

# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Ukrainian youth demonstration during V. Ivasiuk's funeral (a young Ukrainian composer) — murdered by the KGB — Lviv (Ukraine).

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## RUSSIAN AGGRESSION AGAINST AFGHANISTAN

Several weeks ago the USSR violated the Charter of the United Nations, which includes, among others, the territorial integrity of states, as well as indirectly the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, by invading the sovereign state of Afghanistan. The Kremlin has shown again, as in Hungary, in 1956, and in Czecho-Slovakia, in 1968, its contempt for international agreements, for the aspirations of other nations and for the outraged world opinion. The latest version of the notorious Brezhnev Doctrine has made its strong appearance in one of the Moslem countries.

Soviet-Russian aggression in Afghanistan was apparently motivated by the fear of a large scale rebellion of the Afghan people against the pro-Russian regime of President Amin. The victory of the Moslem insurgents in Afghanistan and Russia's defeat there, would have not only ended Soviet-Russian influence in that strategically located country, but also would have strengthened the revolutionary, national-liberation struggles of the various Moslem peoples oppressed within the Soviet Union.

It must be stated, that Moscow's domination of Afghanistan in any form (as a client state, a satellite, or even another "Soviet republic") would constitute only the beginning — and not the end — of its drive to the Indian Ocean. Future Soviet-Russian aggression will undoubtedly proceed either through some parts of Iran (creating in the process the Kremlin controlled states of Baluchistan, Kurdistan or Azerbaijan) or through Pakistan, with the aim of reaching the above stated strategic objective. To control only Afghanistan, a land locked, mountainous, desert rich country, makes little sense for any global strategy and no sense at all for the imperialist and chauvinist Kremlin strategy of world domination, inspired by Lenin. Hence, not only Afghanistan, but also Iran or Pakistan, both Moslem states, might be imperilled.

The Moslems in the USSR — Turkestanis (Uzbeks, Kazaks, Turkmen, Tadziks, Kirgiz), Azerbaijanians, etc. — are subjugated nations, that need attention and help from the members of the United Nations, especially those who profess the Islamic faith. To help those Moslem nations one must devise a common strategy of helping other oppressed nations as well — the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Georgians, etc., so that a common world-wide front against Soviet-Russian imperialism and neo-colonialist aggression be created. Such help implies supporting the revolutionary, national-liberation struggles of these subjugated nations and the subsequent creation or re-establishment of national and sovereign states in the area that is now called the Soviet Union, and, therefore, its dissolution as an imperialist system. The craving of all nations for independence does not stop at the gates of the last empire — the USSR.

It is the firm belief of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) that only through the dissolution of the Moscow controlled Soviet Union, i.e., the Russian Empire, peace in the world may be ensured, and not defensive reactions against the constant Soviet-Russian imperialist moves. Only then Afghanistan and other countries, be they Moslem, Christian, Buddhist, or of any other religion, will be safely sovereign and independent. For even if Afghanistan were to regain its independence, some other countries may and will be threatened by the Soviet-Russian empire, for such is the dangerous dialectics of the continued existence of the last empire in the world.

In conjunction with the afore-mentioned political and problematic positions, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) demands the following:

(1.) the immediate implementation on the part of the Free World and all freedom-loving peoples in general of a consistent policy of actively supporting

the revolutionary, national liberation struggles of the subjugated nations within the USSR, leading to the unequivocal dissolution of the Russian Empire and, therefore, the concurrent resolution of this historical anachronism and inimical threat to world peace and security;

(2.) the immediate rejection by the United States Senate of the so-called SALT II Treaty, which can only be regarded as a cunning Soviet-Russian imperialist device, designed to placate and lull the West into a military weak and second-rate position vis-a-vis the USSR, allowing the Kremlin to continue to pursue a more blatant and overt policy of military aggression in all corners of the globe, be it through conventional military means, e.g., Afghanistan, or through internal subversion and the utilization of "puppet" forces, e.g., Angola. Signing pacts, regardless of how noble one's motives may be, with an imperialist power, which has led a consistent policy of blatantly abrogating all such international agreements, is the very height of insanity. It is the firm belief of the OUN, that only after the final dissolution of the Soviet-Russian empire, can just peace, world security be secured and the threat of a thermo-nuclear catastrophe averted;

(3.) the immediate condemnation on the part of all the participants of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held in Helsinki, Finland, of the USSR, which obviously violated one of the primary premises of this Conference — the inviolability of territorial integrity and state sovereignty, by Moscow's military aggression of Afghanistan, and, secondly, the immediate disbandment of this Conference, which, for all intents and purposes, recognizes the existing territorial boundaries of the Russian empire and is, thereby, directly inimical to the national liberation aspirations of the subjugated peoples in the USSR, or, in effect, a threat to world peace;

(4.) the boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow — the very cradle of world ethno-lingual-geno- and natio-cide, by all freedom-loving nations. Moscow intends to utilize the Olympics in its psychological-propagandistic offensive against the West and to take part in these Games would be tantamount to becoming a gullible victim of this all-out imperialist offensive;

(5.) the institution of an economic blockade of the USSR, the implementation of the concurrent immediate suspension of all existing trade credits for Moscow of severe economic sanctions, ratified via a United Nations resolution, and offered by the United States, or any other Western state.

### **Boycott the Moscow Olympics!**

Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and Head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), sent a telegram to the United States President Jimmy Carter in connection with his announcement of boycotting the 1980 Olympics in Moscow and other sanctions against Moscow — the center of world terror and aggression.

Yaroslav Stetsko appealed in an address to the free world to boycott the Moscow Olympics, and spoke of applying other measures to be taken with Moscow back on October 11, 1979 at a press conference on the occasion of the 20th anniversary since the death of Stepan Bandera. (The Chairman of the Presidium of the OUN assassinated by the KGB on October 15, 1959 in Munich.)

Mr. Stetsko repeated these propositions at several other press conferences in the United States and most recently in a telegram to the US President and to the US National Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski at the time of Moscow's encroachment of Afghanistan.

## **Support of Subjugated Will Bring Peace**

**From press statement of Yaroslav Stetsko in Miami, Florida, USA,  
on the 20th of December 1979**

### **The Iranian Crisis**

It is my conviction, that in addition to economic sanctions, the United States should be prepared to use other measures if the need for such arises in order to free the American hostages. The militant students who took over the US Embassy are infiltrated by Russian agents. The precision, determination and expertise with which they are handling this situation clearly points to a higher organizational force.

The takeover of the US Embassy is but another step in Russia's decisive and long established policy of fomenting chaos and disorder in the Middle East. Their goal is to eventually divide the Middle East through a campaign of propaganda and other actions so that the countries begin fighting among themselves, instilled with a great hatred towards one another. Russia will then pick up the pieces, thereby expanding their colonial empire.

Russia desires to control the Middle East and her oil, thus making Western Europe, Japan, the African continent and others dependent on Moscow.

Russia's goal is world domination. The Middle East is an extremely important strategic base from which the encirclement of Western Europe, the liquidation of Israel and eventual realization of world conquest can be accomplished.

The world's confidence in the United States and her military might is being undermined by the Russians, while they continuously point to US weaknesses during the crises of Hungary (1956), Czecho-Slovakia (1968), Vietnam, Cuba, and today Iran.

A firm stand in defense of the Middle East nations would restore respect for the United States in the eyes of the world and raise her prestige among the subjugated nations in the USSR.

Russians will not intervene via a military invasion because they are afraid of the United States, and are especially fearful of national revolutions within the Soviet Union. The subjugated nations, Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, Lithuania, Byelorussia and others are eagerly awaiting any situation which would allow them to exercise their quest for freedom. The Russians must keep their occupational forces in these countries. In addition, there is always the possibility of conflict with China.

The Russians have always backed down and will continue to do so. Proof: The Cuban Missile Crisis Kennedy vs. Krushchev; Withdrawal of their forces from North Iran after W.W. II following US and British pressure to do so.

The Russians have created an empire and are forever trying to expand it. Appeasement is not the answer. Strength and resolution, support of the subjugated nations and the struggle in dissolving the Russian empire will bring peace to the world.

### **Views on SALT II**

I strongly oppose SALT for the following reasons:

1. Moscow never upholds treaties, unless they are to benefit from any agreement, then they demand that everyone respect the treaty.
2. There are no means of verification as to whether or not the requirements of SALT II are being upheld.

3. Detente is not the road to take if we are to avoid atomic war. Detente does not lessen the possibility of an atomic war. It only postpones it until such a time as the Russians feel that they are superior to us. Only the dismantling of the Russian empire through the policy of supporting movements of national liberation among the enslaved nations of the USSR will prevent atomic war.

4. Moscow organizes world terrorism. The Russians train terrorists in the USSR and abroad, in the satellite countries.

### **Cuba — a Russian Colony**

Communist Cuba is a Russian colony and a bastion of Bolshevik military aggression against the US; at the same time an organizer of communist revolts in Latin America, carrying out the work of the Russians in their quest for world domination.

The communist Cuban occupation forces in African countries are Russian colonialist mercenary troops.

Therefore, the military liberation of Cuba from Russian communist tyranny, freeing the Cuban people from the Russian puppet government of Castro, is in the best interest of the United States, Latin America, and the rest of the World.

ABN and the Ukrainian Revolutionary Liberation Movement OUN support Cuban anti-communist freedom fighters. We all desire to see a sovereign, free Cuba. We sincerely believe that a free and independent Cuba will be a center of anti-Russian and anti-communist activity, the site of ABN headquarters.

We call upon the American nation to aid the Cuban nation in ousting Castro, and destroying the Communist regime in Cuba.

Justice, peace and freedom will reign in this world only after the Russian empire is destroyed, and the subjugated nations gain their independence, blossoming into free, sovereign, independent states, true friends and allies of the United States. The communist system must and will be liquidated. This will be achieved without nuclear war through simultaneous national liberation revolutions by the subjugated nations of the Russian empire, aided and supported by the Free World.

### **Telegramme sent by the ABN Central Committee to the Islamic Conference held in Islamabad, Pakistan.**

*On behalf of the national liberation organizations of the subjugated nations in the Russian empire, we express our full solidarity, political and moral support for the heroic freedom struggle of the Afghan people against Russian barbaric aggression and subjugation.*

*The guarantee of independence and freedom lies in the dissolution of the Russian empire into national independent states by national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations in the USSR and satellite countries.*

## Abuses of Psychiatry in Rumania

### Psychiatric Treatment as a Means of Political Re-education

Testimonies by former prisoners of conscience confined to psychiatric hospitals show that psychiatric treatment is used in Romania as a means of political re-education of persons detained under Article 114 of the Penal Code.

