in the strike. In spite of threats from Col. Shabadin, Pronyuk would not end his strike. In August, 1974 he joined another hunger strike. In mid-September, 1975 he wrote a protest letter to N. Podgorny, threatening to renounce his Soviet citizenship if prisoners were not given better treatment. He has spent much time in solitary confinement in a cold, damp cell on a diet of less than 1300 cal. per day. His condition deteriorated rapidly in the winter of 1975 and since July, 1975, he has been suffering from tuberculosis of the lungs. According to a recent report he has been transferred to Vladimir Prison, where conditions are even worse than they are in camp.

Repressions Continue Against Female Political Prisoners

"Samvyday" publications in the USSR have been increasing the information concerning three well known Ukrainian female political prisoners: Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Iryna Senyk, Stefania Shabatatura, as well as one non-Ukrainian, Dadia Usoyeva, members of the Ukrainian dissident movement, who are now incarcerated in concentration camps.

A "Samvydav" document, entitled "Women Political Prisoners — First Half of 1976", outlines the conditions under which the women have to live and speaks for itself.

Shabatatura, Stefania - Mykhaylivna born 1937, is a well known painter and specialist of tapestries. Before her arrest she lived in Lviv. She was arrested on January 12, 1972 and accused of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, sentenced to 5 years imprisonment and 2 years banishment from Ukraine. She is serving her sentence in the Mordovian concentration camp. She has been often viciously punished.

Frequently she has protested against the terror and proclaimed hunger

strikes. Her health has deteriorated considerably. All her free moments are occupied by painting. She draws on scrap paper tapestries designs, which are used by other political prisoners to create artistic embroidery.

During frequent searches Shabatatura's art works were confiscated. On March 2, 1976, the camp administrator Gen. Shoryn informed the female prisoners (I. Kalynets, N. Svitlychna and I. Senyk) that 150 paintings confiscated earlier from Shabatatura have been destroyed.

On March 16, during Shabatatura's solitary confinement she proclaimed a twelve day hunger strike against the cruel treatment she has been subjected to. On April 18, 1976, she was confined to the camp's prison for 6 months.

Stefania Shabatatura wrote to the Prosecutor of the USSR outlining the reasons for her renouncement of Soviet citizenship, and wrote to the UN requesting their intervention (the letter to the UN was given to the camp administration and was never forwarded).

Stasiv-Kalynets, Iryna born 1940, a poet, before her arrest lived in Lviv. Arrested on January 12, 1972, accused of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Sentenced to 6 years imprisonment, 3 years exile (her husband, the poet Ihor Kalynets, born in 1938, was sentenced under the same article to 6 years of hard labor and 3 years exile).

For the past four years Kalynets was trying to get an explanation from the camp administration why she is not allowed to visit her husband. Renouncing Soviet citizenship, Iryna Kalynets stressed the following reasons: harsh living conditions of the political prisoners, reprisals against her personally and her friends (S. Shabaturova, I. Senyk and N. Usoyeva), threats, hypocrisy of the administration.

Iryna Kalynets appealed to the UN for intervention in her case.

Senyk, Iryna Mykhaylivna born 1925 is a medical nurse by profession and a known poetess. Before her arrest she lived in Lviv. Arrested on January 12, 1972, accused of anti-Soviet agitation

and propaganda, sentenced to 6 years imprisonment and 3 years exile. Presently serving her sentence in the Mordovian concentration camp.

On March 14, 1976, she was put in solitary confinement for requesting delivery of a Soviet journal which was subscribed for her.

Usoyeva, Nadia Mykhaylivna born 1942, was arrested in 1972, accused of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, sentenced to 7 years imprisonment and 3 years exile (for religious beliefs and religious affiliation). Till spring of 1975 Nadia Usoyeva was at Mordovian concentration camp.

In reprisal for her petitions, written to the higher Soviet authorities, Nadia Usoyeva was transferred to a special prison camp in Byelorussia. There for a whole year she endured cruel confinement among common criminals.

Without sufficient supply of food the female political prisoners are undernourished. During an entire year soap for washing of clothes has not been provided.



Ukrainians Demonstrating For Release Of Political Prisoners in USSR, London, 1977

Mother Defending Her Son Prisoner

An Open Letter to Brezhnev

Honoured Leonid Illiich!

I am the mother of political prisoner Oleksander Serhienko of the Vladimir prison. What the Vladimir prison is — in this day, the entire world has come to know. In times of peace, when there are no prisoner-of-war camps, nothing more brutal, nothing more inhuman exists on the face of the earth.

You and I, Leonid Illiich, are people of one generation. I am not much older than you, and therefore, by right of a mother's soul which has suffered much and for which bureaucratic understanding has disappeared, I will express that which my conscience demands.

My son is extremely ill. He has a chronic form of tuberculosis which in prison has become acute. I visited him on June 20, 1976. All that remains of him is skin and bones. He even lacks the strength to move his lips. I could barely hear what he attempted to say to me. He is unable to take a few steps without holding on to the wall. And yet, this person who is dying has been pronounced healthy. He was declared healthy only because in my letters to you I demanded his release: his further detention in prison being equivalent to a death sentence. For this reason, I, a mother, am taking the liberty of appealing to you, the prime citizen of our Union, with a plea for aid; for with my poor judgement I have inadvertently condemned my son to death. What could be more frightening than this? To seek defense — and to bring death instead . . . Where this occurs, there remains no hope of hearing a good word.

It has taken a lot of effort for me to approach you once again with a letter. The mocking words of Colonel Zavalikin, commander of the Vladimir prison, still ring in my ears: "As a mother, you should be satisfied that we have cured your son of tuberculosis. Today, he is entirely well."

Everywhere they say: "Well, com-

pletely well." What is this? — vengeance for my letters in his defense? They have taken him off the dispensary list, depriving him even of the few pills he used to receive when classified critically ill. They have left him to die without medical attention. O great Hypocrates! These very people, when receiving their medical diplomas vowed in your name to devote their lives to the spirit of love of their neighbours, to the spirit of fraternal sympathy.

Who has transformed their hearts into soulless rocks?

I do not regard this tragic decision as an answer to my pleas for aid. I understand that you yourself did not even read my letters. Instead of you, Colonel Zavalikin replied to me. And the prison walls, which today are my son's only support, answered me. At least they (the walls) do not decline to help when he falls against them and no one else wishes to hold him up.

They tell me: "Your son — is a criminal. What kind of mercy are you seeking for him?" But they have said this all along.

Leonid Illiich! You were an active participant of the XX and XXII (Party) Congresses. God, how much indignation there was because of Stalin's abuse of power! How much sympathy was expressed for the victims of unjust repressions! It was even decided to erect a monument in Moscow, so that our descendants would not forget Stalin's inhuman cruelty. Where is this monument? . . .

My son has committed exactly as many crimes as I had committed, when I was thrown into a Beria camp for ten years. The delegates of the XX and XXII Congresses bowed before me begging me, in the name of the Communist Party, not to mention this evil. The middle-aged colonel, who handed me the documents granting me full and unconditional rehabilitation, appeared sad. His words sounded bitter and stiffly

ceremonious: "The Fatherland grants you forgiveness."

What was this? Why was this? So that some ten years later, the prison guards could lead my critically ill son down the same thorny path? A son who grew up without his mother — for she was torn from him by the criminal will of armed officials, officials who are unaccustomed to report to anyone for their actions. And my son's sentence is the same as was mine — ten years . . .

He is not guilty of anything before the state — just as I was not. Surely it is not a crime, for a youth, still uncorrupted by life, to believe in the decisions of Party Congresses which condemn Stalinism? Is it a criminal act, when the Constitution is understood literally, and not figuratively, as it is generally interpreted by some government agencies? As if that which is written does not concern you — it was signed only so that 'the icon would appear beautiful'.

But the Constitution exists not in order to replace our icons, but in order to live according to it. And to believe its every word. Otherwise, it is transformed into a trap for trusting youths. Is this moral?

Soon, Leonid Illiich, we shall leave this world — our sons and grandchildren will remain. Along with us will go the generation which was taught by Stalin to read one thing, and to understand another. Our sons cannot understand: how is it possible to declare discussions about the separation of Ukraine from the Soviet Union as a criminal act, when this separation has been declared the sacred right of the Ukrainian nation in the Fundamental Law of the country? This is not even agitation — what agitation? — simply a table conversation of yesterday's students about this provocative subject which results in ten, or even fifteen years of imprisonment.

The Helsinki agreement was signed on the basis of the following principle: read one thing, but understand another.

We are accustomed to this (Stalin destroyed tens of millions in order to give us this terrible education!), but the world still lives according to the ancient proverb: "What has been written with a pen, cannot be cut out even with an axe". Even if this axe grows bright with blood . . .

Why do I write this letter? Leonid Illiich, you are not childless — therefore, not without paternal emotions. It is probably clear to you what feelings I have towards the persons who are killing my critically ill son. The fact that I am attempting to speak about this civilly, itself is sufficient proof of my respect for the Soviet government. What do these people expect — surely not that I will once again find enough strength to say: "It's all right, I forgive you?" And this time will come — it will come very shortly! Once again they will approach me on their knees with apologies. But, this time I will not forgive them. Even in the next world, I will not forgive. Otherwise, I will lose the right to call myself a mother.

Leonid Illiich! Even if one considered my son to be actually guilty, even then he would have to be released for trial. I repeat: even if he were guilty. Why? "Because there is a folk saying" "What one owes — one should pay". For the state has recognized and confirmed with documentation: it has deprived me of ten years of my life as a result of its own wrong doings.

Ten years can be compensated by nothing else, but a corresponding ten years. Therefore, I demand: the immediate release of my son — his term was served out for him long ago by me, his mother — Oksana Yakovlivna Meshko, a prisoner of the Beria concentration camps. At the time when I was given a document of complete rehabilitation, the state had nothing by which it could recompense the ill done to me. Today it has: count my term in prison and concentration camps against that of my son, Oleksander Fedorovich Serhienko, political prisoner in the Vladimir prison. And although he actually does not

require this, because he is not guilty of anything, I nevertheless tearfully beg of you: Count my term! Or my son will die. And then I, his mother, will not be able to die in peace. For I will have killed him with my previous appeal to you, Leonid Illiich!"

I believed, and still believe... Perhaps this very faith is our fault? Ours — that is, mine and yours, Leonid Illiich, because you and I are people of one generation. We formed this society,

based upon our own fantasy. And what have our fantasies changed into?...

Nevertheless, I do not doubt that the resolutions of the XXII Congress sooner or later will be fulfilled — that in Moscow, at last, a grandiose monument will be erected in honour of the victims of state lawlessness. Surely, Leonid Illiich, you are not indifferent as to what words shall be carved into the granite of this monument.

Oksana Meshko

We Must Fight

(Interview with V. Bukovsky's mother)

"I'd like to speak to you as a mother, and tell you something about the people I have met in Moscow. I know one mother, who suffers terribly because her son is in prison, — the mother of Oles Serhienko — her name is Oksana Yakiwna Meshko. For no reason, she was imprisoned for ten years during the Stalin regime. When she was arrested her son was 14 years old, and when she was released he was 24 years of age. Now he, in turn has been imprisoned, for no other reason than for being a Ukrainian. He has done nothing, has committed no crime. The KGB found a manuscript — you probably know of Dzyuba's trial! Later Dzyuba acted very badly, he not only repented but betrayed many friends at his interrogation. He was freed, but during the enquiry of his case they found a manuscript with an introduction containing ordinary editorial notes written in Oles Serhienko's handwriting. There was nothing else! Therefore it was a completely unsupported case. Oles Serhienko committed no crime, there was no evidence, but he was given a Draconic punishment.

We have to fight for his release, because he is extremely ill. The last section of 'release due to illness' applies to no-one. When his mother began to plead for his release because of his illness, the KGB could not think of anything better but to take away his 'identification of invalidity'. They said that

he had recovered, that his tuberculosis had been cured, and they forced him to work. The identification of invalidity was his only protection, and even that was taken from him.

His mother is suffering badly, she is 75 years of age, and is also very ill. She pleads, writes letters to governments and now, she has joined a 'Ukrainian Group' which promotes the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Act. After joining this group she was staying at Rayisa Moroz's lodgings, and was injured with a stone which was thrown through the window. Rayisa was also hurt by the stone. The KGB would never admit that this was their doing, but no-one else would dream of getting involved in such acts. I feel very sorry for this woman, and I promised her that, as a mother like her I would help her in any way I could. Therefore I ask you, Ukrainians, to start a campaign for the defence of Oles Serhienko, because otherwise he will die — he is very ill! — and mobilize all Ukrainians to stand up for him. Possibly Amnesty International will take up his defence. I spoke on the telephone with Amnesty International about this matter, but as far as I know, Serhienko still has no help from any group like Amnesty International to take up his case. I beg you to do so, this poor mother may not live until the release of her son, and maybe her son will not survive until his release.

Oles's mother's address is: MESHKO, O. Y., Kyiv 86, Verbolozna St. 16.

Ukrainians like V. Moroz who is suffering badly, pin their hopes on you."

QUESTION: Do you think there is a possibility that political prisoners leave for the West, like Solzhenitsyn and even your son?

Answer: I think we should strive for this in every way, we must turn to the Heads of States who signed the Helsinki Act. Otherwise these people will be tortured. I. Kandyba was freed after 15 years of imprisonment. He cannot earn enough for a piece of bread. He has no professional qualifications, because the educated Ukrainian workers — politi-

cal prisoners, belonging to the intelligentsia — are not able to do manual work. This intelligentsia has been used to writing, working with their minds. It is very difficult for them to get accustomed to the conditions of life in exile and concentration camps.

Kandyba, even though he is a free man, is still victimized. He is constantly threatened with a sentence. This is why it is imperative for us to fight — it is absolutely necessary! Yes, I believe that if we take all opportunities to fight and appeal to governments so they in turn can appeal to the Soviet government, this will help — this is my belief. Let my son tell you about everything else.

The Ordeal of Vasyl Petrovych Fedorenko

To the Editor:

On Jan. 17 we were informed by dissidents in Moscow that Ukrainian political prisoner Vasyl Petrovych Fedorenko, who has been on a hunger strike since Dec. 10, 1975, was driven by the cruel treatment of the Vladimir Prison administrators to make an attempt to end his life by self-immolation.

Prison guards "saved" his life by dousing him with scalding hot water.

Vasyl Fedorenko was born in 1928 in Ukraine and worked as a locksmith. He was first arrested 1959 on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda".

While serving his first sentence in Vladimir Prison he undertook a 282-day hunger strike in protest against his illegal incarceration. He was arrested for a second time in 1967 and released in 1972. In 1974 he renounced his Soviet citizenship and appealed for permission to emigrate.

On Sept. 16, 1974, Fedorenko crossed the Soviet border but was returned to the USSR by Czechoslovak authorities. In September 1975, Fedorenko was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda" and "treason". During his trial he declared his opposition to Soviet colonial policies

and spoke about the right of the Ukraine to be an independent state.

On Dec. 10, 1975, the day of a general hunger strike by inmates of Vladimir Prison, he began a hunger strike of unspecified duration as a sign of protest against the violation of the Declaration of Human Rights in the USSR and against the anti-Ukrainian policies of the Soviet Government. Fedorenko's unprecedented hunger strike continues into its second year.

We attribute the worsening of the regime, the terror in the prisons and labor camps of the USSR, to the one-sidedness of détente, to the unprincipled stands of Western governments, which enter into détente on terms set by Brezhnev and Andropov, who need Western economic help but not the Western freedoms of information or conscience — elementary human rights which have long existed in bourgeois democratic countries.

We appeal to people of conscience: Save our comrades; save Vasyl Fedorenko.

Vladimir Bukovsky
Leonid Plyushch

Paris, Jan. 20, 1977

New York Times, Friday, Feb. 11, 1977

A New Wave of Arrests in Ukraine

Reuters have informed us that a new wave of arrests has started in Ukraine, of the so-called 'Kyiv Group' and in all probability of all other Ukrainian fighters for the freedom of national and human rights, in concurrence with the Helsinki Agreement.

For the present, we have knowledge of the arrested — Mykola Rudenko, author and Head of the 'Kyiv Group', and Alexander Tychyj, a teacher from the Donets.

Rudenko's wife has announced a hunger strike in protest against the unsubstantiated grounds for her husband's arrest, and the barbarous conduct of the KGB agents towards her. The KGB searched the apartments of Nina Strokata-Karavanska and Oksana Meshko, the mother of Oles Serhienko. Of course, anyone could be made out to be a member of the afore-mentioned 'Kyiv Group'.

In Moscow, known Russian dissidents were arrested as well: Alexander Ginsburg, author, and Yuriy Orlov, professor of physics and Head of the 'Moscow Group' in concurrence with the Helsinki Agreement. They were blamed for crimes such as, fraud, stealing of icons and having contacts with Western pro-fascist emigrants. To defend Ginsburg over two hundred Soviet critics of the regime signed a letter of protest.

The revolution spreads throughout Eastern Europe, from Poland through Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary right through to Rumania. Nevertheless, the Communist chiefs in the USSR and satellite states are preparing a counter-attack, aimed at the Helsinki-like conference to be held in Belgrade. They try to present all movements for national and human rights in the Helsinki Conference, maintaining that these movements are directed from outside, and that the principles of non-intervention in internal matters are being ignored.

Pavlo Goma, a Rumanian author, whose works are only printed abroad, took a stand in the defence of the Czecho-Slovakian Charter 77, which was signed, amongst others by A. Dubček. Here we bring his interesting views, from a letter which was sent to the French press. "The Rumanian occupation of Rumania is more painful and effective, than if it were occupied by the enemy. We all bear the same yoke. The trampling of these basic rights, and the actual contempt of human life. Misery is everywhere, lies, economic chaos, demagogy, uncertainty, terror."

A USA delegate has brought up the subject of Yuriy Orlov at the United Nations Commission of Human Rights.

The Mordovian Hell

Here in the West we received some news from the Mordovian homicidal camps that in 1975, in four prison camps 135 prisoners died. During an eight month period in 1975 a hundred deaths were noted — 34 of these suicidal, 17 of which were women. 12 prisoners died in isolation cells.

They bury the dead in the camp cemetery, but do not mark all the graves. They do not pass on the possessions of the deceased to their families. If any of the children die (children of up to two years remain with their mothers — from birth they are familiar with the punitive system), they are buried without the mother knowing where.

In Mordovia, there are people who swear they do not know why they have been imprisoned. Many of the prisoners are there because of their great love for their fatherland — defending their country against all foreigners whether in word or deed, sometimes with the use of a weapon — for the independence of their country.

In the main these are the Baltic, the Caucasian and Ukrainian political prisoners.

Political Prisoners Need Your Help

Three young philosophers — Vasyl Lisovy, Yevhen Pronyuk, and Mykola Bondar — dared to criticize the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to demand respect for human and national rights. They knew from what had happened to others that they were risking their careers, their well-being, even their lives and the happiness of their loved ones. Yet, they refused to remain silent, for to be silent is to collaborate. Like thousands of Ukrainians, they have become prisoners of conscience — inmates of prisons, labour camps, and psychiatric hospitals, whose sole "crime" was to protest against the violation of religious, national, and human rights by Russia.

The citizens of democratic countries, can do a lot to help the victims of Russian repression in the Ukraine. Soviet leaders are not sensitive to world opinion, but they are not immune to it. Under its pressure they have permitted

thousands of their victims to emigrate, have freed some dissenters, and have improved the treatment of some prisoners. You can help Lisovy, Pronyuk, and Bondar by informing the public about their tragic fate, by protesting to Soviet officials on their behalf, by requesting intervention from western governments in their interest, by expressing moral support in personal letters to these men.

"The world is indivisible, and the struggle for freedom is also indivisible". Without your help the movement for national and human rights in the USSR cannot succeed, and without its victory your own freedom can never be secure. And not only is your freedom dependent on the struggle for national and human rights, but your survival as well. For this reason you cannot ignore what has happened to Lisovy, Pronyuk, and Bondar.

News From Ukraine

News of arrests in Ivano-Frankivsk have arrived. Amongst the arrested the surname Lesiva appears. In self-edition circulates a list of Ukrainian Baptists imprisoned in the fifties who are serving sentences in camps of the ordinary regime IV 301/59 in the Vinnytskij province: Mykola Kabash, Anton Pohanych, Basarab, Jurij Borka, Vasyl Soncvchan, T. Shomon, Anatol Vakulych, Vjacheslav Pasternatskyj, Tymofij Kondratiuk, Adam Zarevnyj, Petro Bohomaz, Mykola Adamchuk, Mykola Havryliuk, Mykola Oseychuk, Denis Vetrych, Ivan Moldovan, and Onufrij Kohutanych. In the concentration camp IV 301/81 (Zhytomyrska province) Petro Zalevskyj is held, and in the severe regime camp JU 309/71 Dmytro Hotakivskyj.

In the Dnipropetrovsk special psy-

chiatric hospital Petro Trotsiuk-Kozliuk is detained. He is approximately 50 years old and a former soldier of the UPA. After the war he was arrested and sentenced to 25 years. He served approximately half of his sentence and then escaped. For 6 years he lived in freedom, worked, got married and had a daughter. All the same somebody recognized him on the street and informed on him. He was arrested for a second time in 1962 and sentenced to serve out his former sentence. In 1971 a trial was opened against him according to article 102 KK, more precisely probable participation in "terrorist activities of OUN". In 1972 the experts of the institute in honour of Serbskyj acknowledged him as mentally ill and he was transferred to the Psychiatric Institute of Dnipropetrovsk.

The Faithful And the Atheists In Ukraine

On the 5th of January, this year, P. Myschenko, a reporter for the newspaper "The Youth of Ukraine" of the Komsomol press in the USSR from the Schorskyj vicinity of the Chernihivska region wrote:

"In the region, no-one seriously thinks about why sometimes, young parents still have their children baptized. Why, even in this present day does the youth take part in well known religious feasts?"

P. Myschenko affirms the fact that the Komsomol chiefs do not want to be disunited over "rose-coloured illusions". In the first place, no-one checks whether any action is taken, secondly, the District Committee does not analyze their effectiveness, it is a fact. A dangerous fact, first and foremost because a few young people have formed the opinion that sectarians talk about more interesting topics, than they do at their own clubs. Discussions are lengthy about the 'dissenter' Stepan Miroshnychenko and his wife Maria, (who, up to the war finished a teachers training course). We continue to read, "everything is not well in Kuchymiv with its academic propaganda.

In the same edition of the "Youth of Ukraine" M. Rybachuk advertises an atheist society called "Knowledge" which prints literature (written by T. Hapanchuk) about 'How we should live and work in the style of Lenin'. In fact, this literature explains the activities of the Komsomol in the Ukraine, with an atheist bias.

The first atheist groups formed in compliance with the directives of the Komsomol were started in the USSR (1969-1970) during the academic year.

Today, on paper there are approximately 3,600 groups. This type of group has various names e. g. "Foundation of Educational Atheism"; "The Torch"; "The Light", "The Young Atheist"; "To the Light". In Ternopilshchyna, the atheists are forced to appear under the firm

of KVAT, (Club for Active Atheists), and in the Lviv region, as clubs under the name of Jaroslaw Halan.

The journal "The Krestyanka" (reports of Russian practices in the USSR), also contains anti-religious propaganda from the Communist Party.

C. Bernatska, a resident of the village of Pidsliynyj Mukariv, in the Dunaj region received a letter, reading as follows:

"On the bank of a river, a twelve year-old boy saw God, (in the text, God was written with a small letter) dressed in white vestments. God says: pass this letter round. It should pass all over the world. One family wrote out this letter nine times and sent them around the world, and within 36 days had great luck. Another family did not believe in the letter, and so it contracted an incurable disease. Pray to God. Soon there will be a great judgement. The sea will be as blood. Do not forget your Holy Father and His son. Write out this letter nine times and send it all over. If you keep it for three weeks you will contract an incurable disease. Do not forget the suffering Mother of God, and you will be protected by God if you keep to your word.

Praise the Holy Father, the Holy Ghost. Praise be to you Lord, Amen. Pray three times a day."

C. Petrivna Barnatska did not write out the letter, although, when writing about herself she had "rheumatism of the heart, and nervous stenosis" and was "extremely ill".

Though C. Bernatska wrote that she never takes the opportunity to pray and that she has not the time to pray three times a day, she still sent the letter to the editorial office of the newspaper "The Youth of Ukraine", and the Komsomol newspaper did not print it out only nine times but many thousands more.

The aim of the faithful, the instigators of the letter was achieved.

Communist Riflemen Watching the Free Part of a Divided City from a Church

In the Church of Propitiation" in Bernauer Str., Berlin near the so-called "Berlin Wall" having by now become a wall of death it is still — over 30 years after the end of the war — forbidden to celebrate church services. We have it on safe authority that observation posts of the eastern zone border police are stationed in this church. From windows and hatchways they are watching the death zone along the wall with field glasses. These posts are equipped with automatic weapons. Since the church is located across the death zone it constitutes a very convenient point for the riflemen of the atheistic Communist regime for carrying out their horrible task. The interior of the church itself resembles a large storage room — in line with the Russian model.

This church exemplifies the oppression of Christianity in the "GDR". Rev. Oscar Brüsewitz protested against such oppression, as did many others, and he had to die.

Murderous Plots against Christians in the City of Tiraspol

Late in the evening, on his way back home Jakob Mayer was suddenly and unexpectedly dazzled by an oncoming car, a Russian "Volga". In order to see anything at all he stooped. At that moment somebody shot at him from the oncoming car. Owing to his stooped pose the bullets passed above his head and Mayer was not wounded. It is well known that inconvenient Christians in the atheistic sphere of power are simply removed by "accidents" induced by representatives of the government. This happened for instance to the four Ukrainians Moiseyev, Khmara, Biblenko and now Deynaga, as well as to many others.

The Fate of Rev. R. D. Bakhtalovsky

In December 1971 Rev. Roman Danylovych Bakhtalovsky from Kolomyia was detained in Camp No. 385/17, Mordovia. His parish was in Kolomyia. The KGB had become interested in his sermons and having learned about his good relationship with the people proposed that he should inform the KGB about everything the people told him during confession. The priest declined failing to observe the secrecy of confession. The KGB advised him to think their proposal over rather than refuse it straight away. The clergyman refused to further discuss the matter with the KGB and requested them to desist from bothering him. Several months later a young man began to frequent Rev. Roman Bakhtalovsky telling him that he was afraid to go to church because he was a member of the Komsomol (Communist Youth League) but that he believed in God; he asked the priest to help him as he found it difficult to live in the atheistic atmosphere reigning in the Soviet Union. The clergyman believing this young man discussed religious matters with him, among other things religious literature suppressed in the USSR. Soon after the KGB searched the priest's home. After finding religious literature and religious objects for mass, etc. there they arrested the 70-year-old clergyman. He was sentenced to 8 years (3 years concentration camps and 5 years exile) on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". The KGB assumed that a 70-year-old man would hardly survive a sentence to be served in prison and concentration camps, but to be on the safe side they added 5 years of exile. At present it is not known whether Rev. R. Bakhtalovsky is still alive. He ought to have completed his sentence in December 1976. In December 1971 he was staying in Mordovia, and had also been detained in Vladimir prison. Where is he now? Will the Church in the free World keep silence?

The USSR Concentration Camps of the 1970's

I was fortunate. Fortunate, for after six years of imprisonment in the USSR (1970-1976), I was allowed to go and be reunited with my family in Israel. Fortunate, because during those long years I met and was befriended by hundreds and hundreds of vigorous, courageous fighters for human and national rights. Fortunate, because throughout this period I was incarcerated in the prison complexes of the Mordovian and Permian provinces, and at the time of my release I was serving out my sentence in the famous Vladimir prison — these places are known from history and also geography. At this time I am in London and at the time of my release I friends I will attempt to give a brief account of the current situation in the political prison camps and the Vladimir prison.

The late 1960's and early 70's introduced certain basic changes in the composition of the political prisoners within the USSR. During the early 60's revision of Marxism-Leninism was viewed as an improvement by the prisoners in the Mordovian ASSR. The major impetus toward the reconsideration, in my view, was provided by N. Khrushchev following the rehabilitation of millions of individuals who were liquidated or crippled during the personality cult of Stalin as was revealed at the 12th Congress of the CPSU, and reported widely on radio and in the Party and Soviet press. The very fact that the Party's "leader idol" was purged cast serious aspersions on the very idea of Marxism-Leninism. Initially member Marxists-Leninists in the USSR rejected "the father of all nations" and turned to the source, Marx and Lenin, which fostered the demand for corrections of various aspects of their learned apostles or for a dogmatic interpretation of their works.

Generally speaking, through the mid-60's there were two groups of Marxists in the political prison camps, the Krasnopyevczeva and the Senina group. The former maintained an orthodox Marxist view and the latter strove to further improve Marxism. It is particularly important to note that, in the prison camp, the vast majority of the Marxists would come into contact with other groups — the living witnesses who experienced the realities of the development of Marxism-Leninism. Eventually they would discard Marxist and join other nationalist movements representing one or another republic, or, turn to religion, or, on occasion, having become disenchanted with all "ideals" turn to the prison camp administration and the KGB hoping to gain favours and leniency. There were rare instances where Marxists would remain orthodox insisting that the ideology is not at fault if it falls into the hands of criminals. I won't list their names for they are rare and individual cases.

Actually, in the prison camps one could learn the history of the USSR completely, better than from the works of learned historians, not to mention the fact that in the camps it was the truth that was presented. I came to know an individual, who, in 1972 had served 42 years in prison camps. Beginning with 1921, that is from the time of the Kronstadt revolution, his fate had taken him across the Solovetsk, Kolyma, Siberia and the Ural. I met people who had worked on the Dneprohens and experienced the Amur, built the White Sea-Baltic Canal and the Abakan-Tayshet Tributary.

Throughout the camp stalked the living history of thousands and thousands of human tragedies which forced one to not only wonder about the practices used in the development of Com-

munism but to examine the very idea which brought them about. And suddenly, just as before, there was an upheaval. If Krushchev discredited Stalin so Czecho-Slovakia discredited the ideology. Understandably there was a degree of inertia, individual cases of Marxists continued to be imprisoned, but with time it became only the anti-Soviets, nationalists and democrats, in short, those who spurned Marx and Lenin. I think that this process has been driven into the fabric of society by the repressive machine of the KGB. Neither the ideologically controlled arts nor the regime philosphers could stem the tide. The prison camps, psychiatric and criminal prisons are now being populated almost exclusively with religious believers and those convicted on the basis of fabricated criminal charges ostensibly for viewing reality in terms other than official versions. In particular the policy of the KGB from 1970-72 lends credence to such a view. During that period arrests and trials were held involving Zionists in Leningrad, Riga, Kishinev and Ukrainian nationalists in Kyiv, Kharkiw, Lviv and Sub-Carpathia. Arrests and 'criminal' trials invol-

ving Lithuanian nationalists were held in Kaunas where the defendants were charged with "deliberate disorder". The camps have filled with Armenian nationalists and with representatives from Georgia, Moldavia, Central Asia and Azerbaijan. From the blood and suffering of the destroyed national intelligentsia sprouted the eternal demand of the republics for their right to secede, as guaranteed by the Soviet constitution, and has become the top priority in their struggle. Within the political prison camps there are no representatives of the Crimean Tartars, even though the world is familiar with their valiant struggle to return to the Crimea. Crimean Tartars can be found in psychiatric hospitals (prisons) and in criminal prison camps. This deliberate policy is designed to cast the Crimean Tartar nationalist movement as nothing more than a family quarrel or as distorted views of reality.

Everything I have written is characteristic of the last 5-6 years, but this is not the only contingent and not the largest — for that is the Usrainians.

(To be continued)



Registration of the Delegates at 10th WACL Conference.

Resolutions Adopted by the 10th WACL Conference, Taipei, April, 18-22, 1977

On National Independence and Human Rights

The 10th WACL Conference appeals to the US President and the governments of free countries to exert pressure on the governments of the USSR and other Communist-dominated countries to obtain:

The release of all national, political and religious prisoners in 1977, which is Political Prisoners Year;

The abolishment of concentration camps and psychiatric prisoners;

The end of persecutions for national, political, social and religious convictions or for free cultural creativity and liberation activities for the realization of national independence and human rights;

The end of Russification, denational-

ization and assimilation of the subjugated peoples through the destruction of national cultures and traditions, religions and churches, through forced intermingling of peoples, deportation, assigning the youth of the captive nations for work in Siberian or Kazakh areas or in Russia with the aim to enforce the creation of an unnatural phenomenon i. e. the so-called Soviet people, that would be identical in perspective with the Russian people;

The end of the national, political, social and economic oppression of the captive nations;

The abolishment of the exploitation of workers, peasants and of the working intelligentsia, also of the collective



Group of Delegates at 10th WACL Conference. Among them Delegates of Belgium, Bulgaria, China, Ukraine, Croatia and Nigeria.

agricultural system and the imposed economic state capitalism;

The withdrawal of the Russian occupation forces, together with the Communist terror apparatus, from the countries subjugated within the USSR and from the Satellite complex, in order to enable the respective peoples to restore their national independent, democratic states.

The WACL Conference appeals to the governments of the Free World states to apply the UN Resolution on World Decolonization — the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of 14. 12. 1960 not only to the areas of the no longer existing British, French, Belgian and other Western Empires, but primarily to the USSR, the last existing Empire which must be disintegrated into independent, national, democratic states of the subjugated peoples;

The 10th WACL Conference appeals

to the US Government — in its policy towards the Russian Empire and Communism — to abide by the US Congress Public Law 86-90 of 19th July, 1959, on the restoration of the Captive Nations' national independence;

The WACL Conference further appeals to these governments to apply the Resolution (concerning 'support for the national liberation struggle of a captive nation against colonial rule which any nation may conduct by all the means available including primarily armed struggle') adopted by 107 votes at the UN on December 20th, 1976, to the subjugated nations in the USSR and behind the Iron Curtain in general, to the same extent as this Resolution is applicable to Namibia.

The 10th WACL Conference considers that analogically to the PLO the national liberation organizations of the nations subjugated by Bolshevism should be granted the same legal status in the United Nations.

On Policy of Détente

Whereas, détente is conducted as a unilateral move of the Western Powers, which has brought about the weakening of the national revolutionary liberation processes within the nations enslaved in the USSR and the satellite countries. As a consequence, the interference by Moscow in the internal affairs of each one of the Western countries has been intensified. Any interest that the West might have had in the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations in the Russian Colonial Empire has been totally minimized, although the liberation of these nations is not an internal affair of the empire.

Whereas, Moscow is continuing its "ideological struggle" inside the West, which is directed against the West itself, also in Africa, Asia, America, under the disguise of the so-called national liberation armed wars (Angola), in the form of the so-called civil wars

(Vietnam, Cambodia) or class struggle (e. g. in Italy, Portugal, France) or instigating disturbances (e. g. in the Near East);

Whereas, Moscow has not altered her goal of taking possession of the still free part of Europe after having choked up NATO and chasing away the United States from Europe, she now desires to extend her rule over the Near East and to continue its envisaged usurpations and conquests;

Whereas, the détente policy will eventually ruin the West, should the front created by the captive nations become demobilized, for the captive nations continuously prevent the seizure of the remaining part of Europe by the enemy of mankind i. e. Moscow;

Whereas, one of Moscow's major achievements in Helsinki is the declaration made by the US President and the

Governments of Free Europe to the effect that they have no intention whatsoever to have the status quo with respect to the subjugation of nations changed, in other words, they do not envisage the liberation of the captive nations in the USSR. By making the said declaration, the USA and other governments have contributed to the demobilization of the front of fighting nations and have lost their most trustworthy allies. **Basket No. 3** of the Final Act of Helsinki concerning Human Rights is but a bluff! Human Rights do not exist for the subjugated nations within the empire — the USSR, as long as the fundamental right — the right of a nation to its independent national democratic statehood — has not been realized;

Whereas, the selection of Belgrade, the capital of a Communist mini-empire — Yugoslavia, as a place for the Conference which will be examining whe-

ther the Human Rights are observed — is utter irony!

Therefore the 10th WACL Conference resolves:

to appeal to the Free World that it is in its own interest to win over the hearts of the people of the captive nations, in order to decisively weaken the military potential of the Bolshevik Empire.;

to appeal to the governments of the Free World that the policy of détente with tyrants, be replaced by the policy of liberation — a policy of active support to the national liberation struggle of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Estonia, Latvia, East Germany, Slovakia, Czechia, Poland, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia, Georgia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus and all other peoples enslaved in the USSR and the satellite countries, for their national independence.

On Independence of Ukraine

Since Ukraine, with its 53 million population of unbounded revolutionary potential, with its tremendous economic wealth and natural resources, with its industrious people and investitive, intellectual elite, and its geo-political location, is a decisive element in the anti-Bolshevik struggle and in the construction of a new just international order;

Since Ukraine, — even after the loss of its national independence in 1920-1921, and after having lost 20 million of its population in consequence of the geno-, ethno-, culture-cide under Bolshevism, of War Communism, in consequence of an artificial famine organized by Moscow in 1932-1933, purges during Yezhov period (1937), the mass extermination of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the revolutionary underground — Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and their supporters from the entire nation in 1942-1953, — has not ceased the strug-

gle for national independence and human rights, ("always struggling towards freedom" — Voltaire).

Since Ukraine, — as the Phoenix from the ashes, is constantly reborn, as is witnessed by: —

- a) the uprisings of Ukrainian and other political prisoners in Russian concentration camps in 1953-59;
- b) the rebirth of the new intellectual elite in the 1960's and 1970's in the spirit of patriotism, liberation-nationalism, Christianity and Ukrainian historical traditional democracy;
- c) the strengthening of liberation activities by the revolutionary national underground (information supplied by our own channels and by research of political, historical, economic, ethnographic and other professional journals, literary magazines and various other sources);

d) the endeavours, by diverse methods and forms of the young Ukrainian generation, to achieve national independence and have human rights realized.

Therefore the Xth WACL Conference resolves: —

to support the revolutionary liberation struggle of Ukraine for its national independence and human rights;

to demand that Ukraine, as a charter member of the United Nations, be represented in the UN not by the Moscow—imposed colonial government—Uk. SSR, but by representatives of the national liberation organization (OUN—Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), who should be accredited at least the same status as PLO;

to condemn Russian chauvinism, imperialism, colonialism, geno-, ethno-, and culture-cide, Russification, and the deportation of Ukrainians outside Ukraine;

to condemn national, political, socio-economic exploitation of the Ukrainian nation and its territory;

to condemn the trampling of national and human rights by Russian Communists and neo-colonialists, the violation of agreements and international legal acts, such as, the United Nations Charter; Resolution on decolonization — Granting of Independence to Colonial Peoples and Countries of 14. 12. 1960, and even the violation of 'Basket Three' and Articles VII and VIII (on national and human rights) of the Final Helsinki Acts and at the same time, of their own constitutions (of the USSR Article 17 and Ukrainian SSR Article 14) which give every republic in the USSR the

right to freely secede from the USSR and in practice, they sentence to 15 years of penal imprisonment, or death, for attempting only theoretically to analyze these articles of constitution as in the case of lawyers L. Lukianenko, I. Kandyba and others;

to condemn the persecution of Ukrainian Churches, the destruction of Ukrainian cultural treasures, the murder of Ukrainian priests (Father Lutskyj and Father Luchkiw), and of the artist Alla Horska and especially members of the underground Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) by the KGB;

to demand the release of all Ukrainian political and religious prisoners, who constitute 69-70% of all political prisoners, beginning with Yuriy Shukhevich Valentin Moroz, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Iryna Senyk, Iryna Kalynets, Z. Antoniuk, I. Svitlychny, Father Romaniuk, M. Rudenko, O. Tykhyj and all the members of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, many of whom have been in prisons and concentration camps for over 30 years, only because they were fighting for the disintegration of the Russian Empire and the restoration of the Ukrainian independent national state, and thus the realization of human rights;

to demand the release of poet Zinovy Krasivsky and others from psychiatric asylums;

to demand the withdrawal of Russian occupational armies and the Russian apparatus of terror from Ukraine, so that the Ukrainian people can restore their own national, independent, democratic state.

On Decolonization and Détente in Connection with the Belgrade Conference

WHEREAS: all the signatory nations to the UN Declaration of 14th December 1960 calling for the granting and restoration of full independence to ALL peoples living under colonial rule, systematically ignore Soviet Russia's non-

observance and continuing blatant violation of the Declaration, and lay no binding obligation whatsoever upon the Kremlin leaders to implement the terms of the Declaration by restoring independence to Ukraine, Georgia, Byelo-

ussia, Turkestan, Armenia, Azerbaijdzan, Northern Caucasus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Slovakia, Czechia, Albania, Croatia, and others.

WHEREAS: the total failure of Soviet Russia to observe and honour all constitutional treaties, declarations and other legally binding commitments to restore independence to the above-mentioned, formerly free nation states.

WHEREAS: the free Western Governments at Helsinki and Geneva by taking no account whatever of Soviet Russia's refusal to recognize that decolonization of the afore-mentioned forcibly colonized nations constitutes a prerequisite of détente; and by failing publicly to condemn their non-compliance with U.N. rulings, have helped to perpetuate Russian colonialist rule in the U.S.S.R., as a direct result of which Russian imperialist expansion

on the African continent and elsewhere has considerably increased.

The inherent contradiction in upholding Human Rights without at the same time recognizing the absolute necessity of first insisting upon individual freedom and national independence is POINTED OUT.

The 75 nations assembled in Taipei for the 1977 WACL Conference DEMAND that at the forthcoming Conference in Belgrade:

1. Discussions on the progress of détente be prefaced by a call to the Russian Government to declare its firm intention immediately to start the process of decolonization of the USSR.

2. That, as Russian interference in other nations' internal affairs has increased since the Helsinki Agreement (e.g. Portugal, Spain, etc.) the Western nations should now consider whether further discussions with Soviet Russia on détente can produce any positive results.

On the Dangers of Trade and Aid to Communist Countries

WHEREAS; the European Freedom Council believes that trading in materials that may be used for military purposes with countries having Communist controlled economies, is detrimental to the Free World.

WHEREAS; it is inconsistent and immoral to apply sanctions against South Africa and Rhodesia, who pose no threat and not to apply them against the Russian, Chinese and other Communist countries, who do pose a threat.

WHEREAS; in recent years foreign trade between free industrial countries and Communist dictatorships created debts for the latter, amounting to DM 100,000 million (£ 25,000 million). This raises the question as to whether the Communist dictatorships, through the continuation of the present volume of trade, will be able to pay the interest and repay the debts.

WHEREAS; the importation of technical expertise and equipment is vitally important for these countries. Some Western experts are warning against extending further credits to Communist countries. Competition among Western nations to supply the goods and so solve their unemployment problems, result in the Communist dictatorships obtaining vital strategic material on highly favourable terms. The free enterprise system of trading in Western countries, is being exploited by the politically coordinated planning of the East European dictatorships and by certain Western interests.

The European Freedom Council requests the World Anti-Communist League to put forward the following minimum demands: —

1) That the World Bank limits finance for exports to Communist countries to vital foodstuffs at world market prices.

2) That credits and Bank guarantees for industrial goods, which could be used in the manufacture of weapons, should be terminated.

3) That exports and necessary cre-

dits should not exceed repayment quotas as per item 1. above.

4) That failure to adopt the above demands will lead to the strengthening of Communism.

Dissolution & De-colonization of the Soviet Russian Empire

Whereas, the fate of Europe, Africa, America and Asia depends on the success or failure of the entrenchment of the totalitarian ideology of Communism which hinges largely on the political and military might of the Soviet Russian empire;

and, whereas, Soviet Russian imperialism has become a threat to world peace through its military buildup and global subversion to attain world domination;

and, whereas, old colonial empires have come to an end, Soviet Russia in the guise of the USSR is oppressing large portions of Europe and Asia in its intercontinental prison of nations, and has become the largest and most oppressive colonial empire in human history;

and, whereas, according to a conservative estimate, in the Soviet Russian empire alone about 66 million people have been killed since 1917 to the present, at least 30 million in China and about 1 million in Cambodia;

and, whereas, dialectical materialism in its various forms — historical materialism, "scientific" socialism and Communism, Marxism-Leninism, atheism, etc. — in denying the divine origin of man, his inborn feeling of dignity, phenomenal uniqueness, and his inherent sense of spiritual and cultural values, has become one of the most vicious and brutal instruments of the Communist system by resorting to the destruction of the historical and cultural heritage (in order to deprive people of their metaphysical foundations), and to outright genocide (as mentioned above);

and, whereas, the contest for national and cultural selfdetermination and human rights has become a universal phenomenon in our age, particularly within the Soviet Russian empire, its "satellites" and other Communist-dominated areas of the world;

and, whereas, such struggle for national, individual and human rights is being ruthlessly opposed by Soviet Russia, and its ideological and political allies elsewhere, by means of persecution, mass arrests, imprisonment and even killing of countless freedom-loving and God-fearing patriots, particularly in the non-Russian countries of the empire;

and, whereas, national liberation and independence of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and Communist totalitarianism, is the main prerequisite for the realization of human and individual rights and socioeconomic justice for their respective peoples.

Be it therefore resolved that the WACL Conference

I. Declare, that only the dissolution and de-colonization of the Soviet Russian empire and the elimination of all other forms of Communist totalitarianism and aggression shall ensure the creation of a lasting base for a peaceful and free world.

II. Declare, that Armenia, Azerbaijan, Angola, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Croatia, Cuba, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, (East) Germany, Hungary, Laos, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Northern Caucasus, North Korea, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia, Turkestan, UKRAINE, Vietnam and many other

peoples have an equal right as do the free nations of the world, to full national independence the establishment of their independent, sovereign and democratic national states, which will permit the implementation of genuine human and individual rights and freedom and socio-economic justice on their respective national territories.

III. Support the reunification IN FREEDOM of all divided nations.

IV. Encourage the nations of the Free World to officially protest and intervene whenever the rights of nations and individuals are violated in countries dominated by Soviet Russian imperialism and Communist dictatorship — as it is done regarding such violations elsewhere in the world.

V. Urge the United Nations that it take immediate steps that its own "DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES" and "THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS" be also rele-

vant to the colonial peoples under Soviet Russian domination, and those oppressed by similar Communist totalitarian systems elsewhere in the world.

VI. Protest against the mass arrests of hundreds of prominent Ukrainian patriots and cultural leaders by the Russian KGB, such as Y. Shukhevych, V. Moroz, C. Chornovil, I. Kalynets and his wife Iryna Stasiv, V. Stus, M. Osadchyi, E. Sverstiuk, S. Karavansky, Z. Krasivsky, O. Riznykiv, M. Rudenko, O. Tykhyi, and countless others.

VII. Uphold the fact that the restoration of a free and independent Ukrainian State, holds the key to a reversal of balance of power in Eastern and Central Europe, guaranteeing the national independence of other oppressed nations by Soviet Russia in that area.

VIII. Condemn the Helsinki Accord as a tool of Soviet Russian propaganda and further political expansion and aggression.

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Ukrainians Unveil Shevchenko Monument in Paraguay

Paraguayan President, Argentinian Officials, Others Attend Unveiling

Some 700 Ukrainian families in Encarnacion raised the necessary funds to erect a statue in honor of Taras Shevchenko, the poet-laureate of Ukraine, in the Gen. Alfredo Stroessner Square, named in honor of the country's President.

Their dreams were realized on Friday, November 19, when Gen. Stroessner and R. Pylynsky, chairman of the T. Shevchenko Monument Committee, together unveiled the monument in the presence of some 1,500 people.

The Shevchenko Monument raises the total number of statues of the Ukrainian poet in the free world to six, with three of them located in South America. The unveiling ceremonies were the culmination of a week long series of Ukrainian events in Paraguay which began with the official proclamation of "Ukrainian Week" by Mayor Jose Caballero.

The Shevchenko bust is the work of Leonard Rodriguez, professor of art at the University of Buenos Aires. It measures 75 centimeters high and sits atop a meter-and-a-half pedestal.

The Gen. Stroessner Square was decorated with Paraguayan and Ukrainian flags, and the Army Band played both national anthems at the start of the ceremonies.

Also in attendance were the governor of the Argentinian province of Misiones, Capt. Rene G. Butfeller of the Paraguayan navy, Dr. Ramon Rebezion, leader of the "Colorado" party, and Mr. Caballero.

Mr. Caballero called Shevchenko a "torch of freedom", which was brought to this country "to fill his countrymen with optimism and pride in the proper path in life, to which he dedicated himself".

Also speaking at the unveiling was Mr. Rebezion and on behalf of Paraguayan Ukrainians was Serhiy Pylyk.

The unveiling and other events connected with "Ukrainian Week" were sponsored by the "Prosvita" Society in Encarnacion and the Ukrainian Central Representation of Argentina.

Among the many Ukrainians from the free world to attend the ceremonies were Archbishop Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk, head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and Dr. Bohdan Stebelsky, member of the Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, representative of the World Liberation Front.

Metropolitan Mstyslav, assisted by Bishop Ylاديمir of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Brazil, Bishop Efraim B. Kryvyi of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Brazil, and other clergy blessed the monument.

At the close of the ceremonies, Gen. Stroessner shook hands with all the SUMA and Plast youths who formed the honor guard.

Ukrainians from Argentina, Brazil, Canada, the United States and Europe were present at the program.

A banquet was held after the unveiling in the "Prosvita" Hall with some 1,000 people attending.

Wasyk Kosiuk, head of the Ukrainian Central Representation of Argentina, was master of ceremonies of the banquet, which included statements by representatives of the WCFU, the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organization, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the Ukrainian National Front, and public officials.

On Monday, November 15, in the presence of the City Council, Mr. Caballero officially proclaimed the "Ukrainian Week". Representing the Ukrainian community was Mykhalo Khudyk, head of "Prosvita".

Throughout the week, a Ukrainian art exhibit was held in the Regional Hall and two concerts were held in line with the unveilings.

Book Reviews

Lithuania: The Outpost of Freedom

By Dr. Constantine R. Jurgila

Published by The National Guard of Lithuania in Exile. In cooperation with Valkyrie Press, Inc., 2135 First Avenue, St. Petersburg, Florida 33712, Price \$ 15.00

About the Book:

"**Lithuania: The Outpost of Freedom**" is the story of a brave and worthy Baltic country striving against heavy odds to assert and maintain its own unique civilization and its independence. It has been everything but an easy struggle.

Dr. Constantine R. Jurgila, the author of this book, was born in the United States, but his ancestry and his interests are strongly Lithuanian, and he is an acknowledged authority on that country. With commendable pride he traces the history and describes the civilization of Lithuania, from the time of its emergence during the Middle Ages, tells of the desperate struggle to remain independent.

After reading this book, we can say with equal certainty that our knowledge of the country will be vastly increased, our interest greatly stimulated and our sympathy for the Lithuanians, their country and cause, tremendously increased. In this small and crowded world replete with dangers, all of us, whether individuals or nations, can learn much from an intelligent observation of our neighbours.

Artur Furman

Russian Heritage in Communism

Günter Bartsch: "Kommunismus, Sozialismus, Anarchismus, Wurzeln, Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten" (Communism, Socialism, Roots, Differences and Features in Common), Herder Publishers, Vol. 592, Freiburg (1976), 128 pp., DM 4,90.

The author of this book is a well known German Slavist and expert on Marxism, having become famous for his book "Die Osteuropäische Revolution 1948 - 1968" (The East European Revolution 1948 - 1968) where the national question is dealt with in detail. Günter Bartsch has also authored a Djilas biography; his analyses of and commentaries on matters of Eastern policy are published in renowned German weeklies and monthlies. The most recent work under discussion has been published by the Catholic Herder Publishers. In this instructive work dealing with problems of the day Bartsch refers to the Achilles' heel of Bolshevism — the colonial question, the existence of Russian imperialism. He cites the Polish dissident philosopher Kolakowski who said: "Like the Tsarist Empire the Soviet Union has become one of the largest centers of national and social oppression" (p. 127). Contrary to many Slavists in West Germany who due to their pro-Russian attitude are negating the liberation struggle of the non-Russian peoples for their national independence Bartsch does not observe any taboos. Thus he is not afraid to demonstrate precisely that Bolshevism is the heritage of typical Russian foreign rule and dictatorship as they have existed for many centuries. We quote: "If one takes into account the extremely rabid nature of the early Communist and terrorist traditions of Russia Bolshevism unveils itself as a Russian herb" (p. 103). Thus Bartsch dispels the illusions about "European Communism" alleged to be humane and democratic. Bartsch notes that the Bolshevik principles with regard to subjugating peoples and swallowing countries were adapted to the "Tsarist regime" and that thus "Tsarism" was able to survive in Bolshevism and "so far" decisively determine the fate of the Soviet Union.

**Youth, Statesmen and Diplomats From Seventy Countries Together With
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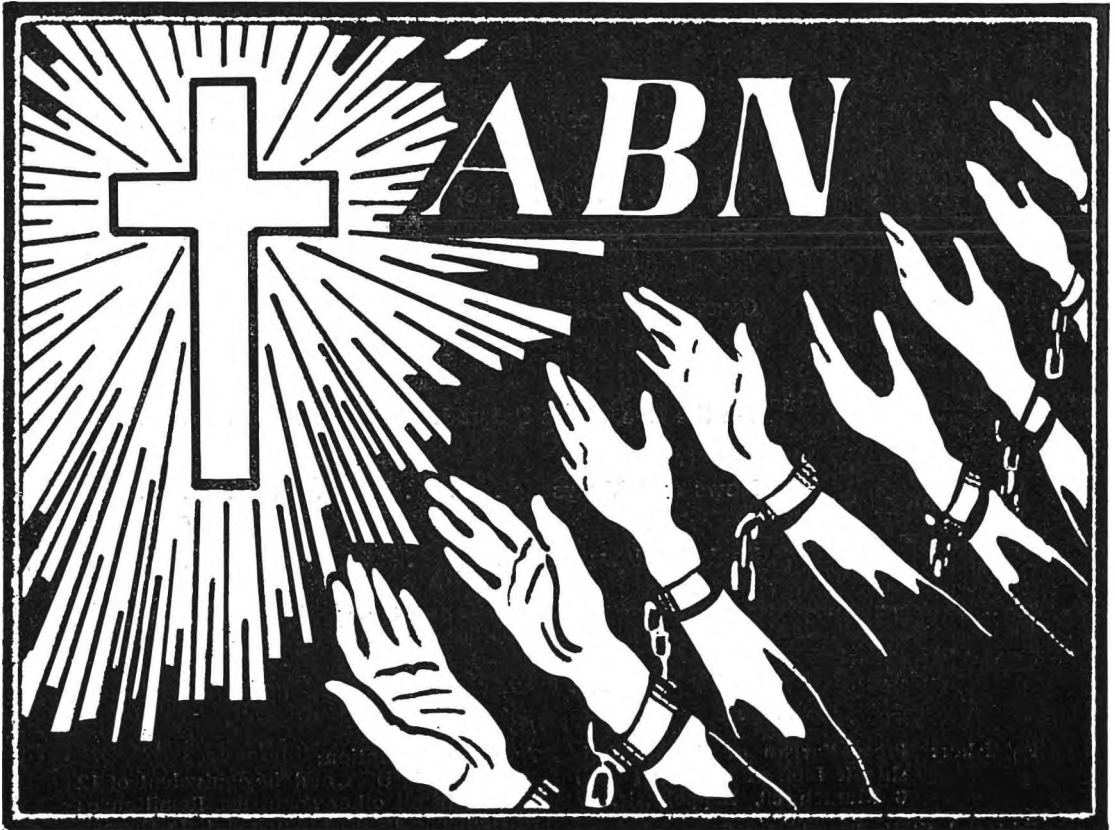
Issue IV

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

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Nations and people persecuted for their belief in God, for the desire of freedom and national independence — trust in the victory of truth, justice, recovery of state independence and freedom of individuals. Faith in God gives them strength in their fight. The cross — is the symbol of resurrection.

U, C, I, S,

200 Liverpool Road,

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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MEMORANDUM

Adopted at the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations Conference in Bradford,
England, on the 4th September 1977

Re: The Conference for European Security and Co-operation in Belgrade — 1977

We, the undersigned, being members of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and defending the human rights of equality, freedom and justice for every individual and state independence for all peoples, and being the spokesmen of the peoples subjugated and oppressed by Russian and Communist rule, urge the World at large and in particular the Western participants in the above forthcoming Conference to take heed of the following observations in order to prevent the blunders which were committed, and the presenting of a carteblanche to the Russian and the other Communist states at the previous Helsinki Conference in 1975, and to put a stop to the continuous oppression of the subjugated peoples and nations.

In the so-called Helsinki Final Act the participating countries were „convinced of the need to exert efforts to make détente both a continuing and an increasingly viable and comprehensive process, universal in scope and that implementations of the results of the Conference . . . will be a major contribution to this process“. This would indeed be admirable, if all the participating states were of the same mind and if the principles of basic human rights and the freedom of nations were to be rigorously adhered to. However, at the Helsinki Conference the Russians and the other Communist states had a predetermined plan for not only obtaining Western recognition of the European boundaries as they then stood, thereby cementing their grip on their European Colonial Empire, but also to secure economic, technological and financial aid from the West in exchange for Communist promises and participation in the Helsinki Principles with regard to their future conduct vis-à-vis the other participating states.

Although the Final Act of Helsinki declares by Principles VII and VIII that the participating states will respect human rights and fundamental freedoms including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, and equal rights and self-determination of peoples, Principles III, IV, and more so VI which respectively declare the inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of states and the non-intervention in internal affairs, collectively purport to prohibit any enquiry into Russia's and other Communists' past conduct and in particular the treatment of national and human rights for the subjugated people of the captive nations enslaved by the

Russians and other Communist states, for now these very captive nations are matters of internal affairs! As only the subjugated peoples and nations can decide for themselves their own future, the agreement by the Western participators was an illegal act and a condemnation of the subjugated peoples to a de facto colonial existence under Russian and Communist rule. If this principle was to be adhered to only a f t e r the Helsinki Conference, then it makes a mockery of the other principles contained in the Final Act. It becomes absurd to have the basic national and human rights as mentioned in Principles VII and VIII aforesaid respected, if the very same principles are to be flouted by the Russians and other Communists with regard to the people and nations which they have enslaved by stating that these are internal affairs and that the Western participating states are prohibited and precluded from not only demanding whether the same principles are respected there but also from checking that the same are respected there. The Russians and the other Communist states must be precluded from applying the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs to affairs relating to the subjugated nations when this is clearly done to frustrate the implementation of the other principles in the Helsinki Act, especially Principles VII and VIII.

The seeking of détente, the relaxation of tension between the West and the Communist states is an illusory goal when Russia and the other Communist states are increasing the tension in the World Theatre for world conquest and seek to achieve the same through temporary relaxation of their grip through the West giving concessions to them, i. e. in consolidating their colonial rule and boundaries, the West seeks to restrain their ambitions of world conquest. This was started in Yalta in 1945 when the Western statesmen were deceived by Stalin, believing him that Russia would abstain from world conquest if they gave him what he wanted. But as history showed it was Stalin who restarted the tension. The West should start counting the cost of détente by drawing a balance sheet of all diplomatic, political, economic and military disasters, and find an alternative to the self-deceptive and meaningless interpretation of the word détente for world freedom.

Apart from the Helsinki Final Act, Russia and the other participating of Communist states have been parties to, and have signed a number of international conventions, which ought to secure human rights for individuals and freedom for nations, such as the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. However, as everybody knows Russia and the other Communist states have never fulfilled their obligations and declarations under this or any other conventions. Since the signing of the Helsinki

Final Act by Breshnev on the 1st August 1975, Russia has continued to herself ignore the provisions of the same while demanding strict observance from the other participating states.

It is ironic that the Conference for European Security and Co-operation is held in Belgrade, the capital city of Yugoslavia which itself is a Communist created artificial state held together by force.

It is even more ironic that declarations of adhering to the principles of national and human rights are made by the very suppressors of these freedoms subjugating the free peoples of the Dalmatian Peninsula to become Yugo-Slavs.

It is time that in Belgrade, Russia and the other Communist states as signatories be made to account for the numerous breaches of this Final Act of Helsinki which itself only repeats a number of these national and human rights and other rights to which Russia and the other Communist states have on numerous occasions declared by their signatures obedience and respect. It is time at Belgrade that the other participating states demand that the Russian and the Communist states honour their obligations. It is time that all free people should demand at every occasion that the atrocities committed, and the annihilation of human rights by the Russians and the Communists cease and that Russia and the other participating Communist states comply with the Helsinki Final Act.



The Front of Ukrainian Demonstration in Nottingham, Great Britain, demanding release of political prisoners in USSR.

Rev. Joseph Prunskis

Violation Of The Helsinki Agreement In Lithuania

There is no evidence that after the Helsinki agreement oppression in Lithuania has relaxed. Rather facts indicate the contrary. The Soviet Union is using the Helsinki agreement to convince the Lithuanian people that said agreement legalizes the Soviet Russian territorial gains of World War II, including the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union.

The Right to Self-Determination

The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference states: "By virtue of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, all people are always entitled, in full freedom, to determine their internal and external political status without external interference, and to freely pursue their own political, social and cultural development..."

Unfortunately this very basic principle of the rights of the nation has been continuously violated starting from 1940. On May 5, 1976 the US Senate joined the House of Representatives by passing a resolution that "The three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have been illegally occupied by the Soviet Union since World War II."

Every aspect of the political, social and cultural life and development in Lithuania is being strictly controlled by the occupational forces of the Soviet Union.

The Lithuanian Public Group to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Accords, established in Lithuania on November 25, 1976 stated: "The contemporary status of Lithuania was established as a result of the entrance of Soviet troops on her territory June 15, 1940". Since this occupation the Lithuanian nation does not have freedom of speech, assembly, religion nor free-

dom of political or cultural life. The Lithuanian nation is deprived of the right to self-determination. This is clear from the Declaration of the National People's Front, a joint underground patriotic organization. That Declaration is reprinted in "The Violations of Human Rights in Soviet Occupied Lithuania, a Report for 1976", pages 75-82.

Russification and Assimilation

The Soviet Union is violating the rights of the Lithuanian nation by systematic Russification of the occupied country, using for that purpose schools, the press, government institutions and other means of assimilation. The Russian language is already introduced in the kindergarten, Russian schools have been established in Lithuania, and the official language used by state and economic institutions is increasingly Russian. Russian colonists are being shipped to Lithuania.

The Soviet Union is Violating Freedom of Religion and Conscience

The Soviet Union is using all forms of communication — the press, schools, all government institutions, to eradicate religion. There is not a single resident ordinary in any diocese of Lithuania. The Bishop of Kaisedorys, the Most Reverend Vincentas Sledkevicius, is kept in exile in Nemunelio Radviliskis. The Apostolic Administrator of the Vilnius Archdiocese, the Most Reverend Bishop Julijonas Steponavicius, is being kept in exile in Zagare. As the editors of the underground paper, the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania stated in a letter to His Eminence Alfred Bengsch, Archbishop of Berlin, who visited Lithuania on August 22-26, priests are appointed to pari-

shes in such a manner that the needs of the faithful are served as poorly as possible. For example, in the large Alytus parish, in the diocese of Vilkaviskis, after the death of the pastor, the bishop was unable to find a candidate acceptable to the government. Finally, the very sickly Rev. Kavoliunas was appointed pastor. Through the representative of the Council for Religious Affairs, the State Security Committee directs the appointments of priests to parishes.

Priests are slandered, accused of crimes which never occurred, and they do not have any possibility of refuting these unjust accusations through means of radio or the press.

The acceptance of new candidates to the seminaries for priests remains restricted, and in many instances talented students are prevented from entering. Soviet obstruction to joining the seminary for theological studies resulted in Lithuania having 85 parishes without priests.

Priests are not allowed to teach catechism to children even in churches. Young people under 18 years are not allowed to attend church except with their parents. All convents and monasteries are closed. No lay religious organisations are allowed. The Church is forbidden to perform works of charity. In Vilnius 23 churches remain closed, in Kaunas 14; many of them are used for profane purposes. Public officials in many instances are being deprived of their positions if they practice their religion. Students who attend church endanger the possibility of continuing their studies in universities and colleges. Believers cannot publish any newspaper. Discrimination against believers is very severe and it is described in detail in a letter by the priests of the Archdiocese of Vilnius to the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party and also in the letter of Rev. K. Garuckas to the Secretary General of the Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Miss Nijole Sadunaite is still serving her sentence of three years in a slave labor camp for helping to publish an underground free paper, "The Chronicle of the Catholic Church of Lithuania", as well as some other Lithuanians, accused of the same "transgression" are. On July 18, 1976 in Nemencina, persons who were selling religious articles were arrested. For this same reason people were harassed in Linkuva.

Only one seminary is functioning in Lithuania and in 1976 only 19 candidates were permitted to join that school preparing future Catholic priests. During six years in Lithuania 132 priests died and only 50 were ordained.

In 1976 Easter Sunday was declared a work day at the Academy of Agriculture. The principal of the Krosna Middle School warned students that those who would take part in Easter procession would lose the opportunity to continue their studies. In Mazeikiai the red officials destroyed a cross erected beside the house of Emilija Gelumbiene. For that work (the destruction of the cross) she was ordered to pay 50 rubles.

Restriction on the Right to Emigrate

The Soviet Union in Helsinki repeatedly accepted the obligation signed by her in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own". Since World War II many Lithuanian families have been separated. Parents cannot obtain permission for their children to join them in the USA and husbands and wives continue to be separated. Reunification of families is being obstructed by the Soviet Union in disregard of their pledges at Helsinki.

Cultural Restrictions

The Soviet Russians are violating stipulations concerning information and postal services. Most of the books and

newspapers printed in the western world are being confiscated if sent to Lithuania or other countries behind the Iron Curtain. This is against international rules accepted by the postal convention.

For their religious beliefs Aldona and Regina Bielskus were expelled from the University of Vilnius.

On September 15, 1975, right after the signing of the Helsinki Agreement, the Department of Public Education of the Mazeikiai region demanded that the teachers A. Sipares (with 27 years seniority) and his wife Mrs. Sipariene (with 25 years seniority) "voluntarily" ask to be relieved of their duties because that year their son entered the seminary to study for priesthood. There are conducted many searches, and books published in independent Lithuania or western countries were confiscated.

The students of the VII year of the Vilnius 41st Middle School decided to come to school wearing national neckties in February 1976, to commemorate the forbidden holiday of free Lithuania. That day students were interrogated and many of them got bad marks for behavior.

Custom Duties

The Soviet Union is acting against the humanitarian principles of the Helsinki Agreement by imposing enor-

mous custom duties for gift parcels to parents, relatives and friends living behind the Iron Curtain. In many instances the payments of the custom duties exceed the values of the gifts themselves.

Mistreatment of Dissidents

Dissidents continue to be persecuted. For example, Mindaugas Tomonis, a technologist in chemical engineering, graduate from the Polytechnical Institute of Kaunas, chief of the chemical laboratories of the Institute for the Preservation of Monuments, was kept in a psychiatric ward and in November, 1975, was found dead under suspicious circumstances on the Vilnius-Pavilnys railroad line under the wheels of a train.

Subsequent to the Helsinki Agreement, Sergei Kovalev, the well known biologist and active participant in the social movement for human rights, was sentenced in Vilnius to seven years in a strict regime prison and three years in exile. A number of Lithuanians, suspected of publishing the underground paper, "The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania", are still being kept in jails and concentration camps.

These facts indicate that the Soviet Union, contrary to the Helsinki Agreement, is keeping Lithuania under heavy oppression.

Total War in Inevitable

"And what are the Russians thinking?" It may be no bad moment to recall the words of Dimitri Manuisky, head of the Comintern in the 1930's:

"Total war between capitalism and Communism is inevitable. Naturally we are not yet strong enough to undertake it at the present time. We still have to lull the suspicions of the bourgeoisie and, to this end, we must organize the

most spectacular pacifist movement which has ever existed.

We shall make fabulous propositions and concessions. The decadent and the credulous capitalist countries will rush to accept our offers of friendship and will thus contribute to their own destruction. As soon as their vigilance has been allayed and they have lost their protective shield, we shall destroy them with our powerful fist."

New Wave Of Repression Against Georgian Patriots

On April 7, 1977, the three founders of the Georgian Section of the Group to Promote the Implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords, namely **Zviad Gamsakhourdia**, **Merab Kostava** and **Victor Rtskhiladze**, were arrested in Tbilissi (Georgia).

Mr. Rtskhiladze was released in the evening after having been interrogated by the KGB and after a search conducted in his home.

On April 7, 8 and 9 the homes of Mr. Gamsakhourdia and Mr. Kostava were searched; according to statements made by Manana Gamsakhourdia, née Arkhavadzé, Gamsakhourdia's wife, several cases of her husband's personal documents were confiscated at his home, along with a historical weapon belonging to Constantin Gamsakhourdia, Zviad's late father, a famous Georgian writer and historian; the official license for keeping this object was confiscated as well, without any receipt being issued. Mrs. Gamsakhourdia expressed her deep concern about the possibility that this object might be adduced in the counts of the imminent indictment against her husband.

From April 12 to 15 Manana Gamsakhourdia and her 8-month-old son Tsotné were expelled from their home; on April 15 she was allowed to come back but was subjected to permanent police surveillance (just as were the other members of her family); she can no longer leave her apartment without risking her home being put under seal. Since her husband's exclusion from the Writers' Union she does no longer draw the remuneration which has been their sole financial resource for the past two years.

Since April 7 no information has been given to the families of the arrested concerning the place where and the conditions under which they are confined, as well as the methods used for interrogating them; from the information given to Mrs. Gamsakhourdia it

appears that both men are still detained in Tbilissi; this might also be confirmed by the fact that two important KGB officials sent by Moscow arrived in Tbilissi at the beginning of May 1977. The same confidential sources have informed Manana Gamsakhourdia that the authorities would base the indictment on counts such as „contacts with foreigners" and "anti-Soviet activities". Should these charges be "proved" by trial (for the time being nothing is known as to how and when a trial is possibly to be held) they would be liable pursuant to Articles 70, 190-1 to 3 to 10 years of prison or labour camp. Mrs. Gamsakhourdia has requested that an attorney from the West should assume the defense of her husband.

The other members of the Georgian Group are equally subjected to all kinds of vexation and persecution.

— Although released on April 7 Mr. Victor Rtskhiladze was thereafter summoned by the State security organs several times for interrogation. On March 14 he was dismissed from the post of chief surveyor for the protection of historical monuments which he held at the Ministry of Culture. Since that date he has had no work and has been left without financial resources. After the rumours spreading on May 1 and 2 as to the imminent arrest of Victor Rtskhiladze and Manana Gamsakhourdia personalities of high rank approached the Ministry of Internal Affairs to inquire into the grounds of these rumours, whereupon they received the following semiofficial reply: "This possibility is far from being excluded".

— The other two members of the Georgian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, **Thémouraz Djanelidzé** and **M. Bejouachvili**, were also interrogated several times. Mr. Bejouachvili who held the post of associate dean of the faculty of fine arts at the University of Tbilissi

was discharged and degraded to the post of a lecturer.

— Apart from the five official members of the Georgian Group Mrs. Manana Gamsakhourdia (see above) and **Mrs. Valentina Phailodze** are in danger as well. Mrs. Phailodze conducting the choir of the patriarchal Cathedral of Sion in Tbilissi, an active member of the Parish Committee and of groups promoting religious revival, who had already been arrested, tortured and sentenced in a "manipulated" trial on June 26, 1974 to 8 months of prison for "religious propaganda", is again being subjected to police persecutions; in the past weeks she was repeatedly summoned for interrogation by the KGB. Her home has been searched, and having been dismissed from work she is now left without material resources.

Her son has also been dismissed from work, and against her daughter, Vita Phailodze, a scheme is plotted to charge her with a theft committed in their neighbourhood (according to all evidences these "neighbours" had to account directly to the KGB).

Finally, the Georgian intelligentsia has not had any news from **Vladimir Jvania** sentenced to death in past February for opposing the Russification policy in Georgia and on charges of perpetrating attempts on the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. It should be recalled that on March 31 an appeal had been signed on behalf of Jvania by the Georgian members of the Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

All the information items which we receive from direct Georgian channels or indirect ones (e. g. from Israel or other western countries) coincide in the fact that there exists a vast movement of solidarity (among the Georgian intelligentsia as well as among the population as a whole of the Capital) with the two prisoners whose reputation was already very high before their arrest and that undoubtedly this

movement alarms the Georgian and Russian authorities.

Bibliographical Notes about Zviad Gamsakhourdia and Merab Kostava

Zviad Gamsakhourdia

Zviad Gamsakhourdia, born on March 31, 1939, in Tbilissi (Georgia) is the son of one of the most outstanding contemporary Georgian writers, the historian Constantin Gamsakhourdia, who died in 1975. Under the influence of his father and of Patriarch Kalistrate (Tsintsadzé) who baptized him in 1948, Zviad Gamsakhourdia devoted himself to theological studies and to the animation of philosophical-cultural circles of young Georgians in the first place. In 1965 he became member of the Parish Committee of the Cathedral of Sion and largely contributed to a movement of religious revival and its manifestations in 1968.

Meanwhile he had completed his studies and was appointed professor of English language and American literature at the University of Tbilissi. Distinguishing himself by his quite unconventional lectures about contemporary American literature he attracted a large audience to his lectures and aroused the interest of the students.

Soon he gained renown among the intelligentsia and was officially acknowledged as a poet and writer by being admitted to the Georgian Union of Writers. The authorities soon became aware of his growing influence and got alarmed about his activities for denouncing the illegal measures taken against the Georgian Church, the damages to the cultural heritage of Georgia and the corruption of the authorities.

Despite the contacts he was able to establish with high rank Government and Party officials in the course of his interventions for the defense of various cultural sectors, the pressures for reducing him to silence soon began to be felt.

After the death of Gamsakhourdia's father, a popular personality due to whose prestige he had been left untouched so far, the authorities began to attack Zviad Gamsakhourdia directly. The events precipitated themselves: on July 16, 1975 he was removed from the post of professor of the University of Tbilissi; two attempts were made in 1975 to poison him by toxic gases (one of the physicians who had diagnosed poisoning by these gases was threatened with being arrested); then in 1976 he almost became the victim of a "car accident", the cables of his car having been cut up (a tactic widely used by the KGB); at the end of 1976 another provocation was organized in Moscow where he was staying for a few days, attempting to compromise him in a "violation affair".

In view of the successive failures of these attempts, the obstination of Gamsakhourdia who was not at all intimidated by the telephone calls threatening him, by the searches and summons, and in view of his appeals repeatedly addressed to the western press and urging it to denounce the repressions against him, the authorities decided to adopt a new policy: he was promised to be allowed to accept the invitation of the Queen Mary College of London, if he in turn was ready to completely abandon his other activities.

He refused to yield to this kind of blackmailing and when he no longer succeeded in having his works published officially, he began to resort to Samizdat more and more and has undertaken the regular publication of two clandestine Georgian reviews in 1976: a literary and poetical one (The Golden Fleece) and a kind of "chronicle of current events" (The Messenger of Georgia). These writings circulating in Georgia, in Moscow and in the West have enabled him to establish contacts with dissident Russian intellectuals (Sakharov, Amalrik and others). He has actively engaged in the defense of Ge-

orgian dissidents under arrest and has denounced the political character of the purges and arrests on "economic grounds" having augmented in the past two years. Finally, the general intensification of repressions due also to the recent growth of the circle of Georgian dissidents, has led to Gamsakhourdia's expulsion from the Georgian Union of Writers on March 31, 1977, and his arrest on April 7, 1977.

Merab Kostava

Born on May 19, 1939, Merab Kostava has been a member of the Georgian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords and of the Georgian Section of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights.

As a writer he has taken part together with Zviad Gamsakhourdia in the editing of the Georgian Samizdat reviews. Since he does not enjoy the protection of the reputation linked to the name of Gamsakhourdia, he was arrested for the first time in 1972 already and released on April 7, 1973.

Four years later, on the same date, i. e. April 7, 1977, he was again arrested.

A musicologist of renown he has also distinguished himself as an active defender of the Georgian language against the attempts at russifying it as being inconsistent with the Soviet Constitution. He still holds his post of professor of musicology at the Polytechnic Institute of Music of Tbilissi.

Interventions for the Release of Zviad Gamsakhourdia and Merab Kostava (April 12 - 29, 1977)

April 12:

The Georgian political organizations in Paris and the Georgian periodical publications abroad protest against the indictment of the two Georgian dissidents (Le Figaro — Le Monde).

April 14:

86 Soviet dissidents, among them Andrei Sakharov, Tourchine and Gene-

ral Grigorenko, address an appeal to the workers of the Renault Works to draw their attention to the fate of the leading members of the Groups to Promote the Implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords who were arrested during the past months, suggesting to them to send observers for attending the trials against the accused.

April 26:

The London daily "Times" publishes a letter of protest by Amalrick and Bukovski against the confinement of members of the Helsinki Group Sections in Moscow, Kyiv and Tbilissi.

April 18/19:

Letter addressed to the Foreign Office requesting it to intervene on behalf of the Georgian dissidents.

April 27/28:

Peter Reddaway, professor of political science at the London School of Economics and Political Science and contributor to the review "Religion in Communist Lands" published by the "Keston College of Kent", submits a

statement to the US Senators dealing with the persecutions in the USSR and the situation of the Georgian Church citing the cases of Gamsakhourdia and Kostava.

April 29:

In Paris establishment of the Georgian Committee to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords initiating a signature campaign with the object to send an open letter to the President of the Republic of France, to the Foreign Minister, to the French Ambassador in Moscow in order to incite the French authorities to make a move vis-à-vis the Soviet authorities for obtaining the release of Gamsakhourdia and Kostava, as well as of the members of the corresponding Groups in Kyiv and Moscow.

M. Amalrick intervenes at the European Parliament in Strasbourg to inform about the arrests of Georgian dissidents and to submit a list of the presently confined members of the various Helsinki Group Sections to the President of the European Parliament.

HUNGER STRIKES: WEAPON AGAINST REPRESSION

Locked in their prison cells or concentration camps barracks, political prisoners in the Soviet Union have adopted hunger strikes as a weapon against the widespread repression in the penal facilities.

"Political Prisoners Day" and "Human Rights Day" are also dates when incarcerated human and national rights activists stage hunger strikes to attract Western attention to the plight of political prisoners.

Last January, Ivan Hel (Ukrainian political prisoner) announced a hunger strike. Hel is protesting against the harsh treatment used against him by the KGB during his brief transfer to a Lviv prison (Ukraine). There is also concern over the life of the Ukrain-

ian Vasyl Fedorenko, who since April 1975 has been on a hunger strike with only brief intermissions. Fedorenko began his hunger strike on April 26, 1975, five days after he was transferred to the Vladimir Prison. On July, 1975, after 71 days without food, Fedorenko was beaten by guards in the presence of the political instructor. Fedorenko resumed his strike on December 10, 1975, "Human Rights Day". He demanded a review of his case and release from incarceration.

Shortly after the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1976, Fedorenko ceased his hunger strike, only to resume it again after a brief respite. Fedorenko, with short intermissions, is still continuing his strike.

Resistance to National and Religious Oppression in Byelorussia

In Byelorussia, national and religious life continues to be oppressed. The majority of the Orthodox and Catholic churches have been closed down. In a shrewd way the Soviet Russian regime is systematically depriving the Byelorussian language of the possibility of resorting to its own linguistic sources; the regime of Moscow supplanting Byelorussian and other languages of its subjugated peoples altogether.

However, the Byelorussian nation does not cease from opposing this destructive policy. Its struggle in the cultural and educational field is particularly persevering, hard and intense. Fortunately, the young generation of Byelorussian poets, writers and scientists, known as "creative youth" in the USSR, has not only refrained from anti-national and antireligious political activities which the ruling Communist Party expects from them, but has defended the fundamental interests of its subjugated nation.

The Byelorussian paper "Literature and Art" issued in Minsk complains about the fact that the artistic ensembles preparing for the state festival to be held at the 60th anniversary of the USSR do not elaborate the party theme in their artistic program but rather concentrate upon ethnic themes.

On December 17, 1976 a plenum of the Byelorussian Writers' Union was convened to deal with the problem "how to improve the training of young writers in connection with the decision of the CC of the CP of the Soviet Union". The Party expects the writers to produce Party propaganda works. The Byelorussian writers, however, strengthened by the Helsinki resolutions concerning human rights refer to

this decision not only in connection with the rights of the individual, but also in connection with the national rights, e.g. the right of the people to use its native language. Contrary to the Party orders, they recommend to all writers to follow the words of the young poet Nil Sipakou: "seek the word in the very heart of the people and, if it cannot be found there, create it in your writings — in compliance with the requirements and peculiarities of our mother tongue". All poets and writers resist the Russification of the Byelorussian language and — contrary to Party demands — in the plenum they have stood upon the use of the language of the ancient Byelorussian poets and writers Bahuševič, Ciotka, Kolas, Kupala, Bahdanovič, Čornya and others.

In the opinion of the well-known contemporary writer Nil Hilevič "the productions of these writers can enrich and embellish any kind of world literature irrespective of its cultural level". The resistance movement apparent in all spheres of public life in Byelorussia, against the Moscow occupation, is growing incessantly. Moscow, in turn, is trying to weaken and paralyse this striving of the Byelorussian nation. Recently, it became known that mass deportations had been initiated from Byelorussia to the Karelian ASSR. By now the number of deported persons already amounts to the number of the indigenous population in this republic (approximately 700,000 inhabitants). Thus it is ironically also called "Karelian-Minskian" SSR (Minsk being the capital of Byelorussia) — cf. *Kultura*, Paris, No. II/350 (1976), p. 122. At present a satirical Samizdat is being circulated in Byelorussia. Nevertheless,

the people are badly in need of moral support from the nations of the Free World.

Therefore, it is our duty not only to inform the Free World about the Com-

munist danger from Moscow but to solicit the Free World to raise its voice in the defence of the human and national rights of the peoples subjugated by Russia.

The Sufferings of the Bulgarian Catholic Church

Will Communist Bulgaria be the first satellite state to benefit from the new policy of the Vatican and thus be able to get rid of its Catholic Church?

The small but flourishing Catholic community of Bulgaria would never

have admitted such a thought, unless the ecclesiastical authorities had adopted a policy that facilitates the disappearance of the Catholic Church in Bulgaria.

The fact that the youngest priest is



Mgr. Evgueni Livdjoff Bossilkoff, Passionist, Bishop of Nikopol, sentenced to death and executed in 1952.

already over sixty years old and that during the past 33 years a sole priest has been ordained is self-explanatory.

Recently, Msgr. Casaroli, during his visit to Bulgaria visited Sofia, Plovdiv, Roussé, but returned to Rome with an empty bag: no seminaries, no ordinations, no religious instruction for children etc.

— You might send Bulgarian priests from abroad (there are a few aged over fifty), but as you see we do not have appropriate accomodation that we could put at their disposal — was the polite but firm reply of his interlocutors.

The following optimistic statistical data about the situation in Bulgaria in 1975 have been made available by the Vatican:

Vicarage Sofia-Plovdiv (created in 1758):

	1975	1945
Churches	15	35
Priests	8	46
Monks	25	62
Nuns	—	151



The Reverend Father Flavian Mankin, Capuchin, killed by the Communists in 1944.



The Reverend Father Fortunat Pavlov Bakalski, Capuchin, tortured to death in 1952.

Diocese of Nicopol (created in 1789):

	1975	1945
Churches	12	25
Priests	11	31
Monks	4	7
Nuns	113	123

Exarchate of United Bulgarians (in Sofia, created in 1926):

	1975	1945
Churches	20	26
Priests	8	49
Nuns	21	40

Altogether, during this period the number of churches has been cut down by 39, that of priests by 153, and there were 51 monks and 180 nuns less in 1975 than in 1945. However, these figures are already outdated. Many priests and nuns have died since 1975. Recently, on January 5, 1977, the Bishop of Sofia-Plovdiv, Msgr. Vasco Seirekoff died.

Will the sacrifices of the martyrs of the Catholic faith in Bulgaria be fruit-

less? We just cite a few examples from the large number of these martyrs:

Msgr. Evgueni Bossilkof, Bishop of Nikopol, executed in 1952;

Msgr. Ivan Romanoff, Bishop of Sofia-Plovdiv, died in prison in January 1954;

R. P. Fortunat Pavlov Bakalski, Capuchin, tortured to death in July 1952;

R. P. Flavian Mankin, Capuchin, assassinated in September 1944;

R. P. Kamen Vitcheff, Augustinian, sentenced to death and executed;

R. P. Pavel Josophe Djidjoff, Augustinian sentenced to death and executed,

R. P. Josaphat Adreeff Chichkoff, secular priest, sentenced to death and executed;

R. P. Karamitroff, Jesuit, tortured in the concentration camp of Belene and died as a result thereof;

... and so many others

Dr. K. Drenikoff

CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES

Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, President of the European Freedom Council attained the age 75 years. He formerly held the offices of President of the Italian Atlantic Committee, Vice-President of the Atlantic Treaty Association, Secretary General of the Italian Socialist Party, Minister of Foreign Trade, Member of the Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), and Honorary Member of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. ABN expresses its best wishes to this great supporter of the subjugated nations in their struggle for national independence.



REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE

the protest writings of
VALENTYN MOROZ

edited and translated
by John Kolasky

Peter Martin Associates Limited
35 Britain Street
Toronto, Canada M5A 1R7

Appeal of Ukrainian Helsinki Group in Poland

To All Brothers And Sisters in the Free World!

To All Well-Intentioned Men and Women!

Nearly two years have passed since the ratification of the Helsinki Accords. The resolutions concerning human rights allowed the Ukrainians to hope for a better future for our unyielding nation and our unyielding fatherland — Ukraine.

As regards the suffering of the Ukrainian nation and the heroic struggle of its most outstanding sons our liberation organizations are informing the nations of the Free World directly from Ukraine, but the fate of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians and the conditions under which they are living in the satellite countries within the Soviet sphere of power, where they are subjected to national discrimination and ruthless assimilation are mostly passed over in silence.

For instance in Poland — it definitely has one of the "most humanitarian" regimes within the Soviet sphere of power — the resolutions of the Helsinki Accords with respect to national minorities and their cultures are exploited exclusively for Communist propaganda purposes.

In 1951 the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society (USKT) was set up in the People's Republic of Poland, the weekly "Nashe Slovo" (Our Word) began to be issued regularly, orders were given to organize centers for teaching the Ukrainian language and schools instructing in Ukrainian, a chair of Ukrainian philology was created at the University of Warsaw, and a Ukrainian language course was introduced at the Jagello University of Krakov. Ukrainian life came up from the underground and its revival began. What is by now left of this revival?

The assimilation policy initiated in 1947 by resettlement to the western regions has been steadily intensified. Protests by "Lemky"¹⁾ — veterans of the Red Army, the Polish Army and the Polish Partisan Movement, were of no avail; — Ukrainians cannot return to their homelands. Local administration officials are obstructing any activity of the USKT district committees and that of amateur artistic groups which in many cases results in the liquidation of these groups, and prohibit them from organizing Ukrainian song festivals on Ukrainian territories.

In the course of the past 20 years approximately 300 churches have been closed down — often for the cause and with the aid of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

By all means possible they are also attempting to ruin the still weak Ukrainian school instruction. One must not forget Polish chauvinism which the regime is of course promoting by anti-Ukrainian publications in the press and tendentially published books.

It is also necessary to take into account the financial base of the social-cultural activity of the USKT. It is nearly completely dependent on government subsidies. The Ukrainian cooperative store affiliated to the USKT, which was set up in the sixties and yielded high proceeds to its members, and the resultant profits used for the social-artistic activity of the USKT were abolished a long time ago. Today the USKT entirely depends on government subsidies — it is needless to say what this dependency amounts to.

In reality, history is recurring. By now, the discrimination has been intensified and the assimilation of the U-

¹⁾ ethnic group of Western Ukraine

kraianian minority is carried out more consistently than during the period between the two world wars.

Therefore, we follow the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords which was created in Kyiv on November 6, 1976, and request that the Human Rights Declaration be taken as a basis for the relations between the state and the citizen — irrespective of his nationality and denomination.

We appeal to all of you, Brothers and Sisters in the Free World, to widely mobilize the society in all countries of the Free World by mass actions, such as manifestations and demonstrations, and to make use of all information media in order to bring to bear the struggle for human rights in the countries within the Soviet sphere of power, for this struggle is closely linked to our struggle for the independence of our unyielding fatherland.

We solicit our Ukrainian Churches in the Free World to forcefully support the struggle for the implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords, because the struggle for human rights includes the struggle for the recognition of religious freedom, i.e. the Christian faith, in the Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State. We appeal to all national liberation organizations and social organizations to support by all means our struggle against the government policy of denationalization and national discrimination in the countries within the Soviet sphere of power.

We, in turn, support all attempts at consolidating the patriotic Ukrainian emigrés for fully unifying all liberation revolutionary forces for our struggle for the Sovereign United Ukrainian State.

Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in Poland.

April 1977



Russian tanks against youth during Hungarian Revolution in Budapest in 1956

Memo From Kyiv

Part II

4. After the Helsinki Conference

When the European Conference was being prepared, a rumor began to circulate among the Ukrainian populace: there would soon be an amnesty. Children, now of school age, would be able to embrace their emaciated fathers, whom they had never seen as free men.

But these hopes turned out hollow. The Helsinki Accords, just as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ended up between the propaganda millstones, from where emerges the same old grist: bombastic proclamations that have nothing in common with reality.

We will say nothing about free contacts among people of various countries and continents. That is a luxury about which Ukrainians may not even dream. The main issue is that government agencies, which consider themselves Soviet, should adhere to their own laws.

Our Group could cite many examples of prison authorities forcing Ukrainian political prisoners and their families to speak only in Russian during visitation. No doubt this is explain-

ed by practical considerations: they want to monitor the conversation. But when you analyze it, this administrative measure takes on symbolic meaning: for the sake of the jailers' convenience, one is forced to renounce his greatest spiritual treasure — his native language.

Or, take for example, Article 6 of the Corrective Labor Code of the Ukrainian SSR, which states:

Persons sentenced to prison for the first time, who prior to their arrest lived or were sentenced within the Ukrainian SSR, are to serve their sentence, as a rule, within the Ukrainian SSR.

A perfectly natural question arises: How did those tens of thousands of Ukrainians end up in Mordovian camps, where, according to the testimony of M. Masyutko, they comprise close to 70 percent of all prisoners? Has the situation changed totally, perhaps, since the Helsinki Conference? The Group has abundant evidence that no changes for the better have occurred in this matter.

Article 6 of the Corrective Labor Code of the Ukrainian SSR recognizes exceptional cases, when, "for the sake of a more efficient rehabilitation" of Ukrainian prisoners it is permissible to send them to other republics. It is unclear what educational principles are involved here. One thing is known: in the past half century, more Ukrainians have died in Mordovia than Mordovians were born.