A psychiatrist and psychologist were often present at the interrogations, taking place immediately after arrest. The political offender was usually asked to report extensively on his attitudes towards socialism, towards the state administration, towards political leaders of the country, towards work on a socialist community and towards society as a whole. From this moment the psychiatrist assumed an important role alongside the Securitate in decisions concerning the fate of the political offender. The report on this interrogation, including the preliminary diagnosis with recommendations for treatment, went to the court of justice which might or might not order the offender's psychiatric treatment in a hospital. It was often the case that the fabrication of the diagnosis was facilitated through records of illness from which the offender or even his relatives had suffered in the past. Often complaints and statements by the offenders regarding ailments such as headaches and certain allergies played an important role in the fabrication of the diagnosis. Once these observations were completed, the court hearing over with and the offender defined as insane and ordered to psychiatric hospitalization, the process of political re-education began. Basically, it consisted of threats, injections of neuroleptic drugs, beatings and other punishments imposed if the prisoner of conscience failed to admit his guilt, recant his critical political observations and make derogatory statements on subjects "hostile to socialism" and persons with whom he was acquainted. When there was a signifi-

cant overt change in attitudes expressed by the inmate of a psychiatric hospital on political issues, or if he recanted and condemned his past activities, he was likely to be treated with less drugs and benefit from generally improved conditions. Cases are known to Amnesty International where prisoners' of conscience overt attitude change led directly to an early release from the psychiatric hospital. Recommendations, such as the termination of drug treatment or even release, might be made by the political director of the psychiatric hospital and or by the forensic commission. In a few cases known to Amnesty International the political director conducted prolonged interviews with prisoners of conscience prior to their release, including questions in many ways similar to those asked during the initial interrogations prior to hospitalization.

An example of "successful" results of political re-education through psychiatric maltreatment is a case of a prisoner of conscience recently released from a special psychiatric hospital. In a letter to Amnesty International he wrote that he had become a "convinced Marxist" and that he believed he falsely accused the Romanian authorities prior to his internment. Further, he said that he realized now that the "Romanian social order is better than any capitalist social order".

It has happened regularly that prisoners of conscience have had to commit themselves to overtly changed attitudes prior to their release from a psychiatric hospital. This was done in such a way that the prisoners of conscience had several times verbally and in writing endorsed new "positive" attitudes towards Rumania's political system and had to promise never again to commit a "political crime". In cases known to Amnesty International, prisoners of conscience have had also to

sign on their release a statement promising not to disclose details of their treatment. Many of these were threatened with new psychiatric imprisonment or even death, should they disclose such details to the public.

### **Individual cases of Maltreatment**

AI has received some very grave allegations of maltreatment of POCs in special psychiatric hospitals in Rumania. A few examples of such allegations will be described below.

In January 1967 Ion Vulpe, a POC charged initially with "anti-state propaganda" and interned in Poiana Mare since 1975, succeeded in escaping from the hospital. He was, however, rearrested in Craiova, at his flat and transported back to Poiana Mare. It was reported that he was stretched on a bar and his hands and legs tied to it. His clothes were then stripped off and he was beaten with a truncheon on his testicles, stomach and face. By the time he arrived at Poiana Mare, Ion Vulpe had lost consciousness. The nurses washed his body and face covered with bleeding cuts with a hose in the shower. A few weeks afterwards he had partly recovered from his injuries and his father was allowed to see him. Prior to his visit, Mr. Vulpe was given 800 mlg. of Ulcleptil and was unable to communicate with his father. Reportedly Mr. Vulpe was released from Poiana Mare by the end of 1977 and is now ordered to regularly visit the psychiatric hospital in Craiova under Article 113 of the Penal Code. He is not allowed to leave the town without permission.

In September 1975 Virgil Dinculescu, a POC arrested for "anti-state propaganda" and held under Article 114 in the psychiatric hospital at Poiana Mare, reportedly died as a direct result of maltreatment. The incident took place after Mr. Dinculescu submitted complaints to Dr. Enache, the political director of the

hospital, alleging that the medical personnel was stealing meat which was officially served to the patients. Dr. Enache apparently returned this letter to Ion Stefanita, the medical assistant, with some instructions. Subsequently Dr. Dinculescu was severely beaten up and within 2 days injected 30 times with Plegomazin and Mazeptil. Two other POCs who suggested to Ion Stefanita at the time that the treatment might have fatal consequences were threatened with the same. Mr. Dinculescu died within 3 days of his treatment.

Iodine and boiled milk is allegedly also used for punishing POCs attempting to escape or submitting reports on their psychiatric maltreatment to friends and relatives. AI has received such allegations from the following hospitals: Dr. Petru Groza; Poiana Mare; Dr. Gheorghe Marinescu; Sighetul Marmatiei Baluceanca. Direct testimonies of such victims describe the consequences: "intense unbearable bodily pain, cold, sweat, shaking and deadly anxiety". In fact, injections of this mixture might cause, in experts' opinion, acute exogenous reaction with symptoms such as personality disorientation, anxiety, low blood pressure, high fever, dizziness i.e. anaphylactic shock.

AI has also received allegations concerning 30 cases where electro-shocks were administered by psychiatrists to extract self-incriminating statements from inmates.

In the Steagul Rosu steel plant in Brasov, fires were started and a slogan appeared on the walls: "give us extra payments, pigs".<sup>1</sup> As a result of a massive Securitate investigation, a worker named Vasile Brancu was arrested. At the same time, another worker Gheorghe Rusu who worked as a night porter at the steel plant was also arrested. They were both charged with economic subversion and anti-state propaganda. Rusu was sentenced to death in a trial at the plant on 12 May 1975. According to recent information, Rusu was



not executed. At the present time, he is being kept in Aiud prison pending appeal. Prior to his trial in 1975 he was severely beaten and treated with neuroleptic and electroshocks in order to make him confess his alleged guilt. As a consequence of this treatment he suffers from speech difficulties and loss of memory and other psychiatric disorders. The other worker, Vasile Brancu, apparently refused to sign self-inculcating statements. The available information indicates that he was neither involved in writing the slogan nor in starting fires. He was known to his colleagues as a loyal member of the Communist Party but often critical of the treatment of workers by the management. During 1975/76 he was kept in solitary confinement in a basement cell of the Securitatea in Calea Rahovei Street. During that period electro-shocks and unknown drugs were administered to him in order to extract self-inculcating statements. The treatment of Vasile Brancu occurred during the nights in another building near the Restaurant "Budapest" in Bucharest. The electro-shocks were allegedly administered under the guidance of Dr. Elena Vrabie, a graduate and former member of the forensic institute in Leningrad, USSR. Since the beginning of 1970, she has become a leading forensic specialist at the psychiatric hospital Dr. Gheorghe Marinescu in Bucharest. AI has no information available on this case since the end of 1976 but it is alleged that Brancu has died in the meantime in the cells of Calea Rahovei Street as a consequence of psychiatric maltreatment.

Former POCs confined to various psychiatric hospitals in Rumania between 1969 and 1978 alleged that, although the drugs' administration varied from case to case, religious prisoners and especially members of the prohibited Lord's Army, Jehova's Witnesses and Reform Adventists usually received the highest dosages of powerful neuroleptica.

In all cases known to Amnesty Inter-

national, prisoners of conscience released from psychiatric hospitals were warned or threatened with death if they disclosed details of their treatment. Former prisoners of conscience who were recently given passports were allegedly told by Rumanian officials that publicly disclosed information on their treatment would affect the treatment of their relatives and friends living in Rumania.

*Amnesty International  
International Secretariat*

<sup>1</sup> In 1974 the government requested that the 5-year plan should be accomplished in 4—5 years. This led to considerable unrest amongst industrial workers who were consequently forced to work during the weekends without being paid.



*Valentyn Moroz setting afire the Soviet Russian flag at an ABN demonstration in front of the Soviet-Russian Mission to the UN in New York.*

## President Park — Friend of the ABN

First reports of the death of the South Korean President, Park Chung Hee (62), were cloudy; there was talk of a criminal murder, because of personal conflicts. The cloud of murky facts slowly dissipated and it became clear that President Park had fallen as a result of a political conspiracy. The assassination against him was carried out by Kim, head of intelligence, who together with some of his aides, was afraid that they might be relieved of their duties for reasons of insubordination.

Immediately after the murder, an unusual state of emergency was declared in the country. Temporary rule was taken by the present Premier, Choi Kyu Hah. American forces in Korea were put on an immediate military alert, in order to ward off any plans by the North Korean Communists to attack the South.

Numerous Heads of State of non-communist countries noted the great accomplishments of the late President Park. President Carter called Park, "a trusted ally and a capable leader". At this point, we would also like to note that President Park was a great friend of the subjugated nations organized in the ABN and a zealous advocate of their independence from Soviet Russian colonial rule.

Tragic is the path of nations, which at the wishes and whims of superpowers, including the United States, are divided through foreign conquests. Tragic is the plight of Vietnam, tragic is the plight of Korea.

President Diem had to die not at the wish of his nation, but at the wish of the superpowers, which forbade him to liberate North Vietnam, and were restricting the defense to the 38th parallel. Diem, a great friend of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia, one who had conferred on numerous occasions with Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Central Committee of the

Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (CC of the ABN) and Premier of the last independent Ukrainian state, wanted for his nation, exactly that what we want for our fatherland. He died as a result of a geographical "parallel", as a result, the free world lost Vietnam in favour of Moscow, and now Cambodia!

Park Chung Hee, the son of a farmer, was loved by the villagers of Korea, which compromise 75% of the Korean population and constitute 70% of the officer corp and membership of the 600,000 strong army. He was also a great social reformer of Korea, who brought his nation out of the middle ages into a modern industrial era, where Korea is not only in the forefront of the developed nations in Asia, but in the entire world as well. Korea, under his leadership, has evolved into a country of considerable economic strength.

Under the leadership of Park, South Korea was a barricade against Moscow's advance in the Far East. President Park valued highly the importance of the subjugated nations in the struggle against Soviet Russia. In several conversations with Yaroslav Stetsko he expressed a great interest in the non-Russian nationalities that now populate Siberia, and especially the large Ukrainian population of so-called "Zelenyj Klyn" in Siberia, near Korea. He was a strong supporter of the concept calling for the dissolution of the Russian empire, which would have guaranteed a united free Korea, lasting independence.

President Park was an official initiator of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and announced its creation on a conference held in Seoul, Korea. He always spoke at conferences of the Asian People's Anti-Communist league (APACL) and WACL. He accepted audiences with national delegates of ABN. Korean delegates at international conferences,

starting with 1955 and 1957 (Saigon), were one of the first original supporters of the ABN and Ukrainian resolutions calling for the dissolution of the Russian empire into independent countries. The death of the hero of anti-communist Korea is a great loss for freedom-loving humanity.

Opponents will be searching for “pears on a willow tree”, against Park, accusing him of a lack of democratic freedoms, a dictatorship, etc..., although they refrain from making similar accusations against Castro, Tito, against the cannibalistic “czars” and the “Amins” of Africa, against murderers in Vietnam, who — consciously! — drown people-refugees in boats from the red hell, against the murderers in Cambodia (4 million people!), they do not accuse Brezhnev with his five million inmates-political prisoners — priests, artists, fighters for freedom, nor Honeker, nor Ceausescu nor other communist tyrants.

South Korea remains in a state of war, defending itself against communist attacks from the north, which make their way through the south via huge underground tunnels, create diversion, unrest, acts of sabotage, attempting to divide the country from within. And to demand from South Korea complete democracy (of the European model) *in time of war!* Did America and England have this type of democracy during the Second World War? Was not Roosevelt a war time dictator? Who gave one-half of Europe to Moscow? Who created Yalta, Potsdam? Dictators and not any democratic parliaments! Neither the American Congress, nor the British Parliament approved the division of Europe and its sacrifice to Moscow!

Nevertheless, in the South Korean Parliament there exists an opposition. Is there

one in the “parliaments” of the USSR, Tito, Castro, Honeker, Ceausescu, Husak, Kadar or of Africa’s cannibalistic dictatorships?! Or in Vietnam or Cambodia?

President Park will be remembered as a courageous and heroic figure, who had only the good of his Fatherland as his sole objective. Two attempts on his life — in 1968 and 1974 were not successful. In 1974, his wife, a great patriot of Korea, died a heroic death, when she was seated next to him while he spoke and an assassination attempt was made on his life. With unusual levelheadedness, he continued speaking, while his fatally wounded wife was driven away to the hospital, where he went to bid her farewell on her eternal journey, only after he finished his speech. He lived, as a hermit would, alone, serving completely only Korea.

Just like Syngman Rhee, also a great friend of the ABN, President Park has entered into the history of Korea in gold letters, as a fighter for its independence and sovereignty.

To all the pseudo-democratic critics: once the moment of crisis has passed, national “dictatorships” turn into democracies, but communists — into murderers. Ancient Rome in times of crisis had a dictatorship for a limited amount of time. War demands a firm military hand. Our enemy — Bolshevism — hell-like, we should show for it no mercy, because it shows none for us.

Who stood behind the killers of President Park, who were the true inspirators of this political murder? — Only history will tell . . .

**“Russia — I stand before you, Ancient Dragon, with a naked chest, but unafraid . . . You cannot overpower me, because I am the Immortal Spirit of Ukraine . . . !”**

**Oles’ Berdnyk, 1979**

## Nine Hours in the Twilight Zone

That night I did not dream . . .

I always dream when something is about to happen; long ago I became convinced that one must believe in such dreams.

That which was about to happen belonged in a different dimension, however — even in a different world — not even a dream could “reach” that far.

I ate breakfast, and as always laid down to rest on the floor which I covered with my coat. To lay down for ten minutes after eating was a necessity, more important than eating. (Afterwards I prayed for a long time — another year-long habit. Here this tradition has been broken: in America there is no time for lengthy prayers.) I always had to nap with “one eye open”; during the day my sleeping board was placed against the wall and I was not allowed to lie down, even on the floor. One could only lie down for eight hours from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. Therefore, when a key started to turn in the rusty door lock, I quickly jumped up to give the impression that I had not been lying down. Before the lock, then the door (and then the bars in front of the door — altogether three locks) were opened I had hung up my coat and had picked up my gloves which had been placed under my head.

I thought that it was time for the daily exercise walk and was bewildered at the early hour, but the young guard on duty that day said: “Get your belongings ready for the transport.”

Where to? On Wednesdays it's to Saransk (capital of Mordovia); the camp KGB man, who appeared at once, confirmed my thoughts: to Saransk. More of them appeared. I did not know one of them, who spoke in Ukrainian. I disco-

vered that he was a new KGB man from Ukraine, assigned to Ukrainian prisoners in Mordovia (there is such a position; the previous KGB man had just completed his “exile” and returned to Ukraine). This one immediately started looking through my file. Leut.-colonel Romanov, chief of the detachment, did the same. Then another man in civilian clothes issued a few orders and it became obvious that he was in charge. The door kept opening and closing and everyone who looked in demanded: “quickly, quickly.”

There was more tension than during a normal trip to Saransk. The camp commander asked for the sizes of my clothes and shoes — apparently they are going to give me new ones for the trip. They were all angry at the fact that I had a large amount of papers and advised me to leave all of the books. We bargained over every item. “Why do you need all this?” they bellowed. They scanned and read through my notebooks sporadically. I could have deduced even then where I was going, had there been the time to analyze the situation. The KGB agent from Ukraine wanted my short story entitled “And I saw the Beast” as a gift; he argued that I had two copies of the manuscript. I asked him “Why do you want it? You can read it after I return from Saransk.” He was at a loss for a response; he could not say that I would never come back, and could not think of anything else to say. I did not notice this at that time and realize the significance of what was going on only now. After a long bargaining session they allowed me to take all my writings. This included 122 notebooks and also 60 books, some letters and drawings by my son and others. These were packed into my old suitcase and a large back

pack; my personal belongings were in another bag. I realized at once that it would be extremely difficult to carry all three. The prison corridors were unusually quiet and empty, not a soul, even the guards disappeared. We walked outside and saw no one there either. On the porch stood a guard who once served in the German police and remained a policeman in the prison camp. My escorts even motioned him to go indoors. At the entrance to the camp store a guard kept the door closed so no one would be able to see me. All I could manage was to cry out into the prison corridors: "Good luck, gentlemen!"

Those were my last "prison" words. Surrounded by guards I reached the guardhouse at the entrance to the camp where I was told to put my things down and take off my clothes. A thorough search followed! My old shoes, taken from the barracks were already there,

with their half-torn soles. I am given new shoes. They also gave me new clothes, a black instead of a striped prison uniform. Everything is ready. They remove pieces of paper from the pockets of my old clothes. The KGB man tells the camp commander "Keep these as souvenirs."

As souvenirs... I could not help noticing something unusual in their treatment of me. I wondered what kind of souvenirs they kept back in 1961? Eighteen years ago, this same Nekrasov, in the same camp, but from behind different barbed wires was releasing Josyf Slipyi (the present Ukrainian Cardinal and Patriarch in Rome)... At the time Nekrasov was only a young paramedic. In the prison camps, medical officers often transfer to prison administration. Now as a major and the camp commander, he was sending me on my way to America.

I had to sign a receipt for my new clothes. I caught a glimpse of a list... I



*An example of worldwide demonstrations in defence of Ukrainian political prisoners.*

see the names of Ginzburg and Kuznetsov! Finally I thought: oh yes, *this is not a road to the hills*. It is not by chance that the three of us are about to travel together. There in a narrow hallway, I felt for the first time *a draft of freedom*.

Had I ever hoped that this would happen? Did I think that there would be an end to this suffering on Mount Calvary? Yes, I had such hopes. There are no prisoners in jail without hope. What keeps a prisoner going through all those long years? — a belief in a miracle. This is a belief (contrary to everything logical) that tomorrow something will happen and the prison doors will swing open. This is not in discord with sober reality. Of course, every prisoner knows (whether he be a criminal or a political prisoner) that he has to stay in prison for so many years and conserves his energy to survive this stretch. This is called *prison math*. But there exists another level of consciousness; it is nothing one can explain, but only a continuous anticipation: will it be soon?... How soon?... On that level fly golden peacocks who with their colorful feathers embrace this longstanding hope. This is called *prison mystique*.

One who does not believe in miracles will do so in prison. Oh yes, I knew that my sentence was nine years and was ready for the worst; yet, everyday I was ready for that moment when they would say: *Get dressed. Your captivity is over*. Everyone is ready for such a moment — but no one will admit it.

My golden cuckoo didn't respond till the ninth year . . .

. . . The train arrives at the rail station Potma. I am alone in a compartment. I don't see either Ginzburg nor Kuznetsov. The three of us are isolated from each other. We are in a prison train — travelling on a feed line from Potma to Barashev, which ends in a deep forest, with camps, a total of 19 camps all along

the rail line. I am escorted by spets-convoy guards, who are to deliver me to my destination. A guard is posted outside my compartment. When the other prisoners are led along the corridor, the guard closes the steel blinds in my compartment and I am left in total darkness.

We stop in Potma in front of the prison. I stand on the steps; two guards with sub-machine guns stand on both sides. The safety locks are off — ready to fire. One of the guards holds on to a dog with a short leash, ready to jump at a word. But after many long years in prison this is accepted as normal. For the first time after months in an isolation chamber, I see the outside world.

Spring is in full bloom, the sun is quite warm. The snows are melting before your eyes and there is a lot of water. Across the street is a kindergarden and also a zoo. I see a caged wolf behind a tight wire mesh. In the Caucasus it is a good omen to see a wolf. A Tsetshen who wants to praise someone will call him a wolf. I had seen stuffed wolves before; now I saw a live one — this was a good omen for a good trip.

In Potma, I felt once again how very hard it was to carry my 122 notebooks and 60 books. It was a long way to the transit prison, around the whole camp — about 300 meters. Red and black circles appeared before my eyes, — but I strain to carry them.

We remained at the transit prison for only a few hours; I had just laid down my things when it was time to leave.

I continued to carry my stone weight; all the soldiers and guards thought I was a crackpot: why does he need those papers? For about four hours I am locked in a cell. I could tell that this did not smell of Saransk. The train to Saransk had already left. I sit in my cell box one meter square; I can't stand up. I am chilled to the bone, and there is no room to walk: all I can do is to stamp my feet and rock

between the walls. But I decided to say nothing; long ago I found out that protests do not help. I would risk getting a beating from the guards, if I bothered them too much. The guards talk to me when no one is around. They were ordered not to talk to me; this intrigues them. They ask all kinds of questions, but become silent when an officer approaches. In the transit prison I had heard sharp orders: Do not talk to him. A criminal prisoner who distributed meals and cleaned the corridors wanted to ask, through the door the usual questions: Who are you, where from? They reprimanded and chased him away. It was my impression that the guard themselves did not know up to the last minute where I was going; at last, when the train started moving — they realized that it was to Moscow. But I didn't know this; I asked a couple of times — they were silent, no answer. I slept for about three hours — then I stared out of the window: where am I going? I tried to catch a glimpse of the names of railway stations. I see more and more high platforms at the stations: this convinces me: we are near Moscow! When I read the name *Bukovo* — I did not have to guess anymore: we are near Moscow.

... For a long time my car was moved on different tracks of the Moscow railway station. This was the second day of my journey, Thursday. Then again a prison car and more questions. Where to? Quo vadis? Perhaps to Presnia, a transit prison? To Butyrki, where I had been back in 1976? Perhaps to Lefortovo, the KGB prison? The civilian guard was also at the station in Moscow as I left the train car. The last time I had seen him was in front of the prison gates. He was responsible for my conveyance; his name and rank I shall not know soon — only then, when they open the KGB secret archives in *post-Brezhnev Russia*.

There are no signs over prison gates; in Lviv, the KGB prison on Lonsky Street is

masked as a police station. But they openly carry a calling card: the blue stripes on their head gear. After I saw the first guards at the gate, everything was clear: this was Lefortovo. They search me again very thoroughly and list my belongings. I see two elderly guards: a tall sinewy one and a short fat one. Both are calm and treat me without malice. The tall one dictates, but the short fat one cannot keep up with him. Lazily, but without anger he says "What do you think I am, a meteor?"

In the prison — to my surprise: I see that I shall not be alone in the cell. A young Russian, a black marketeer who speculated with money is already there. I certainly do not need a black marketeer with me, because *I have things to hide*. For some time I had been ready to leave prison, knowing that I might be released before the end of my prison term on June 1 and had re-written some of my works in very small script which enabled me to keep them on my person. (This cost a lot of effort: both to write and to safeguard, because such work is nerve-racking: every noise behind the cell doors made me jump as if I was touched by a live wire. However, my nervous system reacted well to such tension: Later I would sleep soundly). At the cell doors I announced: "Either you give me a cell to myself, or I am going on a hunger strike."

My roommate asked where I was being taken. What could I answer? I had known for quite some time that people in the West had been working for my release: I also noticed that the atmosphere around me was tense and abnormal, but ... I had learned to live protected by armor. I knew that without this armor they could inflict painful wounds. I had been taken to Moscow once before, in 1976. At that time I could already taste freedom — instead I was taken to Serbsky Psychiatric Institute, . . .

No, I shall not remove my protective shield . . . This dream must be kept on a tight leash, like a hunting falcon, no matter how strong its desire to soar to the heavens . . .

So I said to him: Maybe to Ukraine? Before release they often take a prisoner to his native land . . . Perhaps . . . Perhaps . . . I will discuss anything, but not Freedom.