Our Group does not have at its disposal all of the information about Ukrainian political prisoners. We only have individual reports that we were able to gather. We list some of them:

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union A Prison of Nations

(Comments on the Foundation
of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

Men's Zones in Mordovia

Especially severe regime

(431120, Mordovian ASSR, Zubovo-Polyansky rayon, Sosnovka, ust. ZhKh 385/1-6)

Name and patronymic	Date of birth	Profession	Date of arrest	Length of camp term & exile	Date of expected release
Hel, Ivan Andriyovych	1936	Student-historian	1972	10 & 5	1/12/87
Moroz, Valentyn Yakovich	4/15/36	Historian	1970	9 & 5, of which 6 in prison	6/1/84
Osadchy, Mykhaylo Hryhorovych	1936	Writer	1972	7 & 3	1/12/82
Karavansky, Svyatoslav Yosypovych	1920	Poet-publicist	1965 (2nd time)	25 & 10	1978
Shumuk, Danylo Lavrentiyovych	1914	Writer	1972 (3rd time)	10 & 5	1/12/87
Kurchyk, Mykola Yakovych	1927	Locksmith		28	1978
Murzhenko, Oleksiy			1971	15	1986
Rebryk, Bohdan	1938		1970	7 & 3	1984
Romanyuk, Vasyl Omelyanovych		Priest	1972	10	1982
Shynkaruk, Trokhym		Poet	1970 (2nd time)	12	1982
Yevhrafov					

Strict regime

(Mordovian ASSR, Tenhushivsky rayon, s. Barashevo, ust. ZhKh 385/3-5)

Chornovil, Vyacheslav Maksymovych	1937	Journalist	1972	6 & 5	1/12/83
Stus, Vasyl Semenovych	1936	Poet	1972	5 & 3	1/12/80

Name and patronymic	Date of birth	Profession	Date of arrest	Length of camp term & exile	Date of expected release
Zhurakivsky, Mykhaylo	1921		1953	25	1978
Kravtsov, Ihor Ivanovych		Engineer	1972	5	1977
Semenyuk, Roman	1927		1949	28	1977

Women's Zone in Mordovia

(431200, Mordovian ASSR, Tenhushicky rayon, s. Barashevo, ust. ZhKh 385/3-4)

Kalynits, Iryna Onufriyivna	1940	Poet	1972	6 & 3	1/12/81
Popovych, Oksana Zenonivna	1925		1973	8 & 5	1986
Senyk, Iryna Mykhaylivna	1926	Nurse	1972	6 & 5	11/17/83
Shabatura, Stefania Mykhaylivna	1938	Artist-Gobelin weaver	1972	5 & 3	1/12/80

Camps in the Perm Oblast

(618810, Perm Oblast, st. Vsesvyatska, VS 389/35)

Kalynets, Ihor Myronovych	1940	Poet	1972	6 & 3	1981
Kovalenko, Ivan Yukhymovych	1914 ?	Philologist	1972	5	1/12/77
Marchenko, Valery	1948 ?	Philologist	June 1973	6 & 2	1981
Pronyuk, Yevhen Vasylyovych	193 ?	Philosopher	1972	7 & 5	1984
Svitlychny, Ivan Oleksiyovych	1929	Philologist	1972	7 & 5	1984
Symych, Myron	1917		1967	15 (2nd time)	1982

Name and patronymic	Date of birth	Profession	Date of arrest	Length of camp term & exile	Date of expected release
Besarab, Dmytro			1953	25	1978
Verkholyak, Dmytro			1955	25	1980
Shulyak, Oleksa			1953	25	1978
Pidhorodetsky, Vasyl			1954	28	1982
Pryshlyak, Yevhen			1952	25	1977
Mamohur, Stepan			1956	25	1981
Kvetsko, Dmytro			1967	15 & 5	1987
Motryuk, Mykola Mykolayovych	2/20/49			4	
Shovkovy, Ivan Vasylyovych	7/7/50	Engineer		5	
Demydiv, Dmytro Illich	11/3/48			5	
Marmus, Volodymyr V.	1949			6 & 5	
Marmus, Mykola Vasylyovych	1947			5 & 3	
(Perm Oblast, Chusovsky r-n, s. Kuchyno, VS 389/37)					
Sverstyuk, Yevhen Oleksandrovych	1928	Writer	1972	7 & 5	1984
(Perm Oblast, Chusovsky r-n, VS 389/37)					
Bernychuk, Anatoliy	1939		1970	12	1982
Hrynkiv, Dmytro Dmytrovych	7/11/48	Poet	1973	7 & 5	1985
Chupriy, Roman Vasylyovych	7/1/48			4	
Riznykiv, Oleksa Serhiyovych	1938	Poet	1971	5 1/2	1977

Name and patronymic	Date of birth	Profession	Date of arrest	Length of camp term & exile	Date of expected release
Hyrchak, Hryhoriy Andriyevych	1930	Artist	1952	25	1977
Hutsalo, Yuriy	1928			25	
Strotsyn Pavlo	1928		1958	25	1983
Synkiv, Volodymyr Yosafatovych	1954		1973	4 & 3	1980
Kyselyk, Vasyl	1927		1953	25	1978
Hlyva, Volodymyr			1949	28	1977
Paliychuk, Dmytro	1928			25	
Kulak, Onyfriy	1928			15	
Yankevych, Stepan	1928			25	
Fedyuk, Vasyl	1925			15	

(618801, Perm Oblast, Chusovsky r-n, Polovynka, VS 389/37)

Lisovy, Vasyl Semenovych	1937	Philosopher	1972	7 & 3	1982
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Vladimir Prison
(600020, Vladimir-20, ust. OD-I/st.-2)

Antonyuk, Zinoviy Pavlovych	1943	Chemical engineer	1/12/72	7 & 3	1982
Bondar, Mykola Vasylyovych	11/21/39	Philosopher	11/7/71	7 & 3	1981
Hayduk, Roman Vasylyovych				5 & 3	
Zdorovy, Anatoliy Kuzmovych	1/1/38	Ph. D. in technical sciences	1973	7 & ?	
Rokytsky, Volodymyr Yulfanovych	1930	Publicist	1/12/72	5 & ?	

Name and patronymic	Date of birth	Profession	Date of arrest	Length of camp term & exile	Date of expected release
Prykhodko, Hryhoriy Andriyovych	1935	Electronics engineer		5 & ?	
Popadyuk, Zoreslav Volodymyrovych		Student at Lviv University			
Serhiyenko, Oleksander Fedorovych	7/26/32	Artist-restorer	1/13/72	7 & 3	1982
Sapelyak, Stepan Yevstafiyovych	2/26/52	Student		5 & 3	
Turyk, Andriy Markovych	10/14/27		1958	25	1983
Budulak-Sharyhyn, Mykola Oleksandrovych	4/22/26		9/20/68	10	1978
Pedan, Leonid					
Shukhevych, Yuriy Romanovych	3/28/31	Publicist	1973	10	1983
Fedorenko, Vasyl Petrovych	3/30/28		11/16/75	15	1990

IN EXILE

Name and Patronymic

Address

HORBAL, Mykola Andriyovych	Tomsk Oblast, Porabel, SU-6, vahon 16.
HANDZYUK, Volodymyr	636400, Tomsk Oblast, Chayinsky r-n, s. Pidhome, Lermontova 34/4.
KAMPOV, Pavlo Fedorovych	636842, Tomsk Oblast, Pervomaysky r-n, s. Komsomolska, prov. Poshtovy 3, kv. 2.
KOTS, Mykola	Tomsk Oblast, s. Hehuldet, vul. Pushkina 48, kv. 2.
KRAVETS, Andriy	6365000, Tomsk Oblast, Verknoketsky r-n, p/v Biliy Yar, selyshche Poludenovka.
PROKOPOVYCH, Hryhoriy Hryhorovych	Krasnoyarsky Kray, s. Kurahino, vul. Molodizhna 3-6.
HUBKA, Ivan Mykolayovych	663120, Krasnoyarsky Kray, Pyrovsk, vul. Koreneva 47.

The Group's goal is to continue to collect information about Ukrainian political prisoners. The information at hand, however, is quite sufficient to conclude that the "exception" mentioned in Article 6 of the Corrective Labor Code of the Ukrainian SSR has become the norm. None of the above-mentioned political prisoners is serving his judicial sentence in his homeland. For writing poems that were never made public, the talented poets Ihor Kalynets and his wife Iryna have been banished from Ukraine to the snows of Mordovia for nine years, to be subjected to KGB re-education "in the spirit of an honest attitude toward work" (Article 1, Corrective Labor Code of the Ukrainian SSR). Where else but in the USSR and China are poets thus "re-educated"?

On the other hand, Ukraine is well supplied with psychiatric hospitals.

By a decision of the Kyiv Oblast Court, Vasyl Ruban was placed in the Dnipropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital for a manuscript which had been confiscated from him, one with the expressive title "Ukraine - Communist and Independent". This topic has already been discussed in previous sections. For Ukrainian political prisoners, this manner of thinking is typical.

Anatoliy Lupynis was placed in a psychiatric hospital without any judicial proceedings. In 1971, he was taken for a little treatment". They took him and "forgot" to release him. Lupynis was imprisoned from 1957 to 1967; he took part in a strike in the Mordovian camp 385/7. For this he was placed in Vladimir Prison. He was bound to a bed in a camp hospital for approximately two years until finally released in 1967. His family and friends assume that Lupynis is kept in a psychiatric hospital for reading poetry by the Taras Shevchenko monument on May 22, 1971.

Boris Kovhar was thrown into the Dnipropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital for refusing to work for the KGB.

Our Group has at its disposal conclusive evidence to prove this.

Mykola Plakhotnyuk, a physician, was kept in the Dnipropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital from January 12, 1972, to August 1976, when he was transferred to a similar hospital in Kazan.

Below we list individual incidents of serious violations of Human Rights that have occurred in the last few months.

Mykhaylo Kovtunenکو, a Kyiv physician, was arrested in September 1976 for refusing to work for the KGB. As with Kovhar, the Group has considerable evidence to prove this. He was accused of bribery, as in the noted case of the physician M. Shtern of Vinnytsya.

Recent information indicates that M. Kovtunenکو was transferred without trial to a psychiatric hospital in Kyiv. Should world opinion remain silent, he too will be "forgotten", as were Kovhar and Lupynis.

On November 2, 1976, Yosyp Terelya was thrown into the psychiatric hospital in Vinnytsya. Terelya has spent 14 of the 33 years of his life in camps, prisons and special psychiatric hospitals for his religious and nationalistic convictions. Freed in April 1976, he was pronounced perfectly healthy and even subject to military service. In fact, he had become an invalid; during torture his spine had been injured. He worked as a cabinetmaker in a regional hospital. From there he was taken by ambulance to an insane asylum.

Y. Terelya is an aspiring poet. He was never given the opportunity to study, but the emotions he expresses in his uncompromising nationalistic and his uncompromising nationalistic and religious feelings, expressed in large part in his poetry, Terelya has sacrificed almost half his life in camps, Vladimir Prison and special psychiatric hospitals. From the Vinnytsya psychiatric hospital Terelya writes:

Today, on the 10th, I received my first injection, though I did not request it. But when people want to

do "good" for their neighbor, they sometimes permit themselves the impermissible (that is, the amoral, the unconscionable). The reaction has begun — how wonderful; I feel a great deal of acidity.

The room holds almost 40 variously sick persons. I was placed among the violent, with a few fevered alcoholics tossed in, who scream every night as if wounded. Outdoor exercise is not permitted — fresh air is forbidden! The same goes for any contacts, even the orderlies are warned not to speak to me. "No exchanges." The food is horrendous, almost like the prison swill, and there are days when you wonder where you are.

The KGB, it appears, had planned to have me killed by someone else's hand. As far as I am concerned, Psychiatry and the Police are like siblings, serving the almost legendary KGB in order to show their better side, lest Heaven forbid, they get a "mark". With this in mind Police Captain Tymoshchuk summoned me and began to blackmail me, threatening me with jail for "parasitism", for not working, although he knew very well that I had a job and that I have a job now. 4

Among the gross violations of Human Rights, which have not abated since Helsinki, are the "camp trials" — a method borrowed from Beria's version of jurisprudence. The "trial" is held without witnesses, without counsel and often without a representative of the local authorities, who should supervise. A typical "troika" from Stalinist times. With the aid of such "troikas", the camp administration maintains its zone in fear and submission and transfers the more active prisoners, who demand the status of political prisoners, to the

4) On November 30, Y. Terelya was released from the psychiatric hospital.

harsh treatment in Vladimir Prison. That is how they pacified Zone 36 by transferring Krasnyak, Vudka, Serhiyenko and others to prison. Of the 14 Ukrainian political prisoners in Vladimir, 12 were sent there by "camp courts", most of them for 3 years.

Finally, a summation is in order. It is far from encouraging. More than a year has gone by since Helsinki and the Accords have not brought the Ukrainian people any improvement. New prisons are being built and the ranks of the KGB continue to grow. Today, every establishment has its own KGB curator. Monitoring of telephone conversations, of private mail, microphones in ceilings, planned "hooligan" muggings of Human Rights activists — all of these have become a matter of daily life. And there is no one to complain to.

True, there are fewer politically motivated arrests than in 1972, but all those considered "unreliable" lose their professional positions. The ranks of guards, engine stokers and common laborers are filled by writers, lawyers and philologists. Psychiatric hospitals are still used as institutions for "re-educating" those who think differently. False accusations, such as bribe taking, are made in order to hide political motives. Refusal to cooperate with the KGB, that is, to be an informer, brings sadistic, vicious reprisals, while informers are rewarded with automatic promotions.

All aspects of life today are controlled by the KGB, from the employee's bed beneath the ceiling microphones (often uncealed!), to the writer's study. For example, Mykola Rudenko summoned the KGB to remove microphones from his ceiling. Later, the KGB decided to place an informer by Rudenko, choosing Dr. Mykhaylo Kovtunenکو for this ignominious role. When Kovtunenکو refused, he was immediately arrested for "accepting bribes".

Another example: After an illegal search, former political prisoner Olek-

siy Tykhy was arrested on suspicion of robbing a store. A guard then began to beat him. When Tykhy protested to KGB Lt. Col. Melnyk, V. O., the latter responded with brutal obscenities and shouted, "And who do you think you are?"

Actually, this detention was necessary for the KGB to confiscate Tykhy's manuscripts. In two days, he was released, but his manuscripts were not returned.

In the meantime, former political prisoners are returning unbroken, hardened, and determined to continue the struggle for Human Rights. It is enough to examine the membership of our Group to be convinced of that. This is a new, strange social phenomenon, for which the authorities are not prepared. It appears that prisons, camps, and psychiatric hospitals cannot serve as dams against a movement in defense of justice. On the contrary, they temper cadres of unyielding fighters for freedom. And the KGB can no longer make sure that political prisoners will never return.

If world opinion does not lessen its moral support, if the Western news media focus more attention to the struggle for Human Rights in the USSR, then the coming decade will bring great democratic changes in our country.

Since the collapse of feudalism, the individual has become an active element in the formulation of government policy; in other words, a Ward of the

Law. This means that if there is a single individual that does not think as does the rest of society, the law must protect this individual's convictions. Otherwise the Aristotles, Copernicuses, Einsteins and Marxes would never see the light of day, for they would always be thrown into psychiatric hospitals and concentrations camps.

There is but one Civilization — this is clearly seen from Space. The Sun's rays know no earthly boundaries. Man is formed from the rays of the Sun; he is a child of the Sun. Who has the right to restrain his thought, which strives for Infinity? For the sake of life on Earth, for the sake of our grandchildren and their children, we say: Enough! And our call is echoed in the Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords, which were ratified also by the Soviet Government.

OLES BERDNYK

PETRO HRYHORENKO (Pyotr Grigorenko)

IVAN KANDYBA

LEVKO LUKYANENKO

OKSANA MESHKO

MYKOLA MATUSEVYCH

MYROSLAV MARYNOVYCH

MYKOLA RUDENKO (Group Leader)

NINA STROKATA

OLEKSIY TYKHY

November-December 1976

A signed copy is retained by the Group
12/6/76 (signed) Mykola Rudenko

Political Prisoners Praying for the Pope

L. I. — a highly educated and cultured Ukrainian political prisoner, having been given one of the harshest verdicts — has remained spiritually undestructible and has preserved his faith in God, his belief having even grown deeper, in prisons and concentration camps. When the political prisoners learned that Pope Paul VI had sent his representative, Card. Cassarole, to Helsinki to sign the Final Act, they, and especially L. I., could not at all under-

stand how it was possible that the Head of the Catholic Church had instructed his representatives to meet with representatives of Communist states where faith and the faithful are being annihilated. **L. I. prayed for Pope Paul VI that he should turn away from this wrong path.** The political prisoners stated the following: "We are referring to these facts at the eve of the 1977 Conference to be held in Belgrade where the civilized world is again going to meet with genocidal Communists".

YOUTH FORUM

Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) (Youth Section)
Great Britain Conference

Derby, 28th May 1977

RESOLUTIONS

WHEREAS the ABN (Youth Section) stands for the human rights of equality, freedom and justice for every individual and state independence for every people

And WHEREAS the nation constitutes the natural community of man the ABN (Youth Section) believes that the human rights must also apply to nations for there can be no freedom of the individual if the nation is not free and that there can be no justice nor equality if these rights are not adhered to by all nations.

And WHEREAS Russian imperialism and Communism have consistently and ruthlessly violated these rights in enslaving nations and threatening the very existence of all free men



From left to right: Gunars Tamsons (Latvia) addressing the meeting, Col. J. Bunchuk (Byelorussia), S. Hunka (Secretary-General of ABN, Youth Section), M. Zacharczuk (Secretary-General, ABN, Great Britain), T. Lysenczuk (Chairman ABN, Youth Section), Slava Stetsko from ABN Central Committee, Toomas Ojasoo (Estonia).

THE ABN (YOUTH SECTION) CONFERENCE HEREBY DECLARES that the Conference **SEVERELY CONDEMNS** Russian Imperialism and Communism **AND APPEALS** to the Free World to support their cause in liberating the enslaved nations and reaffirm the rights of man

AND RESOLVES

1. **TO DEMAND** the dissolution of the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics replacing it with independent national democratic states

based on the ethnographic boundaries of all subjugated peoples therein as well as the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the peoples in the so-called satellite countries and also the dissolution of all artificial states created by coercion

2. **TO URGE** the United Nations' representatives of every non-Communist country to demand equal representation in the United Nations for the subjugated Nation's revolutionary representatives, both active in their occupied countries and in exile similar to the representation granted to the Palestine Liberation Organisation

3. **TO URGE** the Free World to **REFUSE** any aid whether military, economic, technological or other to those who practise colonialism and tyranny by severing all political and economic connections with the Russians and their satellites **AND FURTHER URGE** the Free World to **SUPPORT** the liberation movements striving for the downfall of this last vast colonial empire in the world and for the destruction of the Communist system of slavery

4. **TO SEVERELY CONDEMN AND URGE** the liquidation of all concentration camps and psychiatric institutions used in the Russian empire and in the so-called satellite states for the physical and mental destruction of political prisoners

5. **TO CONDEMN** and **SEVERELY PROTEST** against the Russian atheist desecration of the churches of the subjugated nations and the barbarous persecution of their clergy.

Dated this 28th day of May 1977

Derby England.

Mr. T. O. Lysenczuk, LL.B.,
Chairman

Mr. S. Hunka, B.A. (Pol. Econ.)
Secretary

ABN (Youth Section)

signed on behalf of 280 people present at the Conference



ABN Youth Section Conference participants.

Youth In Action

Practical Plans of Action With Particular Reference to Use of Universities, Colleges and Other Educational Establishments

Most of us are the first generation of political refugees of Communist oppression. Our fathers fled from their subjugated Communist-ruled states when the opportunity arose during World War II and they sought not only better lives for themselves but also to combat Communism from outside the Communist states. We are therefore the product of turmoiled peoples struggling to regain their independence and identity.

Here in the United Kingdom we enjoy the freedom of probably one of the freest countries in the world where one can even flaunt the Government with strikes, demonstrations and opposition without incurring penalties. Even Communism is not outlawed here, and Fascism is allowed to remain unhindered. And we, what are we, the assembled here doing to help our fathers' cause? The *raison d'être* first of all, of our being, and secondly of being here in the United Kingdom, is said by many of our forefathers to continue the struggle and opposition to Russian Communism and its atrocities, which have swallowed up our countries. We are here to defend our countries, heritages and honour, to strive for the eradication of Communism from our lands. What has been done by us in say the last ten years when most of us had already started our teens? Nothing much, we have been basking in the freedom of this country doing what we very much please without consciously realizing that our brethren in our respective countries are being tortured under the strain of Communism. Our brethren cannot do what they like for fear of reprisals and death. The basic freedoms which we take for granted are not available to our brethren. Freedom of speech, association, independence and justice have been whittled away while we in this free state are idling

our time away not making any efforts, or very little, to do anything in their support. Whereas our brethren cannot protest, demonstrate or strike we can and should do so on their behalf against those very forces which restrict their liberty. We, of course, although not equipped as well as our brethren with the horrors of Communism, have better opportunities to voice our opinions to protest on their behalf. We can use the machinery of a free democracy to benefit our brethren.

And what of our students, the future intellectuals of our and every society? Were they not the champions of liberty, fraternity and equality? What have they done to be grateful for their birth and good future?

Due to living in a country with relatively few restrictions on our movements and actions we have grown up with our English friends and indeed are beginning to act more and more like them. For on the whole, unfortunately, the English people are not too concerned with the present state of their country or the threat of Communism whether to their country or to Western Europe or elsewhere in the world, short of the threat of military invasion — then it will be too late. We are growing up in this artificial utopia of apathy and waiting for something to happen to us before opening our eyes and eventually taking preventive actions. We have got so lazy that we are not defending our own heritages forthright as we should. Yet without a national identity we are nothing but numbers like employees in a large factory where they are known by their wage coding number. Let us stand up and be counted, as members of our respective nations.

I am sure that a lot of us think that the United Kingdom will be all right

and life goes on as before and that there cannot be any threat of Communism and it is only in our imaginations or something which might happen in the distant future. It is not surprising, in a way, that such thinking is bountiful for how many of us, the younger generation have actually seen Communism at work in our respective countries or here in the United Kingdom? Also with the comparatively easy life with few restrictions imposed on our being in the United Kingdom it can be understandable that we forgot who we are and our heritages. But it is ironic that the ones who are least able to do something do the most. The countless numbers of heroic people who have sacrificed their lives and limbs in present times in their Russian occupied countries, in striving for their basic guaranteed freedoms should inspire us to do all we can. Yet, we who are able to do the most choose to do nothing or little and by our own omissions may be accelerating the destruction of our heritage.

Few ever realize that in this relative utopia in the United Kingdom our freedoms are being slowly eroded from under our very noses. One only has to look over the past 10 to 15 years that legislation has curbed individual freedom. For example, the phrase "an Englishman's home is his castle" has been severely curtailed by planning laws, one can no longer do what one would like with even one's own property. A person is a member of a trade union, he has to pay subscriptions to that particular trade union which in effect subsidizes the Labour Government and as was seen in the Shelepin affair these funds are used to subsidize visits of the very people whom we are fighting against. Yet if those very members of the trade unions were to refuse payment of the subscriptions or do not tow the line by striking in accordance with an executive decision then they will lose their jobs; furthermore in many employments closed shops operate and employees are forced to join a particular union on pain of losing their



Mr. S. Hunka, B. A. (Ukrainian), delivering his speech. From left to right: Mr. T. Lysenczuk, LL. B., (Ukrainian), Dr. Andris Abakuks (Latvian), Mr. Toomas Ojasoo (Estonia).

jobs, yet this is supposed to be for the benefit of all but in reality it destroys the very fundamental freedoms which a human being should have. With the recent capital transfer tax one cannot even give one's wealth away without incurring additional liability to tax. The state has increased its continuous control through further nationalization of British steel, gas, electricity, Post Office — the list is ever growing. There is so much dissatisfaction with race relations, culminating in the Nottinghill riots. I am sure that many of you recall the 1972 coal miners strikes and the havoc of a three day working week, which was thrust upon us; do you remember that it was a Communist inspired policy of destruction, where agitators were brought in from outside the coal miner's circle to instigate what amounted to open rebellion.

It is up to us, the younger generation, the future potential leaders of our respective countries to do something about this slide towards Socialism and neo-Communism. It is also up to us to combat the atrocities of Russian Communism against our own respective countries and voice our opinions in the free world where the effect of world opinion would be so much more effective. Furthermore we should not forget that we, the first generation in exile, will have to carry the banner from our elder generation which in the next ten to twenty years will be greatly diminished and the responsibility will be on our shoulders. We should not wait until that fateful change comes about when our fathers slip away from us, we should do something now by joining in their efforts so that we may be prepared for the future conflicts.

We need to give our wholehearted support to and become involved with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which is the champion of the ideals of freedom and became an international union of the National Revolutionary Organizations of all the peoples subjugated by Russia and by Com-

munist. We should give our active support to the ABN for the destruction of the Communist blight on freedom and justice for every individual and state independence for every people. Through our considerable knowledge of the English language, English institutions and procedures, we can be far more effective than our fathers in the carrying out of our actions. We have in our ranks intelligent people such as lawyers, architects, doctors, engineers, lecturers etc., etc. We should utilize our wealth of knowledge and our influences and contacts, exploding the myth of Communism and furthering the cause of freedom for our nations. We should inform the English people of what is Communism, what effect it has had on our respective countries and what could happen here in the United Kingdom if Russian Communist expansionism is not checked.

Our present and future intelligentsia, through educational establishments such as universities, colleges and other higher educational institutions have a great role to play in our future for they will be the future salesmen of our respective nations. Furthermore Communism has made great inroads into these educational establishments and has been utilizing the intelligentsia for its own purposes. Despite Marx's call for the workers of the world to unite, Communism has never been a working class movement. Its main strength has been and still is the intellectual and thought centre of the World. In the Canadian Gouzenko affair of 1946 the Soviet spy ring participants were university graduates from McGill and most of them had been to Harvard. Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White and their comrades came to high government posts from Harvard Law School.

Communism considers most suitable for its purposes men and women who feel superior to their own society. Such people who betray their country are not so much for Communism as they are against aspects of the system they

are in. The majority of such people who are caught as spies are usually possessed with an intellectual arrogance which made them place, their judgement ahead of most others hence they were easily talked into treason. Moral sabotage is instituted by Communism to undermine and weaken a nation on the moral and spiritual level to such an extent that it no longer has the will or ability to resist the physical onslaught of the Communists, and falls as an over-ripe fruit into their hands. The intellectual Communist finds it easy to bring his influence to bear especially on the frustrated adventure seeking youth. Shuffling student leaders from country to country Communists utilize their expertise to stir up student unrest like the student riots in Paris in 1968 and London 1968. For example the London School of Economics, centre of the student riots had non-British and other student leaders involved such as Klehn, Bloom and Abel, who were American, Tariq Ali — a Pakistani, and Munroe — a West Indian. As a law student at the University of Manchester in 1969 to 1972 I saw quite a lot of student unrest caused by professional stirrers or student leaders. However, when the mass of followers were questioned why they were chanting etc., very few had any real notion of what it was all about and a lot just went for the ride.

Just as Communism uses these high educational establishments so can the forces of anti-Communism use the same to counteract Communism. For example a handful of our students can do a lot of damage to Communism by distributing leaflets issued either by ABN itself or member nationalities, to the students of their particular university or college. I once distributed approximately 200 leaflets which were left after a Ukrainian demonstration in favour of Valentyn Moroz, and it took me approximately 5 minutes in the lunch period to distribute them. I found that very few were thrown away, the major-

ity appeared to read the leaflets with interest.

Where there are more than just a handful of students, a mini-ABN or similar organization within the university or college could be set up; this can receive financial aid by way of educational grants as was the case in 1971 where a few Ukrainians, including myself, set up a Ukrainian Society within the University of Manchester and this did receive a grant. Of course, the creation of such an organization within a university or college would be difficult and the early years are very trying but with persistence it can issue a lot of useful propaganda within the actual university or college or even outside by showing the cultures of our various nations. Even one or two people can do the same by giving cultural exhibitions, stalls and musical evenings. Help can be received from ABN itself or from the other nationalities within the ABN in that particular area where the university or college is situated. By holding such events the other students of the university will know:

a) that first of all these particular nations do exist as separate from Russia and

b) they are subjugated by Russia and are fighting for their very freedom.

Lectures and informative evenings can be given to varied and receptive student audiences and these can be conducted either by our own students or with the help of other speakers from the ABN or the respective National Communities in the area. If the right approach is used you will find that there will be many students who will listen. For example, you could advertise a speech on "Communism" and the effect on students and turn this to our advantage by showing what Communism has done to our respective nations. Films such as the one I saw recently about concentration camps in Latvia could be shown in universities and colleges by our own students for

the benefit of others. Posters can be made and displayed; various notice boards throughout the universities and colleges as well as the university or college magazine and newsletters can be used for informing the students what Communism is and how it affects our nations, pointing out who we are and how we fight against Communism. The other facilities of the universities and colleges such as printing, photo-copying machinery, computers, communications etc. can all be used to our advantage. Usually these educational establishments have access to radios, which are either their own or they have some time allocated on local radios. These can be used to a devastating effect. We should use the press more and more, as well as the mass media and let ourselves be known. By joining other societies of the university or college such as Amnesty International, International Societies, United Nations Associations etc. we can spread our influence through them and transmit to them our own knowledge, and through joint efforts a concentrated effort can be made say to release political prisoners.

At the moment there is a Ukrainian Students Association in the United Kingdom which does a lot of useful work in coordinating Ukrainian students for various actions. Similar organizations can be set up with other nationalities, and joint efforts can be made with regard to certain proposed actions—the effect would be far greater. The biggest drawback, of course, is that there are not many students of other nationalities but we have to act with what we have.

Particular emphasis should be made with regard to inviting university and college lecturers to these various cultural exhibitions and informative evenings, so as to let them know who we are, for lecturers especially in history and political science do have a bearing on the students in the subjects that they teach. It is largely important that

our own versions of our history and cultures be made available to such people rather than the scantily reported text books or even Russian based books.

With regard to the lower schools we should advocate that the various certificates of education such as the 'O' and 'A' levels should be allowed for our respective languages as are presently available for Ukrainian, Croatian and a few others. By maintaining this we are showing that our languages are independent and, of course, this does also give an additional certificate to those who obtain these passes. Schools can hold cultural exhibitions, informative evenings, musical entertainment, concerts and film shows showing our respective nations and their cultures, customs and traditions. Through visual propaganda better information can be conveyed concerning our cause.

Very much more can be done by us, the younger generation, through our own particular expertise and knowledge which our fathers found difficult. For example we should study the national and local press, watch for any adverse publicity against our respective nations, and by writing letters to the press inform them of these errors. Furthermore by sending in an article on say the history of a contemporary political prisoner to the press we can initiate discussion, you will find that (if your letter is printed, of course) others will jump on the bandwagon writing letters either praising or denouncing what you have written yourself. The point is that you will find, by sending just one letter, other people reading these papers will act upon it and before you know, a discussion has arisen and the effect has snow-balled. A couple of years ago I made a five page report after studying the Ukrainian Easter traditions and customs. In my capacity as Secretary of the Ukrainian Information Service, in Bradford, I forwarded a copy of this report to the local newspapers, local radio and Leeds

radio, ITV and BBC television networks, and the incredible result was that I had two appearances on radio, two lengthy editorial articles published in the two newspapers in which they utilized my report almost word for word, and the other television network, which I wrote to was very disappointed we could not appear, for we were on the other channel at the same time. The same can be said of reporting on a nation's festivity anniversary or particular event or any contemporary news item, which might affect our own country. It is amazing how easy it is to turn any news item into our advantage. For example, one can remark about the 1st May and the Russian show of arms, and this could be used to show Russia's imperialist intentions and their effect on our countries...

The press is a powerful instrument which can be used to advantage if applied correctly. For example, a particular community of a nationality should invite English V. I. P.'s such as the local Lord Mayor, Councillors, Members of Parliament so that the press will be attracted and report the event, thus further our cause by stating this event was held by the nation in

question which is struggling for independence against Russian Communism etc.

Anything and everything must be used to our advantage in informing the world, but in particular the inhabitants of this country, what Communism is, who we are and what we are doing against Communism; but if our words and actions are not reported in the press and the mass media only a few people will know. There is not much point in showing to ourselves what we know of Communism, we have to convey our knowledge and experience to those who are not aware of it and inform them of how to combat it. We should take every opportunity to denounce the Russian policy of world domination and destruction of our countries, history, culture, customs and traditions and the basic human freedoms. It is high time, that we, young people, play our part and help our brethren in our subjugated nations who are less fortunate than we and who are sacrificing their lives, so that we can go on, and one day hopefully in the not too distant future we shall join our brethren and be united on our soil!

S. Hunka, B. A.

INSTEAD OF A FINAL STATEMENT

by VALENTYN MOROZ

In 16 languages: — Ukrainian, English, French, Bulgarian, Croatian, Slovakian, Spanish, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Hungarian, Flemish, Dutch, Persian, Turkish.

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Co-operation Of The Member Nations Of ABN

We are living in a time which could give more to humanity, more than in any other period and yet we choose to spend it in a setting of the biggest confrontation between two powerful blocs the world has ever seen and use up the resources and ability which could have transformed our very lives.

We are living in a time when Western democracies are applying convenience, compromise and co-existence to the way the political scene is run rather than justice, fairness and prudence. If we make a deeper study of these superficial parts, we find that behind these arrangements of expediency are: inability to act and decide, fear because of this inability and the resultant absence of moral values, and therefore lack of credibility in politics and politicians.

Some light, however, is now returning into politics and we may have reached a turning point when hopefully the despair, which has been with us ever since the end of the Second World War, is now lifting and honesty, integrity and compassion may be returning in international politics.

The phase I just described has left a mark on us and the way we act and react. I am not presenting a picture in which suddenly everything is alright — no, I am simply stating that we have to look severely at ourselves, look at our ability to work together and take stock of our determination, and willingness to achieve the goal that we are striving for, the goals that we have placed as our major objectives.

We have a number of important reasons for having a close look at ourselves. Firstly, our people in captivity are increasingly feeling the pressure of Russian domination; they are being silenced and those who have the courage to resist are being destroyed both

physically and morally. Secondly, our numbers here in the Free West are diminishing and unless we maintain our ability we face a real danger of losing the strength of our voice as well as losing the first hand experience of the Communist atrocities committed towards our countries and people.

More and more we come to realize that a lasting and successful political settlement in Eastern Europe will depend on our unity and on the unity of our peoples behind the Iron Curtain. I have said over many years in the past that I do not envisage a free Latvia, whilst the other nations around us remain in Russian bondage. No more do I see a free Byelorussia, or a free Ukraine in such isolation. It therefore follows that we shall achieve our freedom together and that the steps we take in this direction should be taken together.

Accepting the above statement we can set a plan for our political work here — a plan that will not only benefit and strengthen our cause in the immediate sense, but which will also be of very great benefit when we begin to free our homelands.

I see such a plan essentially built on trust amongst ourselves. This can only be achieved if we come together as often as possible and work towards the attainment of our common goal. In this work we must not allow issues to be brought in which create differences, issues which we cannot alter or settle at this point.

The plan has to contain equality, allowing all participants to feel that there is no prejudice to them, that only current action in our joint cause is important. At the same time the plan must expect an active part to be played by all — it must neither create, nor allow a passive presence. It must also

not allow a participation which accepts absence when faced with failure and alliance when things are looking well.

The plan must also provide for the creation of future leaders, so that we may enjoy succession and our activities can be and are carried on.

The plan will also insist on serious study of the lives of our people under the Russian yoke — unless we understand and appreciate their problems we are in real danger of acting in isolation and therefore limiting our success. We are in danger of creating a barrier between ourselves and the people at home and we are also likely to be discredited in the eyes of those people in the West, who might study our problems in greater depth than we ourselves. Losing the ties with our people at home and losing credibility would also mean the loss of moral strength which we so much need in our work.

We must concentrate our efforts upon informing our host population about all the evil of which the Communist rulers are capable, so that the myth of Communism expanding via international socialism is dispersed and stopped. We should have ample evidence to do this work convincingly, but we must also be prepared to look at, study and appraise all new evidence that becomes available. Let us remember that it is news that make news and if we operate with old arguments we become boring and lose our audience, at the same time disclosing our lack in assimilating current facts and knowledge of that matter.

How much have we done so far and how much is there still to be done? I would like far greater co-operation between all the nations suffering from Russian domination. I would like to feel that in the West we could find it possible to join all these nationalities to work purposefully and together. I would also like to see all of the existing participant nations of the ABN becoming more involved in our work.

The co-operation of our people at home is a much more complex issue and requires a very deep and careful study of the conditions in which our people have to lead their lives, the various differences which exist in the application of Soviet rule between the constituent Republics of the Soviet Union as well as the outer areas of their influence. There are differences in the intensity with which each of the Republics are russified, there are differences in the population mixture in the various areas — all of these present their own problems and cause people to react differently.

One must not forget that of all our aspirations, the Russians fear most those of national identity and religious freedom. Both these have the effect of unifying people and therefore offer a real danger to the Communist domination of our countries. The Russian reprisals against activity in these areas are severe; yet despite this there have been many instances, where active co-operation and participation in these areas has taken place multi-nationally and on a notable scale: the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia caused a large number of protests from nationalists in other Republics, the burial of Roman Kalantas entailed the presence and participation of people from other Republics. There is also evidence of liaison groups consisting of various nationalities for joint political or religious tasks. A notable co-operation between different nationalities also exists in Siberia and other areas to which minority nationals have been deported or exiled.

Very significant examples of co-operation between different nationalities can be observed from the way information and published details are being sent out of the Soviet Union. There are also strong links between nations in getting similar activities started in the various parts of the Soviet Union, for example the Helsinki Agreement observer groups. Statements of the dissidents recently allowed to leave Russia

also confirm that co-operation exists between a number of minority nations.

These examples should convince us of the need to give a very high priority to organizing joint action groups wherever possible on a local basis. There must also be provision for getting together to adopt policies, plan events and exchange knowledge, so that the

work done is efficient and does not contravene the principles and objectives which the ABN is pledged to work for. This cannot be achieved without coming together and getting to know each other, this cannot be done without assimilating the spirit, experience and information which such meetings will provide.



The photo in "Evening Star" shows Mr. John Graham celebrating his birthday with Ukrainian friends.

WISHING MANY HAPPY YEARS TO COME

Mr. John Graham, a great friend of the subjugated nations, attained the age of 70 in June this year.

For many years he was coeditor of the "Evening Star" in Todmorden. As Chairman of the British League for European Freedom, Secretary of the Executive Board of the European Freedom Council, Editor of Anglo-Ukrainian News and Secretary General of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society he was very active and took all opportunities to help the subjugated nations in their struggle for national independence.

On the Eve of the Belgrade Conference

Persecutions and new arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals took place in Ukraine.

Last year Pysmenny, a teacher in Kyiv, was arrested for defending the use of the Ukrainian language. However, during his trial he was accused of alleged "improper conduct" before his students. This is Pysmenny's second arrest. He was first arrested in 1972 for publicly defending the case of the Ukrainian language and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment.

On June 15, 1976, the KGB conducted a search in the home of Oleksa Tykhiy, in Izevka (Donets region) during which manuscripts of the history of Ukrainian language were confiscated.

He had already been sentenced in 1958 to 5 years of incarceration, under the old Criminal Code, Article 58 (treason) and has now been sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile.

New arrests were reported also in Ivano-Fankivsk. Among the arrested was a man named Lesiv.

The "samvydav" publications are also circulating the names of Ukrainian Baptists who are serving their sentences in concentration camps in the Vynnytsia region: Mykola Kaban, Anton Pohanych, Pavlo Basarab, Yuriy Borka, Vasyl Sonovchan, T. Shomon, Anatol Vakulych, Vyacheslav Paster-natsky, Tymofiy Kondratiuk, Adam Zarevny, Petro Bohomaz, Mykola Adamchuk, Mykola Havryluk, Mykola Oseichuk, Denys Vetrych, Ivan Moldovan and Onufriy Kohutanych. Petro Zalivsky, and Dmytro Chodakivsky are incarcerated in a Zhytomyr region concentration camp.

In the spring of this year Zinoviy Krasivsky was transferred from a special psychiatric prison hospital in the city of Smolensk to a psychiatric hospital in Lviv.

Z. Krasivsky was born in 1930 in the Lviv region. In 1947 Krasivsky and his father were deported to Siberia. On the way, the 17-year-old youth escaped, but was apprehended and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment.

In 1967 Krasivsky was arrested again for alleged participation in the Ukrainian National Front. Tried under Article 56 of the Criminal Code, he was sentenced to 5 years in prison, 7 years of hard labor in concentration camp and 5 years exile — for alleged participation in the formation of the Ukrainian National Front, publishing underground magazine "Homeland and Freedom" and distribution of over 7,000 leaflets. After his trial Krasivsky was transferred to Vladimir prison.

In the winter of 1972 he was taken to Moscow's Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry where he was declared insane and subsequently committed to a special psychiatric prison hospital in Smolensk.

Petro Trotsiuk-Kozliuk, a former soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), is now incarcerated in a special psychiatric hospital in Dnipropetrovsk.

After World War II Trotsiuk was sentenced to 25 years in prison. After serving half of his term, Trotsiuk escaped. For six years he lived as a free man, worked, married and had a child.

However, in 1962 someone recognized him and reported him to the police. He was then arrested for the second time and ordered to serve the remainder of his sentence.

In 1971 a new charge was filed against him for alleged participation in "the terrorist activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists".

The following year he was declared insane by the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry and committed to the psychiatric asylum in Dnipropetrovsk.

News and Views

Forbidden National Colours on the Top of the Theatre House

Early in the morning of the 25th of February the Estonian national flag was flying on the roof of the Theatre House "Vanemuine", which is one of the most impressive buildings in the Estonian university town Tartu.

The 24th of February is the Estonian Independence Day and its commemoration in any way is forbidden by the Communist regime.

It was not an easy task for the militia to take that flag down, the early street-goers watching their efforts. The flag had not been hoisted in a usual way but was fastened to the flagstaff.

The Estonian national colours blue-black-white are forbidden not only as a flag but they are not allowed to be displayed in whatsoever composition.

(Our source)

The Baltic Scientific Conference in Stockholm

The Fourth Conference on Baltic Studies arranged by the Baltic Scientific Institute in Stockholm was held in Stockholm on June 10-13. It was opened on Friday the 10th of June at 10 a. m. by Sweden's Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs, Jan-Erik Wistrom, in the Grand Hall of the Swedish Academy. The remaining part of the conference took place at Hasselby Castle, the Nordic cultural exchange centre.

The conference was divided in four sections: A history section, a section for social sciences, a section for linguistics and a section for literature and arts.

The Tyrant's Egg

In a speech held in Paris — his new home — the author Leonid Plushch (ostracized from his home in the Soviet

Union) illustrated Soviet Russian oppression in Ukraine by the following examples:

6 journals published in Ukraine were compelled to switch over from the native Ukrainian language to Russian; Ukrainian literature is outlawed since Ukrainian poems must no longer be recited and Ukrainian books must not be sold. Plushch pointed out that recently the efforts to russify Ukraine have been intensified although this is quite inconsistent with the Helsinki Accords and with the membership of Ukraine — as a separate state — in the United Nations.

However, the story about the eggs exemplifies Soviet Russian oppression in an even more peculiar way.

It is an ancient Ukrainian custom that peasants bring along artfully painted eggs to sell them on the market. If nowadays they still dare to adhere to this custom and offer such eggs they are immediately hunted by the police. As fragile as these eggs may appear they must be extremely resistant in a certain way since the Government of Moscow is chasing them by policemen. It is obvious that not the egg as such is offensive but the design painted thereon, since the colors and designs used to paint the eggs belong to the Ukrainian folk art. Just as Ukrainian poems are prohibited Ukrainian eggs are outlawed as well. One must admit, indeed, there is a certain logic in the policy of the Russian rulers. Thus the task of the police is twofold in connection with the eggs, since prior to seizing the eggs and chasing the peasants the policeman must be in a position to judge art. He must be able to recognize at first glance whether the designs painted on the eggs are typically Ukrainian ones, especially as the peasants tend to run away at the sight

of a policeman. If — as it is his duty — he follows the peasant and finds only unpainted eggs on him, it is he, the policeman, who has made a fool of himself.

But is a policeman in the position to recognize the arabesques of folk art? Of course, he is. For what is the most delightful thing in the existence of the police being at the service of a tyrant is the fact that both of them are always right: the tyrant at the top and the policeman at the bottom. Only the one who gets between the two goes to pieces. (*Die Zeit*, 3. 2. 1977)

Paleographic Find of 40 Thousand Years Ago

The paleographic expedition from the Dnistr area, found, during a dig near the Molodove Chernivets region, a scapula from a mammoth, on which was the outline of a deer.

The experts came to the conclusion, that the scapula with the engraving of the deer belongs to the middle palaeolithic period, and is one of the earliest creations by man from the stone age.

This find is over 40,000 years old.

RAMSEY CLARK LEGAL COUNSEL FOR RUDENKO, TYKHY

Ramsey Clark, former Attorney General agreed to act as legal counsel for Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy, both members of the Kyiv Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords who were arrested last February.

Joining Mr. Clark at the press conference organized by the International League for Human Rights were Ludmyla Alekseyeva, the official representative of the Moscow Helsinki monitoring group, and Lidia Voronina, both Soviet dissidents now living in the West.

Mr. Clark said that their arrest is in violation of human rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, saying that the three political prison-

ers merely sought to monitor compliance with the Helsinki Accords, Mr. Clark rhetorically asked "Is that a crime?"

He described Rudenko, the Kyiv monitoring group's chairman, as a "great writer who sought to fulfill human rights in his country, because he loves his country".

Expressing hope that the Soviet Russian government will grant him a visa, Mr. Clark said that his initial plan is to attend the trials as their defense attorney, and speak with relatives and witnesses, which he feels "can be helpful".

If he is denied entrance to the Soviet Union on all grounds, Mr. Clark said that he will then resort to filing friefs before the Soviet government based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The USSR should grant him a visa to attend the trial, because the United States allowed Soviet journalists and lawyers to attend the trial of Angela Davis.

"I hope all signatories (of the Helsinki Accords) will urge that this matter is on the agenda in Belgrade", he said. "In view of the Belgrade conference, the Soviet Union should grant a general amnesty", he concluded.

Mrs. Alekseyeva gave a list of the members of Helsinki monitoring groups in Moscow, Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia and Armenia, indicating which members are arrested.

She said that there is a total of 36 members in all the monitoring groups, and nine of them are imprisoned or in exile.

They also urged that "the very first step in discussing any aspect of human rights has to be the immediate liberation of all arrested members of the Helsinki groups".

Mrs. Alekseyeva again stressed during the press conference that repression is greater in Ukraine than elsewhere in the USSR. She explained this as an expression of the Kremlin's fear of Ukrainian separation from the USSR.

As an example of the extent of repression against Ukrainians, Mrs. Alekseyeva said that out of 20 recidivist political prisoners in a special section of Mordovia, 13 are Ukrainians.

A Dangerous Graveyard in Tallinn

In September 1944 Estonia faced a second Communist occupation. On September 18, 1944 the acting President of Estonia, Prof. J. Uluots, appointed Mr. Otto Tief Prime Minister of Estonia. There were good reasons to believe that the Russians would respect the legal Estonian Government because the Kremlin had joined the Atlantic Charter and had signed the Liberated Europe Declaration. Of course, there were reasons why the members of the newly appointed Estonian government did not leave Estonia. All hope in view of so-called declarations was in vain. Mr. Tief and his colleagues were immediately arrested and imprisoned and subsequently detained in a slave-camp for more than a decade. It was a curious event, when the Estonian Minister of Education, Mr. A. Susi, met A. Solzhenitsyn in Lubyanka prison, in Moscow. Mr. Susi explained what democracy is and how it works. In "Gulag" A. Solzhenitsyn frankly explained how he was "converted" by Mr. Susi.