I postponed my hunger strike until the next day — no one begins a hunger strike at midday, and went to sleep. But it was not meant for me to rest a whole night in Moscow. In the middle of the night a guard woke me and asked my name. I did not appreciate being awakened in the middle of the night; therefore I answered sharply — to be left alone. However, he was not impressed; he wanted to make sure that I was still there. Then at 5 a.m. (when the prison was still asleep) they came again, told me to dress and . . . to shave! That meant that I was going to take another trip. Afterwards, they brought breakfast, which had been prepared the night before. I declared a hunger strike and refused to eat.

In half a hour I was called again. The guards lead me up the stairs, the doors open — there sit a colonel and two civilians in side chairs. I addressed the colonel. "You are the prison commander." I started to say that I would start a hunger strike if I could not get a cell to myself.

But I was interrupted by one of the civilians.

"For hostile activity, you are being banished from the Soviet Union."

I guess they expected me to fall to the floor from the shock. But these words affected me less than I expected. I had waited for them for too long a time. Besides . . . I was not alone: with me was another prisoner who was more important than I: this prisoner was my writings. I can't speak for someone else, but for me *there is more of my essence in my writings*

*than in my own self*, and their fate is dearer to me than my own. Very honestly, without exaggeration I can say that had they said: you can take your works with you, if you stay in prison for three more years — without hesitation I would have accepted, even though they would have been three years of hell.

Therefore, I first asked with whom I had the honor to converse. He answered "Gavrilov, from the USSR Prosecutor's office." "May I sit down?" No, you will stand. This he said with deep hatred: they were releasing someone whom they would have liked to eat alive. Then, still standing, I announced that I would not go anywhere without my works. The colonel told me that they would be delivered to my family. His answer was not satisfying.

There was no point in pursuing the hunger strike, since I was not taken back to the cell. They led me to another room where I found a suit, shoes and clothes. The inner pocket of the suit had a Polish label "Vistula" and I thought: I am going to the West on a Polish passport. The shoes were not from Moscow either (they were Czech-made); only the *uncivilized brutality* was Russian.

Other than an electric shaver, we were not given anything for our trip (not even a toothbrush).

For the first time in nine years I put on a suit jacket. They brought a tie — but I had forgotten how to tie one . . . The fellow with me couldn't tie one either. He found a couple of younger guards in the hallway — they finally tied it.

To this day I keep the *Russian noose* as a souvenir. But no one can place it on my neck again and I don't even touch it anymore. Later at the State Department I saw a copy of the Russian daily "Izvestia" — I couldn't touch it either.

. . . We step out into the hallway; there two men in civilian clothes direct us to a car. I repeated again that I would not go anywhere without my notebooks. They



twisted my arms and dragged me to the car. In the moving car, I rested my hand on the back of the front seat. The response was a slap on the wrist and a crisp "Don't touch." (While they were dragging me to the car I noticed that they were already drunk, at seven o'clock in the morning they reeked of booze, like a distillery. Yes they were officers, but they were Russians.) They sat on either side of me. The tense feeling became boring and slowly we started conversing. About soccer, naturally, what else could one talk to them about?

... That night I did not dream... Long ago I had a premonition that I would be released on a *Friday*. And so it came to pass: on the 27th, a Friday...

We travel through Moscow. I am not too familiar with Moscow, but try to guess to which airport we are going. From a sign "Chimsky" I realized that it would be the "Sheremetyevo" airport. In front of us are some cars. The first, a small one, is full of security guards. Then another one, and another, and then the fourth in which I am travelling. Who is in the preceding car, I wonder — I don't recognize him. It was pastor Vins, but I didn't know him at the time. We cross the River Moscow; blocks of ice are drifting on the current but near the bank the ice is still so solid that we see fishermen catching fish. Finally — Sheremetyevo. At the airport we see crowds of people dressed in civilian clothes. The police are visible also, but I disregard them. I see them running, issuing commands... We drive to a far corner, where the asphalt ends. The cars line up and on the right I notice Ginzburg. I nod to him, he nods back — since talking is forbidden. They ask me: why are you so sad? Look at Ginzburg, he's cheerful. He was already conversing with the guards and the chauffeur. Alik can always find a common ground — that I knew. Why am I sad? I am not sad, but worried, but won't tell them why. I have with me those tiny notes which they would

love to get their hands on, and I silently pray: God, please let me finish this mission! I managed to hide them for many long days — only a few more hours are left. During those last few hours my whole being was concentrated on them. Where are we going? And how long is the flight? To Switzerland? It seems that they themselves don't know. "You'll see," they reply.

Passengers are boarding the plane, all Americans. In our middle section of the plane there are no passengers. There are only the five of us, 16 KGB men and a doctor. We sit near the windows, two "guardian angels" sit in the aisle seats. They watch our every move; if one of us leaves his seat — they follow. More and more their behaviour uncovers their inferiority. They ask, somewhat meekly: Why were you sentenced? What are you going to do in America? They will return to continue as slaves (although slave-drivers, still slaves themselves); I am going to a world where the opportunities are much greater than they can count on, or even imagine.

Two men from the American embassy enter the plane. One is Mr. Smith, the other's name I can't recall. They announce that our families will join us and record the names of our relatives. Later, I observe them through the window. One can tell them apart from the average Russian, even though they are dressed the same. By the way they stand, the way they hold their hands in their pockets, by the way they move — one can see that they are Americans. Something about them is so much more energetic, so very definite. There is no grayness, or lack of clarity that so identifies a Russian.

... The last movements on the ground — the plane rises. At long last I have left the land that has been a prison for many generations of Ukrainians.

Goodbye Russia. Will I come to you again? It's better for you not to search

for a meeting with us . . . Because, if I come again, it will not be in shackles. Not only shackles are forged from steel . . . For as long as the Russian occupies Ukraine, our dialogue can only be one of *steel striking steel*.

On the plane the stewardess informs us in English and Russian that our flight plan is Moscow-Gander-New York. Nine hours of flight. Therefore, not to Switzerland. Long ago I thought about going to the West; but before that I wanted to stroll through the meadows of the Carpathian Mountains and to bow my head before Shevchenko's monument in Kaniv, Ukraine . . . Will I now see the Dnipro River from the plane? No, I will not because we are flying in a northwesterly direction towards Sweden. Through the clouds we see the Latvian shores, and then the Baltic Sea. On the left, we catch a glimpse of an island, all covered in white. It's Kichan — a piece of Estonia.

Suddenly appeared the islands east of Stockholm, as if to greet us — then the land disappeared under a cover of clouds. I slept a little and when I opened my eyes, we were flying over the white tips of the Scandinavian mountains, snow-covered — the seat of the old Germanic gods, those, who together with the Nibelungs tried to conquer the world. From up high, the Norwegian fiords look the same as on a map. A few more islands, cliffs — and farewell Old World. Before us is the Atlantic, so awesome and boundless, not unlike the Russian expanse which I tried to measure from the prison car. (But now I am going away from Siberia, not into Siberia). The "Aeroflot" plane — is my last prison and never before had I been guarded so well. We lunch first, then they; the only difference is that we aren't given any knives.

We have been flying for a couple of hours, but it is constantly noon. The plane is flying at the same speed that the world

is turning. Time is immobile; everything stands still and waits, in the twilight zone: the spies in New York await release, and we, above the ocean, await Freedom; and our guards are waiting to rid themselves of the heavy cloak of responsibility. They know all too well that if something happens not according to the scenario — they would wind up in Siberia in our stead.

Even the sun stood still in the sky, like during the time of Christ the saviour.

We are not their's anymore, but we are not free either — we hang over the ocean suspended in zero time, in spacelessness; wherever we land everything will start again from zero.

. . . The first Canadian land I saw consisted of tundra and the forests of Newfoundland, with a mosaic of lakes and pathways among them. The forest becomes more dense and finally in the middle of a green sea — the geometric square of the airport — Gander. The plane landed, and the first thing that I saw was a maple-leaf flag flying over a building. Airport mechanics and servicemen are nearing the plane. I see my first Canadians — *my first free people in a free land*.

The feeling is weird; I am on the American continent, but . . . in a Soviet prison! Moscow has exported a myriad of things to the West . . . finally they export a prison! A flying prison. Even if they tried to take us back — they wouldn't be allowed to do so. The skies over Newfoundland are dominated by "Phantoms" not Soviet "MIGS." Therefore, I am no longer under their control. However . . . I cannot make a move without their permission. And so in a twilight zone, in twilight imbroglio — for nine hours! They seemed longer than the nine years in prison, although I was already wearing a Polish-made suit, not striped prison rags. A polite KGB man is more terrifying than a brutal one; he is more nerve-wracking.

Sixteen polite KGB men and a doctor, also from the KGB . . .

. . . The farther south in Canada, the more meadows, more farms. Then again — clouds and more clouds and the stewardess says: "In twenty minutes we will land at Kennedy Airport." The ground is covered by a fog. The landing seems long and careful and finally we feel the first jolt of the wheels on the concrete after the long hours of free flight. The speed is reduced and the plane seems to stop. No, the plane continues over the concrete runway. It stops again, all of the passengers leave; they tell all the stewardesses to leave. Is it our turn? All this seems so unbelievably long . . .

We are moving again and pass some buildings, signs, gasoline reservoirs . . . Is this the end? No, another turn.

We move and move and move — a painfully long time.

Why does it take so long?

It is difficult to exist in a KGB prison in Moscow; but to sit in a flying KGB prison on American soil, surrounded by Freedom — is harder, immeasurably harder. We arrive at a dead end; we cannot go any further. Thank God! There is a lot of movement around the plane. A sportsmanlike, not very tall young man appears holding a walkie-talkie near his ear and talks into it. This is a first for me but I realize immediately what his function is.

There seems to be no hurry to remove us from the plane. What else can we expect? I am ready for anything. This reminds me of a man that brought some gold from Kolyma (a prison camp.) He avoided all dangers until he arrived at his native village in Ukraine. There he was taken to the police! He was searched . . . The last time he saw his gold was on the desk of the police chief . . . A few more minutes. I am enthralled by true mystical terror: could something happen in these

last few moments? On the outside I appear very calm, — but this calm facade always takes a lot of nerve.

Movement around the plane increases, but we are still seated. It seems that all the clocks on earth have stopped and will never start again, and we will sit here until the time for the Armagedon. A trap-ladder is placed near one exit and then near the other.

And then, when all of our energy was drained and we became stoic — entered the Americans! They were Ms. Jessica Tuchman Matthew, Mr. Reginald Barthelemy from the National Security Council and Mr. Robert Barry from the State Department. Mr. Barthelemy congratulated us on our new found freedom and welcomed us to America. Our first surprise was that those that came to welcome us were as moved and excited as we were. Ms. Jessica Matthew asked if we were tired. I answered that not so much physically as mentally. "There was no less tension here," she said. Actually, she looked excited, as if it was her and not us who had flown from Moscow with KGB men at our sides. Mr. Barthelemy did not seem any calmer. I never imagined that an official of such high rank could be so open and humane. You won't find this in Europe. The security broke down completely; the KGB were still there, but we walked around and talked with whomever we wished.