After long prison terms the Estonian ministers returned home, as spiritually and physically broken men.

Very soon Minister Susi died and was buried in Tallinn, at the Metsakalmistu cemetery (the cemetery of the forest). Some years later, in March, 1976, Mr. Tief died and his last will was to be buried next to his colleague's, Susi's, grave.

The grave for Mr. Tief was also dug, and the people attending the funeral had already assembled at the open grave, when suddenly the secret police appeared and ordered that Tief had to be buried in another place, remote from Susi's grave.

And so it happened. The last will of the Estonian Prime Minister was not

respected by the Kremlin KGB order. It seems that even a graveyard is dangerous to the occupying forces.

Elmar Lipping

Patriarch Nikodim — General of the Russian Secret Service?

Since 1970 the World Council of the Churches has spent nearly one million of dollars on the Black guerrilla war in Africa. The list of movements financially supported by the World Council of the Churches also includes the "People's Liberation Movement" of Angola, which has obtained subsidies although it is unambiguously supported by Communist Cuba and Soviet Russia. According to statements of "the Enquirer" the leftist-oriented guerrilla groups of Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Rhodesia and South Africa have also obtained financial support from the funds of the World Council of the Churches. American experts consider that this Communist-oriented policy of the World Council of the Churches is mainly due to the influence of Boris Nikodim, the dangerous Soviet agent of high rank.

Nikodim is a member of the Council of Six of the Executive Committee of the World Council of the Churches and is simultaneously working for the KGB, Russia's ruthless secret service.

For instance, Archpriest George Grabbe, Head of the Russian Orthodox Church in New York, says that Nikodim has the rank of general in the Russian secret service KGB. Pastor Carl McIntire, a well-known preacher in the United States, who investigated Nikodim's career additionally commented: Nikodim is guided by the KGB and is the most powerful man in the World Council of the Churches today. He is at the helm and directs the World Council of the Churches according to the designs of Soviet Russian politics.

(Abendland, No. 81, from "Christian Beacon", No. 71, July 1, 1976 transmitted by impa.)

W. Lenin:

"The Clergy to Be Exterminated Ruthlessly"

Peter Falke

The Clergy to Be Wiped Out... Shot Dead!

(an unpublished letter of Lenin)

In vain one would look for a document in the 55 volumes of Lenin's collected works published in the USSR, a copy of which has nevertheless reached the West now. In the following, this document is quoted in entirety in English translation. The events of Shuya referred to in this letter allude to one of the murderous clashes between the people and the state authorities on March 15, 1922, i. e. hardly three weeks after the issuance of the Decree of February 22 concerning the seizure of Church property, also mentioned in the letter.

(Peter Falke)

Lenin's Letter to Comrade Molotov for the Members of the Politbureau Under the Seal of Secrecy

This letter should not be copied under any pretense whatsoever, but rather should every Member of the Politbureau (incl. Comrade Kalinin) write down his remarks directly on the document.

After the events of Shuya and the ensuing debates in the Politbureau I consider it indispensable to immediately institute strict measures in connection with the global plan of struggle started in this sense. I am afraid that I shall not be able to attend the meeting of the Politbureau to be held on March 20. Therefore, I am going to elaborate my point of view in writing.

The events of Shuya must be considered in connection with the information recently transmitted by ROSTA (the Russian Telegraphic Agency) to

the newspapers, namely that in Piter (St. Petersburg) fanatical reactionists intend to boycott the Decree ordering the seizure of Church property. If we associate this with what the newspapers say about the attitude of the clergy to this Decree concerning the seizure of Church property and with what we know about the **illegal appeal** published by Patriarch Tichon, we must conclude unambiguously that the extremely reactionary clergy, following the instructions of its leader, is about to put into practice a scheme worked out in detail of giving us a decisive battle precisely now. It is striking that this scheme has been worked out at secret meetings of the most influential group of reactionary clergymen and ratified with stern precision. The incidents of Shuya are merely the result of applying this global plan to a specific sector.

Unique Prospects

In my opinion, the enemy is about to make an extremely grave error when trying to give us a decisive battle at a moment when his situation is completely desperate and particularly unfavourable. On the other hand, this moment offers us immense advantages, if not a unique opportunity of crushing the enemy once and for all — with a 99 percent probability of success — and thus securing our rear positions — which may be of capital importance for many years to come.

So we can, hence **must** seize the Church property now, and only now while famine is raging such that in some regions even human flesh is eaten and the streets are covered with hundreds, if not with thousands of corpses, displaying uncompromising and relentless energy in the implementation of the Decree. We must not hesitate to crush any resistance that might rise on our way. Now, and only now, this huge

majority of peasant masses will turn to our side. At any rate, they will not be able to come to the aid of this bundle of backward clergymen and reactionary bourgeois who can and intend to oppose by all means the implementation of the above-mentioned Soviet Decree.

Consequently, we are compelled to seize the Church property immediately and with implacable firmness. Then we will dispose of a fund of several hundred millions of gold rubles. Only think of the immense treasures of some monasteries. These funds are indispensable to our governmental and economic undertakings. Without these funds we would not be able to secure our positions in Genoa. Hence we must take possession of these hundreds of millions (perhaps even billions) of gold rubles, at any cost. This operation, however, can be carried out successfully only now. All factors contribute to convincing us that this operation will not be possible later. Only the famine and despair reigning among the peasant masses will help us by neutralizing any resistance that might be expected and irrefutably proving that in the case of opposition to the seizure of Church treasures we will triumph.

A writer, an expert on political problems, rightly declared that the measures of terror dictated by reason of state must be carried out relentlessly, but within as short a time as possible, since the popular masses would not put up with a cruel regime indefinitely. This is of great consequence for us on the national level since it cannot be excluded that after Genoa some particularly cruel measures against the reactionary clergy will be exploited against us and will aggravate our situation. At the time being our triumph over the backward clergy is completely certain. Moreover, the struggle of the Russian emigrants, particularly the revolutionary socialists and the adherents of Milyukov, against us will be

more or less neutralized, if precisely now, during the great famine we ruthlessly exterminate the reactionary clergy once and for all.

Starting the Struggle

Therefore, I declare that this is quite evidently the most favourable moment to start a relentless and decisive struggle against the reactionary clergy and to crush it in such a cruel manner to make it remember for many years to come. I envisage the implementation of this plan in the following way:

Comrade Kalinin must be exclusively responsible for all decisions of any kind whatsoever. Comrade Trotzki must by all means keep in the background appearing neither in the press nor in public in this connection. The cable dispatched by the Politbureau with respect to the provisional suspension of the seizure must not be denied officially. It renders us good services since it may induce the enemy to believe that we are hesitating or that he has succeeded in intimidating us (the enemy will undoubtedly take note of this secret cable soon precisely because it was meant to remain secret).

As many representatives of the local clergy (at least some dozens), the bourgeoisie and the notables as possible should be sent to Shuya — on charges of direct or indirect participation in the campaign of brutal resistance to the Decree of the Central Committee regarding the seizure of Church property. After carrying out this mission the respective delegate must come to Moscow and report to the plenary assembly of the Politbureau or two delegated members of the Politbureau orally.

In view of this report the Politbureau will in turn give also oral instructions to the courts to try the rebels of Shuya very quickly, the result of which should be a mass execution of as many reactionary notables of Shuya and, perhaps, other cities including Moscow, as possible.

As to Patriarch Tichon I think it would be better to leave him alone for the time being, although he is the uncontested leader of this uprising of oppressors. Secret instructions should be given for minutely shadowing him and all his contacts precisely now. Derzhinsky und Unshlikht notify that they will report on him to the Politbureau every week.

The Party Congress should organize a secret debate about this affair with all or nearly all delegates and the chiefs of the GPU, the NKJU (People's Commissariate of Justice) and the Revolutionary Tribunal taking part. During this debate the Congress should be induced to pass a secret resolution for seizing the treasures of the monasteries and the churches with the utmost strictness and without scruples in the near future. The more reactionary priests and bourgeois we can shoot dead exploiting the given opportunities the better for us. We must give a proper lesson to these people now, so that they will not dare for several decades

to come to even envisage the slightest opposition.

In order to ensure the speedy and successful implementation of these instructions the Congress must appoint during this secret debate a special committee with the inevitable cooperation of Trotzki and Kalinin and with the absolute prohibition of issuing any official communiqué in this connection. The measures decided by said committee must not be taken in its name, but on behalf of the Party within the scope of competences belonging to the Soviets. We should appoint especially qualified and competent men to carry out these instructions in the richest monasteries and churches. **Lenin**

I ask Comrade Molotov to submit this circular letter to all Members of the Politbureau already tonight (without preparing a copy thereof) instructing them to return it to the secretary immediately after reading it and inserting their remarks as to whether they agree or what they consider objectionable.

MOROZ AGAIN ON HUNGER STRIKE

Valentyn Moroz the 41-year old Ukrainian historian who in 1974 staged a 145-day hunger strike to protest his imprisonment is again on a hunger strike. He is one of ten Soviet political prisoners of various nationalities who began a 100-day hunger strike late in April to draw the attention of the participants of the Belgrade review conference to the plight of human, national and religious rights activists behind the Iron Curtain.

The names of all the protestors have not yet been identified, but it is reported that Ukrainian journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil, serving a 12-year sentence, is also among them. Among others identified are Paruyir Ayrikian and Markosian Razmik, both arrested for belonging to the National United Party of Armenia, Michail Kheyfyts, a Jew, and Vladimir Osipov, a Russian.

Besides wanting to underline human rights violations in the Soviet Union, the strikers also want to stress their attempts to be officially declared political prisoners.

Fiftieth Anniversary of Rumanian Legionary Movement

On June 24, 1977, fifty years have passed since the foundation of the Rumanian legionary movement. The jubilee of this movement was celebrated by its members living in Germany and Austria, on June 25, 1977, in Mittersil, Austria, where in 1945 one of its founders, the attorney Corneliu Georgescu, was assassinated by unknown enemies and buried by the authorities as an unidentified person. Nobody knew where he had come from and what part he had played in the struggle against Communism.

A church service was celebrated by Catholic and Orthodox Rumanian priests. The address was given by Dr. Florian Müller in German, and the attorney Basil Mailat delivered a speech in Rumanian. Both speakers stressed the struggle of the legionaries and the sacrifices made by them for liberating the Rumanian people from Communist tyranny. Numerous representatives of other nations who attended the celebration, for instance Colonel Ren (Ukrainian), Dr. M. Ausala (Latvian), Colonel Ernst Blaus (German) and many others declared their solid-



Corneliu Georgescu's grave

arity with the Rumanian people in this relentless struggle.



Church service commemorating foundation of Rumanian legionary movement.

Book Reviews

The Bicentennial Salute to The Captive Nations is an official document on Captive Nations Week.

This volume is an excellent reference in view of the discussion of human rights. The volume sharpens one's insights into national and human rights.

The captive nations, should be of concern to all Americans and not just to those of particular origins because they are critically related to American national security interest as a whole.

LITHUANIA MINOR *Studia Lituanica III*

In the aftermath of World War II the political status of Eastern Europe has undergone a profound change and with it the way of life of its peoples. The area most radically affected by the war and the decisions of the war allies — Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union — is the northern part of the former province of East Prussia.

One area of East Prussia is known as Lithuania Minor or Prussian Lithuania. Although her history and ethnography is rich in material of interest to scientists in many fields, little is known about Lithuania Minor's past and people to the English-speaking public. The reason: a scarcity of publications in the English language.

In an attempt to narrow this gap and to enable the English-speaking public to acquaint itself with the extent and meaning of the post-war changes of the area, the Lithuanian Research Institute, Inc., has published a collection of six scientific studies: *Studia Lituanica III, A Collection of Studies on Her History and Ethnography*, edited by M. Brakas (304 pages, 59 maps and illustrations). The studies deal with: Lithuania Minor's history as shaped by international treaties through seven hundred years; the attention the former

Kingdom of Prussia paid to the area's ethnography by using the name "Kleinlitauen" ("Lithuania minor") in its cartography and by promulgating its decrees and proclamations in the Lithuanian language; the treatment and life of the Lithuanian soldiery in the 18th century Prussian Army; the grave markers of Lithuania Minor as a characteristic expression of her folklore; and the area's toponymy as affected by Germanization and Russification in this century. Four of the studies are written in English, while one (on the area's cartography) is written in German and another (on its toponymy) in Lithuanian, summaries of which convey their content in English.

All of these studies, written by Lithuanian scientists competent in their field, are original and deal with source material which has never before been analyzed in detail or revealed to the English-speaking public. They contain material of interest not only to the scientist — particularly the historian, sociologist, ethnographer, cartographer or political scientist — but also to the general reader. The volume is therefore recommended as a valuable addition to any public or private library collecting factual material on Eastern Europe's past and present.

Available at the book's printer, the Lithuanian Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 395 W. Broadway, South Boston, Mass. 02127. Price \$ 15.00.

Lithuanian Research Institute
29 W. 57 St., New York, N. Y. 10019

Moscow's Ethnic Policy Aims At Destroying the Baltic Nations

The Latvian National Foundation has published an English-language study by A. Landsmanis on ethnic problems in the Baltic countries. Its title poses a question: Persist or Perish? Using So-

viel sources, the author supplies data on changes in the ethnic composition of the population. He analyzes the factors that have caused these changes, criticizes the passive attitude of the West toward the ethnic survival of the Baltic nations, and holds the West responsible if the individuality and culture of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians should succumb to aggressive Russification.

Landsmanis quotes the following figures demonstrating shifts in the composition of the population in the Baltic states since World War II (based on Soviet census figures): In Estonia, the percentage of Estonians dropped from 88.1 to 68.2 %; in Latvia, Latvians decreased from 75.8 to 56.8 %, and in Lithuania, the Lithuanian segment of the total population shrank from 83.7 to 80.1 %.

The share of Russians and other Slavs among the Baltic population has increased considerably, and future development trends point in the same direction, says Landsmanis, quoting the following percentage figures from 1965-1969 as proof (based on the 1970 census):

During that period, the population of Latvia increased by 109,000 persons, immigration accounting for 64 % and natural growth for 36 %; in Estonia, the increase was 71,000 persons of which 63 % was due to immigration and 37 % to natural growth; in Lithuania, the increase was 175,000, of this total 83 % through natural growth and 17 % through immigration. The situation was thus normal in Lithuania only where the population increased through

an excess of birth over deaths. In Estonia, and Latvia, immigration constituted the main factor, which is abnormal.

Moscow pursues a purposeful and consistent policy aimed at destroying the Baltic peoples in violation of all declarations, resolutions and internationally binding agreements that outlaw the destruction of the national existence and the cultural values of any nation, no matter whether large or small, the author says, accusing the Western nations in this context of lacking interest in the Baltic nations' fate.

The author feels that the following changes in Soviet and Western attitudes toward the Baltic peoples would stop the Russification process in the three Baltic countries:

Establishment of an administrative border between the Baltic countries and Russia would stop uncontrolled immigration. The control of immigration as well as the formulation of ethnic and cultural policies should be under the jurisdiction of Baltic authorities, free from interference by Moscow.

These modest reforms might help preserve the ethnic core of the Baltic peoples. Interest shown by foreign nations, and attention devoted by the United Nations to Baltic problems would mean substantial moral support of the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians in their struggle to preserve their ethnic individualities, Landsmanis says.

The book is written in an objective manner and contains numerous tables illustrating the author's viewpoints. It is a welcome addition to the existing, not too ample literature on the present situation in the Baltic countries.

ARTURS LANDSMANIS: *Persist or Perish? — Soviet Russia Destroying Baltic Peoples.* — 123 pages. Stockholm 1976. **Distributor:** Latvian National Foundation in Scandinavia. Västmannagat. 27, S-113 25 Stockholm.

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Case Studies on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms: A World Survey. 2 Vols. — Editor-in-chief Villem A. Veenhoven; Published for the Foundation for the Study of Pluralist Societies. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975. Vol. 1, 582 pp; Vol. II. 555 pp. 75 Dglds each volume.

Villem A. Veenhoven, President of the Foundation for the Study of Pluralist Societies and Editor-in-Chief of this monumental work projected in four volumes, of which the first two have already been published, rightly deserves the admiration not only of the world's scholarly community but also, we would like to think, of the present generation in general. This ambitious and timely undertaking involves in addition to the eight associate editors, 36 contributors from all parts of the world. What emerged amounts to an encyclopaedic handbook on universal rights and freedoms on the eve of the last quarter of the twentieth century. It is a record of the achievements and the failures of our time to implement mankind's ancient desires and dreams to uphold and share freedom and liberty, both nationally and individually. This is a record for posterity; for those who one day will judge the twentieth century, our pretenses, claims, struggles, failures, bigotry and above all the final proof and/or rejection of Spenglerian and Toynbeian prophecies of doom. In the Introduction, Dr. Veenhoven acknowledged the absence of basic human rights in many countries and the presence of oppressive regimes to which freedom means a danger to their own existence. This is a global phenomenon, and so far the United Nations failed not only in the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), but also in the agreement as to the meaning and definition of terms as observed by the United States Representative to the UN John Scali on March 6, 1975, addressing the Twelfth North American Invitational Model

United Nations in Washington, D. C., on the subject of human rights.

The contents of these two volumes includes, among others, the following contributions: — "Discrimination Against American Blacks" (J. Milton Yinger); "Anti-Jewish Discrimination Since the End of World War II" (Joseph Dunner); "Discrimination in the Arab Middle East" (Costa Luca); "Suffering and Struggle of the Kurds" (L. M. von Taubinger); "Inter-Ethnic Conflict in Africa" (W. J. Breytenbach); "Human Rights in Communist East Central Europe" (Walter Dushnyck); "Israeli Society: Authoritarian Traditionalism Versus Pluralist Democracy" (Georges R. Tamarin); "Discrimination in India" (S. R. Mohan Das); "Government in the Pluralist Society: The South African Model" (Denis Worral); "Anti-Semitism in the Russian Orbit" (S. T. Possony); "Discrimination and Abuse of Power in the USSR" (W. Dushnyck). To review both volumes in detail would produce still another volume, and therefore, for our purpose and interest, the reviewer feels that the essays written by Stefan T. Possony and Walter Dushnyck (both American authors) deserve our special attention.

The two chapters by Possony, a well-known student of East European affairs, disclose still little-known details of the oppressive Soviet system: He provides an analysis of the penal system, the nature, structure and purpose of the so-called "corrective labour camps" in which have perished five times more people than in Nazi Germany's concentration camps, the use of psychiatry and torture as instruments of extermination of "suspect elements". Possony concludes that "between 1920 and 1953, some 40 to 50 million victims passed through the slave labour system. Yet this institution still fails to accomplish the objective which the Communist government strives to achieve, namely to eliminate opposition to its existence and policies. Ivan A. Kurganov made a careful statistical analysis and calcu-

lated a loss of 66 million during fifty years (1917-1967). Whatever the figure, the Kremlin never ceased killing." (Vol. 1, p. 32).

One hundred fifteen footnotes, some of them unknown to scholars, provide a solid documentation for almost every sentence in his "From Gulag to Guitk", and the findings indeed scare even the knowing reader who may have seen the victims of the Nazi system, yet who has never been told about the most diabolic system, as Alexander Solzhenitsyn most recently characterized the regime of the USSR and whose trilogy, **The Gulag Archipelago**, merely confirms the reliability of Possony's revelation of facts. In his second essay, "Anti-Semitism in the Russian Orbit" (Vol. II, pp. 405-44) Possony offers a concise treatment of the Jews in the Russian Empire and in the USSR, fortified by 83 sources, including Soviet publications, which will force those Jews living outside the Soviet Union to revise their attitude towards Communism and the USSR in particular, for in the past many Jewish intellectuals contributed significantly to the formation and spread of Communism in the hope of finding in this ideology "a second Jerusalem".

Possony seems to suggest that only an independent Jewish state, Israel, and Western democracy can secure their physical, cultural, and religious survival. Those Jews who in the past advocated assimilation and internationalism proved to be wrong,¹⁾ for "the Kremlin is committed to a policy of anti-Semitic oppression... The Soviet Jews have little to lose but their chains". (Vol. II, p. 439).

The process of Russification of Marxism in the USSR since the late 1930s does not only affect Jews but also all other non-Russian nationalities popu-

lating the USSR, as proven with great skill by the expert Walter Dushnyck in his essay, "Discrimination and Abuse of Power in the USSR" (Vol. II, pp. 445-555).

Except of John Kolasky's books, only a few other authors specializing in Ukrainian affairs and in the Russification policy of the former Russian and the present Soviet system can match Dushnyck's familiarity with this subject and the depth of his scrutiny, analysis and understanding of the Kremlin's policy and the Russian mentality in a broader sense.

Since the problem of the non-Russian peoples, and in particular of Ukrainians, in the past has been pushed into academic oblivion by the American East European experts under the influence of Russian-American historians, by Soviet Propaganda during World War II and after, and by wide-spread pro-Russian sympathies in various quarters of American society, Dushnyck's exposition of the fate of non-Russian peoples in such a respectable publication is bound to challenge the whole fabric of bias and blunder promoted for decades by many politically as well as ideologically guided experts on Russia.

Only the Soviet regime with its declining number of fellow-travelers can afford to reject or even to question Dushnyck's finding: "In the area of demographic and ethnic policies, the Russian leadership of the USSR is attempting to create a uniform population, including **Umvoelkung** (ethnic change through social engineering) and the creation of a new 'Soviet man' (**sovietsky chelovek**), who would be essentially a Russian man" (p. 546). His 210 references will be appreciated by scholars for decades to come since he has diligently gathered everything that belongs into the solid scholarly bibliography of 1975.

In his first essay, "Human Rights in Communist Ruled East-Central Europe" (Vol. I), Dushnyck examines in detail

¹⁾ See, Robert Laqueur, **A History of Zionism**. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972. 639 pp.

the historical background as well as various forms of the violation and suppression of basic human rights in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechia, Slovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. In his "Conclusions", the author sums up the existing situation:

1. In each of the eight countries the overwhelming majority are forcibly deprived of any meaningful possibility for participation in the rule of their country.

2. In each country human rights and the constitutions which were proclaimed by the Communist governments themselves are grossly violated.

3. Extensive official discrimination is aimed against religion in each of the eight countries.

4. Oppression in one form or another, of national minorities, is undeniable.

5. Intellectual dissent and dissatisfaction persists in every Communist country.

6. The influence of Soviet policies and the ideological control over the Communist-dominated countries of Europe remain rigid and uncompromising, despite much-publicized „liberation“ policies which are more of a pipe-dream of Western statesmen and poli-

cy-makers than a reality in the countries concerned.

These traumatic realities have been taking place in the sunset years of the twentieth century while the so-called "World forum", the United Nations, hypocritically produces high-sounding programs and misuses tons of paper, paid for very often by the oppressed people and the rich democracies which seem to have accepted as irreversible the prophecy of their doom.

In conclusion, the reviewer would like to urge scholars, students and politicians alike to read Possony's and Dushnyck's articles in courses related to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Communism, and especially whenever human rights are debated in various quarters of academic and policy-making bodies. Furthermore, this unique documentary study of universal scope, belongs on the shelves of the free world libraries since it exposes the injustice, persecution, tyranny, and oppression of our days practiced by those who are dedicated to destroy not only Western civilization as such but also the ideas of freedom and of free mankind.

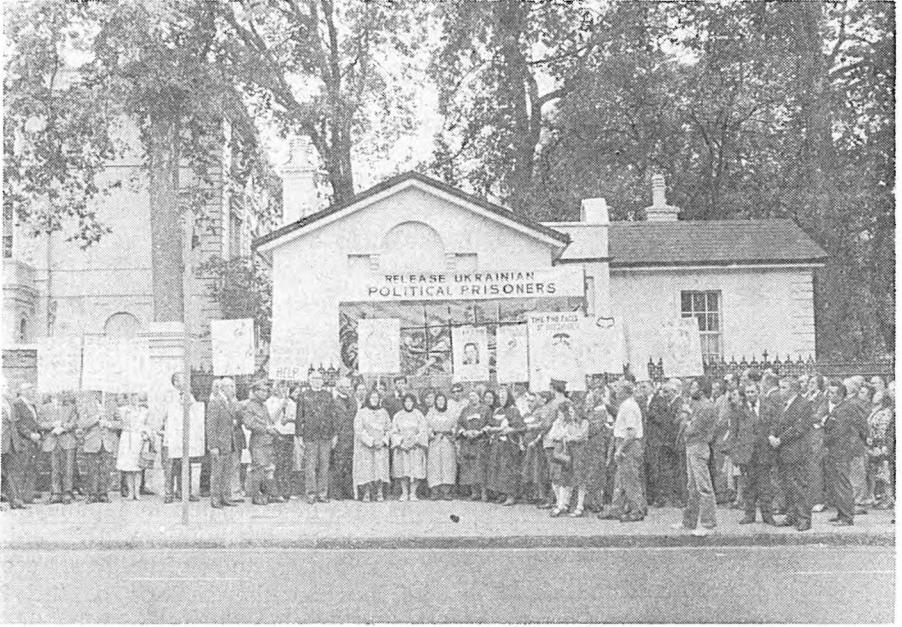
Stefan M. Horak
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In Defense Of Those Persecuted For Demanding Religious Freedom And National Independence

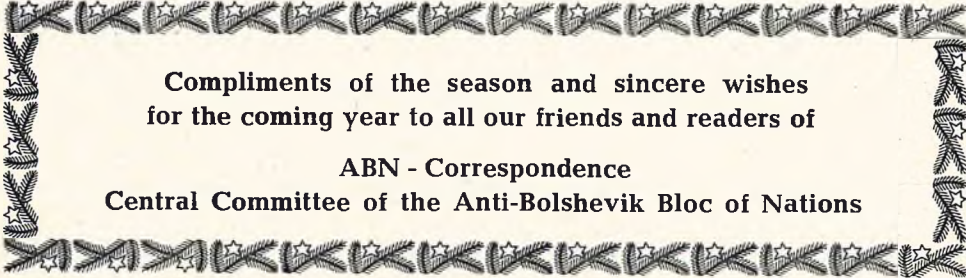
STATEMENT BY

His Eminence, Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

In our homeland, Ukraine, for almost sixty years now, our people continue to be subjected to the severe persecution of our religion and our nation. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church which was restored in the 1920's, was destroyed by the Soviet Government in 1929-1930. And in 1946-49, as a victim of this imperialist policy, the Ukrainian Catholic Church fell. The Soviet Government ravished and liquidated it, incorporating it into the Russian Orthodox Church under the command of the Moscow patriarch, by employing police terror, tortures and punishments of deportation to concentration camps against the faithful of our Church.

As a result of this action all Ukrainian Catholic bishops were liquidated; the exact number of the priests tortured to death or executed is not known, but the accepted estimated figure is about 1,500; hundreds of thousands of the Ukrainian Catholic faithful were deported from Ukraine to concentration camps, where many of them remain to this day without the right to return to their native land. Throughout the vast USSR, where once there were 3,040 of our parishes and 4,595 churches and chapels, not even one Ukrainian Catholic parish remains, not one monastery, not even one church. Today there isn't even one Ukrainian Catholic school, nor one seminary and all priestly duties are forbidden. All church objects were stolen, locked away, destroyed or given to the Russian Orthodox Church. The regime has placed the Ukrainian Catholic Church outside the law.

As a living witness and participant in the suffering of my Church and as its patriarch who has lived through the tortures and sufferings of my flock and who has suffered with them, I have continuously raised my voice in defense of the faithful in Ukraine, at Papal Synods, and recently in a letter to the President of the United States Jimmy Carter. And I continue to this day, for I am duty bound by my nation and by the pleas



**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**

of my faithful in the catacombs, and by those who have given their lives for their age-old faith and are its martyrs.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was liquidated in Ukraine by governmental decree only as a formality. In reality it exists as the Church, — Martyr along with her faithful and priesthood, who seek recognition of their rights to a free and legal existence. We have received word, that our faithful in Ukraine are struggling for the legitimization of their community, but governmental leaders refuse in contravention of their own constitution and laws.

The Soviet regime is violating not only its own legal norms, but also having taken upon itself international obligations, in particular the Ukrainian SSR, and the USSR is signatory to both Covenants on Human Rights of 1966 and the Helsinki Final Act on Security of August 1, 1975. The latter clearly speaks of safeguarding freedom of conscience and the right to freedom of religious beliefs for all people. Yet the Soviet Union, having become a signatory to these international agreements, has changed nothing. On the contrary, there is evidence of an intensification of the anti-religious struggle and persecution of the faithful. In Ukraine hundreds of priests, nuns, laity, deacons and faithful of many religions are under arrest in internal exile or live under persecution on the periphery of society; they are denied residence permits and are discriminated against in employment. This is why again we are raising our voices of protest in defense of the persecuted, with whom we are creating, in the words of St. Paul the Apostle, one body, one mystical organism: "You are — Christ's body . . . and when one suffers, we all suffer with him" . . . (I Cor. 12, 26-27). This is why we must help them with our prayers and strive to inform the public of the sustained persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church so as to wrest free for the persecuted, their basic demands for truth and justice and freedom to read the word of their creator and to bow to Him alone.

Josef Slipyj

Patriarch and Cardinal

IN DEFENSE OF UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

To Mr. Jimmy CARTER
The President of the
United States of America
White House — Washington D. C.

Dear Mr. President,

In the name of the Ukrainian people and as the head of its Church, I wish to extend my grateful and heartfelt thanks for your defense of the dignity and the rights of man. As a former prisoner of many years in the Soviet labor camps, I can confirm, in all mo-

desty, the great impact such declarations have, as well as, the supernatural moral strength that they give to the oppressed. The words of the great American Emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, "that all men are created equal" are the basis of American freedom. Today, these words are an urgent necessity everywhere, where the word of God is announced.

Thus, in connection with the coming conference in Belgrade, relative to the rights and the dignity of man, we ap-

peal to you, M. President, to insist upon and to defend these rights courageously before the powers of darkness, in order that, the people of the world may no longer live under constraint, injustice and misery, but that the Word and the Will of God may triumph in a free world. In particular, I ask that you remember the Ukrainian people and their Church. They had been, throughout history, the continuous support and the defense of Chris-

tianity in Eastern Europe. Today, these same people are weakened from their long struggle. They have lost all their rights and there are few who come to their assistance.

With great confidence that you, Mr. President, will take my petition into consideration and present it at the appropriate forum, I remain

Respectfully yours in Christ,

† Joseph, Cardinal, Slipyj
— Patriarch —

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

July 7, 1977

Your Eminence:

Thank you for your recent letter and for your kind words about the actions of my administration. Please be assured that I share your concern for the basic rights of men and women, wherever they reside. At Belgrade, as on other occasions, the United States will endeavor to secure greater respect for human dignity and the rights of

humankind. I join you in praying that we may be successful.

Thank you once again for sharing your thoughts with me.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

His Eminence
Josyf Cardinal Slipyj
Palazzina dell Arciprete
00120 Vatican City



Patriarch of Ukrainian Catholic Church, His Beatitude Josyf Cardinal Slipyj at celebration of his 85th Anniversary.

Christmas Appeal to Atheists

We are publishing Samvydav document by Lev. Lukianenko. which he wrote under the title "Christian appeal to inveterate atheists".

For the preparation of the Declaration on the secession of the Ukr. SSR from the USSR according to the constitutions of the USSR and Ukr. SSR, L. Lukianenko was sentenced to death, later the sentence was commuted to 15 years of imprisonment. Hi lives now in Chernihiv (Ukraine).

Have you ever been to church — not with hammers to break down crosses, not with keys to lock the church from believers, not with hatred — but with open hearts?

O, surely you have not been. Because if you had entered on a feast day, stood under the high arches of the church in front of the iconostasis, and looked at Him, who instead of the pagan moralistic principle of fairness of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" gave people the principle of magnanimity, appealing that evil be not repaid with forgiveness, then you would understand how much Christianity has made human traditions more gentle, how it has moved people from their original barbarianism to humanism.

Christianity, of course, has not altered the basic nature of man — what men was in the times of Aristotle, he has remained in the present times, but compare people's relationships in the time of pagan Rome and those of the XXth century and you will see that in recent times humanity has become incomparably more humane and now it would be impossible to hold games where human blood was spilt, as it was in the Colosseum when the gladiators gave their shows.

Would not your soul be immediately penetrated with a beneficial sense of unity with the cosmic spiritual force, and then you would see on the iconostasis in front of you, not Jesus, the God, but Jesus, the Son of God — a man, and would you not then feel joyous gratitude to Him, who for the sake of humanity went to his death.

Think: He, a man, — had the same body, the same senses and sensations as we have, but he was no ordinary man who was only concerned with his material and sensual desires, he was a man of high idealistic aspirations, who was concerned with the establishment of fairness, where a rich man would not humiliate a poor man, a strong man would not ridicule a weak man, where a powerful man would not destroy an ordinary man; He wanted a community in which there would be less cruelty and more compassion and sympathy. Held responsible for His ideological revolution and controversial ideas they demanded His renunciation in exchange for his life. He did not renounce his ideals — and went to his death. Do you hear — in front of you — is a man who went to his death for the benefit of mankind. It cannot be that you will not bow your heads to such a man, it cannot be that you are unable to differentiate miserable worthlessness from mighty individuality.

If you entered a church without feeling hatred to different modes of thought, but with sympathy for your fellow men and stood amongst other such benevolent citizens, then the flickering of candles in front of the portrait of Christ — the Messenger of God the Father, the extremely beautiful singing (such as you have never heard either on the radio or at the theatre) would progressively free your minds of any bad intentions and direct your thoughts higher and higher to that place where human nature becomes similar to God's and the silent union of human

souls and the Almighty Spirit begins. O, if only you were forgiving. Then you would experience a happiness such as never before in your lives. This happiness occurs in the sphere of human spirituality and not in the physical body, and you hardened materialists hardly know anything of this.

For you, a man is a social being, who almost totally exhausts himself in a material, that is a physiological manner. And you think: it is sufficient for people to be fed, clothed, and guaranteed a home for earth to become a true paradise if discontent did not arise. You have believed this postulate for sixty years and constantly propagate it. But man has never only been a physiological being (a social animal). The symbolism of the words "Man is made in the same image and likeness to God" lies in that, that man has always had a small part of God which unites him with God — his intellect, the great sphere of spiritual life. But you never noticed this. You only saw the external part — that which unites man with animals — the body. And that is why with your eternal discussions about the material world and man and your unceasing battle against the belief in God, you did not develop the humanity in man but, instead primitivised him.

If faith is taken away then nothing else can be given to a nation in its place. Theory (Marxist, Marxist-Leninist or any other) is not able to discard faith for the reason that mainly, the greater part of their contexts cover different fields and cannot generally influence one another. In the full meaning of faith theology is only a theory and together with any other theory can become mutually influenced.

Both the Marxist-Leninist and religious theories (theology) are a result of the thinking-processes of the brain. Since they are born of the same apparatus with the aid of the same logical law categories, each has the potential to demonstrate its correctness and the

incorrectness of the other. After centuries of this theoretical battle atheists have pointed out many discrepancies in assertions made by theologians. Theologians, in their turn found considerable errors in all socialist theories. It is clear that this theoretical battle will carry on for ever, because the unsettled human mind will forever search for the solution to unanswered questions. However, the belief in God was not born from the theoretical abilities of man — these abilities were only made use of later to either prove or refute belief — but as an incomprehensible force belonging to another world which does not base itself on theological theories and therefore no other theory can refute it. As a foundation of faith there are countless mysterious manifestations, occurrences, which man feels in his own soul. Faith exists in emotional and irrational spheres. Many vivid rituals have had little in them that was rational, but through the course of centuries they have cheered the souls of Ukrainians increasing their emotions, making them finer and richer with the result that the whole spiritual world of man was enriched and bettered. This emotional refinement and richness infiltrated the everyday existence of our ancestors and was often reflected in songs of unsurpassed spiritual beauty. Because you have a primitive concept of man, you are waging battle not against faith itself but, against the manifestations of faith, such as — the church, clergy, rites, and traditions. In this sphere you have managed to do a great deal of harm: you have destroyed ancient rites and created a spiritual desert. Your cries of "there is no God, there is no God", and "Fight! Fight! Fight!" cannot quiet the desire for a warm, peaceful word, for humane relationships; for a rest from eternal terror and the strained attempt to escape — to nowhere, and people — see how many there are of them — drown their sorrows in alcohol, youth becomes slovenly, families

fall apart and a portion of the people return to a belief in God. And last of all, why don't you come into this church, — this old, old church.

Do you know what Christmas church singing is? O, how sad that you don't! It catches the soul on its magical wings and carries it higher and higher. You progressively forget your surroundings and your body and soul as you are freed from the shackles of your physical desires and become totally filled with spiritual wonder, some kind of a sweet bliss. It captures you and in a stormy flood of joy you are hardly able to contain your tears and your soul attains the greatest unity with the surroundings of God's spirit and draws from you all that is elevated and beautiful, which purifies and exalts man to a position above his material and physical desires, and creates a real person, who feels all that is beautiful and himself wants to become better; who for the sake of others' blessings is capable of understanding and forgiving the human weaknesses of his fellowmen, he is capable of replying to bad with good, and so is able to reduce the general amount of evil on earth, and give an example of the way relations should be conducted, which ought to consolidate the change in people from barbarianism to humanism everywhere, which should bring everyone to that path of eternal approachment to God — as an eternal knowledge of Him through His creations.

The internal decoration of the church, the portrait of Christ, and festive singing — all this promotes meditation on infinite themes of life and death, of the fast flowing of time and our present "I", where not even a small part of the spirit is lost, but returns hence it came having been appropriately transformed in the period of earthly existence...

(Look, meditation has again been interrupted — someone to the left moved his arm up to cross himself, and pulled my left sleeve with him. Someone else has just come in, and to the right hund-

reds of people pressed even more closely together to somehow make him some room, but there was no more space, and people were standing so tightly as if on a bus arms by their sides, standing upright, men and women so closely packed against one another that it was simply impossible to move. Many who were able to cross themselves, held their hands on the lapels of their overcoats, not dropping them to their sides. And because still more people came, someone from the back rows passed a candle forward over everyone's heads to put it in front of the icon, and from time to time the church servers made their way through the dense crowd with collection plates and the believers reached over to give their donations to the church, but the pushing was continuous, and this distracted concentration and was annoying).

Chernihiv — is an ancient town with ancient religious traditions. It was here that our ancestors constructed churches from the very beginning of Christianity, which enraptured our nation and others with its high standard of architecture and beautiful decorations. Their beauty paralysed the onslaught of Tartars, Poles, Russians and Germans. Only your ruinous hand was not stilled, as in the dark middle ages religious fanatics burnt valuable manuscripts only because they contradicted their concept of religion, in the same way, you progressively destroyed architectural masterpieces only because they stood in the way of your atheism, and reminded Ukrainians about their rich past.

Such were found amongst you that ruined the graves of Ukrainian Sichovy Striltsi with tractors, that cut down the crosses of the graves of Polish soldiers with soldering irons, that made footpaths from the headstones of Jewish graves — you did this as if animals lay in these graves — not people. You have and maintain your atheistic morals as you call them, and all who are

not with you are bad, but who is with you, is good, and that is why you will never understand the Christian nobleness of the Spaniards, who after a civil war buried in one grave both the victors and the defeated and who engraved on the grave stone the words: "They died for that which they believed in". The defeated also believed and therefore they deserve respect.

In adhering to the fanatical law of "Who is not with us, is against us" you have been persecuting those who think differently for sixty years. And here in Chernihiv using your ruling position, you have deprived a large section of the community of a normal way of satisfying their spiritual needs: for a town with over 200 thousand inhabitants, only one small church has been left.

And when there is a feast day, and even on ordinary days, the people simply cannot enter the church but have to stand in the small courtyard, where they cannot hear the words of the priest, nor the melodies of the choir because of the noise on the street which runs against the very walls of the church. The believers have already turned to the town council several times with petitions for the opening of at least one more church. Such petitions were signed by up to a thousand people, but all petitioning has remained futile.

Paragraph 104 of the Constitution of the USSR guarantees the citizens of the USSR the freedom to observe religious cults and rites.

Paragraph 18 of the General Declaration of Human Rights of the UN, which the government of the Soviet Union also signed, announces freedom for religious belief.

By the last act of the Helsinki Conference the Soviet Union is obliged that "... government members are to recognise and respect the rights of an individual to preach alone or in a group, religion or his faith, acting in accordance with his conscience (VII. Respect for human rights and basic freedoms, including freedom of thought, religion and conviction).

After the Helsinki Conference the discrimination against a large section of the population became intolerable. The believers — honest citizens, fulfill their citizens' duties conscientiously, and they have the right to their non-Communist point of view, and the time has come to stop persecuting them. In the end we want very little — the opening of one more church in the town.

For the triumph of lawfulness and fairness, I ask you to do this!

**Levko Lukianenko —lawyer,
member of the Ukrainian Group
to Promote the Implementation
of the Helsinki Accords**

From Letters to ABN FREE VIETNAM FORCES

Dear Sir,

The Free Vietnam Forces Organization is publishing a bulletin "The Voice of Free Vietnam" edited monthly in Vietnamese and in French. The next edition in the near future will be in English and in German. Each issue is distributed all over the world where there are Vietnamese people and our foreign friends who are still fighting for freedom. We hope that this ideal is also yours.

It is our duty to give evidence of

the truth in Vietnam under the new Communist regime and to reconquer the freedom betrayed and lost by the USA Government in our beloved country.

We wish, from to-day, to establish a permanent exchange of our publication with your periodical in order to coordinate our mutual action.

Sincerely yours,

Nguyen Trung Hau
Editor

The Voice of Free Vietnam

Capitulation of Western Governments?

Memorandum of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) to the Governments of the Western World in Connection with the Conference of Belgrade

On August 1, 1975, the western powers acknowledged in Article III of the Final Act of Helsinki the inviolability of the boundaries of the Russian colonial empire, i. e. the status quo of enslavement and national oppression. They further acknowledged in Article IV the territorial integrity of the empire, but simultaneously in Article VIII the right of the peoples to self-determination and their full freedom to choose their internal and external political status as they like, and in Article VII they proclaimed that the human rights, the fundamental liberties and the rights of the national minorities must be respected.

The recognition of the status quo — i. e. the totalitarian Russian empire — on the one hand, and of the right to national freedom and independence, i. e. the dissolution of the empire and the implementation of the fundamental human rights and liberties in this empire — on the other, is contradictory in itself: there never existed an empire in which the subjugated peoples were able to implement the human rights irrespective of the national rights, i. e. without restoring or attaining their national independence beforehand. The fact that nations such as Ukraine or Georgia with thousand-year-old national traditions and cultures are colonies of Russia and excluded from international relations is the shame of our century. The Western powers should exert all pressure possible in attempting to have the rights laid down in Articles VIII and VII implemented, and use sharpness and severity in bringing to the fore this burning question, just as the requirements and obligations in connection with the "cooperation in humanitarian and other fields" have been worked out in detail in Basket Three. If the western powers have recognized the integrity and inviolability of the boundaries of the Russian Communist empire they are also obliged to insist by exerting all pressure possible on the implementation of the rights acknowledged in Articles VII and VIII and in Basket Three of the Act of Helsinki, in order to get out of the contradictory situation. However, we do not know how it would be possible to recognize the empire and totalitarianism, on the one hand, and simultaneously implement the national and human rights of the peoples enslaved in the empire and under the totalitarian regime, on the other.

Thus we cannot but consider the Final Act of Helsinki an actual capitulation of the western governments. We should like to recall in this connection that pursuant to Article 17 of the USSR Constitution and Article 14 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, Ukraine is formally entitled to freely secede from the USSR at any time. This, however, is

an outrageous lie and deception. Sixteen years ago Ukrainian lawyers (Lev Lukianenko, Ivan Kandyba and others) were sentenced to death or to 15 years of severe imprisonment just for merely discussing these formal rights of Ukraine.

The western powers should seek to apply the "Declaration concerning Decolonization, i. e. the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 14, 1960, and the "Program of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration" confirmed by the General Assembly in 1970 to the Russian colonial empire in the first place by taking all steps possible for dissolving the Russian empire — the USSR — and contributing to the restoration of the national independent democratic states of all subjugated peoples. We propose to employ the definition given in "Decolonization OP/522 August 1974 - 20 M", the "Definition of Aggression OPI/550 July 1975 - 20 M" and the definition of Imperialism for the Russian colonial empire. Further, the "Special Committee of the 24 for Decolonization" should concentrate its activity on Ukraine as well as other nations enslaved by Russia in order to grant them independence.

The UN General Assembly, on December 19, 1960, adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes a "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" in which it solemnly proclaimed the "necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations". In connection with the Resolution adopted by the Fourth Committee 31/146 of the UN General Assembly on September 20, 1976, with respect to South Africa (Namibia) we suggest that the Committee should consider its primary task the application of this Resolution to the peoples subjugated in the Russian colonial empire.

The corresponding resolution should read:

"Reaffirm the inalienable right of the peoples subjugated in the USSR to self-determination, freedom and national independence as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and as recognized in Resolutions 1514(XV) and 2145(XXI), and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means at their disposal against the illegal occupation of their territory by Russia.

Support the armed struggle of the nations subjugated in the USSR to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence.

Appeal to all Member States of the United Nations to grant all necessary support and assistance to Ukraine and other nations colonized by Russia in the USSR in their struggle to achieve independence and national unity".

If on December 20, 1976, the UN General Assembly with 107 votes not only recognized the right of an African people (Namibia) to independence, but also in terms of international law declared its political

and moral support for the "armed liberation struggle" of this people, Ukraine, a nation of 53 millions and with a 1000 year-old tradition of statehood and civilization having fought for its independence for centuries, is claiming the same right.

Therefore, we urge the Western powers, in view of the UN Charter signed by them, in view of the above-mentioned Declarations regarding decolonization and in the light of Articles VII und VIII and Basket Three of the Helsinki Act, to take legal, political, economic and — if necessary — also other steps (as the USSR is doing with its tanks and Cuban soldiers in Africa) in order to enforce the decolonization, that is to say the dissolution of the Russian empire.

We urge the Western powers to use all means possible in exerting pressure on Moscow to bring about the abolition of concentration camps and psychiatric prisons for political and religious prisoners, the release of political and religious prisoners, the cessation of Russification, of national, political, social and religious oppression, an end to collectivization and state controlled economy, and above all, the withdrawal of Russian occupational forces and of the Communist terror apparatus from Ukraine and other enslaved countries and thus enable them to restore their national independence and democratic order.

We request that the same legal status that the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) enjoys in the United Nations be also acknowledged to the liberation organization of the Ukrainian nation — i. e. the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), also called the Bandera Movement.

We emphasize that in the present era of disintegration of empires and the formation of new national states throughout the world (this process is evidenced by the United Nations itself whose membership has increased almost five-fold since the foundation of the Organization) the last colonial empire left — the USSR — cannot and must not be maintained.

We also refer to the Public Law No. 86-90 adopted by the US Congress with respect to the Captive Nations on July 19, 1959, in which the US Congress has obliged itself to encourage the liberation of Ukraine and all nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism and to identify itself with the restoration of their national independence, respectively.

We expect that all decisions, resolutions and declarations of the UN General Assembly and other international bodies concerned with colonialism and imperialism are primarily applied to the Russian empire.

We emphasize that never in the history of mankind has a colonial people been in a position to implement its human rights before attaining its national independence. From this fact we conclude that the liquidation of the Russian empire and the Communist system is an inevitable prerequisite for the implementation of the human rights and fundamental liberties, especially as the human rights and the national idea are com-

pletely contradictory to the Communist system, its ideology and colonial empire.

The fact that the United Nations deals with problems of non-existent Western empires appears very strange in the light of the genocide as practiced in the most cruel colonial empire in the world — the Russian empire named USSR.

As a conclusion we should like to point out the following:

It would be erroneous to maintain that the Final Act adopted at Helsinki has brought forth liberation movements in Ukraine and other subjugated countries. On the contrary, this agreement with the Russian colonial rulers has contributed to an intensified oppression of the Ukrainian and other nations which is undoubtedly due to the recognition of the status quo of enslavement and colonialism in Europe. It is the undestructible yearning of the nations and the individuals for freedom and national independence that is innate in and at the root of the national liberation movement. All situations, occasions and events are taken advantage of in order to manifest this desire for freedom and independence to the world public, reference being also made to the untruthful Constitutions of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR as well as to all relevant UN — documentation.

Open Letter To the Bishops of Christian Churches

Your Lordship,

Paris, October 23, 1977

We are calling on your paternal solicitude on behalf of our Catholic brothers in Vietnam.

For 30 months the South-Vietnam Church has passed dramatic hours and suffered persecution. In their turn, like so many other nations, our brothers are living the passion of the Church of Silence. They have not been spared anything: ragging, seizure of private property, closing of Christian schools, deprivation of religious help, interdiction of worship, sanctuary profanation, mass deportation, arrest of their priests and their bishops, two of whom have already died in captivity . . .

Yet the Vietnam Church is still alive. For 30 months men, women and young people have been struggling, praying and undergoing martyrdom to reconquer the liberty of living their faith. If some pastors of our Church are forced by circumstances to keep silent on this persecution in order to save what can be salvaged, it is our duty to give evidence of the faithfulness and sufferings of our brothers.

Your Lordship, you can answer the silent appeal of our brothers, you can help them. Your Lordship, the Catholic people of South-Vietnam are requesting you to proclaim the truth, they demand that you publicly pray for them and for our Church.

Respectfully yours,

FREE VIETNAM FORCES

Ly Dai Nghia FVNF Chairman

"Final Act"- Worth the Paper It Is Printed On?

At the Conference on Security and Co-operation, which was concluded at Helsinki on the 1st of August, 1975, by high-ranking representatives of 35 European states, and also Canada and the United States of America, it was declared that the **"participating states will respect the equal rights of people and their right to self-determination, acting at all times in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the relevant norms of the international law"**.

They expressed the desire "to contribute to the strengthening of peace and understanding among peoples and to the spiritual enrichment of the human personality without distinction as to race, language or religion".

They declared that **"by virtue of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people, all people always have the right, in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wish, their internal and external political status, without external interference, and to pursue as they wish their political, economic, social and cultural development"**.

They resolved to promote the development of contacts on the basis of family ties, wider and freer travel facilities; to promote the development of contacts among young people; to expand links and co-operation in the field of sport. **They recognized the importance of the dissemination of information and emphasized the value of the freedom of the press and other forms of information, including the improvement of conditions for journalists.**

They also considered many aspects of co-operation and exchanges in the fields of culture and education. Objectively, this conference has covered all major aspects of national and human life which contribute directly to the realization of the ideas of security and peace, or which, if not properly and speedily fulfilled, could only prolong the strife, injustice and misery that exists to-day in many countries, especially within the boundaries of the Soviet-Russian empire.

SUBJUGATED NATIONS NOT REPRESENTED

The text of the "Final Act", from which the above quotations are extracted, was signed by Mr. Leonid Brezhnev on behalf of the USSR. **The Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, and Georgians, who belong to the European nations and number almost eighty million people, were not allowed to take part in the Helsinki Conference, although some of them are members of the United Nations and all are**

formally recognized by the USSR as "sovereign republics" with the right to secede.

ACCORDS NOT PUBLICIZED

Notwithstanding the signature, the Soviet-Russian authorities have never published the full text of the Helsinki Accords. And when in the course of 1976 a number of prominent people in Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic States and Georgia learned about the 'Final Act' and its importance for the subjugated nations and people and compared their limited knowledge of this document with the actual reality inside the USSR, they organized themselves into several "Helsinki Groups" with the purpose of promoting the implementation of the Helsinki Accords in their respective countries.

HELSINKI GROUP IN UKRAINE

One such group was formed in Ukraine in November 1976 by **Oles Berdnik, Petro Hryhorenko, Ivan Kandyba, Levko Lukyanenko, Oksana Meshko, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Nina Strokata, Oleksiy Tykhy and Mykola Rudenko** who became its chairman.

During a very short time this group managed to collect information concerning the violation of national and human rights in Ukraine. Noticing the successful activities of the group and fearing that their research and publication of the assembled material may reveal too many of the atrocities committed by Moscow against the Ukrainian and other enslaved nations, the Soviet-Russian authorities arrested **Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy** on the 5th of February, 1977, subsequently tried and sentenced them to 12 and 15 years imprisonment respectively. On the 23rd of April, 1977, **Mykola Matusevych** and **Myroslav Marynovych** were also arrested, but later released. At one time in March 1977 the fifth member of the group, **Oles Berdnik**, was seized on the streets of Kyiv but was released two or three days later.

DECLARATION AND MEMORANDUM

However, before the arrests of the four members and despite the constant harassment of all other members of the group, the group managed to produce a „**Declaration and Memorandum**“, which found its way to the signatories of the Helsinki Accords and to Ukrainians in the West. In this document they state that **Ukraine has been the scene of genocide and ethnocide from the first years of Soviet-Russian rule.** They draw attention to the fact that **"in 1933 the Ukrainian nation, which for centuries had not known famine, lost over six million people by starvation ... artificially created by the government of the USSR.** But if one adds the millions of liquidated and deported so-called "Kulaks", **then the total loss to the**

Ukrainian people from Soviet-Russian pre-meditation was more than ten million people". They point out that then there was **"1937, when hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian prisoners were shot"**. After the second World War there was another war which was directed against **the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, "which took up arms against Hitler but would not put them down at Stalin's command.** And once again hundreds of minors, women and the elderly went to concentration camps . . . few of these martyrs returned to their homeland". The more fortunate were simply sentenced to twenty five or more years of imprisonment, and if they survived this cruel fate the Soviet-Russian authorities merely **added** more years. But, "if one looks at the last half century of our history", — writes the group, — "it becomes clear why our native language is not heard today on the streets of Ukrainian cities". Using the words of M. Masyutko, they state that "the reason for the Ukrainian language being so rare in the cities of Ukraine is because it is **so prevalent in the camps for political prisoners"**. They state that the only source of these horrors 'they can find' is **the destruction by the Soviet-Russian bureaucrats of the principles of national and human rights for the Ukrainian nation** which were embodied in the Declaration of the Formation of the USSR in 1922 but never put into practice by Stalin or his successors.

After decades of horrors and mass liquidations in Ukraine under Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev, a new horror befell the Ukrainian people when Leonid Brezhnev became the principal ruler of the USSR. **In the middle of the 1960's and during the following decade the most talented members of the young Ukrainian intelligentsia were once again thrown into the concentration camps, including the special psychiatric "hospitals".** The same process of elimination of freedom-loving people in Ukraine was repeated in a series of widespread persecutions, arrests and purges in 1972 and in 1973. **Even now, whilst we print this article and when the Soviet Russian delegation sits at the preparatory conference in Belgrade, these arrests and persecutions continue.** Since the Helsinki Conference in 1975, the Soviet-Russian authorities not only have not shown any intention of observing the Helsinki Accords in Ukraine and in other national republics, but contrary to all optimistic predictions **they have actually intensified the prevailing drive in their internal policy towards the complete annihilation of all national aspirations for freedom and human rights.**

NEW PRISONS

As evidence in their support the authors of the "Declaration and Memorandum" of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords state that **"Since Helsinki . . . new prisons are being built and the ranks of the KGB continue to grow. Today every establishment has its own KGB caretaker. Monitoring of telephone con-**

versations, of private mail, microphones in ceilings, planned hooligan' muggings of human rights activists have all become a matter of daily life".

Although the ratio of arrests at the end of 1976 was lower than in 1972, "all who are considered 'un-reliable' lose their professional positions. Instead of continuing to work as writers, lawyers, or philologists they are forced to fill the ranks of storage guards, engine stokers or common labourers. Psychiatric hospitals are continually used as 'institutions for re-educating' those who think differently, or who express their consideration for human and national values. The group emphasizes that 'all aspects of life today are controlled by the KGB, from the employee's bed beneath the ceiling microphones to the writer's study."

SOME POLITICAL PRISONERS

To emphasize these points they produced a list of some of the most important Ukrainian political prisoners, who are being held in concentration camps of the especially severe regime category. Amongst these are historian **Valentyn Moroz**, historian **Ivan Hel**, writer **Mykhaylo Osadchy**, poet **Svyatoslav Karavanskyi**, priest **Vasyl Romaniuk**, journalist **Vyacheslav Chornovil**, poet **Vasyl Stus**, poet **Iryna Kalynets** and her husband, poet and writer **Ihor Kalynets**, **Oksana Popovych**, **Iryna Senyk**, artist **Stefania Shabatara**, philosopher **Yevhen Proniuk**, philologist **Ivan Svitlychny**, writer **Yevhen Sverstiuk**, publicist **Yuriy Shukhevych**, whose father, Roman Shukhevych, was the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Ukraine from 1943 until March 1950, and many others. They also indicate that according to their information, at the end of 1976 such persons as **Vasyl Ruban**, **Anatoliy Lupynis**, **Borys Kovhar**, **Mykola Plakhotniuk**, **Mykhaylo Kovtunencko**, **Yosyp Terelya** and others were being held in psychiatric prisons.

Delegations from all the thirty-five States, who signed the Accords in August 1975, are assembled now in Belgrade.

Ukraine and all other national republics of the USSR are not represented in Belgrade by separate spokesmen free from the pressures of Moscow. We also know that the representatives of Soviet-Russia will do all in their power, including the use of blackmail by threat of nuclear war, to exclude from the agenda the discussion at this conference of the question of violations of national and human rights in the USSR. If they are successful then such material as the 'Declaration and Memorandum' of the Ukrainian Public Group in Ukraine will never be heard and discussed properly. Subsequently, the Soviet-Russian Government will feel free to pursue without the slightest hindrance genocide and ethnocide in Ukraine and in the other national republics until all traces of their culture, history and human consciousness will be completely subdued and in some cases annihilated.

We made several recommendations to Free World Governments stressing most of all the absolute necessity, in the name of humanity, **that the Western representatives at the Belgrade Conference should not only uphold generally the ideas of human rights but that they should mobilize all Western representatives and together press strongly and uncompromisingly for the full and wide discussion of human and national rights questions in the USSR.**

The Ukrainian Public Group in Kyiv, which managed to produce several documents concerning national and human rights, did this in the name of all Ukrainians. **As they are imprisoned and harassed by the Soviet-Russian authorities, someone has to uphold their position and present their documents at the Conference in Belgrade.**

The Western-European Governments conduct their internal and external policies with the consent of their electorates, i. e. their people. As there is still some time available, we feel it our ultimate duty to ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to consider in your hearts the major matters presented here and then make your consideration public. In other words **we ask you to influence your Government as regards Belgrade in such a way as to make them aware that you wish them to uphold the national and human questions in Ukraine in the same manner as if it were a matter concerning your own people.** You can do this through your Political Party, Trade Union, or through your Member of Parliament.

Remember, please, that up till now, the Ukrainian nation alone has lost **more than fifteen million people from Soviet-Russian rule and from the brutal and inhuman force this rule represents.** But what about **Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, the Jews** and all other nations and national minorities in the USSR? How many millions of people have perished because of the inhuman conditions created by a system based on hatred and by people who dream of world conquest? People who produce warships, planes, tanks, atom bombs, rockets and a constant flow of oral and printed propaganda, and at the same time destroy human souls, cultures, historical and religious monuments, alter historical facts and turn people from human beings into cogs, cannot be left alone! The subject of human rights should be of concern to everybody. That is why the Human Rights Charter of the United Nations was written in 1948. That is why the United Nations Resolution on Decolonization was passed in 1960. And that is why the Western nations managed to force Soviet-Russia at Helsinki in 1975 to sign a 'Final Act' containing many undertakings with regard to national and human rights. **If at present Western nations for some reason reneged on their responsibilities as concerns what is going on in the USSR, then the 'Final Act', or any other similar document, would not be worth the paper it is printed on.**

KNOWN CONCENTRATION CAMPS

On the 22nd of April, 1977, 'The Economist' published an article indicating the number and locations of various concentration camps in the USSR. According to this article in the Moscow district there are 14 prisons; Lviv district — 8 labour camps, including one for women and one for children; Odessa — 4 labour camps, 2 for women; Leningrad — large density of concentration camps, prisons and psychiatric 'hospitals'; Riga — at least 25 labour camps; Moldavia — 7 labour camps; The Perm district — 12 known camps; Archangelsk — 12 known labour camps; Murmansk — 7 known labour camps but many more suspected; Kyiv — 5 labour, psychiatric camps and prisons; Voroshilovka — 5 labour camps and 2 psychiatric "hospitals"; Minsk district — 5 labour camps and one very large gaol; Azerbaijan — 7 known labour camps; Tomsk district — 12 labour camps; Dnipropetrovsk — 8 labour camps and a mental 'hospital'; Chernihiv — 2 labour camps; Omsk — 7 large prison camps; Krasnoyarsk — 16 known prison camps and a psychiatric camp with approximately 2000 men and women; Sverdlovsk — about 100 prison camps, including 40 of the strict regime category; Kola Peninsula — 1 large prison camp; Vorkuta — 4 camps; Chernovitsk — 1 large prison camp; Kaliningrad — 1 large prison camp; Orlov — 1 specialized mental hospital; Kysheniv — 1 labour camp; Kornino — 1 'strict regime' camp.

These, of course, are only the camps and locations which could be positively identified. But how many have not yet been identified or are not mentioned in this publication? Every concerned person should attempt in some way to help all the unfortunate inmates of these camps, in the knowledge that they are not criminals but innocent and good people who desire to be as free as we are

How can one hope, on the one hand, for freedom from fear, for security from threats and for co-operation in the fields of culture, education, sport, economics and politics, when on the other hand you have people with ultimate power of destruction, who direct that power against their subjects and at the same time cynically sign declarations in recognition and support of human rights!

How can the representatives of Western Europe partake in the Belgrade Conference, when recently **Mykola Rudenko** was sentenced by a Soviet-Russian court to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine, and **Oleksiy Tykhy** was also sentenced by the same court to 10 years of imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine, for exposing the violations by the Russians in Ukraine of the Helsinki Agreements!

**Committee For Defence
Of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the USSR
London**

AF-ABN Congress in Chicago

Between 21-23 October, 1977, the American Friends of ABN Congress was held in attendance of representatives of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, Germany, Cuba and Vietnam.

The Congress was preceded by a Press Conference for representatives of the American and ethnic press of different nationalities including German, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Estonian, Latvian Rumanian and others. The official Press Statement from ABN was given by the CC ABN President — J. Stetsko, who also together with the representatives of the national delegations answered the numerous questions of the journalists. Dr. A. E. Ronnett, head of the Rumanian Congressional Committee chaired the Press Conference.

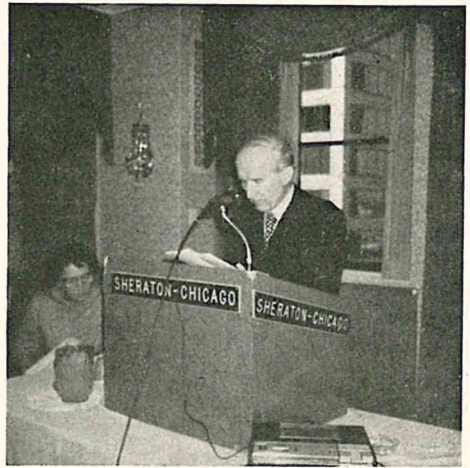
On October 22nd, the Conference was opened by the Chairman of the AF ABN Executive Board — Dr. A. Bedrij, and the invocation was conducted by Rev. Father Dr. Prunskis (Lithuanian). The Conference was chaired by Dr. K. Bobelis, Chairman of the Federation of Baltic American Committees and Chairman of the Lithuanian American Council.

The Mandate, Political, Nomination, Resolution and Programme Commissions having been appointed, Dr. A. Bedrij reported on activities of ABN, and on the proposal of the Cuban delegate the Congress acknowledged the Report.

During the Conference two panels were held: the first dealt with "United States Foreign Policy and Subjugated Nations", was moderated by Dr. Nohemi Labrada Bernal (Cuba) and included Dr. Kazys C. Bobelis (Lithuania), Dr. Alexander E. Ronnet (Rumania), Ernest Anderson (Germany), Olaf Tammark (Estonia), as panelists. The theme of the second panel was "National Liberation Policy and Human Rights"; it was moderated by Dr. George Paprikoff

(Bulgaria) and included Hon. Hugh H. O'Young, Consul General of the Republic of China, Mrs. Slava Stetsko (Ukraine), Dr. Nohemi Labrada Bernal (Cuba) and Dr. Anton Bonifacic (Croatia) as panelists.

On Saturday evening over 500 participants of the banquet listened to the Congress main speaker Hon. Y. Stetsko, President of the Central Committee of



Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of Central Committee of ABN giving his statement at AF ABN Press Conference on October 21st.

ABN. Among the distinguished guests present at the banquet were Archbishop of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Church — Constantin, the Consul General of National China — J. J. Dauzvardis of Lithuania, and the heads of the national delegations. Dr. Borys Antonovych acted as toastmaster of the banquet; the octet "Chervona Ruta" and the Rumanian baritone singer P. Luculusa participated in the Concert programme.

The Congress elected a new Executive Board: Dr. Br. Fedorak, Chairman of the Detroit AF ABN Chapter, was elected Chairman; representatives of

Lithuania, Latvia, Bulgaria and Rumania were elected Vice-chairmen; representatives of Croatia, Slovakia, Ukraine, Germany and Cuba were in-

cluded as members of the Executive Board. The leaders of the national delegations were elected to the Presidium.

Resolutions of the Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations, Inc., held October 21-23, 1977, in Chicago.

On the United States Policy toward the Enslaved Nations.

WHEREAS the Government and the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics did not renounce its goal to communize the whole world; and

WHEREAS the USSR is feverishly and uninterruptedly arming itself with the aim to achieve absolute arms superiority over the USA and the free nations; and

WHEREAS Russian imperialists who are the founders and the sole holders of power in the Soviet Union, are continuously trying to exterminate all the forces within the enslaved peoples striving to achieve national independence and human rights,

BE IT RESOLVED by the Congress of the AF ABN.

To appeal to President Jimmy Carter and the Congress of the United States to exert pressure on the government of the USSR and other Communist dominated countries to obtain,

— The release of all national, political and religious prisoners, members of the insurgent liberation armies and all prisoners of war, held captive for more than thirty years;

— The abolishment of concentration camps and psychiatric prisons and the release of all their inmates;

— The end of persecution for national, political, social and religious convictions, for cultural creativity and liberation activities, directed toward the achievement of national independence and human rights;

— The end of Russian colonialism, imperialism, genocide, Russification of the subjugated peoples, proceeding relentlessly by means of destruction of

national cultures, religions and churches, deportation and forced intermixing of peoples, transfer of the youth of the captive nations from their homelands to the various areas of the Russian empire with the aim to create an unnatural and artificial so-called Soviet people, a homeless and rootless mass, obediently serving the purposes of the Russian imperialists;

— The abolishment of the exploitation of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia, as well as that of the collective agricultural system and colonial state capitalism;

— The withdrawal of the Russian occupational forces together with the Communist terror apparatus from the countries subjugated within the USSR and satellite states.

To appeal to the Government of the United States to apply the UN Resolution on World Decolonization — the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples — of December 14, 1960, not only to the areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but primarily to the USSR, the last existing empire, which must be dismembered into independent, national, democratic states of the presently enslaved peoples.

To appeal to the President and the Congress to abide in its policy by Public Law 86-90 of July 19, 1959, on the restoration of the national independence to all the captive peoples in the USSR and under the colonial domain in Central Europe.

To appeal to our Government to apply the Resolution adopted by the UN on December 20, 1976 to the nations subjugated in the USSR and the satel-

lite states to the same extent as it is applicable to Namibia ("concerning support for the national liberation struggle of a captive nation against colonial rule which any nation may conduct by all the means available including primarily armed struggle").

To request our Government to initiate an appropriate policy in the UN which would lead to granting of a status of permanent observers to national liberation organizations of the peoples enslaved by Russia and communism similarly to the one granted to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

To appeal to our Government to replace the policy of détente with imperialists and tyrants with a policy of liberation, a policy of effective support for the national liberation struggle of Ukraine, Lithuania, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Latvia, Estonia, Central and East Germany, Cuba, Byelorussia, Croatia, Slovakia, Hungary, Armenia, Albania, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Cossackia, Poland, Slovenia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, and other peoples enslaved in the USSR and the satellite states.

To expose the Yugoslav system and regime as an artificial Communist state which is using the aid received from the USA to suppress national and human freedoms of the enslaved peoples (Croatians, Slovenes, Macedonians, Albanians, Serbians and others) and as a supporter of the preservation of the Soviet Russian satellite system in Central Europe and the Balkans; and further to expose Tito's regime as a disseminator of the Communist doctrine, though under a specific brand and a supporter of the Communist movement throughout the world.

On Decolonization, Human Rights And Détente

WHEREAS the signatory nations to the UN Declaration of December 14, 1960, calling for the granting and re-establishment of independence for all peoples living under colonial rule, systematically ignore Soviet Russia's

non-observance and continued blatant violation of the said Declaration, and lay no binding obligation whatsoever upon the Kremlin leaders to implement the terms of the Declaration by restoring independence to Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Croatia, Cuba, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Central and East Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Northern Caucasus, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Turkestan, Ukraine, Vietnam and others;

WHEREAS the Final Helsinki Act of 1975 dealt a grave blow to the cause of freedom in Europe, because it was allowed that Soviet Russia continue to dominate colonially the aforementioned nations, but this condition constitutes the prerequisite of détente, and because the USSR violates "Basket Three" and Articles VII and VIII on the national and human rights of said Act; and

WHEREAS the Soviet Union understands détente not as a relaxation of tensions or as a cooperation among nations in order to ensure a lasting peace with justice, but as an intensification of the ideological warfare and a stage for new conquests; and

WHEREAS this policy of détente has in fact confused the American public on the need for a strong national defense program and created uncertainty among our allies as to our commitments to their defense; and

WHEREAS the granting of human rights cannot proceed in a colonial empire without the achievement by the enslaved peoples of their national independence; So

BE IT RESOLVED to request our Government to adopt such a policy that would bring about the liquidation of the Russian colonial empire and the restoration of the rightful national independence to each people; and

BE IT RESOLVED to request our Government to combine the policy of striving for human rights with the above-mentioned policy.

On United States Trade With The Communist Regimes

WHEREAS the United States trade is regulated by the Tariff Act of 1930, the Trade Act of 1974, the Export Administration Act, the Anti-Dumping Act of 1921 along with other appropriate laws; and

WHEREAS the transfer of Western technology to the Russian imperialists, the sale of grain and various commodities needed for the functioning of a modern industrial power only preserves and strengthens this totalitarian colonial state; and

WHEREAS the US House of Representatives has passed a 1977 Foreign Aid Bill in whose original version a prohibition was contained for granting loans to seven countries dominated by Communist regimes, such as Cuba, Angola, Mozambique, etc.; and

WHEREAS the bill passed by the House was modified by a joint committee of the Congress in such a way that the economic agencies of the US should study carefully all requests for loans before they are granted to Communist regimes which are our enemies; and

WHEREAS the Senate will take into consideration this bill shortly,

BE IT RESOLVED that the AF ABN favours the restoration and adoption by the US Congress of the original version of the 1977 Foreign Aid Bill; and

BE IT RESOLVED to urge the President of the United States to direct the Department of State and other appropriate agencies of the US Government to review the applicability and enforcement of the laws on trade in regard to the Soviet Union and other Communist states in order to secure their compliance with the provisions on human rights of the Helsinki Final Act; and

BE IT RESOLVED that the AF ABN expresses its opposition to continued unilateral concessions by the USA to the Soviet Union in the name of détente. We also stand prepared to boy-

cott all businesses that provide Western technology and all banks that provide loans to save the collapsing Soviet economy and thus strengthen the totalitarian system. The cause of peace with justice cannot be realized by strengthening the Soviet Union at the expense of national and human freedoms.

On United States Policy Toward Cuba

WHEREAS the Joint Resolution of the US Congress 230 (Public Law 87-733, 76 Stat 697), approved October 3, 1962, is in force in the United States; and

WHEREAS the Joint Resolution of the US Congress of 1898, which states that the people of Cuba have the right to be independent and free and that the United States is ready to help them, is also in force; and

WHEREAS the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 is still in force; and

WHEREAS the executive agreement of the late President John F. Kennedy with Nikita Khrushchev of the USSR, according to which the United States does not allow Cuban patriots to make efforts from exile to liberate their country, violates the Joint Resolution of 1962, the Monroe Doctrine, the OSA resolutions and the Rio Treaty of 1947; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED that the AF ABN urges the President of the United States to restore the rightful policy of the US Government in accordance with the JRs of the Congress of 1962, 1898 and the Monroe Doctrine of 1823.

On AF ABN's Support to the Freedom-Fighters

WHEREAS thousands of political prisoners in the USSR and the satellite states — fighters for national independence and human rights — linger under inhuman conditions in slave camps, dungeons and psychiatric institutions; and

WHEREAS thousands of families of these heroes and martyrs are deprived of all means of livelihood, appropriate jobs, educational opportunities and live in most wretched conditions; and

WHEREAS the grandiose freedom-struggle produces constantly new cultural values and works beneficially for the whole of mankind; so

BE IT RESOLVED by the Congress of the American Friends of ABN to call upon all freedom-loving people, in particular the descendants from the said enslaved nations, to increase our common efforts in extending moral and material help to all the political prisoners incarcerated behind the Iron Curtain and to their families; and

BE IT RESOLVED to appeal to all forces working for the liberation of the enslaved nations, to disseminate more intensively in the free nations the information about the continued na-

tional freedom-struggle and to refute more resolutely the imperialistic and Communist propaganda about the alleged wellbeing and socio-economic progress of the nations behind the Iron Curtain; and

BE IT RESOLVED to cultivate, preserve, inherit and introduce to the free peoples of the world the noble and just cultural, religious and political treasures, created in the underground of the Russian empire, founded on the ideas of national independence and human freedom, understood in a context of a world without colonial empires, racism, dictatorships of any kind and in a community of peacefully cooperating sovereign nations.

**Congress of the American Friends
of the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Na-
tions, Inc. Chicago, Illinois, Octo-
ber 23, 1977**

Rev. Father Prunskis (Lithuania)

INVOCATION AT OPENING OF AF ABN CONFERENCE

Our Lord, You have created all men equal and free and You have given a commandment of brotherly love. Bless and protect these people assembled here today because they sincerely dedicate their time, their talents, their efforts to the cherished principles of freedom and wellbeing of individual citizens and all nations.

Their churches are desecrated, their beautiful wayside crosses are being destroyed, their brothers and sisters are suffering in jails, slave labour camps of Siberia, in psychiatric wards, and even we, who share the safety of the western lands, are suffering from nostalgia for our native lands.

O Lord, let the day of freedom to the subjugated nations come sooner. Bring the strength of perseverance and the comfort of hope to the martyrs of faith and to the fighters for freedom behind the Iron Curtain.

Lord, make us united in our struggle for the liberation of the modern slaves,

As Thomas Merton says, You have taught us that if we open our hearts to one another you dwell in us. In accepting one another wholeheartedly, fully, completely, we accept You. Our mutual love, dedication to the ideals of freedom will help to achieve independence for the subjugated nations and to break the shackles of colonialism, imposed by the godless ideology of hatred.

We know that to fight tyranny is to serve God. Inspire, o Lord, endurance in our endeavours for liberation. Bless our cherished United States of America and other freedom-loving countries who persist in striving for restoration of God-given rights to the subjugated nations. Help us to work in loving unity, so that the forces of evil be destroyed in countries subjugated by the red dictators, that these nations will be free again to worship You, to enjoy freedom and independence and live in accord and brotherly love. So help us God.

Report On AF-ABN Activities

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Distinguished Delegates of Nationality Organizations to the Congress of the American Friends of ABN.

I have the honor to report to you on the activities and problems of our organization since the last congress.

As the name of our organization suggests, we are a US incorporated association composed of American citizens whose primary purpose is to inform our fellow Americans about the countries of our descent, about their fate under the Russian colonial yoke and Communist dictatorship, stressing in particular the relentless struggle of these countries to liberate themselves and to regain complete national independence. We naturally desire that the United States give assistance to this noble and just struggle for national and human freedom. We also have the common goal of giving direct assistance in whatever form possible to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, a coalition of national liberation movements of the enslaved nations within and outside the USSR.

It so happened that most of our member organizations are based upon the principle of nationality, which is parallel to the composition of the ABN itself: The ABN is composed of liberation movements of the various subjugated nations, and the AF ABN — of American organizations, whose members come from the same nations.

Let me begin my report with the previous convention of the AF ABN held in New York on April 12, 1975, where I was elected Chairman of the Executive Board and the Executive Council.

I would like to clarify one confusing statutory point, namely, the distinction between the Executive Board and the Executive Council of the AF ABN. In the Constitution of the AF-ABN, Sec-

tion 16 we read: "The Executive Council of the AF ABN shall be the Executive Body composed of the Executive Board — in charge, with eleven members: Chairman, four Vice-chairmen in charge of the Political, Organizational, Public Relations and Cultural Committees, Secretary-General, Recording Secretary, Treasurer, Directors of Information, Women and Youth Divisions, plus the members of the Board of Directors."

The explanation of the nature of the Board of Directors is found in Section 14 D: "The Board of Directors of the AF ABN is composed of Representatives of the Nationalities, the Organizations and the chapters participating."

Soon after assuming chairmanship I realized that most distinguished delegates in the Executive Council were not necessarily national leaders of the respective nationalities or organizations with the exception of a few: Ukrainians, Bulgarians and Byelorussians. German, Lithuanian and Rumanian delegates represented only their regional branches, not the headquarters. Therefore, the AF ABN Executive Council decided that one of its prime tasks in this term of office should be to attract to the AF ABN major nationality organizations represented by their national headquarters. As a result, the Lithuanian American Council presided by Dr. Kazys Bobelis joined the AF ABN, followed by two Cuban organizations — the Municipalities of Cuba in Exile represented at the beginning by Mr. Nicomedes Hernandez and the "Free Cuba" Chapter of the First Anti-Communist International, chaired by Dr. Nohemi Labrada Bernal. Then the Rumanian American National Congress presided over by Dr. Alexander Ronnett became a member. I had meetings with leaders of the American Latvian Association and they showed interest in cooperation with the AF ABN organization. At this moment the following nationalities are represented either on

a national or local level in the AF ABN: Albanians, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Croatians, Cubans, Estonians, Germans, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Ukrainians and Vietnamese, together 15 nationalities.

According to the Constitution of the AF ABN, this organization is not only a center coordinating activities among its member organizations but it should have a nation-wide network of chapters. Such a network functioned already in the 1950's. We had active chapters in various states and cities. In September 1976 the Executive Council decided to reactivate older chapters and initiate new ones. Our members, Dr. Labrada and Mr. Nicolaie, agreed to form a chapter in Washington, D. C., but Dr. Labrada left for Miami and the formation of a chapter did not materialize. A chapter has been established in Miami, Florida, with the participation of Cubans, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians and other groups. Although there are groups in the Cleveland area that belong to the AF ABN, namely, Latvians, Ukrainians, Croatians, Slovaks, Rumanians and others, a formal chapter has not yet been reactivated. We have already established contacts with groups of various nationalities in Denver, Boston, Pittsburgh and Phoenix, Arizona. There are prospects to have our chapter in California. The Buffalo, New York, Detroit, Philadelphia, Rochester, Hartford chapters are being reactivated.

One of the main methods by which American Friends of ABN can assist the anti-Russian and anti-Communist movements is by influencing our American government, especially by exerting political influence. By working together in national, state and local elections we could elect such people who would support a more friendly policy toward the nations colonially enslaved by Russian imperialism. Is such a proposal realistic, or is it just wishful thinking? This problem was discussed

by the AF ABN members in two conferences, the first held in December 1975, the second in September 1976. We came to the conclusion that such a project is realizable, since firstly, there is a large bloc of potential voters who might be willing to follow our initiatives, namely millions of people who originated from the presently subjugated nations, and secondly, there is a wide-spread feeling among these people that they are underrepresented on the national, that means, federal level. Such a voting bloc might include several million citizens: 3-4 million descendants from peoples of the Russian empire within the USSR, perhaps another million from the so-called satellite states of Central Europe, several million German Americans and a powerful Spanish-speaking bloc under the leadership of the Cuban Americans. Also the descendants from the South-East Asian countries whose homelands were overrun by the Communists could be attracted to this bloc, whereby at least half a million voters might be added. With a good strategy, organizational preparedness and a unifying platform such a voting bloc could easily elect at least 10 to 20 congressmen of our own and exert important influence in some senatorial, gubernatorial and even presidential elections.

This project needs three conditions in order to have a minimum of success. Firstly a coherent nucleus of leaders of the participating nationality communities, who enjoy prestige and authority within their own people. Secondly, we need an apparatus for organizing campaigns. Thirdly, we need resources which will enable us to finance election propaganda.

We voiced the need of establishing as soon as possible 10 to 20 strong AF ABN chapters located in the largest concentrations of our nationality communities. On the basis of these chapters we would next establish our state political action committees with their own state campaign headquarters.

They, in turn, would proceed to the selection of some districts where most of our people reside, and establish district committees with the purpose of conducting campaigns for certain candidates to the House of Representatives. This organizational plan should have been carried out in the course of 1977 so that by early 1978 we would be ready to start the campaign for the election of our candidates for the general 1978 November elections. Some steps have already been taken in that direction.

During the second half of 1975 there arose the initiative in conjunction with the admission of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations with the status of a permanent observer, to request through various friendly governments that a similar status be granted to the national liberation movements of the peoples enslaved by Russian colonialists. The Ukrainians set up a special office to work on that project. Similar initiatives were reported by the organizations of the Baltic peoples.

Another proposal was to organize a one-week winter seminar for the students of our nationality organizations. Only Lithuanians and Ukrainians evidently were able to influence their youth to take part in such a multi-nationality training camp. A few other groups reported that they could send between one and three persons at most. With such a minute group it was impractical to hold the seminar, which we proposed to have in the Catskill Mountains of the New York state. However, the Ukrainians decided to execute this project on their own and I can report that it fully succeeded. Students came from seven states and the staff included several university professors of political science. Although the multi-nationality seminar did not as yet succeed, its idea should not be forgotten, because each community has its generation problems, each generation has to be informed about

the realities of the homelands of their fathers and forefathers. If our youth could be brought together with the youth of some ten or more nationalities, it would be a great experience for them which would enhance their understanding of international cooperation.

Arriving at the end of my report, I wish to make some conclusions and observations:

The concept of cooperation among the various liberation movements within the Russian empire has found adherents and can be witnessed daily. These cooperation-minded people know instinctively that they must unite against the common enemy. Thus the ABN-concept will be adhered to as long as the greatest inhuman empire of our times will exist. Similarly all the forces within the free nations striving to contribute to the liberation of the enslaved nations should in their own interest cooperate with each other. On the basis of the concept: "Freedom to All Peoples and Freedom to All Individuals" an international cooperation among the various freedom forces of the enslaved nations should exist.

Therefore, we have the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, which has been active for the past 30 years and has been recognized by many nations. Likewise, cooperation among various groups of Americans descending from the enslaved nations should be considered by everyone as an advantage to his own national goals. International cooperation is a world-wide phenomenon, excluding some Stone-Age tribes living on the edges of civilization. The United Nations Organization, the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization, the World Anti-Communist League and scores of regional alliances point to the categorical need and necessity for each nation to have as many friendly relations with other nations as possible in order to survive in this world. Russian imperialists are attempting to isolate the nations enslaved by them from

the rest of the world, trying to bind them exclusively to Russia. We, who are fortunate to live in a free country, have all the opportunities to experience such a cooperation among the various nationality communities.

The actual cooperation can only proceed on the basis of some mutually accepted principles. The first one is the unqualified acceptance of the right of each and every people to its sovereign national independence. Therefore, the AF ABN did not admit to its membership any group which recognizes and approves imperialistic state systems like any form of a Russian empire, Yugoslavia and the CSSR. The second principle is non-interference by anyone in internal affairs of another nationality. Connected therewith is the principle of non-interference with respect to matters of constitutional and ideological preferences. That means that we should recognize every one's right to have his own belief as to the system of government, be it monarchical, republican, parliamentary or the American three-part system. Next, we should recognize human rights, reject any form of racism, connected with the rights to autonomy of minorities, the right of every segment of a people to its own homeland. We cannot accept that occupation forces resettle whole communities or deport them. A principle of the ABN and AF ABN was and is to abstain from border disputes, except defending the ethnographical principle — that all the ethnic territories of a people must be entitled to belong to one integral national state. Therefore, the ABN does not recognize the GDR as a second German national state. However we should try to exchange views on such questions on a scholarly — academic level in order to learn each other's views and come to some agreement peacefully. We should refrain from accusations which usually end in enmity. Individual contacts or occasional coming-together do not satisfy a growing number of younger activists

of various nationalities. Although a long-lasting cooperation among the movements active on behalf of the subjugated nations is imperative, it must be based on a real contribution in terms of people, energy and resources by every partner. It means, that when Ukrainians were able to attract 20,000 people to participate in a political rally and a demonstration in front of the Russian mission to the UN a few weeks ago, it should be realistic to say that if all of us are serious about cooperation, then we should be able to afford, let us say in Chicago or New York 40,000 to 50,000 persons. We speak about a political voting bloc with an influence on millions of voters. But at the same time we are unable to collect a fund of a few thousand dollars. Our youth observes this disparity between words and deeds. In other words, I take the liberty of proposing to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to consider quite seriously this dilemma: either let us admit frankly that we are unwilling to go beyond a platonic-declaratory friendship and each group will go its own way, or we believe in the need of a united front and take all the ensuing consequences. Our young people are increasingly unwilling to engage in fictitious blocs, which are composed of a few individuals and have the character of a debating tea-party club. Either we engage in power-politics with all our forces or we should stop talking about large-scale common projects.

Finally, I wish to express my sincere thanks for cooperation in the Executive Council, especially to Dr. Nohemi Labrada, Dr. Alexander Ronnett, Dr. Mira Nissner, Mr. Peter Azuolas (Lithuanian delegate) Mr. Volodymyr Hladkyi and last but not least to the Chicago Chapter for preparing this congress, but in particular Mrs. Ulana Celewych, who gave much of her time, energy and even health.

Anathole W. Bedriy, Ph. D.

Chairman
Executive Council, AF ABN Inc.

Dr. Antonowych Borys (USA)

Unified Efforts

It is a fitting time for this banquet. Since at this very moment at Belgrade the fate of many nations is being affected. I would like to dedicate this evening to an open forum of all ideas, particularly those which will not be expressed at Belgrade.

Since its inception in 1943 the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations has served as an organization which united the nations of the Soviet Bloc in their attempt to gain freedom from Communist oppression. Eleven delegates met during difficult and dangerous conditions to unite together under the declaration: "**Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!**" That slogan has brought in its 34-year existence Albanians, Bulgarians, Croatians, Cubans, Estonians, East Germans, Latvians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Vietnamese, Chinese together to actively work for a common cause — **preserving their national and cultural identity, and creating a free homeland for their peoples.**

The *Washington Post* carried an interesting editorial last July, which stated... "that the Soviet Union, like any other totalitarian state, fears a contagion of individual rights is well known. No less important is its resistance to meaningful 'national' rights for ethnic or national groups within its borders. Russians are a minority in the country they largely control. Of the others, Ukrainians are the largest (50 million), richest, most sensitively located and historically the most assertive..."

For over the decades of Soviet power, repression by the Soviet authorities has failed to ground out, and may even have kept glowing, a nationalist spark.

Ethnic movements are fed by their own profound sources. But they are open to political stimulation. The Helsinki agreement turned out, expectedly to be one such stimulus. President Carter's support for right is another. Specifically, by deciding to raise the broadcasting power (and political status) of American radio stations that broadcast in Ukrainian and other non-Russian Soviet languages, he is not so subtly reaching over the Kremlin's head to communicate with Soviet citizens directly in a nationalist framework."

I feel that the function of emigré groups such as the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations can have a twofold purpose in their attempts to liberate their countries. It can be militantly revolutionary. Or it can focus on dissemination of information through diplomatic channels and on a wide scale organized campaign of public relations. Both are commendable and respected. Both approaches justify the existence of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — and in its history it has proven to be **successful and faithful to the concepts and aims laid down by its founders.** But there is also a third alternative. As ethnic groups living in the free countries in the world we must participate in the political process and in those respective countries **have our own** elected officials represent our views, our mutual aims, so that they are as important and credible to everyone, as the views of others.

But tonight as I look upon the dignitaries and audience at this banquet I am aware that we will exchange rhetoric, toast accomplishments, and partake of the dinner. It is a celebration and a **commendation** of your **unified efforts to a common cause** — indivi-

dual freedom and national independence for all peoples enslaved by the Soviet regime.

But as we celebrate together, I think of another celebration — among those who cannot be with us today. All those who celebrate a solitary personal vigil of hope. This vigil was vividly etched into my mind a few years ago in Washington, D. C. when I participated in a hunger strike for him who could be any one of us. I felt that then. One human being who has stood up for his beliefs to the point of death or physical incarceration. He is Valentyn Moroz. Moroz is one of many such individuals. As a result he is a political prisoner. And yet Soviet Russia which enslaves him has signed the Helsinki Accord — a document which was to have guaranteed him rights and the freedom of individual expression — the very crimes for which he is imprisoned. Can we have human rights without first achieving national rights? The answer is obvious.

Just two weeks ago, in Kensington Park, London I saw young students handing out Anti-Bolshevik of Nations flyers and across the street people with placards to free Moroz in front of the Soviet Embassy. They've done this every Sunday for two years. That particular Sunday the group traveled over 200 miles from Edinburgh, Scotland to demonstrate their protest.

In Rome, I saw the opposite. 7,000 young students marching like robots in a Communist demonstration with red banners, singing the International. They stopped the traffic in the center of Rome for three hours.

These two contrasts stand out very clearly. They suggest that for our cause to be effective, for any change to occur, the world must embrace the cause of human rights and national freedom and immerse itself in this ideology. Our youth are the essence of the future and the inheritors of the new world. We

must show respect to the younger generations, by listening to their ideas, and incorporating appropriate changes so that our rigid thinking and philosophy does not become rigid and so that we may respond to the changing world. For it has changed in 34 years; I find this a different world than the one I was born into in Ukraine, 34 years ago

And so at the commencement of this banquet let us reflect on what we have done and on what we can do. Aware of the international potential of our respective countries let us pass on the most crucial and beautiful elements of our individual cultures to the youth of the world — not as a burden or yoke, but as a fresh new commitment — unbridled, free — that will carry its vigor and strength into a world of individual freedom and liberty for all nations. As Stefania Shabatura said in one of her poems:

"There will be enough of lifetime left, for happiness."

Thank you.



Rev. Father Romaniuk (Ukrainian Orthodox Church) serving holy mass in underground.

National Rights of Baltic Peoples Violated

STATEMENT

of Kazys Bobelis, M. D., Chairman of the Joint Baltic American Committee and National President of the Lithuanian American Council, Inc. to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington, D. C.

After the formation in Moscow of a Public Group to Promote the Observance of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR and a similar Ukrainian Public Group, a third such group was formed in the Baltic countries, namely a Lithuanian Public Group formed in Vilnius on November 25, 1976.

In announcing its formation in November, 1976, the Lithuanian Public Group to Promote the Observance of the Helsinki Agreements made this significant statement:

"We hope, that the participant states of the Helsinki Conference will consider that the contemporary status of Lithuania was established as a result of the entrance of Soviet troops onto her territory on June 15, 1940 . . ." (Commission Reports Feb. 24, 1977 p. 120).

One member of that Lithuanian Public Group to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Accords, Thomas Venclova, obtained a temporary Soviet exit visa, having to leave his family in Lithuania; appeared before this Commission and testified on February 24, 1977.

Mr. Venclova testified that the humanitarian articles of the Helsinki Agreement are violated in Lithuania sometimes more frequently than in other republics of the USSR. In regard to religious freedom, he said that many "instances are known of persecuted priests who fulfill their pastoral obligations".

In this respect I wish to draw your attention to an open letter of October 4, 1975, directed to the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party signed by 31 priests of the Arch-

diocese of Vilnius concerning the alleged "freedom" of religion in Lithuania. In this letter the priests raise the following points:

a. Why do most people practice their religion secretly? Because they fear reprisals.

b. Why is it necessary for teachers to submit explanations for their religious practices?

c. Why are people fired from their jobs for "religious affiliation"; as occurred in the case of Mrs. Brieliene, a teacher in Vilkaviskis and also the chairman of the collective farm in Miroslavas?

d. Why are children who attend church the objects of ridicule at school and satirized there on posters?

e. Why cannot groups of believers organize pilgrimages, hire buses?

f. Why are children forbidden to participate in processions and to serve at Mass, if the parents and children desire this?

g. Why are the children of believers prohibited from entering the church during the funeral Mass of a classmate or friend, and are forced to stand outside, even in the rain or snow?

h. Why are others forbidden to teach religion in cases where the parents themselves are unable to do so?

i. Why cannot believers obtain prayer books, catechisms, rosaries, etc., and why are such articles confiscated from various vendors?

j. Why are believers denied an adequate number of priests? The number of seminarians is restricted and their education is interfered with. (Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, No. 22, 18, 1976).