. . . When we were disembarking from the plane it was grey and cloudy; but this was the brightest day of my life. I do not remember much about my first step on the land of Washington. We were too tired, stunned and stupefied to remember anything. We didn't even notice that at the time we were leaving by the front exit, two Soviet spies entered the plane through the other one. That was how the exchange took place. Mr. Ferrand from the State Department immediately invited us into

his car. He apologetically explains that due to a sanitary strike in New York, we see the masses of black plastic garbage bags on the streets. Inwardly, I laugh: what does he know about garbage? What does he know about dirt? If only he could imagine the amount of dirt where I came from — on those faces, on the souls and consciences, in that greatest of garbage dumps in the world which contaminates whole continents... That dirt could not be removed in one year by all the sanitary workers in New York. He points out famous landmarks, some of which we had seen in photographs. He speaks Russian, or what he imagines to be Russian. His Russian reminds me more of Ethiopian. He wants to explain something but cannot translate the word. He explains what the word means — we still cannot understand. Finally I asked him to say it in English. He says “manager.” We laugh. In Ukraine every child knows the word “manager”; it is used constantly without translation.

... At the end of a long street suddenly appears the tall and flat UN Building, not unlike a huge transistor. We leave the car near the UN at the Plaza Hotel. Elevators here are much faster than in the Soviet Union. Very quickly we are on the 37th floor. I am shown to my room. Immediately I take a piece of paper and write the number 17. In this stunned, dreamlike state it would be easy to get lost.

I close the door — finally I am alone. I take out my treasure — the thin sheets of miniature writing. For a long while I look at the sheets and straighten them out. In the end I outsmarted them. Now one can relax and rest after the strenuous experience. But... only for a while. Again I carefully hide my treasure, as before. I well understand that the KGB cannot arrest me in New York. Yet, anything else could happen, as in Moscow. The United States does not yet know the

KGB, and most likely will not learn for a while. One day we will destroy them, but for now... Brutus was of noble birth, but in the end he was only Brutus. No, I will not take off my shield, as did Caesar...

(It wasn't till later, when I found myself in a Ukrainian haven, with a flag of two uncompromising colors and a cross of knighthood on its field, that I realized that my treasure was completely safe).

...I had a curious feeling, like in the Aida or the underground kingdom of Greek myths, everything was tangible, as if on earth, but everything seemed to be in *shadows*. *Physically*, I stand with both feet on American soil, but *psychologically* I am still over there. I walk around the room, handle objects in order to believe in what I see — no these objects are not mine yet, they do not seem real. (Later, a television commentator told me that many Americans also *could not believe* that I was actually here). Later, there will be a cherry tree on Long Island, which blossoms just like in Ukraine... swans near a large park in Glen-Cove, and the ocean, which breathes with salty freshness. All this enlivens me and tears away the roots of my thoughts, emotions and feelings from the *other* land. (Only in my dreams do I have problems in arguing with someone *there* at the KGB. Then I awaken and say to myself: ho, ho, I am in America! Why should I argue with them? As yet, I haven't had any dreams about this land, and probably won't for a long time. Dreams are inspired by *ghosts*, and every land has its own; the old Indian gods that guard dreams in their wigwams haven't found their way to me yet...)

We all gather in one room and decide what to do. There will be a press conference and we have to present a joint statement. We are all very tired and realize that today we won't be able to decide on anything. It's better to wait till tomorrow.

We haven't lost our sense of humor. Kuznetsov says that if his wife calls from Israel, she should be given a certain message. Someone immediately changed this to: "If my wife comes, don't let her in." We laugh heartily. Finally, we sit down to the table. With great effort we piece together a few sentences. Ginzburg ran away — he had to get some sleep. I also deserted. Kuznetsov was the only one who slaved over the release until morning. But sleep was not as near as we imagined . . .

Mr. Ferrand enters and informs us that we will be visited by representatives of Ukrainian and Jewish organizations in the United States. I did not realize that he meant the Ukrainian National Association and thought that he was referring to the

Ukrainian Congress Committee in America. The lobby is full of newsmen, but the security people don't allow anyone upstairs; the press conference is scheduled for tomorrow. Shortly I am informed that the Ukrainians have arrived. Should they be invited in and how many? I respond that all Ukrainians should be invited in, whoever wishes to meet me. In a second they are in the room — the first three Ukrainians that I saw in the free world. They all speak with a Western-Ukrainian accent, their language is beautifully preserved. But have they preserved Ukraine in their hearts? I knew that Ukrainians would greet me in New York. But would Ukraine also come? How much of Ukraine will I see in their eyes, their movements and their emotions? In half



*Demonstration held in London in front of the Soviet-Russian Embassy on the 20th anniversary of the assassination of Stepan Bandera, ordered by the Soviet-Russian government.*

an hour I realized that I had nothing to fear. I was surrounded by Ukraine; these people brought so much honesty, so much enthusiasm, that if anyone were to look down from space on this spot near the East River, he would see a great, blinding light, not unlike the one over Bethlehem.

It is so much easier for women: they cry when they feel like crying. Men don't know how to cry and can't cry. My heart was full of tears — but I could only look, not knowing what to do with them. I don't know how to cry: during the past nine years my tears hardened into crystals, harder and sharper than the sword of Toledo which will always hang on the wall over my bed.

It is better to stay away from people that cannot shed tears... From unshed tears are born crusades and St. Batholomew nights...

They came and came; with every second Ukraine was growing around me. First a darkeyed, handsome youth with the features and psychology of the Hutsul Mountain region in Ukraine — although born here in America... A mature woman, with statuesque, heroic presence, so like the great Mother of Kyiv — dissident Oksana Meshko... A tall blonde youth, with eyes like my son's, — and so much of youthful idealism in his eyes! Oh God, how similar are the young generations in Ukraine and here in America! A girl in an embroidered blouse, so unbelievably beautiful and so astonishingly Ukrainian in this far and foreign land. She was the first Ukrainian girl I saw since being freed after nine long years; there was so much of Ukraine in her.

*"You can banish a Ukrainian from Ukraine, but you cannot excise Ukraine from an Ukrainian."*

The red and black flame of Ukrainian embroidery, like a volcanic eruption,

thawed the cold and stupor and for the first time I knew that I was *among the snows* no more. The twilight zone ended. I realized that time was moving again and that I did not have a watch. I was offered three watches. I accepted one from a gentlemen who offered his first, a tall broad-shouldered man, with a sincere smile, who brought that smile from Ukraine quite a few years ago and who did lose it here in Manhattan.

... After a while, everyone left, and then I realized how tired I was. When it is day here, it is night there; twenty-four hours have passed without sleep. There is so much that is new... Happiness is more tiring than suffering. I went to the bathtub and soaked to my neck in warm water. Now I can relax by myself, without tension, and think about nothing-nothing-nothing... In such bliss I remained for about forty seconds. Until the knock on the door...

I did not respond to the first knock, thinking that it was someone that arrived with me, who would knock and go away. But this is someone very persistent. I dress and open the door. An energetic blond woman enters the room. She greets me in proper Ukrainian, but with a heavy American accent; and immediately, without introduction, she starts discussing Ukrainian problems in the United States. Moroz is free; what is the Moroz Defense Committee to do now?"

Exhaustion and the need for sleep disappear somewhere. At last I awaken from the trance of the nine hours of the "twilight zone" and say to myself: You are in New York, probably the most turbulent place on this earth. Who needs quiet? Who needs the relaxation? You have rested enough in prison.

So get to work, cossack!

May 29, 1979

## RUMANIAN SOLIDARITY

*Speech on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the assassination of Stepan Bandera*

20 years ago in Munich Stepan Bandera was killed in an underhand manner. Declared by the official communique as the leader of the Ukrainian Nationalists he was in actual fact the head of the Ukrainian Nation. He not only was the head of the organization, the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), but also the organizer of the Ukrainian national revolution. Despite all obstacles, Bandera longed for the independence and freedom of his country, which will never succumb to the tyranny of Russian Imperialism. He dedicated his life for a sacred cause.

Although in his early teens — even though, when for those who are summoned to take on the fate of their nation into their own hands, age has no significance — in 1941, together with Jaroslav Stetsko, he formed the Ukrainian State as a Republic and fought for its preservation. But the force against the independent Ukrainian State was too mighty. At the beginning of the war Ukrainian freedom-fighters were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in German concentration camps. However, this did not succeed in separating them for long from their struggle. Bandera did not allow to deny himself the need to fight. After his release from imprisonment at the end of the war, he immediately took over the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). After the murder of the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), Taras Chuprynka, when the conditions of battle became impossible, Bandera changed the strategic policy of battle and the army went into the underground.

Although Bandera did not act in the limelight of battle and even though it was difficult for his opposers to pinpoint his

actions as his very own, Moscow was still able to assess the importance of his role. Consequently, because the Russians could not disrupt his struggle for freedom, they decided to dispose of him physically. In 1959 the assassination of Bandera was carried out by a Russian agent on the steps to his flat in Munich. Thus, with the aid of a poisoned bullet for a specially designed pistol, ended the life of a great warrior for freedom. It was a grand life, a life of an hero, and we bow down before him recognising his unforgettable achievements in the cause of freedom.

Bandera gave his life in the struggle against the enemy exactly on the boundary of the Iron Curtain. The masters of Moscow ordered to kill him in an underhand method as they could not overcome him by fair play. But they did not succeed in forestalling the liberation movement. The ideas for which Bandera fought continue under the leadership of J. Stetsko, another legendary figure of the Ukrainian nation. The struggle became even more determined and persistent and it shall continue until the collapse of the Russian-Communist Imperialism. In event of allowing this imperialism to exist, it will suffocate not only the Ukrainian nation but all the nations which live under the occupation of Communism. Russian imperialism longs to destroy and liquidate as soon as possible the Hungarian, Slovakian, Croatian, Rumanian, Latvian, Estonian, Lithuanian, N. Caucasian, Byelorussian, Georgian and Turkestanian peoples.

Due to the imposed yoke of the Russian empire there is no longer a free nation on its territory. A nation comprised of independent people who alone decide their own destiny and laws, the measures in which they are to live. Under the red

tyranny it is Moscow who dictates the living conditions to all nations.

These were exactly the conditions which Bandera found unbearable to come to terms with. He could not agree with the fact that some foreign country, whose centre is Moscow, should make decisions on the fate of the Ukrainian nation. He, therefore, dedicated all his life and energy for the freedom of his country. All Ukrainian people, in the homeland, in exile and in the free world, strived for this cause. This nation will not forsake its struggle. Bandera's spirit and the faith in God strengthen the will power of the people.

The Ukrainian people are not alone in their struggle for freedom and indepen-

dence. Side by side with the Ukrainian nation struggle other people and nations. Their emigre representatives support Ukrainian representatives at all times. The ABN stands by the policies of Bandera as to the unity of the anti-communist front, from which a strong bond of freedom will develop.

From the framework of this Front for freedom, people and nations, free and oppressed, unite for the downfall of the red tyranny.

May God help us!

May Ukraine live freely!

May all nations, enslaved or threatened by red tyranny, live on!

*Basyl Mailat*

*Rumania, Central Committee ABN*

### **“For a Russian National-Democratic State“**

On May 21-22, 1979, there took place in New York an open session of the Organizing Committee of new political emigres from the USSR, “Russia Without Colonies” (“The State Democratic Group”).

The meeting began with common prayer of those present. The session was attended by invited persons: Chief Editor of the journal “Sovremennik” (Contemporary) (Toronto), A. Guidoni; the Responsible Secretary of the Editorial Board, R. Rummyantseva; representative of the journal “Fakty i Mysli” (Facts and Thoughts), I. Gurvich (New York) and others.

A report was made by B. M. Boldyrev, founder and chairman of the Organizing Committee of the organization “Russia Without Colonies”.

The speaker emphasized the following points:

1) It is necessary to try to form, on the basis of the Organizing Committee, a political organization capable of setting itself and carrying out at least the following three main tasks: 1) co-operation with

various organizations and persons participating in the struggle for the liquidation of the Moscow Soviet (former Russian) empire, for real national state independence of the enslaved nations constituting that empire; 2) explaining to the Russian people the absolute perniciousness (first of all for itself) of the many-centuries-old imperial burden which has constantly retarded the formation of the Russian nation, has brought Russia to totalitarianism and communism, and under the present-day conditions threatens the Russian people with a final moral and ethnic degeneration; 3) working out prospects of construction of a national-democratic Russian state freed from imperialism (and thus from communist totalitarianism).

2) It is obvious that the formation normal functioning of such an organization is impossible without prior elaboration of a political programme of its own and the main principles of its organizational structure (articles of association). It is namely this purpose that the existing



Organizing Committee is intended to serve.

3) On the other hand, it should be noted that the Organizing Committee "Russia Without Colonies" (the State-Democratic Fraction), in its present political fraction form, and the more so in its former formless state of "Russia Without Colonies", has not been sufficiently effective and is hardly capable of attaining its principal aim. It is necessary, therefore, to abolish this form and to transform the Organizing Committee in accordance with its direct purpose.

4) This transformation must be undertaken from the beginning, from the rejection of the old name of the Organizing Committee, "Russia Without Colonies", as being too narrow and one-sided, placing as it does its emphasis on one aspect of the task, and thus not reflecting fully and adequately the essence of our aspirations and our problems. The new name must correspond exactly to the contents of our activities and:

1) both to stress our final break with the former Organizing Committee which has not fulfilled its tasks,

2) and to express the triple task facing it at present (see above).

The speaker put forward also the following tactical considerations in favour of the change of the old name. In the opinion of our main opponents, the so-called "one-and-indivisible" (Russia) die-hards, who have no desire to liquidate the Great Russian colonial empire, the USSR, this empire allegedly does not have any colonies, but consists of "organic parts" ("outskirts") which are defined: 1) either as something in the nature of ethnic reservoirs of the empire that have absolutely no national face of their own in relation to the Russians (Ukraine, Byelorussia); 2) or are organically incapable of national State existence outside the Russian Empire (USSR) (the Caucasus, Central Asia, Moldavia); 3) or are, finally,

economically, politically, geographically, etc., integrated in the imperial system to such an extent, and, moreover, allegedly to their own advantage, that there is no point in talking about their independence at the present time (the Baltic countries). By means of such falsification of historical, cultural, social-economic, and ethnic data, the "one-and-indivisible" die-hards shamelessly depict the last remaining national empire in the world as being something of a "national brotherhood", they try to present this relict of a conglomerate as a politically single, nationally indivisible whole. The "one-and-indivisible" die-hards will not permit one to accuse Moscow of colonialism because, in their opinion, this is a betrayal of the general imperial interests, as well as Russophobia, and hostile slander of the "older Brother" — the Great Russian people.

With respect to all the above-mentioned points, the speaker said further, our Organizing Committee has taken up a diametrically opposite position (See "Memorandum of Cooperation of the Organizing Committee of "Russia Without Colonies" (State-Democratic Fraction), published in the journal, "Fakty i Mysli", 9, and in a special Appendix to the journal, "Sovremennik", 42 for 1979 and our other publications). We consider the aggressive, violent colonial character of the Moscow Soviet empire a fundamental political axiom, a definite historical fact, from which one ought to start, and not to deny and question it, thus creating an obvious cause for discussion. We, the Russians, have for centuries colonized the neighbouring nations, depriving them in the end of their independence. We, and no one else, have to restore this independence to them as an act of good will. Thus, decolonization of the USSR is a natural slogan of the activity of our Committee (and of the political organization that is being formed on its basis), and we must avoid

suspicious confusion (and fruitless disputes) in this question that is clear to us, for these disputes would lead us astray from solving our primary tasks. We must not give the slightest cause for provocations of this kind that would only weaken our work. It is precisely for this reason that it is worthwhile to abandon the former name of the Organizing Committee which gives our adversaries an extra chance for demagoguery, for brain washing and disorientation of a too trusting and not too competent mass, for compromising us and our cause in the eyes of the public opinion in our homeland and abroad.

The speaker called upon the meeting to take the above considerations into account.

P. M. Boldyrev's report was discussed from every aspect. In the course of the discussion, reports were also made by A. Guidoni and I. Gurvich about the positions in the national question of the journals, "Sovremennik" and "Fakty i Mysli". These positions coincide with one another and with the position of the Organizing Committee. The participants in the discussion raised a number of constructive proposals about the paths of further coordination and integration. In particular, it was proposed that P. M. Boldyrev take up the post of a representative of the journal, "Sovremennik", in the USA with the view of becoming eventually a member of the Editorial Board. The journal, "Fakty i Mysli", accepted the task of carrying a permanent column for material of the Organizing Committee of the organization, "For a Russian National-Democratic State".

The following decisions were taken:

1) to rename the Organizing Committee, "Russia Without Colonies", the Organizing Committee, "For a Russian National-Democratic State";

2) to retain P. M. Boldyrev as Chairman of the Organizing Committee;

3) to acknowledge the courageous position of the journal, "Sovremennik", which in its section "Forum", takes an active and principled part in the struggle on the side of the anti-imperial and anti-colonial forces; to co-opt as member of the Central Board of the organization, "For a Russian National-Democratic State" Chief Editor of the Editorial Board, A. Guidoni, and Responsible Secretary of the Editorial Board, G. Rummyantseva; to appoint A. Guidoni Chairman of the Canadian Section of the organization, "For a Russian National-Democratic State";

4) to approve the very important work conducted by the journal, "Fakty i Mysli", with regard to unmasking the policy of russification carried out earlier by the Russian Empire and presently intensified even more in the USSR;

5) to set up a Committee for the elaboration of the political programme of the organization, "For a Russian National-Democratic State", taking as a basis the above-mentioned "Memorandum of Cooperation";

to approve the temporary membership of the Committee:

Chairman: P. M. Boldyrev

Co-chairmen: A. Guidoni

I. Gurvich

R. Rummyantseva;

6) to inform the wide public about the meeting and about the decisions taken.

It has been decided to implement the elaboration and adoption of the Articles of Association for the time being in the course of work.

Finally, new applications of admission to the membership of the Organizing Committee of the organization, "For a Russian National-Democratic State", were considered.

*The Organizing Committee  
"For a Russian National-Democratic  
State"*

New York, USA

# From AF ABN Activities

## MASS PROTEST RALLY

*At the Soviet Russian Mission to the United Nations 67th Street and Lexington Avenue,  
November 7, 1979 6 PM.*

Opening Remarks by Peter C. Wytenus, President of the AF of the ABN.

Mr. Chairman, Reverend Clergy, Honoured Guests and Friends, My name is Peter C. Wytenus. As president and on behalf of the AF of the ABN, Inc., we welcome you to this mass protest rally.

*Let me state emphatically.*

We, the executive members of the AF of the ABN, Inc., as American citizens are proud and deem it a privilege to reside in the greatest country in the history of civilization, the United States of America.

We participate at this rally as a counter demonstration to atheistic, godless Russian Communism and actually place this mons-

trous destroyer of mankind *on trial before the world.*

We will present speakers who will bear witness of the heinous crimes committed by Russian Communism, not only in their countries in the past, but also today and what they expect in the near future. Peoples of the free world!! We ask you to join in this trial of the crimes committed by Russian Communism and to render your verdict of GUILTY!!! and help us to render a decision for the only true solution to the enslaver of half the world:

**DECOLONIZE MOSCOW'S EMPIRE!!!**



*ABN demonstration at the Soviet-Russian Mission to the UN, November 7, 1979.*

Based on the previous experiences of captive nations in their broken treaties with the Soviet Union, we urge the United States Senate to carefully review the SALT II Treaty in respect to the total security of the United States of America.

The Senate must ignore all threats by the Soviet Union and other warnings from Pro SALT II supporters. If the Senate finds that amendments should be added to the SALT II Treaty in order to strengthen the United States position, the AF of the ABN will strongly support the Senate. Let us make a prediction for the immediate future:

It is 1983. The Ayatollah Khomeini has died, leaving Iran in political turmoil. In the confusion, the Iranian Communist Party claims to have seized power. Challenged by the Army and Shia Moslems, the Communists call on the Soviet Union for aid. Eight divisions of Soviet airborne troops are swiftly flown to Tehran and to the oil fields at Abadan in the south. A Marxist-Leninist government is proclaimed and Iran's daily exports of six million barrels of oil are withdrawn from the world market, diverted to fuel the Soviet Union and its allies.

The United States is powerless to intervene.

**Y. Stetsko, President of the CC of the ABN, sends greetings to the AF of the ABN rally in New York City, November 7, 1979**

*On behalf of the Central Committee of the ABN and on behalf of fighting Ukraine, I greet your demonstration, organized by the AF of the ABN, with our revolutionary slogan — "Freedom for nations! Freedom for the individual!"*

*Freedom loving nations and peoples unite in the struggle against Russian imperialism and communism for the independence and sovereignty of nations! Death to the Russian Empire! Long live national independent states on its ruins! Down with the policy of detente with tyrants and nation-murderers! Long live national liberation revolutions, as the path to independence!*

*The Bolshevik counter-revolution brought us a sea of blood, the subjugation of dozens of nations and 70 million victims. Russian tyranny rules over the nations in the USSR and the satellite countries to this day. Five million political and religious prisoners are still languishing in Russian prisons and concentration camps, among which there are 50% of Ukrainians, 30% of Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians and 20% of other subjugated nations.*

*We accuse Moscow of genocide and murder. We demand that the Free World boycott the Olympic Games in Moscow — the country of genocide, murders, concentration camps and Russification. We demand that the idea of the dissolution of the Russian Empire become an integral part of the foreign policy of the West. The United Nations "Resolution on De-Colonization", which calls for the granting of independence to colonial countries, must be applied to the Soviet Russian Empire.*

*Long live the ABN! We salute the heroes of the national liberation revolutions!*

*Yaroslav Stetsko  
President, Central Committee  
of the ABN.*

## Hungarian Message

*Statement by the Hungarian Representative at the AF of the ABN Rally,  
NYC, November 7, 1979*

At 5:20 AM on Sunday, the 4th of November 1956, the Hungarian radio, Radio Budapest, announced that Nagy, Minister President of Hungary will speak. He said: "Here is Imre Nagy speaking, President of the Ministerial Council of the People's Republic of Hungary, — at dawn Soviet troops launched an attack against our capital city with the clear intention to bring down the legal Hungarian Democratic government.

Our troops are in combat, the government is standing fast — this is what I want to communicate to the people of this country — and to the opinion of the world. (Last message at a clandestine radio station on Nov. 9, Friday at 15.29 PM.)

The freedom fighters are tired, but more spirited than ever before. Please help us, before it is too late. Help us to save our country!