In 1940 there were 717 Catholic parishes in Lithuania. There now remain approximately 375 of which 85 have no permanent priest.

In a statement of December 26, 1975, directed to the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Rev. Karolis Garuckas, who later became a member of the Lithuanian Group to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Accords, complained about his own harassment by the government as a Catholic priest for the past 15 years. Father Garuckas also raises this general question: "Does the state not "interfere with the internal affairs of religious groups" when government officials, without cause, transfer priests and exile bishops; limit the number of candidates for the (priests') seminary, rejecting those who do not suit the civil government, and when they try to recruit them to spy for the atheists?" (Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, No. 23, June 13, 1976).

In the beginning of 1961 the Ordinary of the Archdiocese of Vilnius, Bishop Julijonas Steponavicius, was relieved of his duties without any court action and for unknown reasons and exiled far beyond the boundaries of his archdiocese, and prohibited from performing his religious duties.

The bishop of Kasiadorys, Vincentas Sladkevicius, is kept in exile in Nemunelis for many years. Soviet obstruction in joining the only existing priests' seminary in Lithuania resulted in having 85 parishes without priests in that country.

Lithuanians are about 90 % Catholic while Latvians and Estonians are approximately 90 % Protestant.

The enforced status of the Baltic States as republics of the Soviet Union is leading to the annihilation of the Baltic nations. Indicative of this is compulsory linguistic russification, which is perceived as a first step in the erosion of national consciousness, as well as other policies restricting a free ex-

pression of national cultures, replacing it with Russian elements.

In this connection it is significant to refer to the speech of Brezhnev to the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1971, in which the Party's Secretary General put forward the aim of the Soviet people to establish a "new historical community of people". The expression "Soviet people" means more than merely the Russian populace of the USSR. It includes a large number of nations, peoples and ethnic groups which have nothing in common with the Russian people. The implication is the result of the policy of assimilation, which is regarded as the transition to a unitary nation using the Russian language.

What the Red Army began with bayonets and tanks, what the Soviet security organs maintain by means of their courts and jails, is to be completed and consolidated by the schools. The task of the schools is to perpetuate Russian domination in all the enslaved countries, to instill in the younger generation the state ideology — which has become a religious surrogate — and gradually to russify it.

Russification policies are carried out quietly and in disguise. Such terms as internationalism, international friendship, Soviet patriotism, the Soviet people, are often cited to conceal russification emphasizing the accomplishments, superiority and selflessness of the great Russian people. The Russian language is now much more openly imposed. Traffic signs, advertisements, and inscriptions must be in two languages and of equal size. Some official documents are written only in Russian. The number of hours of Russian radio and television broadcasting is by no means proportionate to the number of Russian-speaking inhabitants of the Baltic republics.

In the school curriculums, the history of the Baltic countries is distorted and caricatured. Emphasis on the native languages and literatures is insuf-

ficient. At the same time, the preoccupation with Russian is intensified. The Russian language is introduced too early — beginning with kindergarten — at a time when the children have not mastered the native language. Where will such a stress on Russian lead? To total domination of the Russian influence.

If the status of the Baltic States as Soviet republics is leading to the annihilation of the Baltic nations, then the national rights of the Baltic peoples are being violated. Consequently, I wish to discuss briefly a few provisions of the other Principles of the Final Act as they may apply to the Baltic peoples.

In Principle III of the Final Act the participating States declare that they "regard as inviolable their mutual frontiers as well as the frontiers of all States in Europe..."

I submit that the phrase "all States in Europe" must also include the Baltic States, because Albania was the only other European State not participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

In other words, in the light of the Final Act, the Baltic States must be regarded as still legally existing States in Europe, which should not be included within the frontiers of the Soviet Union, but viewed as temporarily occupied by that foreign power. Such interpretation shall at least be acceptable to the United States which do not recognize the forcible incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union.

In regard to the Baltic States the affirmation of the principle of self-determination of peoples in the Act is of utmost importance. The Final Act states that, by virtue of this principle, "all peoples always have the right in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wish, their internal and external political status..."

The Soviet Union is always unequivocally for self-determination in Africa

and Asia. Yet it shows anger and indignation when self-determination is proposed for Eastern and Central European nations. Once a nation is absorbed by the Soviet empire, the principle of self-determination is emphatically denied to it. However, the principle of self-determination is a universal principle and does not and should not stop at the borders of the Soviet Union.

This also applies to the principle of universal human rights, as President Carter pointed out in his speech before the United Nations on March 17, 1977. The President said that "... no member of the United Nations can claim that mistreatment of its citizens is solely its own business.

The Soviet Union has no qualms about interfering in the "internal affairs" of South Africa or Chile for the violation of human rights by these countries, but cries interference in the "internal affairs" of the Soviet Union when violations of human rights there are pointed out by Western governments. This is a double standard which is contrary to the provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki.

The peoples of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania exercised their rights to self-determination in 1918-1920 when they declared and established their independent States free from any ties with other nations.

At this time I would like to call to your attention that the Soviet Union (USSR) signed treaties recognizing the independence of Estonia on February 2, 1920; Latvia, August 1, 1920; and Lithuania, April 12, 1920. However, despite these treaties on June 15, 1940 invaded and annexed Lithuania, and on June 16, 1940 invaded and annexed Estonia and Latvia to the Soviet Union against the will of the people. Since the existence of the USSR, it entered into and then broke more than 100 major treaties with other countries. On September 15, 1934, the USSR signed the League of Nations Covenant and agreed "not to resort to war" and "to have respect

for all treaty obligations". However, on November 30, 1939, the USSR invaded Finland and on December 14, 1939 was expelled from the League of Nations for this violation. The details of more than 100 Soviet treaty violations may be obtained from the Staff Study of the Senate Judiciary Committee entitled "Soviet Political Agreement and Results" and "In the Treaty Trap" by Lawrence W. Bielensohn, published by Public Affairs Press, 1969.

The Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee wrote in his introduction to the Staff Study:

"Since the Soviet Union came into existence its government has broken its word to virtually every country to which it ever gave a signed promise. It was violating the first agreement it ever signed with the United States at the very moment the Soviet envoy, Litvinov, was putting his signature to this agreement and it is still violating the same agreement. Only a fool thinks that giving a habitual drunk a drink will cause him to reform. Likewise, giving a habitual treaty breaker another treaty will not cause him to reform. The Soviet Union still worships its founder, Lenin, and has never rejected his phrase, that promises are like piecrust, made to be broken."

By forceful seizure and illegal annexation of the Baltic States in 1940, the Soviet Union did not destroy their self-determination, but is only temporarily prohibiting the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia from the exercise of their internal political status to be free and independent States, and the people of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are denied the privilege of majority rule.

In this context, the final statement of Principle VIII on "Equal rights and self-determination of peoples" is very important. It provides that the participating States "also recall the import-

ance of the elimination of any form of violation of this principle."

Since there cannot be any doubt that the Soviet Union did violate this principle by seizure of the Baltic States, in 1940, and still persists in that violation by keeping them in captivity, this provision of the Final Act clearly calls for elimination of such violation.

Equally important for the status of the Baltic States is Principle IV on "Territorial Integrity of States" which expresses the impermissibility of acquisition of territory in contravention of international law and the final sentence of which states that "No such occupation or acquisition will be recognized as legal".

In commenting on this Principle in the First Report to this Commission President Ford stated as follows:

"This clause, which states that no such acquisition will be recognized as legal, reflects the longstanding official position of the United States not to recognize the forcible incorporation of the Baltic States into the USSR" (First Semiannual Report, p. 6).

Finally, in discussing the status of the Baltic States, I wish to draw your attention also to Principle X on "Fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law" of the Final Act which among other things states that.

"The participating States will fulfill in good faith their obligations arising from treaties or other agreements, in conformity with international law, to which they are parties."

During the period of independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania from 1918 to 1940, the Soviet Union had concluded treaties and non-aggression pacts with each one of the Baltic States renouncing for all time any claims to the territories and to the peoples of those States. The above provision of the

Final Act again calls upon the Soviet Union for fulfillment in good faith of those treaties to which the Soviet Union is a party.

I know that the Helsinki Final Act does not have the force of a Treaty imposing legal obligations upon the signatories. However, the concluding clause of the Act speaks about the "high political significance" that the signatories are attaching to the Final Act and "their determination to act in accordance with (its) provisions".

Therefore, I believe that a correct interpretation and implementation of the provisions of the Final Act as they apply to the Baltic States is of the greatest importance in verifying compliance with the Act.

Mr. Chairman, this summer the United States will be attending the followup conference on European Security and Cooperation in Belgrade. The Soviet Union has bluntly ignored the human rights provisions of its own constitution, the provisions for human rights in the United Nations Charter and most recently it has ignored the implementation of the Basket III provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki. They also violated Principle I, Principle III, Principle IV, Principle VI, Principle VII, Principle VIII, and Principle X as far as the Baltic States are concerned.

At the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Belgrade there is an opportunity to bring these violations before world opinion and to apply diplomatic pressure of the Western world on the Soviet Union for discontinuance of these violations.

At this time I would like to commend you, Mr. Chairman, for the excellent and thorough work that you have undertaken in compiling all the evidence of the Helsinki Agreement violations. I appeal to you, Mr. Chairman, and to your Commission, to present all these violations at Belgrade and particularly I would like

to ask you to present the United States position as far as the illegal occupation of the Baltic States is concerned.

The United States position of non-recognition of the illegal occupation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union is in complete accord with the aims and goals of the Helsinki Act. Therefore, we respectfully urge the US delegation to raise the question of the present illegal status of the Baltic States at the Belgrade conference, demanding not only respect for human rights for the people of those enslaved countries, because in the case of the Baltic States, human rights are inseparable from national rights, but also, insisting on full respect and implementation of treaties which have been flagrantly violated by the Soviet Union.

Since the Soviet Union seeks better relations with the Western world for its own purposes, let us make compliance with the provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki a condition on which those relationships depend.

The Baltic nations will never accept enslavement by the Soviet Union. Freedom and independence for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania remain the supreme goal of the Baltic peoples. Restoration of freedom and independence to their native countries is the principal aim of one million Americans of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian descent residing in the United States.

The time has come to voice concern over the status of seven million people of the three Baltic States. Their desire for independence and self-determination is unquenchable. The Soviet policy today towards these people is one of intense russification and has not been changed by the Helsinki Accords. Quite opposite, it is a clear form of cultural genocide that is erasing their ethno-cultural heritage and making a gradual minority in their own country.

It is tragic to see that with the self-

determination of peoples now almost global this principle is denied by the Soviet Union. It is up to the free nations like the United States, Canada and other Western European countries to resist and reject these inhuman practices of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Chairman, and the members of this Commission, I again express my sincere appreciation for the opportunity to appear before you and to present the tragic case of these three freedom and independence loving countries.

Death Camps

May be we are looking for a cheap sensation? Is anything like this possible in our days? Here are the facts. Judge for yourself.

Fact number One: In the south of the European part of the USSR, in the Caspian Sea there is Mangyshlak peninsula located near Kara Bogaz gulf. This is a God-forsaken land: a desert, a salt bay and salt-marsh steppes. Nothing ever grows there. However, uranium has been discovered in this region. Uranium is needed for the Soviet military machine. Therefore like poisonous mushrooms the concentration camps sprang up in the dead desert around the uranium mines.

The Director of the Uranic Complex of Plants and Mines is GRIGOR'YAN, the Hero of Socialist Labour. He is a notorious "slave owner" who commands thousands and thousands of prisoners working in his Complex. They are not provided with protective outer garments although they work daily in uranic mines or in the processing of the deadly uranic ore.

Witness B. who happened to work in this Complex, fortunately for him as an engineer and not as a slave-prisoner, remembers, that once in his presence somebody suggested to Grigor'yan to try to plant trees and flowers in this desolate region. "I consider the camp wire and watch-towers to be the best adornment for this place", Grigor'yan answered indignantly.

Special prison barges bring more and more parties of prisoners to these camps from Astrakhan' and Gur'ev cities. Nobody can survive working in the uranic mines for more than a year.

These force-labour camps near the uranic mines are by no means a solitary phenomenon. Such camps are also located in the vicinity of Zhovtee Vody city, Ukraine; tens of such camps are located in Kazakhstan near Aksu city.

There are three death camps in Vologodskaya District near Cherepovets city, in the Centre of the USSR. Prisoners condemned to death are also sent there. The uranic radiation is so high there, that rarely can a human being survive there for more than six-seven months. Why waste bullets? A reasonable, pragmatic approach: the prisoner should serve the state and work for Communism before he dies. There are about 9,000 prisoners in the camps of Cherepovets.

Fact Number Two: Let us see what is going on in the camps for political prisoners located not far from Moscow in Dubrovlag, Mordovia. There is an especially strict regime camp No. 10 there. Actually this is not a camp but a prison, since the inmates are locked in cells. A factory for glass grinding is located in the prison building. The prisoners work in glass grinding.

The polishing and grinding of glass edges is done on carborundum grinding disks by special gear. The air is full of glass dust. There is no ventilation, the prison administration "forgot" about it. The political prisoners work 10 hours a day; 10 hours a day the doomed slaves have to inhale the deadly glass dust. After work they return to their cells situated near their workshop and for the other 14 hours continue to inhale the glass dust which

permeates all the cells of this camp-prison.

We must pay due respect to the wit of the KGB sadists. No need again to use bullets or gallows. The prisoners will die in due course. Silikoz (the petrification of lungs) is guaranteed to everybody.

Fact Number Three: The Soviet Union is a nuclear power. Thanks to the active help of the free (for a while) world it has managed to build a powerful military industry. Apart from other weapons aimed at the West it possesses nuclear submarines equipped with ballistic missiles.

These submarines are built in the Baltic Sea near Leningrad in the Kolpino dock yards, in the Black Sea, Zhdanov city and in Vladivostok city, on the Pacific Ocean. The naval bases of these submarines are located along all the coasts of the USSR from the Vranghel' Island beyond the polar circle to the health resorts of the Black Sea.

These underwater giants are ploughing the seas surrounding the free coun-

tries of the West. They return to the USSR for the routine check up, repair, rest and cleaning of the nuclear duzas-tubes through which nuclear fuel goes. Who performs this terrible job risking his life?

Here are the locations of the camps where prisoners clean the deadly duzas-tubes:

1) Bukhta Rakushka, south of Vladivostok: two camps.

2) Tar'ya village, Kamchatka: one camp.

3) Severodvinsk city, the North Sea: two camps where prisoners work in the naval base for repairing nuclear submarines.

4) Estonia (an independent country up till 1939, presently a Soviet colony), Paldinsky bay: one camp in naval base. Prisoners here also clean the duzas-tubes of nuclear submarines.

The list is far from being complete. There are repair and maintenance bases of the Soviet Nuclear Navy where helpless slaves are slowly dying from radiation.

Demonstrators in Canada demanding release of Political Prisoners in the USSR



Dr. Kyril Drenikoff (Bulgaria)

Communist Radio Propaganda

"Do not listen to what I say,
See what I do."

Twelve years ago, a detailed study on the Communist radio drew our attention to the importance of this method of propaganda: its tendencies to analyze itself, to improve itself, to develop, to provide itself with advanced technical means, and finally its pungency and omnipresence.

Since that date, the Communist leaders have not ceased, even for a minute, to flood us with their declarations of peace, good will and peaceful coexistence. Declarations that greatly please many western leaders, for they excuse them for refraining from acting and taking responsibilities. Thus, step by step, without becoming aware of it, we have arrived at the monumental error of the Helsinki accord whose only object is to assure tactical advance for the Communist world. But while the West is paralyzed — that is while it relaxes its efforts and proclaims its disinterestedness — the Communist bloc is ceaselessly reinforcing itself. It is necessary to emphasize the role of propaganda, for it plays an essential part in the advance of Communist imperialism, and that of the radio being one of its most important and efficient branches.

During the present decade the situation has become much worse: South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and recently Angola have fallen under the Communist yoke. Only Chile managed to save itself.

This being the situation, the leader of the Free World, the United States, is more concerned about minor matters of its internal politics such as the Watergate "scandal". A dismal affair in which everything leads to believe that it was nothing but a plot to unbalance the morale of the United States by de-

priving it, at a crucial moment, of a leader who due to his experience, competence and valor would not have yielded to subversion, abandoning Southeast Asia and leaving Angola in the hands of the opposition.

Russian imperialism progresses at rapid strides over land, sea or air, and radio propaganda only supports this evolution.

Facing the Soviet threat, the vacuum created by Northamerican policy manifests itself as particularly dangerous for the coming decade. The Communists are on the offensive in most parts of the planet, with no definitive response from the Free World. We must reactivate ourselves immediately and by all means possible. We must sustain ourselves by our own strength and not allow the destiny of humanity to rest on a hypothetical conflict between the two great Communist powers. Their booty — the division of the World — is so huge that while waiting for the moment to digest it, they will probably maintain a "status quo" for many decades to come.

The final decision of the fight between freedom and tyranny will depend, to a great extent, on the attitude of the nations oppressed by the Kremlin and subjected to the exigencies of the Communist International. These nations are natural allies in the fight for freedom and as such they merit all our attention. We must, by all means, keep them informed and ready so that, when the moment comes, they can turn against the tyrants.

Our action must be aggressive, dynamic and pungent. We will never win if we are satisfied with only defending ourselves, in the hope that our enemy will die a natural death. The new Bastille must be destroyed and propaganda — today by radio and tomorrow

also by television — can contribute enormously.

All this has been understood and put into practice by the Communist leaders who reason the opposite way, namely that they must use radio propaganda in order to soften, infiltrate and destroy the free society and thus absorb it more easily. This is the logical conclusion resulting from an analysis of Communist radio transmissions of which we will outline a few details:

Soviet Russia

Soviet Russia is doubtlessly the first radio power in the world as regards propaganda. The broadcasts — by radio or television — are a state monopoly. This example is seconded without exception by all the countries of the Communist bloc.

The Soviet radio system is directed by the State Committee for Radio and Television, which is dependent on the USSR Postal and Tele-Communications.

The Soviet radio network covers practically all parts of the earth. The broadcasts are made mainly by stations that transmit under the name of Radio Moscow. Nine regional stations are also authorized to broadcast programs abroad. On the other hand, the "Peace and Progress" radio stations are exclusively reserved for transmissions in foreign languages. One hundred radio stations in all broadcast uninterruptedly the programs of Communist propaganda. The majority of these stations make use of a potency of 100 KW, being able to reach up to 2000 KW. Most of the programs are retransmitted by radio stations of the satellite countries, which assure a perfect audition in all parts of the world.

For such broadcasts the Soviet Union makes use of hundreds of frequencies. Every day Soviet radio propaganda is transmitted in 64 languages by 377 programs which come to a total of 240 broadcasting hours.

As compared to 1962, radio propaganda shows an eloquent progression:

	1962	1975	Increase
Programs	237	377	159 %
Languages	49	64	130 %
Duration of broadcasts	147 h. 20	259 h. 32	176 %

It is evident that the Soviet Union has not been losing time as far as its propaganda efforts are concerned and also as to the development of its military and mercantile fleet, its rockets and strategic aviation. The USSR made a gigantic effort, it made a very positive step forward towards its goal, which is global communication.

See the way in which the effort of Soviet radio propaganda is distributed according to the different media and destinations:

Radio Moscow

Radio Moscow broadcasts in 64 languages with a total duration of 215 hours a day, distributed over 282 programs abroad. Sixty-one of these broadcasts are specially intended for refugees who have left the country.

Peripheral Stations

The regional Stations listed below transmit propaganda destined for abroad.

Radio Bakou: 10 Daily Programs in 4 languages — Arabic, Turkish, Azerbaidhzani and in Irakean language (farsi) — of a duration of 5 hours 35 min. per day.

Radio Dushanbe: Two programs of a total duration of one hour a day in the Irakean language.

Radio Kyiv: 14 programs of 8 hours' duration a day. Four of these broadcasts in Ukrainian language and with a duration of 2.30 hours per day, are specially designed for Northamerica. Radio Kyiv makes transmissions abroad in three languages: Ukrainian, English, and German. Its efforts are concentrated on subversive propaganda intended for the important colonies of nationalist Ukrainians residing in Europe, the United States and Canada.

Radio Minsk: Broadcasts two one-

hour programs a day in the Byelorussian language.

Radio Riga: Broadcasts 11 programs a week in Latvian and Swedish with an average duration of 52 min. a day.

Radio Tallinn: Transmits 4 programs a day of a duration of 2 hours and 10 min. in Estonian, Finnish and Swedish.

Radio Tashkent: Transmits 9 programs of a duration of 5 hours per day in 6 languages — English, Arabic, Hindu, Farsi, Urdu and Uzbek.

Radio Vilnius: Transmits a mixed program of 30 minutes every day in English and in Lithuanian, intended for Northamerica.

Radio Erevan: Transmits 7 programs a day with a duration of four and a half hours. These programs are more specially designed for Armenians living all over the world.

In all, the 9 Soviet stations that broadcast abroad have 46 daily programs of a duration of 17:25 hours. The effort that these broadcasts represent is directed mainly toward their own exilés who have taken refuge abroad. In fact, several million Ukrainian and Byelorussian refugees originating from the Baltic countries, the Caucasus or other regions which are today forcefully included in the Russian empire, live in the Free World without forgetting their country of origin. Here the principal effort is concentrated on the Ukrainian refugees whose number is very high (the Ukrainian nation comprises over 45 million people) and whose staunch nationalism and action for the liberation of Ukraine is validly sustained by the majority of the population that remained in the country.

This explains the importance of Radio Kyiv in the propaganda broadcasts of peripheral radio stations. This same Radio Kyiv dedicates 50 % of its time to this end.

Radio "Peace and Progress":

Its effort concentrates on the Communist world and on the Communist spheres within the free world. It combats ideological opposition and the ten-

dencies of deviationism in the Communist movement in the Third World.

Radio Peace and Progress broadcasts over the five continents. Its daily programs have a duration of 24 hours distributed as follows:

Europe: 1 daily 30-minute program in German.

Asia: 37 programs a day of which 6 3-hour programs are in English; one 30-minute program in French; 4 two-hour programs in Mongol; 22 programs for China with a duration of 13 hours a day, of which 14 seven-hour programs are in common Chinese, 5 four-and-a-half hour programs in Cantonese and 3 one-and-a-half hour programs in the Shanghai dialect.

Africa: 2 programs in English and French of thirty minutes each.

The Middle East: 3 programs of thirty minutes duration each in Arabic, Yiddish and Hebrew.

Latin America: 6 programs with a total duration of 3:10, divided as follows: Creole-30 min.; Guarani-30 min.; Portuguese (of Brazil)- 30 min.

Therefore Radio "Peace and Progress" broadcasts daily 49 programs in 9 languages and 5 dialects with a total duration of 24 hrs. 40 min. The broadcasts are mainly ideological, related to Mao's China — to which they reserve half of their broadcasts and 3/4 of their broadcasting time.

In total, the Soviet radio transmits, for propaganda purposes the following broadcastings:

Radio Moscow: 282 programs in 64 languages with a total duration of 12,920 minutes per day.

Peripheral Radio Stations: 46 programs in 16 languages of a duration of 1045 min. a day.

Radio "Peace and Progress": 49 programs of 1480 min. duration a day in 14 languages — a total of 377 programs with a duration of 15,572 min. or 259 hours 32 min. every day.

Albania

The effort of Albania to develop radio propaganda is admirable. With the



From left to right: Mr. Paul Vankerhoven (Belgium), Dr. Phan Huy Quat (former Prime-minister of Vietnam), Dr. Kyril Drenikoff.

help of Maoist China, Albania nowadays has broadcasting stations with, 100, 120, 240 and 500 KW and employs 28 frequencies.

The Albanian radio transmits 131 programs abroad in 18 languages with a total daily duration of 67 hours and 30 minutes. If one considers that in 1962 Albania broadcasted 17 programs of eight and a half hours' duration, the result of the effort is appreciable. This effort is directed mainly toward the West in relation to the Soviet bloc. In fact, ten years ago, Albania was only transmitting 4 two-hour programs in Bulgarian and Russian. Today Albania transmits for the Soviet bloc, including Yugoslavia, 53 programs of a duration of 26 hours and 30 min., while 7 programs of a total duration of 5 hours a day are intended for Albanians living abroad.

It must be pointed out that the Maoists make use of Albanian broadcasts and that Radio Peking replaces some of its broadcasts by Radio Tirana.

Bulgaria

Bulgaria has for its internal use 21 medium wave stations and 19 modulated frequency stations. In this case, the effort achieved is also appreciable.

Ten years ago, Bulgaria was constructing its most potent broadcasting station, that of Pleven, for which a potency of 120 KW was envisaged. This station operates today and its potency has been raised to 250 KW, while an ultra-modern station of 500 KW provided with special antennas for long-distance broadcasts has started functioning in Vidin. The radio stations of Vakarel and Kurdjali also have a considerable potency of 100 KW.

For broadcasts destined for abroad the Bulgarian Radio has 17 frequencies. It broadcasts in 12 languages. The increase in potency in these radio stations has also increased their number and, above all, the duration of the programs. Bulgarian radio used to transmit 44 programs of 20 hours and 45 min.,

and presently it broadcasts 51 programs and 32 transmission hours a day.

It should be noted that during the summer period Radio Varna transmits programs in 6 languages — Russian, German, French, Polish, Czech and Slovakian — intended for foreign tourists on the Black Sea.

The Bulgarian Radio also has programs in Spanish, Serbo-Croatian, Greek, Turkish and Italian intended for the workers of these countries who work in Western Europe. Moreover, every Sunday, Radio Sofia transmits a 50-minute program in Esperanto.

After Albania and Soviet Russia, Bulgaria is the Communist country that has carried out the greatest propaganda effort by radio and has thus managed to outdo the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe in which action is generally stationary.

China (Peking)

At the moment we do not have a complete list of the Chinese Communist radio propaganda broadcasts. The figures we have concern only the broadcasts of the following 8 languages: English (20 programs), French (6 programs), German (2 programs), Italian (5 programs), Portuguese (4 programs), Spanish (9 programs), Japanese (2 programs) and Indonesian (7 programs). This gives us a total of 49 hours and 25 minutes of broadcasts a day. An analysis of the known programs reveals that the principal effort is oriented toward Asia (1015 min. a day), followed at a distance by Europe (590 min. a day), Latin America (476 min. a day of which 110 min. are intended for Brazil and 365 for the Spanish-speaking countries) and Africa (390 min. a day), North America (385 min. a day) preceding Oceania (110 min. a day).

In this panorama of Maoist radio propaganda we do not include the programs destined for the Republic of China. These programs are practically uninterrupted; thus the Fukien Front Broadcasting Station alone transmits 19

hours and 30 min. of Communist propaganda on 23 frequencies every day, while Radio Peking broadcasts every day 19 hours and 50 min. of uninterrupted programs for the Republic of China on weekdays and 20 hours and 50 min. on Sundays on 23 different frequencies.

If we consider the effort made by the Chinese Communist regime to develop its own radio propaganda abroad and if we take into account that in 1962 Maoist propaganda transmitted daily 128 broadcasts of a duration of 82 hours and 30 minutes, we will see that these figures were amply exceeded, above all if we consider that Radio Peking utilizes for propaganda 72 short wave frequencies.

North Korea

The part of Korea that is under the Communist regime occupies its place in the Communist propaganda system with 33 programs in 8 languages of a daily duration of 39 hours and 50 minutes.

The main effort is directed toward Asia with journalistic broadcasts in Japanese — 7 hours 40 min.; in Korean — 6 hours 20 min., in common Chinese — 30 hours 50 min.; in Russian — 3 hours 40 min.; and in English — 10 hours 10 min., of which 7 hours 30 min. are intended for diurnal programs for Asia.

Cuba

The Cuban Broadcasting Corporation has 100 radio stations, but only 10 of these have a potency higher than or equal to 10 KW and can serve for re-transmitting the "Voice of Cuba" broadcasts.

For its program intended for abroad the Cuban radio has 16 frequencies. It broadcasts 34 programs in 8 languages with a duration of 43 hours 45 min. a day.

The propaganda work of the Cuban radio is mainly dedicated to the American Continent; namely 17 hours 50 min. in Spanish; 7 hours 50 min. in Eng-

lish; 2 hours in Portuguese; 2 hours in Creole; 1 hour 30 min. in Quechua; 1 hour in Guarani; 30 minutes in French, in daily broadcasts. The other programs are intended for Europe, except for one 2 hour 25 min. program in Arabic.

The Democratic Republic of Germany (East Germany)

The DRG has potent and modern broadcasting stations. The International Berlin Radio uses 37 frequencies and broadcasts 53 programs of 51 hours 15 min. a day in 11 languages. The propaganda effort of East Germany is above all oriented towards the Arab countries (14 hours a day) and towards Africa. Moreover, it transmits 3 hours a day in Swahili and 2 hours in Hindu.

Hungary

Radio Magyar employs 21 frequencies for its service abroad. Its propaganda efforts concentrate on Europe and the American Continent, except for 4 daily programs for Turkey. Its efforts come up to specifically 45 daily programs of a duration of 14 hours 18 min.

Mongolia

Mongolia makes use of 17 frequencies. Its broadcasting stations have an average potency of over 50 KW. The Mongol Radio transmits 10 programs a day abroad of 3 hours 50 min. in 5 languages.

Poland

The Polish Radio daily transmits 70 programs in 11 languages of a total duration of 38 hours 30 min. It employs 26 frequencies. The broadcasts are destined for Europe, except for 4 transmissions in Arabic and 6 others for Africa (3 in French and 3 in English).

A mixed broadcast of 2 hours a day in English, and Polish is for Northamerican audiences.

Rumania

The Rumanian Radio has 33 frequencies for its propaganda destined for abroad. Rumania transmits 53 programs

of a duration of 30 hours a day in 13 languages.

Rumania is the only one of the satellite countries which has a 30 minute daily broadcast in Yiddish.

Czechoslovakia

The Czech radio has 63 broadcasting stations. Its transmitting equipment is potent and modern. The Bratislav station was recently raised to a potency of 400 KW. For its broadcasts abroad Czechoslovakia employs 19 frequencies. It transmits 62 programs a day of a total duration of 37 hours 15 min., in 9 languages.

North Vietnam

The North Vietnamese Radio transmits in 12 languages. The propaganda effort is directed towards Asian countries. We do not have information about the number of frequencies employed.

Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav Radio has 8 frequencies, 24 programs for abroad of 12 hours 15 min. a day. Of this total 9 programs of 5 hours duration are for Albania, Soviet Russia and Bulgaria. The latter occupies a sixth part of the total time of all the Yugoslavian broadcasts abroad.

This brief exposition shows us, through the figures and methods mentioned, the reality as it should be seen and judged, regardless of the declarations of peace accords, collaboration and peaceful concordats.

The Communist bloc represented by its 2 principal branches — the Soviet and the Maoist — is intensifying its propaganda and is aware of the importance of radio propaganda in particular of which it makes ample use. It has extremely powerful broadcasting stations, ultramodern antennas and adequate relief-stations, which permit it to make its subversive voice heard every day in 73 languages over 994 programs of a duration of 44,073 minutes. For radio propaganda the Com-

munists move within more than 617 frequencies.

These astronomic figures lead us to the conclusion that sometime in the future, peace will come, but it can be none but a Communist Peace. Nothing is lost by starting from Helsinki, which does not represent but a tactical manoeuvre; it is a step backwards in order to better prepare their strategic leap towards the final goal.

If the figures of Communist radio propaganda are compared to the Western response, it will be confirmed that the situation has dangerously surpassed the critical point. Communist propaganda submerges western information. On the radio stations one hears nothing but the voice of Communist broadcasts; powerful, aggressive, persuasive.

Meanwhile, the free world possesses a formidable weapon: the people oppressed by communism are sure and valiant allies. They are nations that will possibly some day decide the outcome of an eventual third world confrontation. This possibility is little exploited. With a few exceptions such as Free Europe Radio, the Voice of America, the BBC and some others, many radio programs intended for the Communist bloc-oppressed nations are elaborated with great care not to hurt the Communists, not to create scandals nor adverse protests. These stations could use the Communist broadcasting stations as an example. They are not even annoyed by the Communist radio services which are frequently the only ones they hear.

The free world has technical means and illimitable possibilities, if it only wanted to use them.

We do not ask what the face of this planet would be like today, if instead of systematically falling back, the Free World systematically retorted on the Communists. If it employed the same methods as Communist propaganda in order to act in favor of freedom, the free world would possibly have already triumphed.

Linguistic Distribution of Communist Radio Propaganda

Language	Minutes of Broadcasting per day	Language	Minutes of Broadcasting per day
English	6224	Swedish	405
Spanish	4673	Russian	360
French	3007	Hindi	360
Arabic	2304	Persian	240
German	1928	Danish	210
Italian	1594	Finnish	180
Portuguese	1253	Swahili	180
Greek	740	Quechua	170
Japanese	730	Creole	150
Korean	650	Bengali	150
Turkish	630	Guarani	90
Indonesian	625	Norwegian	90
Chinese	620 + 2388	Dutch	60

Besides in these languages, which are the most important, there are also broadcasts in the following languages:

Asian group: Assam, Azerbaidjani, Armenian, Burmese, Khmer, Gujrathi, Kurdo, Kannada, Laotian, Malayan, Marathi, Nepalese, Oriyan, Punjabi, Cingalese, Tamil, Telegu, Thei, Urdu, Vietnamese, Dari, Pushtu, Mongol, Tadjik, Yiddish, Hebrew.

African group: Amhari, Bambara, Foulbi, Haoussa, Lingalo, Malgache, Shona, N'Debele, Somalian, and Zulu.

Geographic Distribution of the Communist Radio Propaganda

Region towards which the Propaganda is directed	USSR	Soviet Bloc	Maoist Bloc	Total
Europe	3875	6122	1910	11907
Northamerica	570	1558	535	2663
Asia	6310	2313	1285	9908
Northamerica	570	1558	525	2663
Latin America	750	2800	565	4115
Africa	1710	1139	510	3359
Arab Countries	570	1584	210	2364
Oceania	120	98	110	328
Communist countries	1470	915	1590	3975
Refugees and Exilés	697	2039	300	3066
Results:	16072	16529	9103	44073

Density of the Communist Radio Propaganda

A more thorough analysis of the geographic distribution shows that the countries of Denmark, Iran, Norway, Israel, Holland, Angola and Mozambique are below the level of 300 min. journalistic propaganda.

The Communist journalistic propaganda which comprises 300 to 600 min. is directed towards India, Sweden, Oceania and Brazil (462 min. a day).

All the other countries are subjected to a propaganda of more than 600 min. a day.

Cable Message to President Jimmy Carter

President Jimmy Carter
White House Washington (DC)

July 22, 1977

Representatives of the Republic of China's various circles and freedom-fighter leaders throughout the world, including those representing subjugated peoples, have gathered in Taipei today for a Captive Nations Week Rally in response to the movement initiated by the United States and resolved to express sincere respect for your lofty human rights ideal.

Tyrannical Communist regimes have not changed their goal of world comunization and human enslavement. Peoples behind the Iron Curtain remain oppressed and the free world is exposed to serious threats. All lovers of freedom should jointly oppose Communist enslavement and win and promote freedom and human rights.

Secretary of State Vance spoke before the Asia Society in New York June 29 and said America would move toward full normalization of relations with the Chinese Communists. This contradicts your human rights principle and serves only to help the Chinese Communists perpetuate their dark rule of the 800 million Chinese mainland people in complete disregard of human rights, thus bringing further serious damage to world peace.

The United States should not entertain the mistaken idea that the Chinese Communists can be won over as a checkmate against Russia. The Chinese Communists are backward and con-

fused and have no such ability. American relations with them will stimulate expansionist Russian moves and make America face the danger of nuclear holocaust.

If America as free world leader were to depart from her treaty obligations and defense commitments for the Republic of China, her international prestige would be impaired and the trust held in her by other free nations would be lost. The Communist scheme is to thus isolate America.

At this crucial moment, we the rally participants respectfully urge your Excellency to see clearly that the China issue urgently demands strengthened friendship and mutual defense of America and the Republic of China for the assurance of the security and peace of the Taiwan area and for support to the struggle for freedom and human rights waged by one fourth of mankind.

We sincerely hope that your Excellency will uphold America's traditional spirit and moral stand and write a brilliant page of American history by making an important contribution to man's struggle against slavery and for freedom.

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang
Chairman, Captive Nations
Week Rally of the Republic
of China
Hon. Chairman WACL and
APACL

Terelya Arrested

Soviet Dissidents Appeal to West for Assistance

Yosyp Terelya, a 34-year-old Ukrainian poet and one-time political prisoner, was rearrested by the KGB last April after making a strong indictment of Soviet psychiatric abuses.

Terelya, who had already spent 14 years in prison, was "driven to despair" by the repressions he faced during his brief period of freedom late last year, said members of the Soviet affiliate of the Committee Against Psychiatric Abuse for political purposes, and he wrote in a letter to Y. Andropov, the KGB chief, that Soviet mental asylums "would have been the envy of Dante for characters and descriptions of scenes from hell".

Four dissidents who belong to the Soviet branch of the London-based organization appealed on June 1st to Western psychiatrists for help in Terelya's case.

Terelya's case also attracted the attention of Western journalists. In his Wednesday, August 17th column, noted American investigative columnist Jack Anderson, described the tortures experienced by Terelya during his prison and psychiatric asylum confinements.

Terelya was born in 1943 in the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine. The four Soviet dissidents noted in their appeal that Terelya quickly began to "react often and emotionally to all discriminatory actions against Ukrainians".

His candidness resulted in expulsion from school and led to secret police surveillance. Finally in 1962, Terelya was arrested for the first time.

But Terelya escaped. His stay in freedom was not long because he was recaptured, only to escape again.

After his second recapture, Terelya was given a longer sentence, but as the four Soviet dissidents wrote: "Nei-

ther camps nor prison were able to break his spirit, his belief in God."

Mr. Anderson indicated in his column that Terelya is a devout Ukrainian Uniate (Catholic), "who places God ahead of the state".

"My poems, notes and even my thoughts — all of this became evidence of activities aimed at creating a so-called independent Ukraine" wrote Terelya.

In 1972 the authorities changed their methods of torture against Terelya. That year he was taken from the notorious Vladimir Prison and confined in the equally notorious Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry.

There he was diagnosed mentally insane and sent to the Sychovka prison for four years.

Soon after Terelya arrived at Sychovka, he recounted in a letter to Andropov the following incident: "Some ten persons — guards and orderlies — burst into the section, jumped on me, beat me and tied me to my bed, all the time demanding to know whom I planned to kill."

Terelya remained tied to his bed for two months.

During his prison and psychiatric asylum confinement, the guards tried to extract an admission from him that he belonged to an underground Ukrainian organization, probably the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which came into being the same year Terelya was born.

In 1976, a Soviet court voided the psychiatric diagnosis and set Terelya free. Freedom for Terelya, however, was no different than confinement.

The four Soviet dissidents wrote that Terelya and his family became the victims of intense Soviet repressions and harassment. Neither he nor his wife were allowed to work. They said he "was driven to despair", and in De-

cember 1976 he wrote a letter to Andropov.

On April 28th, 1977, Terelya was summoned to the office of the militia on the pretext of being issued a work permit. Instead, he was arrested.

Mykola Rudenko, the incarcerated head of the Kyiv Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, had said that the conditions of Terelya's confinement were "extremely horrible".

Terelya was told that the earlier decision of the courts was now void and he was re-diagnosed as suffering from "paranoic schizophrenia". He was locked in a psychiatric asylum in Berechovo.

His wife was told that the decision was legal because he needs proper medical treatment, which consists of "tryftazyn". She was also told that the period of confinement has not been determined. The Soviet dissidents listed the address of the Terelya family as Ukrainian SSR, Zakarpatska Oblast, misto Svaliava, Vul. Chapaieva 8, (Transcarpathian Oblast, city of Svaliava, 8 Chapaiev Street).

Terelya Believes in Freedom for Ukraine

In a highly critical letter to Yuriy Andropov, head of the KGB and member of the Soviet Politburo, Yosip Terelya, a 34-year-old Ukrainian, wrote on December 21, 1976 that despite all he has suffered and expects to suffer, he believes that Ukraine will become free one day.

He admitted at the beginning of his letter that he was a Ukrainian Catholic and added that people of his faith were denied the right to practise their religion.

"By conviction I am a Christian, more specifically a Ukrainian Catholic, a Uniate. A Uniate who does not belong to an officially recognized Church, a Uniate who is threatened with imprisonment for praying, going to confes-

sion, baptizing children..." wrote Terelya.

Terelya showed in his letter a great deal of contempt for the Soviet legal system. In one reference to Soviet lawlessness, Terelya accused Andropov of complicity in creating an atmosphere of terror in the USSR.

"You are a representative of higher authority, behind whose back lawlessness creates its own law", he wrote. "I am one of thousands of Christians who have felt your powerful fist on my back."

Terelya charged the KGB with forcing the Ukrainian Catholic Church to go underground — "the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the catacombs", as he put it.

His father helped establish the first collective farm in 1949 in their village and his mother completed the Ukrainian Communist Party's ideological school.

"Therefore, as you see, I could not have been born a "bourgeois nationalist". I was taught from childhood to love and respect my village, my home..." he wrote.

Terelya's troubles with the authorities began in 1961. He wrote that after he finished a construction trade school, he was required to report twice a week to the Ministry of Internal Affairs Office. He was arrested the following year and sentenced to four years incarceration in a rehabilitative labor camp.

In 1963 he made his first of two prison escapes, this one from the Uzhorod prison. He was recaptured and received a new sentence of five years severe regime incarceration.

He wrote that a col. Bilyi from the oblast's KGB office warned him that next time he would not be so lucky.

Two years later he escaped from a prison in Ishchanka. He lived seven months in freedom under a cover name.

In 1966, KGB officers told his mother that should he surrender and recant, he would be forgiven. On February 28,

1966, he surrendered to the Luhanske KGB office, but Terelya did not expect the demands made of him.

„You are very much aware of the kind of recantations which are expected. First of all, you must supply information about people, whom the KGB is looking for, and then a complete recantation and condemnation of everything you did“, wrote Terelya.

On March 1, 1967, he was confined in the Vynnytsia prison, and the following year the Kirovohrad Oblast court sentenced him to eight years severe regime incarceration for "biased interpretation of Ukrainian history and slanderous twisting of party and governmental policies".

He said that the poems, notes and thoughts were used as evidence of his alleged crimes for the purpose of creating an independent Ukraine.

"Interesting. Did not anyone know that these accusations were in violation of the law and rights guaranteed by the constitution? It was well known, but the violations continued, nonetheless. This is a new form of Stalinism", he wrote.

Until 1972, Terelya was confined in several camps in the Mordovian ASSR.

During the 1972 crackdown against Ukrainian intellectuals, Terelya was up against charges before the camp court.

On January 5, 1972, Terelya and Zynoviy Krasivsky were charged with writing poems distasteful to the KGB — Krasivsky's "A Slave's Cry" and "The Triumph of Satan" and Terelya's "Sorrows".

He said that since the trial of Sviatoslav Karavansky "the Ukrainian word has been put on trial in the camps".

Terelya and Krasivsky were told that they were diagnosed as mentally sick by the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry as were Leonid Plyushch and Petro Hryhorenko.

On December 8, 1972, he arrived in the psychiatric hospital of Sychivka. He said that between 1963 and 1973,

475 persons were murdered in Sychivka.

On April 7, 1976 he was released from imprisonment, issued a passport and drafted into the army.

He wrote that his life became similar to the fate experienced by Vladimir Bukovsky.

Terelya said that he was denied employment, his wife, Olena, was fired from work, and the authorities revoked his residence permit.

Repressions continued with the aim of forcing Terelya to recant and condemn his activity.

In his letter, Terelya ridiculed the Soviet system.

"How can a mentally sick person violate the fundamentals of the Soviet system?" he asked.

"How insecure a government must be when it is forced to declare as mentally sick or enemies of the state, persons who voice their own opinions", he asked.

Terelya was again confined in a psychiatric asylum on November 2, 1976.

Mykola Rudenko then wrote that Terelya was confined in extremely inhuman conditions.

"There are 38 inmates per room. They are fed irregularly. Rations are distributed as in prison. There is only one towel for the 38 men. These are extremely horrible conditions", wrote Rudenko, who himself has since been arrested.

"Despite all that I have suffered and expect to suffer in the future, I say: No! To be a citizen of the USSR is a crime. It means siding with you and with that union which calls itself KGB. I am forced to leave my native land only because it is wounded by foreign oppressors. I have no place there because I am not the kind of person the KGB would like me to be. However, I believe that people like myself will return to Ukraine, a free Ukraine, one that will be happy to accept all those people who desire goodwill and prosperity for it", wrote Terelya.

Youth Forum

ABN (Youth Section) Conference

Manchester, 22nd October 1977

Analysis of the Helsinki Accords

Before proceeding to tackle the part of the Helsinki Accords of 1975 called "Questions relating to Security in Europe", I would like to make a few general observations concerning that Accord.

First of all I would state that the Western participating states to the Helsinki Conference must have had only a glimmer of hope that this time Soviet Russia would honour and respect the eventual Helsinki Accords. In the past, Soviet Russia has been a party to numerous international conventions and agreements which should have secured human and other rights for enslaved peoples but she has not yet complied with her undertakings. I refer you to, for example, the United Nations Declarations of Human Rights, the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights signed by Soviet Russia in 1973.

Further examples on the more political side are that on the 17th of July 1945, Soviet Russia agreed inter alia at Potsdam that Germany was to be treated as a single economic unit but since June 1952 this treaty was violated by dividing Germany into two, and then in 1961 Berlin itself was divided by "The Wall". On 3rd August 1968, Soviet Russia signed the Declaration of Bratislava guaranteeing the independence of Czecho-Slovakia, but later in August Soviet troops invaded and are still encamped there. Similar occurrences happened in Ukraine in 1918, Poland in 1938, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Finland in 1940 and Hungary in 1956. These are but a few examples. When will the West learn that Soviet Russia will not adhere to treaties for as Lenin

said "Promises are like pie-crusts made to be broken".

Furthermore there was no reason to believe that Soviet Russia would obey the principles of the Helsinki Accords for as we know the Russian Colonial Empire is held together by violence and a system of slavery. If Soviet Russia were to do so, then the Colonial Empire would disintegrate.

The second point I would state concerns the question which states were parties to the Accords, or were indeed not parties. You will find that diminutive states such as San Marino, Liechtenstein, Monaco, the Holy See and Luxembourg were parties to the Conference but Byelorussia with 10 million and Ukraine with 48 million inhabitants were not parties despite being co-founder members of the United Nations, whilst these diminutive states are not even members of the United Nations.

My third point is that in international law, a treaty or convention cannot impose burdens on a third party while for such a third party the treaty or convention is "res inter alios act". Furthermore as the enslaved nations themselves only have the right to decide their own future, it was an illegal act for the participating states and in particular the Western participating states to shamefully sell out the enslaved nations to Soviet Russia by recognizing the European boundaries as they then stood.

Finally my fourth preliminary point is that it is ironic that the follow-up to the Helsinki Conference should be held in Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia itself an artificial state consisting of

different national states coerced into unity by force. Also when you look at the composition of Czecho-Slovakia and the Soviet Union, you will see the artificial union of different ethnic national states forced into union by military power and treachery.

Referring now to the "Questions relating to Security in Europe", and in particular to Section 1 (a) and its ten principles, and participating states "declare their determination to respect and put into practice each of them in relation with all other participating states, irrespective of their political economic or social systems as well as their size, geographical location or level of economic development, the following principles which are all of primary significance regarding their mutual relations". Note that the declaration which is limited to that extent will govern relations with other participating states. It does not cover for example relations and actions vis-à-vis Andorra and more particularly Albania in Europe which is in the immediate sphere of communism. Although there is later in the Accord a Declaration to promote neighbourly relations etc., to increase mutual confidence etc., and to co-operate in the sections of industry, science and technology with non-participating **Mediterranean States**, this particular declaration is nothing like the ten principles applied to the participating states and is really no more than verbiage, simply stating a desire in seeking good relations. It would appear that whilst the USA and Soviet Russia need the status quo in Europe, the Mediterranean is an area where increased influences may be brought to bear and their respective negotiating strengths may yet change.

Principle I.

"Sovereign Equality, Respect for the Rights inherent in Sovereignty."

This principle only re-affirms the international law regarding state sover-

eignty. The participating states further state that "they will also respect each other's right to freely choose and develop its political, social and economic and cultural systems..." thus this ought to safeguard the Communist regimes in Soviet Russia and her allies. This also gives Soviet Russia scope to interfere outside Europe for example in Angola since the Accord and indeed prior to. There is a further consolidation of the European boundaries by declaring "that the frontiers can be changed in accordance with international law, by peaceful means and by agreements", which with principles III (inviolability of frontiers) and IV (territorial integrity of states), the boundaries as they then stood were frozen. However, this could be used against Soviet Russia and her allies in demanding that the treaty of Bratislava be adhered to and for Soviet Russian troops to leave Czecho-Slovakia, but this principle seems to partially contradict principle III in the inviolability of frontiers which I will come to later.

Principle II.

"Refraining from the threat of use of force"

against the territorial integrity or political independence of any states. I submit that "any state" in this context means participating states, but it is not clear, as the second paragraph refers specifically to force used against other participating states, Soviet Russia's military manoeuvres in the satellite states as well as the submarine intensity in the Mediterranean seems to be an ever increasing threat, and one only needs to recall Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 — nine years ago, for an actual invasion and of course breach of the Bratislava treaty signed only a few weeks prior to the invasion. Further, the escalations of the Soviet arms race and the greater expenditure of Soviet Russia's Gross National Product on arms can only mean a pending "threat to use of force".

Principle III.

"Inviolability of Frontiers".

This particular principle in conjunction with principles VI (non-intervention in internal affairs) seems to curtail the effectiveness of the first principle on Sovereign Interguity and Territorial Integrity of States (principle IV) and together, the European boundaries of the participating states appear to be permanently frozen, for changes can only be made in accordance with international law by peaceful means and by agreement. The participating Western States by signing the Convention purported to throw the enslaved peoples to their captors. This third principle appears to put a seal on any attempt to use the other principles against Soviet Russia and her allies by limiting any effect to their future conduct only as the frontiers are now sealed and participating states by principle VI cannot now intervene as anything within their frontier, especially enslaved peoples and nations, are matters of internal affairs. Through this principle everything in the past is ignored and all the crimes committed by Soviet Russia and her allies have been wiped clean off the slate, for only future conduct can now be accounted for.

Principle IV.

"Reaffirms territorial integrity of the participating states which strengthens the principle of inviolability of frontiers and basically suggests to the West to "keep hands off" the enslaved nations within the Soviet Russian colonial empire."

The third paragraph is rather more interesting as the participating states declare that they will "refrain from making each other's territory the object of military occupation or other direct or indirect measures of force" . . . and it declares further "or the object of acquisition by means of such measures or

the threat of them". If this Convention had been in 1968 the Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia would be a prime example of a breach. But what about Soviet Russia's present military occupation of Poland, Western part of Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary to name but a few. Russia's reply to invading Czecho-Slovakia and remaining there is that she was invited to put the country in order and still needs to do so at the request of the Czecho-Slovakian Government! But who is controlling the governments in the first place? — Soviet Russia of course, which manipulates these states to her own wishes, just like a puppeteer, his own puppets.

Principle V.

"Peaceful settlement of disputes."

Has Soviet Russia and her allies ever attempted to settle disputes peacefully? Only if they can gain in the long run, for otherwise tyranny and butchery remain the rule and not the exception.

Principle VI.

"Non-intervention in internal affairs."

It is worth studying this principle very carefully. The first paragraph declares "the participating states will refrain from any intervention direct or indirect, individual or collective, in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating state, regardless of their relations". With regard to Soviet Russia which consists of 14 non-Russian Republics out of the 15 constituting the USSR, all these Republics are now internal affairs as earlier principles have defined the frontiers as inviolable (principle III) and the integrity of the state (principle IV). These principles could effectively purport to confirm the Iron Curtain and curtail and limit the workings of the first five

principles and also principles VII and VIII, i. e. respect for fundamental freedoms, equal rights and self-determination of peoples which I shall come to later.

The principle further declares "they will inter alia refrain from direct or indirect assistance to terrorist activities or to subversive or other activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another participating state". Angola springs to mind straight away: of course Angola was a participating state in the Helsinki Accord. However what about Soviet Russia's subversive activities in Eastern Europe. The problem there is that Soviet Russia controls most of the governments which are like putty in their hands, thus these "breaches" are not breaches at all. Witness Czechoslovakia inviting Soviet Russia in 1968 to put its own house in order. But what about activities by Russian agents and provocateurs in the West. Soviet Russia continues to flout this principle.

Principle VII.

"Respect for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms", including freedom of thought, religion or belief.

This principle declares that participating states will encourage "the effective exercise of civil political and economic social, cultural and other rights and freedoms all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person and are essential for his free and full development". Soviet Russia has demonstrated that it has no intention to apply these rights to their people, and 'Pravda' stated this would be too harsh for them. With concentration camps, psychiatric and corrective institutions, the USSR is a mass complex of institutions of slavery destroying the very initiatives of man, his reason for living, his body and his soul, for a person who can think and reason can

also object and demonstrate and cause insurrection and therefore must be eliminated according to the Leninist doctrine.

The fourth paragraph of this principle further declares "the participating states on whose territory national minorities exist will respect the right of persons belonging to such minorities to equality before the law, will afford them the full opportunity for the actual enjoyment of human rights and of the mental freedoms and will in this manner, protect their legitimate interests in this sphere".

Even if other participating states cannot check whether such freedoms are respected in the Soviet Union and her allies because of the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs, news still manages to reach the West of the hostilities and the depravities of the basic fundamental freedoms. The participating states should demand that Soviet Russia and her allies recognise those freedoms, but of course there are no sanctions if Soviet Russia and her allies do not do so. However, the breaches of these principles by them should be voiced at every opportunity as this appears to be the only method left available short of the West using economic blackmail or the ultimate — wage war — against Soviet Russia and her allies, but these latter methods are of course outlawed by principle X.

Principle VIII.

"Equal Rights and Self-determination of Peoples."

"By virtue of the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, all peoples have always the right, in full freedom to determine when and as they wish their internal and external political status without external interference, and to pursue as they wish their political, economic, social and cultural development."

Soviet Russia is clearly in breach of this principle as the so-called Repub-

lics which constitute the USSR wish to secede from the Union but are denied this right. Furthermore Soviet Russia uses the aforementioned principles of non-intervention in internal affairs when the West tries to implement this particular principle of self-determination. The USSR in its own constitution has given a right to any state to secede from the Union, but this was merely used as a stop in the earlier formation of the USSR itself. If a so-called Republic wishes to secede, Soviet Russia uses her brutal power to crush any such attempt and even tries to claim that under the constitution these attempts are subversive to the State and therefore acts-of-treason. For example, the Ukr. SSR in her own constitution through article 14 has a right to secede, but any attempt by any individual is treated as propaganda against the Soviet State and punishable despite this right being guaranteed by Article 17 of the Constitution of the USSR. If Soviet Russia is allowed to use the principle of non-intervention in its internal affairs when being completely in breach of the principles of self-determination, it makes a mockery and a farce of the Helsinki Accords as a whole. Soviet Russia must be precluded from applying this principle of non-intervention in internal affairs to affairs relating to the Captive Nations when it is clearly done only to frustrate the implementation of the other principles in the Helsinki Accords, especially principles VII and VIII. Ironically the last sentence of principle VII declares "they" (the participating states) "also recall the importance of the elimination of any form of violence of this principle".

Principle IX.

Basically declares that participating states will develop their co-operation with one another. A rather meaningless and legal unenforceable part of the Accord as is indeed a large part of the Accord, due to being too vague and without legal definition.

Principle X.

"Fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law"

is no more than a declaration to comply with the earlier nine principles. There is just one point. The fourth paragraph declares "all the principles set forth above are of primary significance and accordingly they would be equally and unreservedly applied, each of them being interpreted taking the others into account".

This would appear to mean that principle III, i. e. inviolability of frontiers would be the paramount principle, for the boundaries of Europe are frozen and the other principles would follow as a matter of course. If principle III was not the main principle then the other principles would appear to contradict it. One has to bear in mind, of course, that the boundaries of Germany and the rest of Europe prior to the conference were not accepted by the Western Powers and they have noted that enslaved nations have been and are being suppressed by Soviet Russia and her allies. Principle III confirms the European boundaries as between the participating states and by that act abandoned the rights of, and ignored the plight of the Captive Nations. In other words the Captive Nations were sacrificed for the accountability of future conduct of the other participating states, namely, Soviet Russia and her allies. Principle VI "non-intervention in internal affairs" then makes a further mockery by limiting the effectiveness of other principles and further "safeguards and protects" the Captive Nations under the "wing" of Soviet Russia and her allies from "outside influences" etc., as these very nations are now matters of internal affairs.

The second paragraph of the principle goes on to declare "they will likewise in all circumstances refrain from any other act of military or political, economic or other coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the

exercise by another participating state of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind". So any efforts to inform Soviet Russia or her allies that they are in breach of respecting human rights, fundamental freedoms, equal rights and self-determination of peoples, or to demand that Soviet Russia and her allies comply with these rights or if economic sanctions were imposed on them to respect the same, these would be in breach of this particular principle.

So what is left? Principle VIII concerning equal rights and self-determination of peoples is to be respected by all participating states, however, when it comes to accounting for breaches of the same principles the non-intervention in internal affairs can, has and will be brought up by the non-observers of the principle. The same applies to principle VII, i. e. respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

I would submit that the proper course of interpretation to the Accords would be as follows:

The principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and the respect for human rights and the fundamental freedoms, including the free-

dom of thought, conscience, religion or belief should be paramount and override the other principles, especially the principles of non-intervention in internal affairs. Without these rights man cannot form any kind of free government to govern any kind of free nation. Thus Soviet Russia and her allies would not be able to use the latter principle as a defensive obstacle. Furthermore, principle III, inviolability of frontiers can only be made effective if, and only if, the enslaved nations are freed and are allowed to enjoy the paramount principles VII and VIII. The other declared principles can then be effective without destroying the whole and true intent of the Accords. Otherwise the Helsinki Accords of 1975 do not protect the fundamental freedoms of the individual and nations and through Soviet Russia and her allies they confirm European boundaries thereby enslaving whole nations and protect Soviet Russia and her allies from the wrath of the other participating states, if the former were suppressing these fundamental rights and freedoms.

Taras O. Lysenczuk, LL. B.
Chairperson
ABN (YOUTH SECTION)

Georgia's Fight For Independence And Freedom

The history of Georgia can be explained by its geographical position. From its origin up to the present day, Georgia has constituted a passage between East and West and has raised intense covetousness. Ever since the beginning of the Christian era it has been a clash line between the Moslem and Christian world. In 1783 Georgia, exhausted, threatened once more by the Moslem world, signed a treaty of mutual assistance with Russia. In 1801, this recently signed treaty was turned into a mere annexation by Russia, thus abolishing Georgian national sovereignty. In 1918,

Georgia was able to take advantage of the collapse of the Russian Empire to regain its independence and to revive as a free Republic. In 1920, Russia which had become the Soviet Socialist Federal Republic recognized the independence of Georgia and signed with the Georgian democratic Republic a treaty of non-aggression and friendship. But once more, in 1921, Georgia was invaded and crushed by Russia without any preliminary declaration of war. Two treaties immediately followed by invasions, all comments appear superfluous . . .

After this brief introduction to Georgian history, I shall now outline the present problems of Georgia:

I shall start with the forms of oppression used against Georgia which are both aimed at its isolation from the external world and its destruction from the inside, then present the Georgian national liberation struggle, its traditional aspects and methods and, finally deal with the new resistance and dissidence.

1. Georgia is considered by Sovietologues a country having a strong opposition and liberation force. This force has a deep national colouring.

And it is this two-tier resistance that the Soviet Government endeavours to crush by trying to isolate Georgia from the external world.

This isolationist drive is achieved through

eradication measures, two of which are particularly significant.

On the one hand, the brain drain which drives a large number of the elite out of their country: Faced with the lack of professional prospects and enticed by better material conditions elsewhere this brain drain contributes to weaken the potential of Georgian technostructure, namely russify these newly transferred people in severing all links with their country and create a conflict situation in their new professional environment where they are neither expected nor wanted.

On the other hand, a more specifically Georgian issue: The refusal by the authorities for re-entrance into Georgia of 300,000 Georgian Meskhes who had been arbitrarily deported out of Georgia 30 years ago and this in spite of their repeated petitions.

These eradication measures are reinforced by a well-organized campaign of psychological isolationism, which even finds an echo in the Western press. Everyone here had of course heard about Georgia being a country

dominated by the "black market system" and as the "realm of speculations". This campaign aims at showing that the Georgian people enjoy prosperous economic conditions.

In all trials against Georgian "profiteurs" which artfully make the front page of the Soviet newspapers the question is implicitly raised: how is it that Georgians are so wealthy? And soon after comes the answer "to the disadvantage of the other citizens of the Union".

But in fact, the most active destruction is carried out within the Georgian borders by transfer of populations having a high birth ratio, generally the lower professional categories, thus mixing a population with a strong demographic development with that of a non-growth population. And this at a time when Georgians only represent 60 to 65 per cent of the population. In pursuance of this policy, the Georgian people will within the next ten or fifteen years become a minority. While the quota of Georgian population decreases, the linguistic Russification increases.

In this regard, Mr. Chevarnadzé, First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party, announces in this year's September issue of the Communist Party review "Communisti" that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia has decided to improve the teaching of the Russian language in the Republic of Georgia starting from the first grade. He goes on by saying "nationalism is treason. Today in our country it has no social basis. One can find isolated cases of nationalistic outbursts, but they are generally inspired by job hunters and other cupid and unbalanced elements".

This explains the increase in the number of Russian classes both at the University and schools to the detriment of the study of the Georgian language and since one year, the regrouping of Georgian and Russian schools, as well as the important restriction in editing

books in the Georgian language and the failure to re-edit exhausted works.

Finally, there only remains to eradicate the foundations of the Georgian people by destroying their historical and cultural roots, by restricting the credits awarded to the department of historical monuments of the Ministry of Culture, by installing shooting ramps where Soviet-Russian artillery men have for targets religious monuments of the 6th century.

In this connection the words spoken by Stalin spring to mind: "Science is called science because it does not take into account fetishism, because it is not afraid of interfering with things that are old, because it is attentive to the voice of experience" (Extracts from speeches at the first conference of Stakhanovist, November 1936).

Most fortunately the answer to religious persecution is the revival of faith and to cultural persecution — cultural opposition.

This leads me to the second part of my analysis of Georgian problems, to the issue of Georgian dissidence and the reinforcement of their liberation struggle.

2. As far as one knows, the opposition and liberation struggle manifest themselves in various ways: The prevailing form of Georgian opposition is the existence of "clubs" or clandestine groups which get together to discuss the possible ways of resistance and means of action and the prospects for Georgia. These groups are made up of three to ten persons. They have no, or very little relations between them. On the contrary, the common principle is one of utter secrecy and distrust of the outer world. Because of this principle it is extremely difficult to establish any concerted plan and to advance towards an enlarged organization.

Another form of opposition is used by semi-official associations certain of their aim being made public. This is the case in "seminars of religious

teaching" organized by Zviad Gamsakhourdia in the years 65/70, intended to give the younger generation a religious education (this being the official purpose), the unconfessed goal being to create amongst the young a national conscience and a spirit of solidarity:

To this second category belong also the spontaneous groups of various purposes: such as the Church choirs, the committees for the restoration of such or such historical or religious monument.

The third category is more difficult to define as it is of a clandestine, activist and anonymous nature. How are these groups of activists organized, how are they composed and to what extent are their targets well-defined or planned? All these are questions that need re-thinking and to which it is difficult to find an answer today.

One may nevertheless assert the existence of these groups because of the multiplication of attacks which have occurred in Georgia since 1973 and particularly during the year 1976.

The length of police enquiries, the difficulty for the authorities to identify the culprits and to carry out investigations, the choice of the targets, the locations and timing of these attacks (public buildings at night time) seem to evidence a certain coherency of the purposes and a will to avoid as far as possible the loss of human lives.

Finally, besides the traditional liberation struggle a last category generated by the emerging evidence that a legal form of contestation of the official policy was becoming possible. This category includes all known dissidents.

This new form of opposition has a legal basis, namely the Soviet Constitution, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Agreements.

It differs completely from the traditional opposition as it acts in the open, especially due to the fact that these

dissidents feel that they indeed have the right to contest.

These men are those who in their respective countries organized the surveillance groups for the implementation of the Helsinki agreements: In Georgia, amongst others Zviad Gamsakhourdia, a poet, writer, professor of American literature, founder of the Georgian group, and Merab Kostava, a musicologist, professor of musicology at the Polytechnic Institute of Tbilissi.

Both have been held prisoners for more than seven months in the Central Prison of the KGB in Tbilissi, having been previously put under arrest several times. Through articles published in the Poetical and Literary Review "the Golden Fleece" and in the Georgian Samizdat "Messenger from Georgia", they fought against the eradication of the Georgian historical and cultural heritage.

Through them, and the other members imprisoned, Orlov, Charansky, the Ukrainians Tykhy, Rudenko, Matusevych and Marynovych, one can feel the existence of close bonds between them. This is quite a new phenomenon. To the national oppositions which had been up to now isolated and easily crushed, a new dissidence was born, may be not unique in its kind but at least much stronger through the close relations between its various manifestations.

The opportunity which arose giving a common basis of expression — the Helsinki Agreements.

When arrests are made in Moscow, the dissidents protest in Kyiv. When a judgement is made in Kyiv, the dissidents protest in Tbilissi. Finally, when in these 3 countries the more important dissidents are imprisoned, this dissidence continues to exist.

And it is precisely this vitality that is reassuring for the Western world. The West thinks it has achieved a lot by signing the Helsinki Agreement, without really meaning so. It pretends to have a clear conscience in its

belief of having planted the germ of dissidence.

The West which relishes in its clear conscience by accepting a few dissidents, by signing a few editorials in the newspapers, a few protests and which paradoxically buried them in the padded silence of the Belgrade conference room.

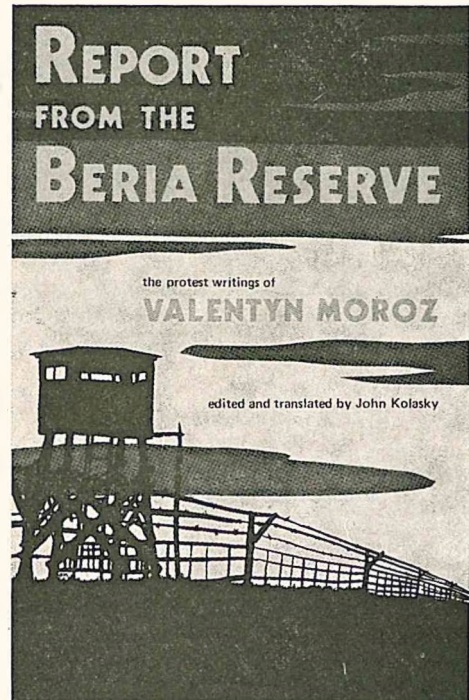
A small number of politicians will decide the fate of 200 millions of men and compromise the fate of all the others. In retracting his words, President Carter has given his due to the doctrine of peaceful co-existence. In remaining silent on the issue of human rights which he pretended to defend, he endangers the fate of the dissidents.

A leaden silence may once more befall on the East.

But history, nations and individuals will judge.

Othar J. Zourabichvili

Chairman of: "Comité pour
l'application des accords
d' Helsinki en Géorgie", Paris.



ABN-Youth Section Seminar

Held on the 28th of May, 1977, at the Ukrainian Youth Association Centre, Derby, Great Britain.

The ABN (youth section) held its first seminar at Derby on Saturday 28th of May, 1977. Present at the seminar were the Chairman, Mr. Taras O. Lysenczuk, LL. B., and the Secretary, Mr. Stefan Hunka, B. A. There were speakers representing different member nations of the ABN.

The Chairman, Mr. Lysenczuk, opened the seminar by thanking all the participants for their attendance. He proceeded to invite the speakers who would be taking part in the first part of the seminar onto the platform where they were all warmly received.

The programme of the seminar was divided into four parts, an introduction and lectures by Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Mr. Tamsons and Major Bunchuk, a youth panel, a general question and answer section and an evening of cultural entertainment provided by choral and dance groups from the Ukrainian and Baltic nations communities resident in Great Britain. The first part of the seminar was opened by Mr. Mychajlo Zacharchuk, the Secretary General of the ABN delegation in Great Britain, who introduced the first speaker Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M. A., Chief Editor of "ABN-Correspondence" and member of the ABN Central Committee, with her speech dealing on "The Background of the ABN and its Ideology and Policies".

The Background of ABN

Mrs. Stetsko introduced herself to the Seminar participants, remarking how pleased she was that so many young people attended. She stated that the ABN carries out its work on a world-wide scale, and that the younger generation should participate in their fathers' efforts to fight for the independence of their subjugated countries.

Our fellow countrymen in the Soviet Union take heart when they see that people are actively involved in the work of the ABN.

The ABN is an active co-ordinating centre for restoring national independence to the subjugated nations. It held its first conference under circumstances of great difficulty in 1943, on the initiative of the Ukrainian nationalists, when representatives of thirteen subjugated nations drew up a programme of combined political action. The events of World War II led to a growth of the ABN membership as more countries were deprived of their national freedom. The first conference of the ABN to be held outside the Soviet Union was convened in Munich in 1946. The nucleus of the ABN now lies behind the Iron Curtain. It is difficult for one nation alone to stand up against Soviet Russia, but if the subjugated nations stand up in unity then it should and would be possible to prevent Russia from fusing all nations into one, as the nations of the ABN still retain their national identities.

Mrs. Stetsko continued by emphasizing that the ABN's main aim is to fight against foreign rule in the subjugated countries, against Russian imperialism, against Russian Communist infiltration into Great Britain and other countries and to restore national independence to the subjugated countries. In this way the world will gain victory over Soviet Russia and freedom will be defended in both the Western and Eastern hemispheres. In so far as ABN is part of the World Anti-Communist League it may be thought of as analogous to the United Nations. In respect to the United Nations, the ABN wants the same observer status for the liberation movements of the subjugated na-

tions as that accorded to the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

The role that we, the free people, living in a free country should play is an informative one: by distributing leaflets, books etc., and by holding conferences, meetings, discussions etc., in Universities, colleges, with parliamentarians etc. In this way the cause of the ABN will be recognized.

Mrs. Stetsko said it was a delusion to speak about human rights at Belgrade without realizing that the precondition should be national liberation. She ended her speech with a call for co-operation between all national groups and nations so as to help speed up the ABN cause and to get the ABN recognized by the Free World in order that support and encouragement may be gained from the free people.

Co-operation of the Member Nations of ABN

The second speaker in this first part of the conference was Mr. Gunars Tamsons, Chairman of the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford and Assistant Information Officer of the Latvian National Council. The subject of his speech was "Co-operation of the Member Nations of ABN in the Free West and behind the Iron Curtain".

Mr. Tamsons said that "Our peoples incarcerated in the Soviet Union are increasingly feeling the pressure of Russian domination; those who have the courage to resist this domination are being destroyed both morally and physically. For this we have to look to ourselves and realize that our numbers, here in the Free West, are slowly diminishing so that unless we maintain our ability to face up to these facts, then there is a real danger of losing the strength of our voice and first hand experience of Communist atrocities committed on our countries and people. We must attempt to regroup and demand the freedom of our peoples and the independence of our individual nations. We have now come

to realize more and more that our unity and the unity of our peoples behind the Iron Curtain will yield a successful political settlement in Eastern Europe. We must therefore work, fight and achieve our goals together to eventually gain our freedom. We must understand and appreciate the problems of our peoples under Russian rule and in this way we will avoid isolation and limited success. We do not want to create a barrier between ourselves and our compatriots in our homelands as this would result in losing ties with them and in losing the credibility and moral strength which we need if our work is to be successful. We must look at our work seriously, study and act on new evidence as old news bores and people consequently lose interest. We must inform people what Communist rulers are capable of so that their rule may be stopped.

Mr. Tamsons continued by stressing that, "Co-operation between all our nations is the vital factor for success. What Russians fear most is national identity and religious freedom which endanger Communist domination in our countries. Examples of co-operation can be extracted from information and published details sent out from the Soviet Union, proving that there is evidence of liaison groups of various nationalities within the Soviet Union itself. We should formulate policies, plan actions so that the work is done efficiently and does not contravene the objectives which the ABN pledged to work for".

Mr. Tamsons concluded his speech by saying that the seminar was "organized for the youth — our youth — and should be motivated by the work the ABN does and that by co-operation we will overcome the problems of the future".

The Partnership of Byelorussia in the ABN

The third and final speaker in this section of the seminar was Major John

Bunchuk of the Byelorussian Liberation Front who spoke about "The Partnership of Byelorussia in the ABN".

Major Bunchuk stated that it has been demonstrated by past experience that a nation cannot single-handedly overcome the more powerful invading nation. This once again relates to co-operation, as co-operation of all our nations will endeavour to gain victory over the powerful enemy, namely Soviet Russia. He referred to the 1918-20 War and also to the 2nd World War during which, under the German occupation, it was very difficult to organize a Byelorussian army. The ABN gave a new lift with new ideas and a unity of nations which has now become the mode, either in military, political or economic blocs. Infiltration by Communists is creeping into all the nations of the world, but with the help of our younger politicians, who are becoming more and more interested in our problems and are asking questions, this will hopefully be erased by our advice.

The Voice of Youth

The second part of the seminar consisted of a youth panel entitled "The Voice of Youth" in which the Chairman, Mr. Lysenczuk, Mr. Hunka, the ABN Youth Section Secretary, and Dr. Andris Abakuks representing the Latvians, took part.

The first to speak was Mr. Hunka dealing with "The Future of ABN and What the Youth Section Can Contribute". He emphasized the need for young people to take a more active part in ABN affairs. Reading and acquainting oneself with Communism, current events in the subjugated countries and the aims of the ABN are of paramount importance. He suggested that local organizations along the lines of the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford should be organized and also proposed setting up effective publicity machines manned by information offi-

cers who would maintain links with the mass media. Mr. Hunka ended his speech by emphasizing the need for co-operation between people and organizations.

The next speaker was Dr. Abakuks, who spoke about how he sees things from the Latvian point of view. Latvian community life is divided, there is competition between the older and the younger generation organizations. The Latvian people are intensely interested in the fate of their countrymen. Dr. Abakuks ended his speech with a call for international co-operation.

The last speaker in the "Voice of Youth" part of the seminar was the Chairman, Mr. Taras Lysenczuk, who spoke about "Practical Plans of Action with Particular Reference to the Use of Universities, Colleges, and Other Educational Establishments".

Mr. Lysenczuk said that the young generation should strive to recover their countries, to preserve their heritages and honour, and fight for the eradication of the Communist occupiers. Although Britain is a free country, the youth does not constructively use the machinery of a free democracy to benefit our cause and our incarcerated fellow countrymen. "We are becoming more and more like our English friends", Mr. Lysenczuk complained "who do not actually care about their country and prefer to ignore the threat of Communism until it is upon them, when it will be too late. It is up to us, the younger generation, the future potential leaders of our countries, to do something about this slide towards neo-Communism".

He added that, "with the considerable knowledge of the English language, institutions, procedure etc., we can carry out the work of our people much more efficiently and by giving our whole-hearted support to the ABN as a bloc of nations we can support one another and our achievements will be far greater. Furthermore we must

go and inform the British people of what Communism is and why we, the ABN, are trying to combat it. Because if it goes un-detected the United Kingdom will also find itself under Russian Communism."

The fact that establishments of higher education are being infiltrated by Communist elements is very disturbing, particularly so, as the future leaders of every country may be found at such institutions and may be adversely influenced by Communist propaganda. Mr. Lysenczuk suggested that the ABN or separate nationalities should devote more work to combatting Communist influence in these institutions.

Many people would be interested to read leaflets put out by the ABN. Mr. Lysenczuk illustrated his ideas with an example of how in 1971 he and other Ukrainian students at Manchester University had set up a Ukrainian society which had done a great deal to promote the idea of an independent Ukraine and informed people not just within the University but outside. The work of such a society should consist among other things of organizing film shows and lectures and of making sure that people in influential positions such as MPs and lecturers attended. The Ukrainian Students Union in the United Kingdom was mentioned as an example of a student organization, which should be emulated by the young people of the other nationalities in the ABN.

Mr. Lysenczuk further expressed the hope that educational boards would eventually set up "O" and "A" level examinations for the languages of the ABN nations as only a few languages enjoy this position at the moment; this would help to increase public awareness of the fact that these languages are separate and distinct from Russian. Contacts with the press, for instance writing letters to editors on a matter of interest which ties in with the ABN cause, or rectifying mistakes in journals is a valuable source of pub-

licity. Mr. Lysenczuk said that he himself had two articles published in the local press and two TV interviews on the basis of one letter he had written concerning traditional celebration of Easter in Ukraine.

To conclude his speech Mr. Lysenczuk said that an important factor in publicity is to invite Mayors, as well as local and parliamentary politicians to all events possible in order to attract the press who report on events attended by such persons. "We gain from and use the publicity we receive. By informing people of what Communism is and the way we are trying to combat it, we hope that our aims will succeed and one day we shall stand on our free soil united with our countrymen."

The final working session of the seminar was devoted to a general question and answer time. Those taking a prominent part in this were Mrs. Stetsko, Mr. Tamsons, Miss Skalska, Mr. Rafaliuk, Mr. Ojasoo, Mr. Kiakiw, Mr. Lesiuk, Mr. Chaverliuk and Major Bunchuk. Among the subjects discussed were how to implement Mr. Lysenczuk's proposal concerning press officers, reaction to Russian missions (i. e. trade, cultural) coming to this country, the Belgrade Conference, and demonstrations. Mrs. Stetsko also encouraged those interested to contribute articles to "ABN Correspondence".

Before the close of the working sessions the resolutions pertaining to the ABN (youth section) Seminar were read out and unanimously adopted. The Chairman informed those present of the date of the next ABN (youth section) conference which is to be held on Saturday, 22nd October 1977, at the Ukrainian Hall in Manchester.

The participants then enjoyed a pleasant evening watching the fourth and final part of the seminar which comprised entertainment by Ukrainian and Baltic country choral and dance ensembles.

Dr. Andrija Ilić (Croatia)

Fallacy of the Belgrade Conference

Two years have lapsed since — on the insistence of Russia — the Conference on European Security was convened in Helsinki. Since the USA took part in this Conference it was quite clear that it represented another very important summit between East and West. On the outcome of this Conference would depend, whether the so much propagated détente, followed by a normalization of relations between these two blocs could succeed or not.

The main demands of Russia and her allies, were: a) the existing frontiers of the European states must be permanent; b) no-one should interfere in the internal affairs of any other state.

The demands of the USA and her allies were: a) free exchange of ideas and free movement of people; b) respect for human rights.

The Final Act of the Agreement was ratified by all the participants and it was decided that every two years a meeting would be held to see whether the Agreement has been fully observed.

This Agreement was a terrible blow for all freedom-loving peoples of the world. It was even a greater shock than the Yalta Agreement 30 years ago which an English politician called: "the greatest scandal of the 20th century."

When the West in Yalta capitulated to all demands of Stalin and gave to Russia the whole part of Europe east of the line Stettin — Trieste, which Churchill called the "Iron Curtain", the West told the Free World that the new frontiers in Europe were only temporary and that they would never be recognized. But to avoid any revision of the Yalta Agreement Russia deliberately created tension.

The whole world rightly expected that the USA and her allies would insist on the revision of the Yalta Agreement and the right of all oppressed

peoples outside and inside the Russian empire to self-determination. But instead of this they went to Helsinki, where they officially recognized Russia's claim to everything they gave Stalin in Yalta.

Therefore, if the Yalta Agreement was "the greatest scandal of the 20th century" then the Helsinki Agreement is certainly the greatest betrayal of FREEDOM and national and human rights of all those peoples who against their will must live under Bolshevik terror.

After the events in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Indo-China Russia started conquering Africa which is full of Russian weapons and Cuban and East-European mercenaries.

The most recent trick in Europe is the so-called "Euro-Communism" of the trio Carrillo-Berlinguer-Marchais, who try to persuade Moscow not to change the face of Communism but to change its strategy so that the West could be safely drugged and caught sleeping when Moscow decides to deliver the final mortal blow to the rest of the Free World. All this represents direct or indirect interference in the internal affairs of other states.

Two years after the Helsinki Agreement on European Security, Europe and the Free World were never less secure than they are at present.

Gulags, prisons and mental institutions in the Russian empire, Yugoslavia and other Russian satellite states for all those, who demand respect for their national rights to be free are the best proof that Russia and her satellites have violated the Helsinki Agreement.

Just before the preparatory Conference in Belgrade the American President Mr. Carter proclaimed his doctrine on human rights. Russia and her allies reacted bitterly and accused the

USA of violating the Helsinki Agreement because speaking about human rights for them means interference in the internal affairs of other states!

In the meantime the world press and media reported very regularly on the alleged violation of human rights in certain Western countries, where the Communist tyrants were prevented from seizing power.

And what about the human rights of Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians and other enslaved peoples in Russia? What about the human rights of Croats, Macedonian Bulgarians and Albanians in Tito's Yugoslavia and of all persecuted people in other Russian satellite states? It seems to us that the majority of the world press and media do not know, or better: they don't want to know about this!

We know in advance the outcome of the Belgrade Conference. For Russia it will mean another triumph, and for the USA and the Free World another humiliation. For the oppressed peoples it will mean continuation of their slavery. Therefore on behalf of all oppressed peoples we most categorically condemn the Belgrade Conference. Russia's representatives are not entitled to speak on behalf of Ukrainians and other enslaved peoples in the Russian empire, and like-wise Yugoslav representatives are not entitled to speak on behalf of Croats and other slaves in Tito's Yugoslavia.

We demand that the USA and her allies withdraw from the Belgrade Conference and from any future Conference where Russia and her allies try to speak on behalf of our enslaved peoples.

We suggest that the USA and all free countries convene a Conference on national freedom and human rights, to which they invite the representatives of all oppressed peoples. Such a Conference should solemnly proclaim that all peoples have a right to their na-

tional freedom and independence, for only free and independent peoples can look after the human rights of their citizens.

Today we are remembering all victims who fell in the fight for freedom and independence of our countries and all those who are suffering in numerous gulags in our beloved homelands.

We express our solidarity with all those who fearlessly despise the tyrants and carry on the fight for freedom and independence of our countries.

Especially we express our solidarity with our oppressed youth and we tell them that our young people, born in freedom, consider themselves united with them, and that they are their brothers in arms.

Our youth born in the Free World is a light in the growing darkness of the Western world. Indeed, our youth is the one and only hope for the restoration of FREEDOM. The future of the entire world depends on their decision to alarm and organize youth of the Free World and on the outcome of their active struggle against a minority of well-organized and well-paid international anarchists. We must not forget, that the young people of today will be the national leaders of tomorrow.

Our young people — boys and girls alike — are the standard and torch bearers of FREEDOM. Their torch reminds our enemies that Freedom is still alive and knows no boundaries. At the same time this torch is a source of strength and encouragement to our fighting brothers and sisters who for the time being must live within the darkness of slavery.

I have no doubt in the fighting spirit and ability of our young people, who, I think, will fulfill their duty in serving God, their countries and all mankind in these apocalyptic times.

LONG LIVE FREEDOM!

Valentin Berko

Chairman of the Slovak Liberation Committee

Freedom For Slovakia!

From the Declaration of the "Slovak Liberation Committee" Regarding the Political Situation of Czecho-Slovakia

Since the beginning of January 1977 world public opinion has been alarmed by the fact that in Czecho-Slovakia human rights have been violated again or have not been observed at all. This has certainly been proved anew by the numerous reprisals, vexations and tortures applied by the Czecho-Slovak authorities against the authors and signatories of the "Charter 77". The Human Rights Movement "Charter 77" is completely right in denouncing just the anomalous political, economic and cultural positions of the Czechs and Slovaks under the present system. In "Charter 77" the fighters for civic rights bring a formal charge against the Government of Czecho-Slovakia which in turn is only an executive organ of the autocratic Communist Party of the CSSR. We consider "Charter 77" the first step towards overcoming the political misery of Czecho-Slovakia. How awful and unworthy of man must the political situation in Prague and Bratislava be, if the Communists themselves attack this socialist regime charging it on the international level with the violation of human rights!

Slovakia under twofold foreign rule

Those who are familiar with the history of Czecho-Slovakia, however, will perceive in "Charter 77" a new proof for a "poor mark" implementation of the human rights. All instances of violating human rights in Prague since 1918 up to now unambiguously negate the existence and toleration of a Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, be it "democratic" or "socialist", à la Benes or à la Husak. Such a political liquidation of Czecho-Slovakia today is of course not easy. We do not forget the fact that the Soviet Union has been present

in Czechia politically since 1945, militarily, however, since the night of August 21, 1968 only, whereas Slovakia has been subjected to twofold political and military rule (by Czech Communists and by Soviet Russia) since 1945!

A discriminated colony!

When assessing "Charter 77" we once more emphasize the courage of the fighters for civic rights and identify ourselves with them thoroughly. However, our solidarity must not obstruct us in raising the political question of the Slovak people within the political structure of the CSSR emphasizing particularly that the Slovaks as a nation are permanently exposed to discrimination, having been deprived of their national independence since 1945 and occupied as a colony by Czech Communists. The occupation of any people is inconsistent with the UN Charter concerning decolonization and with the UN Human Rights Declaration also. Unfortunately, the Free World Governments consider these UN documents to be applicable to the peoples of Africa and Asia only, but do not implement them in the case of Slovaks, Croats, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Armenians and Georgians, nor in the case of the Baltic peoples all of which are under the occupation and rule of foreign power.

In formal respect Slovaks and Czechs are two separate peoples enjoying equal rights and thus constitute two nations living in Czechia or Slovakia, respectively. On the international level, however, the Slovaks are hardly viewed as a constituent nation within the policy of the CSSR, because the Czech administration in Pra-

gue does not admit the hyphenated spelling "Czecho-Slovakia" in order to avoid expressing any duality of Czecho-Slovakia. In the Peace Treaties of Paris, more precisely in that of Saint-Germain-en-Laye the hyphen had been laid down on September 10, 1919, but was thereafter deliberately omitted by the Foreign Minister Dr. Benes — the same Benes who in 1943/44 decided together with Stalin that Slovakia should be occupied — from his foreign political documents and instructions in order to get around the necessity of revealing to the foreign countries that Czecho-Slovakia was actually a political structure comprising two peoples, i. e. the Czechs and the Slovaks!

When substantiating the incorporation of Slovakia into the policy of CSSR in the course of the Peace Treaty deliberations of Paris in 1919 this same Benes clearly referred to the political oppression of the Slovaks in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy adducing the large number of political trials and verdicts in Slovakia.

As a result, Slovakia was conceded to Benes who, by the way, asserted positively that the established Czecho-Slovakia would be administered according to the Swiss model. However, he did not act according to his declarations but rather conducted a policy of Czechification. Following the occupation of Slovakia by the Czech Communists and the Red Army in 1945, that is to say within a period of 2 1/2 years only starting from May 1945 until the end of 1947, altogether 7661 persons were sentenced to severe imprisonment amounting to a total of 12,255 years. Apart from this 55 persons were sentenced to death and 29 of them were executed.

Full independence for Slovakia!

For all these reasons we appeal to all democratic states to force the Czecho-Slovak Government by diplomatic means to release Slovakia from its colonial status into full independence. We request the same for the Croats in

Yugoslavia and for the peoples subjected to Russian Communist dictatorship, i. e. Ukrainians, Byelorussians, the Baltic peoples, Armenians, Georgians. These requests are in line with the principle of a true détente policy whose object can by no means be the surrendering of the peoples of Central and East Europe to foreign rule.

Slovak genocide!

Our charge against Czecho-Slovakia is substantiated not only by the complaints voiced in "Charter 77" but also by the fact that the CSSR Government conducts a shrewd genocidal policy vis-à-vis the Slovaks by depriving the 350,000 Slovaks living in Czechia of elementary schools instructing in Slovak. Finally, in our opinion, the CSSR Government also conducts a shrewd genocidal policy by always referring in its foreign and domestic political statements to the "Czechoslovak" people which foreign countries and international circles understand to imply the "Czech" people only. In this way the Slovaks are deprived of their national sovereignty and can no longer decide their own political fate. Such a policy as practiced by the CSSR Government robs the Slovak people of its proper name and of everything that a nation possesses and cherishes. All this is comprised in the term "genocide", a policy which has been consistently practiced by Czecho-Slovakia from 1918 to 1938 and from 1945 up to now.

For this and the above-mentioned reasons we once more appeal to the Governments of the Free World to put an end to the colonialist methods of the "Czechoslovak" Government as applied to Slovakia, and to demand the renewal of an independent Slovak state side by side with the Czech state in Central Europe. "Charter 77" should continue to flourish in Prague in order to bring about the end of the unnatural and inhuman Czecho-Slovakian enslavement of the Slovaks!

Albanians Protest the Belgrade Meeting

Two and a half million Albanians live today in the so-called Yugoslavia. There are more Albanians than there are Slovenians or Bosnian-Herzegovinians, or Montenegrins and Macedonians, and yet, all of them have been allowed to have their own so-called 'Autonomous Republics' while the Albanians have been and continue to be treated worse than third-class citizens and considered fair game for the colonialist policies of whoever has ruled in Belgrade since the year 1913, when the national territory of the Albanians was unjustly and brutally partitioned and its better half was adjudicated to the Kingdom of Serbia which later, after World War II was to be further expanded and to be called Yugoslavia.

The Union of the Kossovars (the name comes from the main Albanian province, Kossovo), speaks for them in the Free World and raises its voice in protest, against the injustice of the past and the present. Gross misrule continues unabated by the Communist regime that has not only tolerated but also condoned, yes, even encouraged, planned and ordered wave after wave of acts of veritable genocide during these 32 years that it has been in power, since 1944; crimes that were committed specifically and almost exclusively on the Albanian element as a matter of government policy and party policy, atrocities by design that were and are part of a master-plan which has all the macabre trappings of a "Final Solution", Yugoslav style, aimed at the complete eradication of the Albanians from their native soil, of which their forefathers were the first, the original inhabitants, from times immemorial. The accuracy of such accusations was officially corroborated by the very Government and Communist Party of Yugoslavia after twenty years of the gory rule of Alexander Rankovic who was blamed for it. This was back in 1966, when Rankovic, the head of

UDBA, the secret police, was stripped of all his offices and ranks. But, alas! his favorite methods of arrests, tortures and deportations have never stopped to this day. There are today several thousands of Albanian students and peasant youths whose only crime has been to seek redress from unjust acts of the authorities and to ask that the rights accorded to them by the very provisions of the Constitution of the State of Yugoslavia be applied to them as well.

The Albanians of Yugoslavia who live in compact and contiguous masses and constitute, wherever they live, the absolute majority, have been gerrymandered and divided administratively between three republics, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia, instead of being allowed to form their own political unit like the other lesser nationalities or national groupings. The Albanians are the proud descendants of the ancient Illyrians, and those who are today under Yugoslav occupation, are the autochthonous inhabitants of the region of Dardania of antiquity, whose capital city of Shkupi (the Romans spelled it Scupi, and the Yugoslavs have named it Skopje) is still inhabited by a majority of Albanians... The Albanians have always felt that the rights and protections of the Constitution of Yugoslavia, so solemnly enunciated, as far as they are concerned, have proven to be not worth even the paper they were written on.

Meanwhile, a new wave of political arrests have been in progress during this entire year and is continuing unabated as part of a campaign of intimidation to prevent the Albanians from seeking to take advantage of the general movement for more decentralization, freedom and autonomy.