*Oh God — bless the Hungarians with good spirits and a better life, Extend your defending arm to them when they have to face their enemies. Give them at last a good year, after they were torn so long by the fate. This nation already has paid more than its share, for the sins of the past and of the future.*

*Hungarian National Anthem (lyrics by Mihaly Vorosmarthy, 1835, music by Ferenc Erkel, appr. 1860.)*



*ABN Panel discussion, New York, December 16, 1979.  
Left to right: Mr. Peter Wytenus, Prof. Konstantyn Sawczuk, Mrs. Jutta Ristsoo,  
Mr. Wolodymyr Mykula, Mr. Mychajlo Shpontak.*

## ABN Supports Afghan Fighters

*The ABN Demonstration in New York in Solidarity with the Fighters for the Independence of Afghanistan was a Great Success*

New York. (M. Sh.) On January 19, 1980 a demonstration, organized by the American Friends of the ABN in solidarity with the Union of Afghan Fighters for Independence, took place in New York in protest to the recent invasion of Afghanistan by Russian troops. The demonstration began at 10:30 A.M. and lasted until 3:00 P.M. That very evening and on the next day the mass media of metropolitan New York broadcasted fragments of this demonstration, informing the national American populace about the aims and goals of its organizers.

At first the demonstration took place in two sections of the city: in front of the United Nations building the Afghans, with their tri-colored flag and with numerous placards, such as "Death to Moscow" and "Death to communism", were joined by a smaller contingent of Ukrainians in marching in front of the UN building; a second demonstration took place on 67th Street, in front of the Soviet-Russian Mission to the UN, where they were joined by their Afghan comrades in the end. The general theme of the demonstration was aptly stated the following slogans: "death to Moscow, death to communism, death to imperialism!"

Most of the American mass media carried parts of their interview with Prof. Valenty Moroz — the Ukrainian spokesman, as well as parts of the speeches of the Afghan spokesmen — Lmer Yonussi and Masud Khalili.

Mr. Yonussi stated in his speech, that Moscow's aim in invading Afghanistan was to continue marching to the Indian Ocean, thereby cutting of the Arabian oil fields from the West and to further encircling China. The other Afghan spokesman, Mr. Khalili underlined the fact, that Moscow

does not yet understand Islam, and that the struggle will be continuous until the final victory over the Russian invader!

Prof. V. Moroz in his various interviews with the press stated on this occasion:

"Our voices and the voices of the Third World are now united in a common manifestation against Russian imperialism-communism. For the first time, world public opinion has so severely turned against Moscow. In the eyes of the entire world, Moscow is now the imperialist."

After the speeches, several Afghan demonstrators burned the red Russian flag, chanting — "death to Moscow — death to communism!" Afterwards, a long column of demonstrators marched through the streets of New York to 67th Street. At the head of this column were the Afghan and Ukrainian flags. Here they joined the ABN demonstrators.

This part of the demonstration was led by the head of the New York chapter of the AF-ABN — Mr. P. Wojtynas (Lithuania), who read a declaration condemning Soviet Russia for her aggression on Afghanistan and other nations. After the signing of the American national anthem, another series of speeches followed. The Afghan spokesman called upon the USA to support the struggle for an independent Afghanistan and for the national liberation of the subjugated nations of the USSR. He also demanded, that all exchange and trade agreements with the Soviet Union be immediately rescinded and terminated.

The demonstration was ended with the burning of the Russian flag and the further chanting of a number of slogans.

This demonstration symbolized a world mobilization of anti-Russia imperialists forces.

## LATVIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

*Greetings delivered on the 61th Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Independence of Latvia, Detroit, Mich., November 18, 1918*

Honourable Chairman, Your Excellencies Mr. and Mrs. Stetsko, and Honoured Guests:

I am very proud and pleased to be with all of you today. As a member of the Detroit Lithuanian Organizations Center and from all of the Lithuanians in and around Detroit, I extend to you our friendliest and warmest greetings. I also have the honour as next years' chairman of the Baltic Nations of Michigan Committee, to extend to you on behalf of the committee and its members — sincere and warm greetings.

This is a day that should be full of joy and happiness, like that of the Fourth of July, with fireworks and flags waving, parades and children laughing and playing. It is and should be all of that, however, on this day we smile and yet cry at the same time. This day proclaims that Latvia was once a free and independent nation and it will be again some day. As surely as there are night and day, Latvia must and will be free once again. You and I cannot wait till that some day comes. We must act now, and we must act in force. Smaller organizations must act and work together and form larger more powerful organizations with a common purpose and goal to drive the Soviet Russians from our land.

We as individuals must find more time to devote, and play a greater role by involving ourselves in American government and politics. And like in sports we cannot just be spectators and applaud good deeds, but must actually get involved in the game. If we do not act for ourselves and our country, then who will? Run for office, no matter how small it may be, for example precinct delegate, help sponsor and support beneficial congressional actions, like the *Baltic Nations Bill 200*. Letters are most helpful toward this goal, write to the media

as well, for every one letter you send, it is considered as representative of some 700 individuals, just think if every one here wrote, what an impact that would have. For next year we should consider getting together and sending a representative to Madrid. Here in the United States we need to ask for and demand a greater share of the pie we call the "American Dream". We need to ask for and get an Eastern European Advisor to the State Department and White House, help for our elderly, our businessmen, and not least of all our Saturday language and cultural schools. Others are getting this help, why not us? We must ask and demand and we will obtain. But mostly we must be involved. This, my friends, will bring closer the day we all await!

*Dr. Algos Barauskas*

### **Estonian Cordial Wishes**

Honourable Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Elza Rudzitis, your Excellency Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, Madame Stetsko, distinguished guests, Chevaliers of War Medals and Orders, my dear Latvian compatriots of Daugavas Vanagi, Ladies and Gentlemen!

Today all Latvians solemnly celebrate in the free world the 61st Anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the free Latvian Democratic Republic. We all know, and were very pleased indeed, with the fruitful outcome of the economic, cultural, industrial, defence, academic and many other developments in your beloved homeland during the 22 years of independence! Let us today happily recall many other events and celebrations in your communities and cities on Independence Day, where parades were held, patriotic songs were sung on gatherings, and perhaps also the members of the Latvian Student Fraternities held special sessions, resp.

commerc'es, where special patriotic songs echoed, and most likely the chorants proudly sung especially the 6-th verse of *Gaudeamus igitur*:

*Vivat et Respublica, Et quillam regit!*

*Vivat nostra civitas, Maecentum caritas*

— *Quae nos hic protegit!*

It is needless to give a translation to those immortal words, which have inspired the students during the centuries, and perhaps have done so many times during the occasions, when the Fatherland had to be praised and the fight for freedom was in the stage of *Ultima Ratio*! This was duly achieved 61 years ago, when Latvia proclaimed its freedom and independence!

But sad history has proved to us all, that there are always invisible enemies around the peaceful nations, who through superior military, unlawfully and brutally attack countries and occupy their territories and enslave their populations, and reinstating a Soviet Russian colonial administration, as it sadly happened in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia! These sad events rolled over the Baltic shores during the summer of 1940 and our dear friend — Latvia lost its freedom to the Communists by the notorious Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact 40 years ago! Four years later, we all became "Captive Nations", under the subtitle: "Displaced Persons"! But the Latvian people did not give up, and "held on" to the spirit in exile, forming their own communities in the displaced persons camps, ie. schools, religious parishes, cultural activities, etc...

After settling here in the United States of America, you continued to fulfil the same tasks: to save and hold the national culture alive in the younger generations! I would like to bring attention to your gathering here today in this Finnish House auditorium, as a strong example of those who have made a firm national stand in the Metropolitan Detroit area. Your national leaders have wisely been directing

life in exile, for the future active and passive freedom-fighters for a free Latvia! You are a founding member of the Captive Nations Committee in Detroit, under the experienced leadership of today's Chairman, Mr. Sigurds Rudzitis, with whom I personally have been serving for almost eight years, and these years have given me nothing other than great patriotic pleasure, working with you in many committees. The last great event that we launched was two years ago: the "Baltic National and Human Rights Rally" in Washington, D.C., at the Lincoln Memorial.

This all is giving us today a concrete and firm proof, that if you do so well in many areas, that you will finally reach your goal for a free Latvia, sooner or later, together with all Captive Nations, because we cannot accept any other alternative from our oppressors-communists, as the only result: Freedom for all nations! Latvia and others, or no freedom for anyone! If all not all Captive Nations are free — no one is free! With this firm stand we can reach these goals!

In closing, I would like to thank you for the invitation to your 61st Anniversary celebration, on behalf of myself and my wife Aline. Please accept cordial wishes from the Estonian-American National Council in the USA, from the Legion of Estonian Liberation, Inc. in Michigan! As a member of the Captive Nations Committee in Detroit, I am also very pleased to greet you on behalf of the Estonian Community of Metropolitan Detroit! Long live a free Latvia! The subjugated Nations are supporting your goals!

*Lai dzīva brīvcinige varoni un Latvijas Demokrātiska Walsd!*

*Dievs, Sveti Latviju!*

*Raimond Tralla  
Farmington Hills, Michigan*



## RUSSIFICATION OF UKRAINE

Future objective historians and researchers of present social and political movements and processes in the world will have to conclude that today Ukraine is in a state of a specific decisive war against Russia. As is the case in every war, no matter whether cold or hot, it possesses its own particularities, so Ukraine has to fight its particular battle for existence in today's time of Communist-Russian enslavement and ethnocide. One of the fronts of Russian attack on Ukraine is the front of russification.

Vitaly Kalynychenko, who completed his ten-year sentence in April, 1976 and presently lives under constant KGB surveillance in Dnipropetrovsk Region of Ukraine, in his declaration of rejection of Soviet citizenship, mentioned the tragic state in Ukraine. "Ukraine was turned into an economic colony of Russia. Part of official governmental politics is russification. In all phases of Ukrainian administrative life Russian language is predominant, namely in such phases as manufacturing, education, science, culture, government. Ukraine is threatened with the same kind of national annihilation as has occurred among the more than ten million Ukrainians living in Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.)."

Facts strengthen V. Kalynychenko's prophesies and fears. Open official policy of russification in all of the USSR was enacted by the 25th Congress of the Communist Party and the so-called "Brezhnev Constitution" made it law in October, 1977. This gigantic conspiracy by Russia against enslaved nations, particularly Ukraine, is the more dangerous because it encompasses all spheres of the population, peoples of all ages, professions, classes or educations, — the aim of which is to annihilate native language, mother language, as the means

of communication between individuals and as indication of national, specifically Ukrainian, separability and identity.

Politics of russification, particularly in Ukraine, is a large and multi-faceted concern. In connection with 1979 being the International and the Ukrainian Year of the Child, this analysis will cover only one facet of the attack and process of russification of Ukrainian children, namely the one dealing with russification of education in Ukraine. In the Soviet Union, the home, kindergarten, school, youth organizations and institutions of higher education are under obligation to produce standard Soviet citizens, denationalized and separated from their native countries. Against these politics of russification, a war must be waged for retention of the Ukrainian child by its nation, for the unbreakable bond between Ukrainian child and its mother, its home and its family.

### **Woman — Mother — Family**

The problems of russification of Ukrainian educational system and the fate of Ukrainian child cannot be separated from the fate of Ukrainian woman, mother and family as such. Historically, Ukrainians, based on their inbred high Christian morality and national conservatism, have always considered the family as the foundation of existence and development. Marriage was considered a religiously sanctified unbreakable bond.