Albanians on the occasion of the meeting in Belgrade on the Helsinki

Agreement, protest against the harsh and inhuman treatment of the Albanian ethnic group in Yugoslavia, and appeal to the conscience of free men in the entire Free World to join their voices

in support of justice, human freedom and human dignity.

The Union of the Kossovars
(Lidhja Kosovare)

Eric Brodin (USA)

Germans in East Europe Demand Freedom To Leave

Moscow's Red Square is not often the site of demonstrations, but recently, much to the surprise of the endless queues outside the Lenin Tomb, ten Soviet citizens of German extraction unfolded posters asking for the right to emigrate. (The western reporters, who observed the rare event were brought to a police station for interrogation, where they were deprived of their notes and photos). After ten days the demonstrators were forced back to their homes in Soviet Central Asia. The demonstration, aimed at drawing attention to the plight of the so-called "Volga Germans", one of the national minorities in the USSR, especially in the light of the provisions of the Helsinki Accords stipulating inter alia that "the participating states will deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of those persons who wish to be reunited with members of their families...".

U S S R

There are today an estimated 1.8 million ethnic Germans in the USSR. In 1941, the Germans inhabiting the Volga regions, were forcibly deported by Stalin to Central Asia. Of these 700,000 people 40,000 are known to have submitted petitions to the Soviet government for the right to emigrate. Since 1970 about 31,000 have already left (according to provisions contained in trade-credit agreements between the USSR and Bonn). The Red Cross estimates that as many as 300,000 ethnic Germans have voiced their desire to

leave the USSR. 26,000 left between 1959 and 1969, and 21,000 between 1970-1975, but since that time the number has actually been decreasing. Typical of those who wish to leave are two of the ten Red Square demonstrators, Otto Götz, 35, a chauffeur, and Bernard Ketka, 34, a crane operator. Since 1974 when they applied for authorization to emigrate and paid a fee of 500 rubles, they have been awaiting information from the government and have not even received the application-forms yet.

The plight of the ethnic Germans in the USSR is symptomatic of many of the national and ethnic minorities in the USSR, of which the Jews' situation is probably the best documented. According to *Pravda* (17 April 1971), there were 1.8 million "ethnic Germans" in 1970. They are most numerous in the two constituent socialist republics of Russia and Kazakhstan. In the former the number declined from 820,000 in 1959 to 762,000 in 1970, while their number in Kazakhstan increased by 12 per cent from 648,000 to 838,649, a disproportionately low increase. This is probably due to a campaign against the German minority for "ethnic separatism". There are also evidences of linguistic assimilation: in 1959, 75 per cent recognized German as their "mother tongue", in 1970 this percentage had declined to 66. Despite the provisions agreed in Helsinki, it appears that Germans in the USSR may exercise the fundamental human right to "freedom of movement" only if it fits

the policy (or economy) of the Kremlin rulers.

Czecho-Slovakia

In 1970 and again in 1976 the Bonn government and Czecho-Slovakia concluded extensive trade agreements, stipulating among others the right of "ethnic Germans" to leave Czecho-Slovakia. But this concession was not included in the official text, and never published in Czecho-Slovakia, which may account for the disappointingly small number of those who have been permitted to leave for the Federal Republic of Germany since. According to one report: "From 1960 onwards the number of emigrants was regularly more than 1,000 a year. Between 1967 and 1969 the emigrants numbered more than 10,000 a year. But their number decreased in 1972, and there has been no change since the agreement signed the following year. In 1975, for example, only 525 ethnic Germans were allowed to leave Czecho-Slovakia." (Johann Georg Reismüller, **Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung**, 20th Sept. 1976). The Czech authorities claim that there are few left who "regard themselves as Germans", the 1975 Statistical Handbook claiming the number to be 77,000. The spokesman for the Cultural Association of Czechs of German descent claims there are 180,000.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Soviet Union A Prison of Nations

(Comments on the Foundation
of the USSR 50 Years Ago)

Poland

In exchange for multi-billion-mark trade-credits, Poland has agreed to allow a large part of its ethnic German population to leave for Germany. The International Red Cross estimates that there are almost 300,000 such Germans, whereas the Polish government claims that there are "at most 125,000". In the light of Poland's deteriorating economic situation there has been an increase in the number leaving. In the latter half of 1975 4,375 were permitted to leave, and after the signing of new trade-credit agreements, this number increased to 31,153 in January and February 1976 and a total of 17,000 in the first ten months of 1976.

From the statistical data, it would appear that the people of German extraction in East Europe, many of them the remains of the jetsam and flotsam of the Second World War, will be permitted to leave by the Communist regimes, not due to the "humanitarian" provisions of the Helsinki Accords which these governments had ratified, but due to the potential they hold as a means for barter in order to obtain the much needed hard currency of the West.

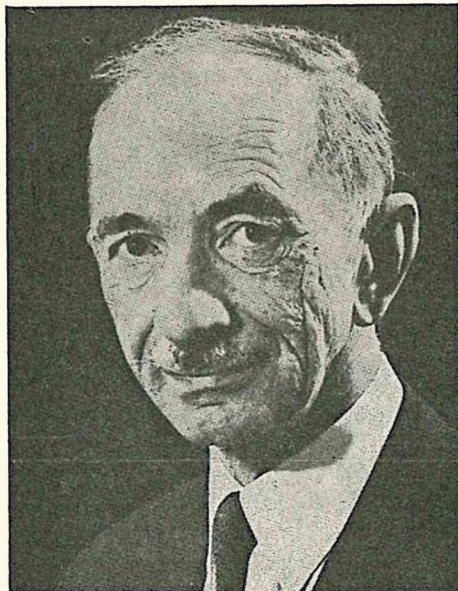
Two warnings are worth recalling:

"I would hope that representatives of the Western intelligentsia would play a more active role in defending the human right in the Soviet Union to choose one's country of residence; for the Tatars, Germans, Lithuanians and many others; the rights of persecuted religious groups; and the right to defend prisoners of conscience". (Andrei Sakharov, **My Country and the World**.)

"The actual danger is not that the Soviet Union might desist from observing the Helsinki Final Act, but that it might try to water down the human rights issue or perhaps even abolish it altogether, or to divert attention from it by raising other issues. In this respect the West will have to be on the alert!" Gunter Gillesen. (**Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung**, 1 March 1977.)

† Obituary

The Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists informs with great sorrow its Members and the Ukrainian Community that following a serious illness, having obtained The Holy Sacraments, passed away on Sunday, October 30th 1977 in Munich,



Stepan LENKAVSKYJ, an outstanding member of the Ukrainian nation, a prominent Leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, participant in the First Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), one of the most outstanding revolutionary-nationalists and ideologists, long-time prisoner of Polish and German prisons, Chairman of the Leadership of OUN Abroad from 1959 to 1968.

The Deceased was born on July 6th, 1904, in the village of Uhornyky, district of Stanyslaviv, Western Ukraine, as the only son of a Ukrainian priest.

The Late Stepan Lenkavskyj dedicated his whole life to the Liberation of Ukraine. From his early youth he participated in secret revolutionary ac-

tivities. While studying at the Stanyslaviv Gymnasium, he became a member of an underground Ukrainian Organization of Grammar School Students. Being a student of Philosophy at the University of Lviv, he belonged to the illegal "Association of Ukrainian Nationalist Youth". In underground publications for youth he elaborated upon the nationalist ideology. At the founding Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists in Vienna, in 1929, he dealt with philosophical idealistic principles of Ukrainian nationalism. After the above Congress in 1929 he directed the Propaganda and Information Departments of the Executive Board of OUN in Western Ukraine.

Arrested by the Polish occupational forces in 1931, the Deceased was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment. While in prison he wrote a "Decalogue", which was accepted as 10 Commandments by members of OUN. He was responsible for the propaganda section of OUN during 1940-41, when the preparations for the Declaration of Renewal of Ukraine's Independence, proclaimed on June 30th, 1941, were made. Towards the end of July 1941 he was arrested by the Gestapo and exiled to the concentration camp in Awshvitz, where he remained to the end of 1944.

When the second World War ended the Deceased took an active part in the works of the OUN units abroad. After the murder of the OUN Leader — Stephan Bandera in 1959, he took up the leadership of the OUN units abroad and in 1963 was elected Chairman and remained in that post until 1968. In 1968 after the IV Congress of the OUN the Late Stepan Lenkavskyj became member of its Leadership under the Chairmanship of Yaroslav Stetsko. Besides important functions in the Leadership of OUN, Stepan Lenkavskyj was member of the Control

Commission of the Yevhen Konovalets' Foundation and was co-author and editor of a book dedicated to Y. Konovalets. Throughout his life the Deceased wrote many important articles, and contributed to the edition of many highly esteemed Ukrainian publications. By this contribution he helped to maintain the high standard of the nationalist press and was longtime Chief-editor of a weekly newspaper — "The Way to Victory". From the very establishment of the "Cicero" printers, he was continuous Chairman of its Central Finance Committee.

The Late Stepan Lenkavsky was gifted with a deep natural intelligence and through continuous studious work became a person of great intellect. As much as he was uncompromising and hard in the fight with the enemies of Ukraine, to his fellow-countrymen the Deceased was always warm-hearted

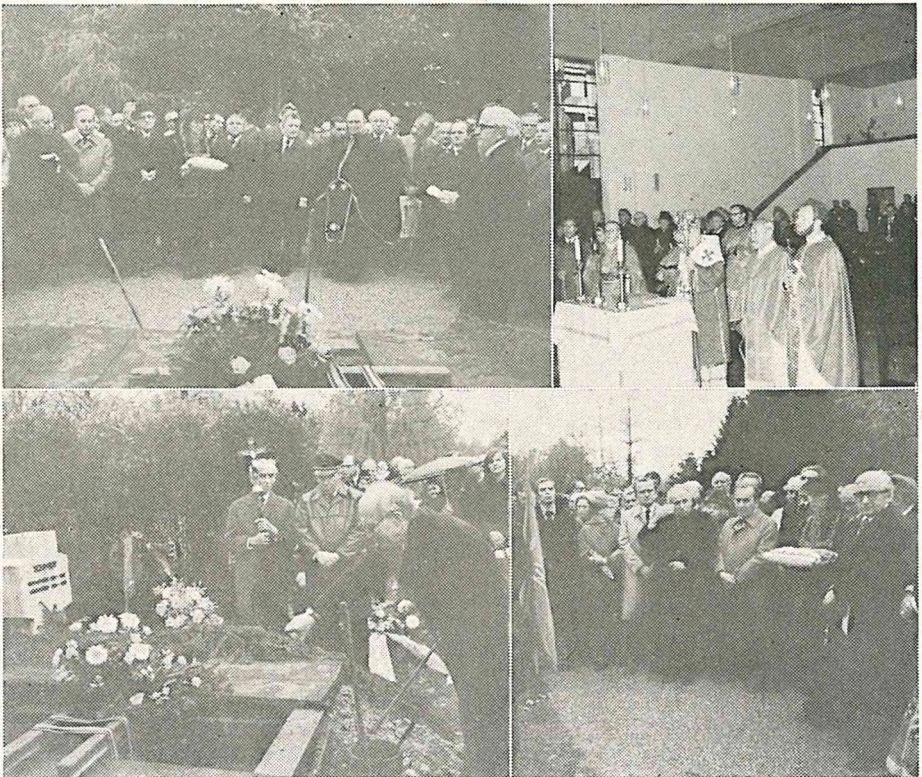
and full of kindness. He continuously struggled for a healthy consolidation of all fractions in Ukrainian political life for the liberation of the Ukrainian nation.

The Ukrainian nation has lost a faithful Son and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists a prominent member, one of the most outstanding Leaders of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement.

The requiem Mass was celebrated by the Ukrainian Bishop Platon Korneliak in the Ukrainian Cathedral in Munich on Friday, November 4th, at 9 a.m. The funeral was held on that same day at 2.30 p.m. in the Ukrainian section of Waldfriedhof.

May his soul rest in peace.

Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists



Funeral of the Late Stepan Lenkavsky.

Events of the Past Year

Rep. Koch Introduces Resolutions in Defense of Rudenko, Tykhy, Moroz, Shukhevych

Urges President to Demand Soviet Compliance with Helsinki Accords

Washington, D. C. — Rep. Edward Koch introduced in the House of Representatives Friday, August 5th, three concurrent resolutions in defense of Mykola Rudenko, Oleksiy Tykhy, Valentyn Moroz and Yuriy Shukhevych, demanding their immediate release from incarceration and permission for them to emigrate to the West.

In proposing the resolutions, Rep. Koch scored the Soviet Union for not complying with the Helsinki Accords, and urged the American President to make it known that the United States expects all the signatories of the Helsinki Accords to respect the provisions of that treaty.

The New York legislator introduced the resolutions at the request of members of the Ukrainian Defense Committee, which presented him with some 3,000 petitions from his constituents on behalf of Rudenko, Tykhy, Moroz and Shukhevych.

The petitions were collected by the Committee over a two-month period and handed to Rep. Koch Present at that meeting with Rep. Koch were Askold Lozynskyj, Chairman of the Ukrainian Defense Committee, a division of the New York UCCA branch, Borys Potapenko, Director of the Ukrainian Information Bureau, and Ihor Dlaboha.

Rep. Koch said that the arrest and imprisonment of these four Ukrainian patriots is in "violation of their fundamental human rights".

"None of these men has done anything except exercise rights guaranteed to them by the paper constitution of the Soviet Union and by the Helsinki Agreement, which the Soviet Union signed", said Rep. Koch, who has been elected Mayor of New York City.

"The purpose of the three resolutions is to request the President to urge the Soviet Government to release Rudenko, Tykhy, Moroz and Shukhevych, and, to respect the human rights principle it agreed to when it signed the Helsinki Final Act. We must not rest until the Kremlin genuinely and finally carries out the provisions of that Act."

In the Rudenko-Tykhy resolution, Rep. Koch also scored the arrests of Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matushevych.

He said that the arrests, which occurred after President Carter had announced his human rights policy, "appear to be part of a toughened Soviet stand on internal dissent designed to communicate Soviet displeasure with the President's position".

Rep. Koch said in the resolution that the US-President should urge the Soviet Government "to reverse the convictions of Rudenko and Tykhy, to release them from prison, to allow them to leave the Soviet Union, and to release and drop all charges against the other members of the group monitoring Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Agreement".

The Moroz resolution dealt with the invitation by Harvard University to the 41-year-old leading Ukrainian political prisoner to lecture at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute during the 1977-78 academic year.

The resolution was initially introduced by Rep. Koch together with Reps. Millicent Fenwick (R-N. J.) and Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.).

Citing the Helsinki Accords provision to facilitate "wider travel by their citizens for personal or professional reasons", Rep. Koch's resolution asked President Carter "to express the request of the United States Government that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics provide Valentyn Moroz with the opportunity to accept the invitation of Harvard Uni-

versity for the 1977-78 academic year, in accordance with the spirit of détente."

The resolution dealing with Shukhevych said: "It is a request of the Congress that the President should express to the Government of the Soviet Union the concern of the United States Government for the serious physical condition of Yuriy Shukhevych, and should urge the Soviet Government to provide him with the medical attention he needs and to release him from prison on humanitarian grounds."

On the same day he introduced the resolutions, Rep. Koch delivered the petitions he received from the Ukrainian Defense Committee to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, and asked him "to respond to this plea by expressing the United States' support for these martyrs".

The Rudenko-Tykhy and Moroz resolutions were co-sponsored by 44 legislators each, and the Shukhevych resolution by 31 Congressmen.

The three members of the Ukrainian Defense Committee along with Andriy Priatka, also visited the offices of Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D-N-Y) and Rep. James Delaney (D-N-Y) and presented them with similar petitions.

Rep. Delaney introduced on May 16, 1977, a similar resolution in defense of Rudenko, Tykhy, Moroz and Shukhevych, demanding their release from imprisonment and authorization to emigrate to the West.

MP Tried to Get Canada's Support for Shumuk's Release

A Canadian Member of Parliament tried unsuccessfully to get official government support for the release and emigration to Canada of Danylo Shumuk, a Ukrainian political prisoner.

On Friday, August 5th, Stuart Leggatt of New Westminster, B.C., proposed that "the ministers instruct the Canadian delegation to this fall's Belgrade Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to publicly raise

the plight of Danylo Shumuk, and take all steps to secure his release from the Soviet Union.

Mr. Leggatt's proposal was seconded by Stanley Knowles of Winnipeg North Centre, Man.

In his introductory remarks, Mr. Leggatt reasoned that Shumuk "is living in great physical and mental deprivation". The MP also said that Shumuk has many relatives in Canada who are willing to sponsor his entry into the country.

Unanimous consent of the House of Commons, which is necessary for a motion of this kind to be adopted, was not given by the parliamentarians.

Prior to his 1972 arrest, Shumuk served at different times a total of 8 years in prison or labour camps.



Members of Ukrainian Womens Organization ODFU, on hunger strike in solidarity with persecuted Ukrainians in USSR, (New York, Oct. 1977).

Captive Nations Committee's Call to Action

A call for a more activist approach in the Bradford Captive Nations Committee was made yesterday by the chairman, Mr. Gunars Tamsons, at the committee's seventh biennial general meeting.

He said: "For the future we have set a more demanding plan. We want

to undertake visits to our communities, explaining our aims and objectives.

The world political scene demands that we extend our external work among the local population and reinforce our links with the freedom-loving institutions in this country and abroad. To this end we must recruit younger people into our committee."

New Group

Mr. Taras O. Lysenczuk, secretary, regretted Bradford City Hall's decision not to fly the flags of the committee's member communities (Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Ukraine and Byelorussia) on their independence days. Fortunately, the flags were still allowed to fly during Captive Nations Week.

Another black spot, he said, had been the Hungarian Social Centre's decision to leave the committee. The centre said it was not interested in the committee's political aims.

In its place, a new group called The Free Hungarians had joined the committee to work on behalf of the Hungarian people.

Re-elected officers were: chairman, Tamsons; secretary Lysenczuk; Mr. Karlis Sneider, treasurer: Two new vice-chairmen, Mr. Peter Futchko and Mr. Augustine Ottan, were elected.

(Telegraph & Argus, Mon., Dec. 66, 1976)

Captive Nations Go on the March

More than 400 people attended the United Cathedral Service in Bradford yesterday which marked the beginning of this year's Captive Nations Week.

Despite heavy rain, representatives of the Captive Nations in Bradford — Byelorussia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine — joined the procession to the war memorial after the service for a wreath-laying ceremony.

"Not as many people were able to wear national costumes as usual because of the rain", said Mr. Taras Lysenczuk, Secretary of the Captive Nations Committee.

"We were very pleased with the number of people who attended the service and procession.

The week will continue with car rallies, and demonstrations protesting about the annexing of the six nations by the Russians.

On Sunday, a meeting and concert will be held in the Ukrainian Hall, Claremont, Bradford.

Protest against Russians

Hundreds of people marched through the centre of Bradford on Saturday, to a rally outside the magistrates court to protest against Russia's participation in the Belgrade Conference.

The march was organized by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (Youth Section). Many of its members are from Byelorussia, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Hungary, Croatia and Lithuania.

They paraded with flags and banners and were accompanied by floats through Bradford's shopping centre.

The March was followed by a concert at the Ukrainian Club, Claremont, Bradford.

(Telegraph & Argus, Mon. Oct. 10, 1977)

Fighting Soviet Might

Thirty Ukrainian nationalists from Bradford have just returned from a national conference in Derby, aimed at fighting the might of the Soviet Union.

The 30 members of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, want independence for Ukraine, one of the Soviet Socialist republics. They claim that Ukrainians are harassed by Soviet authorities and some are prevented from returning to their homeland.

Offers

The conference, which brought together members of the ABN's youth section from all over the country, passed resolutions demanding the dissolution of the USSR and urging the Free World to reject offers of aid from Russia.

World Anti-Communist League

Office of the Honorary Chairman

Taipei, Taiwan

Fan Yuan-yen, a 41-year-old Chinese Communist air force squadron leader, defected to the Republic of China in his MIG-19 jet fighter last July 7 afternoon. A native Yungchuan, Szechuan province, Fan had been educated and trained under the Chinese Communists, but the first words he uttered after landing at Tainan in southern Taiwan were: "I couldn't stand it any longer. People on the Chinese mainland are truly suffering."

Fan was stationed at Chinchiang of Fukien province, just across the straits from Taiwan. He left behind his wife and two children, a boy and a girl. It took him long to make up his mind to leave the mainland so that, as an eyewitness of the 800 million captive compatriots, he would be able to tell the Free World about the Chinese Communist crimes and about how the regime is hated by the people, including

cadres and military personnel who no longer want to serve as Communist tools of aggression and expansion.

Since 1960 Fan is the eighth member of the Chinese Communist air force personnel to have defected. He was preceded by: (1) A MIG-15 crash-landed on a beach at Ilan in northern Taiwan on Jan. 12, 1960, and the pilot was killed. (2) A light transport plane AN-2 flown to South Korea on Sept. 15, 1961, by Shao Hsi-yen and Kao Yu-chung, who were brought to Taipei on Oct. 7 of the same year. (3) A MIG-15 flown over to Taiwan by Liu Chen-szu on March 3, 1962. (4) A Russian-made IL-28 jet bomber, flown by Li Hsien-pin, Li Tsai-wang and Lien Pao-shen on Nov. 11, 1965. Lien died of a wound received upon landing.

The five previous defectors who survived have been married and are with their families in Taipei.



From left to right: Dr. Han Lih-wu (Chairman of Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League, APACL), Mrs. Slava Stetsko addressing the meeting (Ukraine), Dr. Ku Cheng-kang (Honorary WACL Chairman).

SEPES Promotes Activities for the 1977 Commemoration of Captive Nation's Week

On the occasion of the commemoration of Captive Nations' Week, the Society of Political, Economic and Social Studies, SEPES, of Brazil, wishing to unite itself with all those freedom lovers who are fighting for liberty in the world, and who shall observe, as agreed by the 86th Congress of the United States of America, this week as dedicated to recalling the dramatic situation within those countries subjugated by Communism in the World, organized a series of activities assuming its responsibility within the Brazilian territory.

Special mention must be given to the Mass celebrated at the Santo Antonio Church, in the center of Sao Paulo, for the intentions of the millions of people belonging to the Captive Nations, and in the memory of the victims of Communism. The attendance was overwhelming, including representatives of all Captive Nations in Brazil, civil and military authorities, and members of the diplomatic organizations and coun-

tries accredited in Brazil, besides the members of the Board of Directors and Consultative Council of SEPES.

After the Mass, a Manifesto from SEPES was distributed. It stated that, considering the violation of essential liberties by totalitarian Marxism, the great number of refugees who chose Brazil as their second homeland, their considerable contribution to the development of Brazil, and the terrible conspiracy responsible for Marxist advances SEPES expressed its full solidarity with the feelings of those who suffer under Communism, and its preoccupation with the lethargy demonstrated by those who should strive for the defense of liberty in the so-called Free World.

The event received attention from most mass media in the country, besides having been broadcasted directly by SEPES' station, Radio Novo-Mundo.

Carlo Barbieri Filho
Chairman



Funeral in Toronto, Canada, of Mrs. Yaroslava Bandera, the wife of the Leader of liberation struggle of Ukraine — Stefan Bandera, murdered by KGB in Munich 1959.

Slovak Anniversary

March 14, 1939, marks one of the high-lights of Slovak history, the independence of Slovakia having been proclaimed on that date. At that time the Slovaks succeeded in establishing a sovereign state which soon thereafter had diplomatic relations with 27 then existing states.

The Capitals having diplomatic relations with Bratislava included Berlin, Rome, Madrid, Bern, Paris and even Moscow as well as the Vatican. Moscow's embassy staff was disproportionately large and, of course, correspondingly active.

This year's national celebration in Munich — where since the abrogation of Slovak Independence due to a Czecho-Soviet alliance concluded between Eduard Beneš and Stalin in 1943/45, this historical event is commemorated each year — also focused upon the idea of Slovak independence. After the death of the late Foreign Minister of Slovakia, Dr. Ferdinand Durčanský, on March 15, 1974, in Munich, this historical celebration has been organized by the Slovak Cultural Center headed by its Director Valentino Berko, Chairman of the Slovak Liberation Committee (Munich) and Member of the Political Board of the World Congress of Slovaks presided by Dr. h. c. Stefan B. Roman, Toronto (Canada). In his speech (held in Slovakian and German) Mr. Berko revealed the issue of Slovakian existence, its problem of to be or not to be — either existing as a free independent Slovak nation or languishing as servant and slave under foreign rule. Thus it was made clear that the Slovaks are firmly determined to continue their fight against the foreign rule introduced in 1945 by the clique of the CP of Czecho-Slovakia and to renew the full independence of Slovakia.

This guideline in Berko's speech was subsequently illustrated in cultural and political respect in the speech of the day held by Dr. Walter Becher, Member of the Bonn Bundestag and

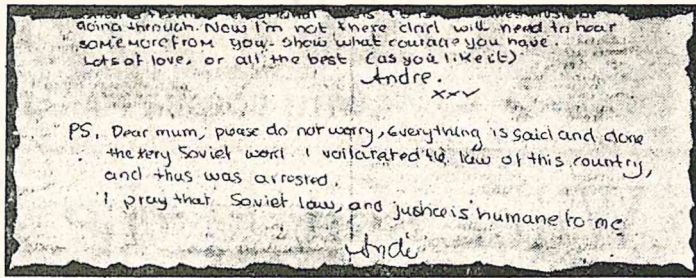
Spokesman of the Sudeten German Association. Dr. Becher proved to be familiar with the history of Slovakia when choosing Martin Kukucin's novel "Mat Volá" as an introduction to his political expositions. "Mat Volá" means "Mother Calls", and the meaning of this cue is certainly apt to point out that nowadays the Slovak Mother is also calling upon us to fight for the freedom



Dr. W. Becher, member of German Federal Parliament speaking on Slovakian Independence Day.

of Slovakia, to burst the fetters of enslavement. This subject is highly topical, the Slovaks having lost their independence in 1045 and having been subjected to Czech hegemony against their will.

The guests attending the Slovak national celebration in Munich included prominent representatives of Federal German politicians and of exile politicians from Central and East Europe. Greetings and telegrams were sent by several Members of the German Bundestag and political parties. Representatives of the Baltic peoples, of the Slovak Germans and of prominent Ukrainian exiles were present at the celebration, opened with the Slovak hymn.



Andrew Klymchuk (left) and part of a letter to his family from a Russian prison. They recognise the writing and signature on the upper section, but say that the 'confession' and signature below are not his.

Russians 'brainwash' arrested British student

by GEORGE BROCK

A BRITISH student held for three months without trial in Russia appears to be undergoing political brainwashing.

The Observer has been shown information reaching Britain about the interrogation and lifestyle in the Ukraine of 21-year-old Andrew Klymchuk, who was arrested on suspicion of anti-Soviet activities on 1 August while on holiday in the Soviet Union.

Klymchuk, who was born and brought up in Britain by Ukrainian parents and speaks English as his first language, has written letters to relatives and friends in stilted and ungrammatical English.

Soon after his arrest his mother received a letter from him, in his own handwriting, from his prison in Lvov, Western Ukraine.

It contained a postscript in an obviously different handwriting saying: 'Dear Mum, please do not worry, everything said and done the very Soviet word. I violated [sic] the law of this country, and thus was arrested. I pray that Soviet law, and justice is humane to me.'

The signature, also in distinctly different script is 'Ande' rather than 'Andre' as elsewhere.

British consular officials who visited Klymchuk last

week reported that when they asked him about the postscript there was 'no reaction.'

His parents say the style of his letters is strange and unfamiliar, although they stress how well his is. His mother had a brief letter last week telling her that 'not much happen.'

Censored letters, newspapers and monitored broadcasts show that Klymchuk has been taken to a public meeting in a village, where his father was harangued as a fascist collaborator during the Second World War. Mr Michael Klymchuk, who has lived in Britain since 1943, fought with Ukrainian forces against both the Russian and German armies.

Andrew was taken to the opening ceremony on the first day of term at the university in Lvov and put on show at a students' seminar.

His guards have taken him to see the graves of his great-grandparents and on sightseeing trips in the thirteenth-century city near the Polish border, where he has been photographed in front of well-known buildings. He has been taken to the opera, the theatre and the State Circus.

His father's sister, who lives nearby, has been

allowed to visit him and take him food. She has written to her brother in West London that Andrew seems well and that he described going out for a drink with his guards after the theatre.

In one letter Klymchuk says: 'Also I have seen many documentary films. I feel I have learnt a lot. My, there'll be lots to tell you whenever I get back home.'

He also says: 'I do know a little that happens in England, my interpreter helps me out a lot; she gets the Morning Star for me and the Moscow News.'

A Russian newspaper has alleged that 'negatives confiscated from Klymchuk were carrying information and instructions in code from one of the foreign emigre centres of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.'

The negatives are said to have contained messages about anti-Soviet activities. He was also alleged to have had a large sum of money with him to finance these activities. Kiev Radio has told its domestic listeners that Klymchuk brought in leaflets calling for an uprising against the Soviet Government.

Russian law allows the authorities to detain a suspect

without trial for up to nine months and detention until at least 1 December has now been authorised. Klymchuk's MP, Sir George Young, thinks that the Russians intend to bring Klymchuk to court next month and he hopes to observe the trial.

He also plans to raise the matter in a Commons adjournment debate.

The only Ukrainian dissident to be allowed out of the USSR in recent years, mathematician Leonid Plyushch, thinks that Klymchuk's arrest may herald a KGB crackdown in the area.

In a statement to The Observer from Paris Mr Plyushch said: 'I know nothing about his personal history, but I am certain that Mr Klymchuk has fallen prey to yet another provocation by the KGB.'

Klymchuk's father is sure that his son is innocent and was mystified last week to receive a letter from him in perfect Ukrainian—although his son knows only a few words of that language.

Klymchuk assured the British consul-general last week that he was well treated. A Foreign Office official wrote to one friend of Klymchuk in Britain that 'it would be contrary to international usage to intervene while the case is sub judice.'

Documents about Encroachments upon Human Rights in the USSR

published by Amnesty International (AI), January 1976

Section of the Federal Republic of Germany, registered association

2000 Hamburg 76 Stückenstr. 70

Police are overrun near Soviet Mission

2,000 Ukrainian Demonstrators Are Stopped Half a Block Away

By Robert McG. Thomas

About 2,000 young Ukrainian-American demonstrators overwhelmed police lines and fought their way to within half a block of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations yesterday afternoon until their charge was stopped by a massed line of policemen.

A number of demonstrators were reportedly injured, as were about a dozen policemen during the battle that raged along Lexington Avenue from East 66th to East 67th Street shortly after 5 P. M. The demonstrators' target, the mission, is on the 67th Street, about midway between Lexington and Third Avenues, and just across the street from the 19th Precinct station house.

When the police managed to hold a line at the opening of 67th Street, the demonstrators stopped the charge but continued to occupy the intersection as they shouted their protests against Soviet domination of the Ukraine, one of the Soviet Union's constituent republics.

"We were fighting for our lives out here" said Deputy Inspector David Pascal, who commanded a force of 75 officers that had tried to contain the demonstrators within the East 66th Street block between Park and Lexington Avenues.

Organized by Student Group

The march had been organized by the Ukrainian Student Organization, whose president, Ihor Zwarycz, a 22-year-old Manhattan College senior, said it had about 800 members in the New York Metropolitan area.

The march began at 40th Street and Madison Avenue after a parade sponsored by the Ukrainian organizations of Greater New York. The parade attracted thousands earlier in the afternoon as it proceeded from 59th Street to a rally outside the 42nd Street Public Library.

The young protestors, many of whom had marched in the main parade and were wearing scout-type uniform of Ukrainian youth organizations, broke away from the rally and marched up Madison Avenue until they reached 66th Street. There, they were forced east by the police who had hoped to contain them in that block.

But the demonstrators charged through police barricades, hurling the heavy wooden planks at the policemen, and fought their way to 67th Street.

After the police established a firm line of barricades and mounted policemen moved to the entrance to the block, the demonstrators broke off their charge but vowed to continue the demonstration in the middle of the intersection until Mrs. Kulczycky was released and newsmen were called to the scene.

Barry Farber, the Conservative Party candidate for Mayor, climbed atop the police barricades and used a bullhorn in an attempt to placate the crowd.

Forced Army Truck to Retreat

At one point a large Army truck from the Seventh Regiment Armory just south of the intersection tried to drive north on Lexington Avenue, but demonstrators crowded in front of it and finally forced it to retreat, which drew a cheer from the crowd.

Though demonstrators said that at least eight protestors had been injured in the clash, the police said they had no report on civilian injuries and knew of only a single policeman who required medical attention.

The officer, who was not immediately identified, was taken to Lenox Hill hospital, bleeding from a gash reportedly caused when he was struck by a bottle. In addition about 10 other policemen had been injured. (N. Y. T.)

Captive Nations Week in National China

The 1977 „Captive Nations Week“ observance in the Republic of China — on Taiwan and the offshore islands of Kinmen and Matsu — from July 17 to 23 included separate meetings of religious bodies, college professors, students, writers, journalists, women leaders, refugees from the Chinese mainland, etc. and was climaxed by two national rallies, one in the morning of July 22 and the other in the evening of the 23rd. The theme was „Anti-Communism for Freedom and Human Rights!“ Exhibits were held and posters appeared everywhere.

The two major rallies, each attended by more than 3,000 persons from all walks of life including ranking officials and members of the diplomatic corps, were both chaired by Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, WACL Honorary Chairman. President Yen Chia-han of the Republic of China addressed the morning rally and called for strengthened free world unity and raised vigilance against Chinese Communist schemes.

Freedom-fighter leaders from all regions of the world, including those representing subjugated peoples, came to address the rallies, speak at specially arranged lecture meetings, and attend various other activities of the week. They included US Congressman William L. Dickinson, Senator Orlando Montenegro of Nicaragua, Youth Leader Nathan Ross Jr. from Liberia,

WACL Swedish Chapter Secretary-General Ander Larsson, former Vietnamese Foreign Minister Tran Van Do, former Cambodian Prime-Minister Im Tam, Dr. Jenő Platthy of Hungary (President of the Third Congress of Poets), Foreign Relations Secretary Felipe Sin Garciga of the Cubanos Unidos en la Batalla Anticomunista, and many others from Japan, Thailand, Korea, Laos, etc. They all pointed out Communist crimes against humanity and urged positive steps to free captive peoples.

At the morning rally, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Honorary Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League, spoke on the subject „Eliminate Communism and Slavery! Assure Freedom and Human Rights!“ He noted that Washington's move towards so-called „full normalization of relations“ with the Chinese Communists contradicts the objective of „Captive Nations Week“, goes against the American spirit of freedom and justice, and hurts the morale of the captive peoples who are fighting for freedom. He also noted that „if the US were to depart from treaty obligations and defense commitments for the Republic of China, the trust held in America by the other free nations would be shattered“ and „consequences would be truly serious“. He therefore urged the Carter Administration to cast aside the so-called Shanghai Communique, and stop moving toward „normalization“ with the Chinese Communists who are the worst enemies of human rights and are bent on „burying“ the US.

The second national rally, in the evening of the 23rd July was broadcast live to the Chinese mainland. It was also taped and televized for TV viewers throughout Taiwan the following evening. Songs and dances were presented and some of them praised the heroic deed of Fan Yuan-yen, the MIG-19 pilot who defected to Taiwan on July 7.

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From Behind the Iron Curtain



CROATIA

Croatian Priest Detained by Yugoslav Police

The *New York Times* of June 20, 1976, reported that Rev. Ljubo Krasic, a Croatian-born Franciscan priest who became a permanent resident of the United States in 1974 was detained by Yugoslav authorities when he returned to his native town Citluk in Herzegovina to attend his father's funeral on March 28. The Yugoslav secret police seized his passport.

The *Times* wrote that Father Krasic, a 38-year-old sociologist is a project director of the Center for Migration Studies, at 209 Flagg Place, Staten Island.

(Croatia Press Volume XXIX, 285-86)

Five Croatians in Bosnia Sentenced to up to Seven Years

Five Croatians from Brcko and vicinity were sentenced by the District Court of Tuzla on January 16, 1976, to terms from 16 months to seven years. Branko Barisic, the 50-year-old chief-accountant of the Agricultural Station in Brcko was sentenced to seven years for allegedly maintaining ties with Croatians abroad; his sister Dragica Barisic, 42 to 2 1/2 years; Vinko Jozic, 50, a financial inspector to 4 1/2 years for "spreading false rumours"; Jerko Djurdjevic, 41, chief accountant of "Bineks" to two years for "false propaganda and for damaging the reputation of Yugoslavia", and Stjepan Blazevic, 46, Controller of "Bineks" to 1 1/2 years for "provoking national intolerance".



LITHUANIA

Anti-Russian Riot in Lithuania

Thousands of Lithuanians shouted anti-Soviet and nationalist slogans at a recent soccer match and then went on a rampage through the streets of Vilnius, the capital of Soviet Lithuania, dissident sources said yesterday.

The sources said cars were overturned, police cars set afire, windows smashed and Soviet propaganda banners torn down in the rioting on the night of Oct. 10. The next morning, they said, troops armed with automatic weapons patrolled the streets of Vilnius.

Alexander Podrabinek, an ambulance medic who also speaks out on human rights, told Western newsmen he recently visited Vilnius, where he gathered details of the incident.

He said residents told him that the troubles began at an evening soccer match between a Vilnius team and a Russian team from Smolensk, when members of the crowd began to shout "Russians go home" an "Katsapy", a derogatory term for Russians.

Some of the shouting was heard during a live television broadcast of the game before it was cut off "for technical reasons", the residents said.

When the game ended at 9 p. m., about 15,000 spectators streamed out into the streets and some of them began turning over cars and ripping down propaganda banners which have been festooned about the city to mark the upcoming 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the residents said.

Militiamen, Soviet security police and auxiliary policemen tried to control the rioting, but the crowd surged in to free the prisoners.

Mr. Podrabinek said he believed a number of people were finally taken to police stations but he did not know how many. He was told there was another disturbance four nights later but could not confirm this.

Several nights later the evening Vilnius newspaper Vecherniye Novosti carried an account of the rioting, saying it was started by "drunken hooligans", he said.

There was no immediate comment from Soviet authorities. Mr. Podrabinek is regarded as a reliable source.

Lithuania has been the scene of several nationalist uprisings since it was invaded by the Russians in June, 1940, notably in 1956 after the Hungarian revolt and in May, 1972, when thousands of people rioted shouting "Freedom for Lithuania".



A Serbian Lawyer Sentenced for Statements Made in Defense of a Client

Srdja M. Popovic, a 39-year-old Belgrade lawyer, was sentenced on March 10, 1976 to a year in prison for his statements in the courtroom in defense of a client. The client was Dragoljub S. Ignjatoviic, a writer sentenced on April 9, 1974, to 3 1/2 years for remarks he had made at a scholarly symposium in which he blamed the Communist regime for the economic backwardness of Yugoslavia. Popovic in defense of his client, tried to demonstrate in court with government statistics that some of his client's statements regarding unemployment, illiteracy and backward agricultural methods in Yugoslavia were true.

The charge against Popovic was that he had supported Ignjatovic's views, and for this he was convicted of "maliciously spreading false information and causing public disorder". In the words of the sentencing judge the gravity of Popovic's crime is that "he is denying

the basic values of our social system, spreading massive untruths about social relations". Numerous foreign observers at the trial expressed their dismay at the verdict.

On March 24, 1976, The International League for the Rights of Man issued, in New York, a press release with names of 106 prominent American lawyers who signed a petition addressed to President Tito to release Popovic. The petition was transmitted to Tito by Jerome J. Shestack, Chairman of the League.

The last paragraph of the petition stated: "The undersigned attorneys at law in the United States of America are deeply concerned by this threat to the legal profession in Yugoslavia and to the rights of individuals who will find themselves deprived of efficient counsel. We call upon the Yugoslavian authorities to investigate this situation, and if our reports are accurate, call upon Yugoslavian officials to dismiss the charges brought against Srdja Popovic and urge that attorneys in Yugoslavia be allowed to provide their clients with efficient counsel."

The petition includes Whitney North Seymour, Sr., past President of the American Bar Association; Cyrus Vance, President of the Bar Association of the City of New York; Ramsey Clark, former Attorney-General; Robert F. Wagner, former Mayor of New York City; Edward Ennis, Chairman - American Civil Liberties Union, Samuel Dash, former chief counsel - Senate Watergate committee, Telford Taylor, former Chief US Prosecutor at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials; Michael H. Sovern, Dean of the Law School at Columbia University and others.



Active in spite of Repression

The Kyiv Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in their letter No. 2 reminded

the 35 governments which signed the Helsinki Accords, as well as the Ukrainian SSR, that trust is a key ingredient to world peace.

The eight remaining members wrote that peace "is not merely an issue for government leaders, but also for average people".

"That is why it (peace) should not only be decided on governmental levels, not only through disarmament, but also by the elimination of distrust between citizens of different countries", they wrote.

The Kyiv Group members also called for increased individual contacts between all peoples.

The most recent document, which came on the eve of the Helsinki review conference which began in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, last week, was signed by: Oles Berdnyk, Nina Strokat, Oksana Meshko, Ivan Kandyba, Lev Lukianenko, Petro Hryhorenko, I. Vins and Olha Huyko.

The signatures reveal that the Group acquired two additional members: I. Vins, the son of the incarcerated Baptist leader Georgi Vins, and O. Huyko.

Since the establishment of the Helsinki monitoring group in the Ukrainian capital, four members have been incarcerated and many harassed by the KGB. Those arrested are Mykola Rudenko, head, Oleksa Tykhy, Mykola Matushevych and Myroslav Marynovych.

The Ukrainian Helsinki monitors pledged that despite persistent official repressions against them, they will continue their activity.

The letter details the most recent KGB searches, surveillances and other harassments against the Groups members and relatives.

They reported that on April 14th this year, Lidia Sverstiuk was denied permission to visit her incarcerated husband, Yevhen Sverstiuk. On May 15th, Valentyn Moroz, who was not allowed to see his wife, began a hunger strike in the Mordovian camps.

The Ukrainian activists also said that Ivan Hel began a hunger strike in prison to protest the harsh conditions his wife and daughters are forced to live in. The Helsinki watchers said that Hel's wife and family live in a Lviv basement. Oleksander Nazarenko and Nadia Svitlychna are barred from working or living in bigger cities. Lukianenko who spent 15 years in Soviet penal facilities, is under constant secret police observation.

The eight also spoke of searches conducted in the apartments of Barladianu in Odessa, and Raisa Serhiychuk, Anastasiya Matushevych, Nadia Marynovych and others in Kyiv, as well as Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska and Borys Antonenko-Davydovych.

Maximum Sentences for Rudenko and Tykhy at Secret Trial

Mykola Rudenko, Chairman of the Kyiv Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, and Oleksiy Tykhy, a member, were sentenced to the full extent of the law on 1st July, on alleged charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

Rudenko, 56 was sentenced to seven years incarceration and five years exile. The maximum sentence was demanded by the prosecutor.

Rudenko and Tykhy were the first two persons associated with Helsinki watch groups in the Soviet Union to be sentenced.

Their trial began in a closed factory some 60 km north of Donetsk, Thursday 23rd June. Relatives and friends of the defendants were not notified until Tuesday, 28th June.

According to the Committee for the Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners, Rudenko and Tykhy were assigned lawyers by the court.

Tykhy refused the appointed attorney and conducted his own defence. Rudenko accepted the assigned lawyer, just for advisory purposes, but the court-appointed adviser repeatedly sided with the prosecution.

The trial was held behind closed doors, with some 60-70 KGB-approved spectators in attendance.

Members of the Kyiv and Moscow Groups who attempted to attend the trial were intercepted by the local militia and confined for the duration of the proceedings.

Tykhyy's 80-year-old mother was also denied access to the trial, as were workers from Tykhyy's factory Donetsk.

In their final statement Friday, 1st July, both defendants pleaded not guilty to charges of anti-Soviet agitation. They said they only spoke the truth, reported the Committee for the Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners.

During his final testimony, Rudenko, who is in poor health, fainted twice.

The court also charged the Kyiv Group with being an "anti-Soviet provocative organization".

Both the Kyiv and Moscow Groups have condemned the trial as illegal.

The Kyiv Committee issued a statement saying that the proceedings were conducted in a "gangster-like manner".

Perm Prisoners Remind West

In an open letter to free world leaders and diplomats, political prisoners in Zone 35 of the Perm concentration camp pointed out that while humanitarian treaties are adopted by the countries of the world, their provisions are not adhered to by the Soviet Union.

"Diplomats, government leaders, sign new treaties about human rights, free flow of information, the end of torture, but we must hold hunger strikes because in the USSR none of that is implemented", said the prisoners.

For political inmates, they wrote, the only form of defence is hunger strikes. They wrote that such strikes are held in prison camps and psychiatric asylums.

"August 1st — is a day political prisoners in the Soviet Union set aside for hunger strikes to protest against the inhuman environment, the oppres-

sion, the terror and repressions against those who hold different convictions", they wrote. "We frequently hold hunger strikes — in solitary confinement in transports. Often, on ordinary insignificant days — on days of deaths of our comrades, on days of unusual occurrences in the camps, March 8th, December 10th, August 1st, May 8th, and September 25th. We stage hunger strikes frequently."

On August 1st 1975, 35 governments, including the Soviet Union, signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords. December 10th was designated by the United Nations as "Human Rights Day". The significance of the other dates is not known.

The political prisoners wrote that hunger strikes are held for months at a time. Even though the strikes drain the prisoners of their energies, they continue with them because for them they are the only form of self-defence.

"Somewhere out there you make speeches, sign minutes, make promises, but here nothing changes; left to rely on our own strength, we are forced to hold hunger strikes to protest against the always recurring illegality of the officials, against repressions, and the curtailing of our rights", they wrote.

The prisoners wrote that this year on August 1st they changed their tactics. They said that "amidst the ringing of different speeches" they continue to live behind barbed wire, and possibly to attract more attention they decided to do away with hunger strikes this year.

"Therefore today, August 1st, 1977, we declare that we are not holding the traditional protest hunger strikes, we are putting aside our only weapon in the fight against our oppressors — despite the fact that striking means not living", they wrote.

They also appealed to those world leaders with whom the Soviet Union signed treaties and later violated them, to fight against the illegality of the totalitarian USSR.



A Section of the Presidium of AF ABN Congress in Chicago 21-23 Oct. 1977



Ukrainian Youth in Munich (W. Germany) Protesting Against So-called Cultural Exchange with USSR.