Ukrainian nationality factor in marriage was safeguarded by the Church, family and Ukrainian environment. Mixed marriages in Ukraine were very rare. Ukrainian family life was based upon traditional bonds, respect and love of everything native, parents, land, language and culture. This, as outlined by Dr. Vasyl

Shymoniak, professor at Marquette University, in his book "Woman in Communist Reality", was the foundation of Ukrainian idealistic outlook, the strength of Ukrainian resistance, and the source of Ukrainian nationalistic patriotism. Presently, under Communist-Russian occupation, through destruction of the Church and forcefully inflicted atheism, through annual deportations of thousands upon thousands of Ukrainians to Asiatic and other so-called Soviet Republics, and through mass influx into Ukraine of foreign, predominantly Russian, element, these foundations were shaken and partially destroyed. The changing position of the Ukrainian woman went hand in hand with these changed circumstances. A new phenomenon appeared and spread on Ukrainian horizon — a phenomenon of mixed and so-called progressive marriages, which, according to USSR statistics is very widespread in Ukraine (for each 1,000 marriages — 58 in rural areas and 262 in cities are mixed). Prof. R. Yendyk states that 80% of the mixed marriages involved male Ukrainians and 60% female Ukrainians. When in the past, most mixed marriages were between Ukrainians and Byelorussians, presently, for most part, Ukrainians marry Russians or Asiatics. As a result, the dominant language in those homes is Russian.

Existent situation in Ukraine today demands from Ukrainian woman-mother great effort and faith in her nation in order to safeguard her family and resist russification. Even in these harsh circumstances, it is the Ukrainian family, for most part, that stands as the stronghold of everything Ukrainian — Ukrainian language, faith in God, pride in its national origin and culture. These values, taught to the smallest children by their mothers remain with them as their guideposts — as "maternal blessings", using the words of one of our famous writers Mykola Po-

nedilok, through their whole lives. In spite of all efforts and endeavours of our enemies, temptations of great careers, pressures and terror, a generation of Ukrainian patriots-nationalists grows and multiplies in Ukraine.

### School and Child

Further most important factor of russification of Ukraine is the school. Child's school years are the most critical and decisive in the lives of Ukrainian mother and child. The whole educational system of the USSR is aimed, pursuant to Article 36 of the Soviet Constitution, "...at cultivation of citizens in the *spirit of Soviet patriotism and social internationalism* through Russian language and languages of other republics of USSR." Meaning that schools, universities, youth organizations of "Pioneers" and "Comsomol" are obligated to train a "Soviet" not Ukrainian patriot, with orientation upon the imperial capital of Moscow and not on Kyiv, capital of the Ukrainian Republic. Here, the Ukrainian mother must realize her responsibility of safeguarding her child and its soul. From the first step a child takes into the foreign day-care center, from the first day of kindergarten, through all the following levels of schooling, the Ukrainian child must live through a process of spiritual division, doubts and choices — who constitutes the greater authority — parents and home or teachers and school; who is the child supposed to love and obey; what road should it choose for its lifetime. The school is obliged to supply the child with the necessary education and knowledge, however, it is the parental responsibility to inject the child with respect toward its origin and the necessity to maintain national loyalty toward its native country for the rest of its life.

To go through the Soviet educational system and not to lose one's soul — is a great test for the Ukrainian child. Statistics show that in Ukraine Russian-language

schools are on the increase and Ukrainian on the decrease. School is the predominant instrument of russification. On April 17, 1959, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR enacted an educational law, Article 9 of which states, according to "Education in Soviet Ukraine" by John Kolasky, as follows: "Instruction in the schools of the Ukrainian SSR is conducted in the *native language of the pupils*. Parents decide to which school with what language of instruction they wish to send their children. The study of one of the languages of the peoples of the USSR, in which instruction is not conducted in the given school, is realized upon the application of sufficient numbers of the parents and students." The meaning is clear — in Ukraine the Ukrainian language is not obligatory in all schools — on the other hand, the Russian language is obligatory in all schools of Ukraine. Minister of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, I. K. Bilodid, discloses the following data for the school year 1961/1962 in Ukraine:

1. Ukrainian-language schools — 33,309 (82.11%);
2. Russian-language schools — 6,292 (15.51%);
3. Other language schools (Moldavian, Hungarian, Polish, etc.) — 963 (2.38%).

In the same school year 1961/1962, in accordance with information supplied by the official of the Ministry of Education of Ukrainian S.S.R. Alla Bondar, the chosen language of instruction in Ukrainian schools was as follows:

1. Ukrainian — 4,170,900 students (64.49%).
2. Russian — 2,000,100 students (30.93%).
3. Other — 52,400 students (0.81%).
4. Two different languages 244,200 students (3.77%).

In the school year 1966/1967, pursuant to Alla Bondar's information, Ukrainian-language schools totalled 23,900 — a decrease of 10,000 of Ukrainian-language

schools in Ukraine during a five-year period.

When taking into consideration the fact that almost all industrial, technical and other institutions of higher education are located in cities and not in rural areas, it is self-evident that, with minimal exceptions, they are all Russian-language schools.

### **Attack on Pre-School Facilities**

Politics of russification by the Communist Party and the Communist-Russian regime in Ukraine and other captive nations characteristically appear in declarations of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union enumerating the responsibilities of pre-school training, and in the proclamations and edicts of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of July, 1978, to all subordinate Committees to concretely "... in the shortest time possible, in each city and particularly in each village" increase the work of, and establish where they do not exist, "pre-school facilities" (day-care centers and kindergartens). All this is done, understandably, to separate the child from its mother, to weaken the mother's training and influence during these most formative years, to relieve the mother for long hours of exhaustive work outside the home, and to supply an identical, russified colour to the educational system for future generations. Following these proclamations and edicts from Moscow, the servile, obedient Party Committees of Ukraine and other captive nations forcefully and hurriedly organized contests between cities and villages for "over-performance" of the instructions even before the conclusion of the Five-Year-Plan terminating in 1980. An example of this intensified process of russification of pre-school facilities in Ukraine is the Crimean Region of Ukraine, where the above mentioned edict from Moscow was more than fulfilled "... in pursuit of Communist training of Ukrainian children",

according to an article in "Soviet Woman", No. 1, 1979, there are intensely working "...990 pre-school establishments at various collective farms (kolkhozes), industrial and other facilities, where attendance amounts to 114,000 children". Today, these Crimean pre-school establishments employ over 8,000 specially trained and indoctrinated teachers, in addition to a number of various party inspectors of the Ministry of Education of the USSR, whose responsibility consists of making sure that all the plans and edicts from Moscow regarding the indoctrination of Ukrainian pre-school children are carefully fulfilled and over-fulfilled.

The obligatory language in all of these pre-school establishments is, of course, Russian! The magazine "Soviet Ukraine", wrote that in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, even before the edicts of July, 1978, there were sixteen kindergartens, and only four of which were Ukrainian-language ones. The result is clear — in the event a Ukrainian child did not learn from its mother its native language, Ukrainian, before going to such a school, it is forced first to learn a foreign language, namely Russian, before being able to learn Ukrainian as a second language.

### **School Books**

To illustrate the politics of russification in education, the following numbers of school books printed are statistically annotated: In 1964/1965 in the USSR there were published 205,500,000 school books in Russian for 54.65% of Russian students in the USSR and 78,805,000 for 45.35% of students of all other nationalities. Next year, the number of Russian school books published was increased again by four million.

About the principal obligations of schools and teachers in Ukrainian SSR writes the magazine "Soviet Woman", No. 9, 1978, "Over 700,000 teachers of Ukraine greeted on September 1st close to 8 million stu-

dents of the Republic. It is they, caring tutors, who will teach our children reading, writing and the virtues of citizenship, to love their homeland, who will help our children choose their professions, or even in schools, to specialize." Further, this magazine supplies the news about the establishment of "educational-production combines" in accordance with "the complex plan of industrious education and training" of pupils, the so-called "Child Five-Year-Plan". Today, there are more than 170 of such combines and by 1983, the number should be increased to more than 600. Therefore, one more factor is added to the russificational Communist-Russian machinery in Ukraine. In addition, the educational system in Ukraine is supplemented by Communist organizations such as the "Pioneers" and "Komsomol", through their hundreds of thousands of groups, kindergartens, palaces, playgrounds, youth camps, uniforms and tempting prizes, insignias and promises of shining careers. All this has a tremendous effect upon youthful romanticism. Enormous effort in influence and training is necessary to help a young person withstand these kind of temptations. Therefore, we bow our heads before those who resist and fight!

### **Teaching Collective**

The magazine "Soviet Education", of November 11, 1978, informs about an edict of Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Education in the matter of increase of attacks on the remaining Ukrainian-language schools, resulting in strengthening of russification of Ukrainian youth. This edict planned and put into effect such means of russification as obligatory teaching of Russian language from the first grade in all elementary schools in Ukraine, increase of teachers of Russian nationality, establishing in Ukraine special institutes of Russian language, filling of Ukrainian libraries with Russian literature, organizing contests in excellence of Russian language and literature, etc.

Although the russification situation in Ukraine is very grave, it is worse for the approximately 10 million Ukrainians and their children living in the USSR, outside of Ukraine. They are sentenced to annihilation, though, by law, they should have all opportunities of Ukrainian education. In Ukraine, in contrast to foreign territories, as much as possible, we find activities of resistance to russification and in defense of Ukrainian language. As an example, known facts of protests of young mothers against russification of kindergartens for Ukrainian children in Dnipropetrovsk. Or again, letters of so-called creative youth of Dnipropetrovsk in 1969, which were followed by arrests of poets Ivan Sokulskyj, Mykola Kulchyckyj, and engineer Victor Sawchenko. The well-known Dr. Mykola Plakhotniuk, author of the letter "Truth is With Us! — Answer to Liars", who for the last eight years has been imprisoned in Communist-Russian so-called psychiatric clinics "psykhushka" also took part in this 1969 creative youth protest.

Ukraine is trying to preserve its rights to its native language and education, but it needs all the help it can get from political forums of the free world.

The bases of our action of help are predominantly international decrees, agreements and proclamations, whose participants and signatories include the USSR and Ukraine, namely the international United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child of November 20, 1959.

In the Preamble to the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the United Nations reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and further the United Nations has determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

Taking into consideration the results of the First and Second World Wars, members of the United Nations, by this Declaration, asserted that the most innocent victims of



*Captive Nations Week Demonstration, New York, 1979.*

wars are children. Therefore, a need arose to proclaim a special Declaration of the Rights of the Child, that in its ten Principles defines the basic rights of children. The most important of these Principles are:

*Principle 1.* The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. All children, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.

*Principle 2.* The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

*Principle 3.* The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and nationality. (Therefore, in Ukraine, the child is entitled to Ukrainian nationality and not Russian identity).

*Principle 6.* The child, for the full and harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, whenever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and in any case in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security; a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from his mother...

*Principle 7.* The child is entitled to receive an education...

*Principle 10.* The child shall be protected from practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among

peoples, peace and universal brotherhood..

Our requests for help from the free world to counteract the russification process in Ukraine are principally based on the above enumerated Principles of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

In connection with celebration of the Year of the Child, the Director-General of UNESCO appointed Mr. D. Najman, Assistant Director-General, Cooperation for Development and External Affairs Sector, as Commissioner of the International Year of the Child, the official responsible for the planning and coordination of relevant supporting activities, particularly at the level of policy guidance. The Commissioner appointed directors for separate sectors and established bureaus in Geneva and the United Nations in New York.

At the Commission's meeting in August, 1976, the following resolutions were adopted:

1. Educational programme — namely general-educational schools for the development of children in social, economic and cultural direction. Special attention is to be given to pre-schools (day-care centers and kindergartens) and methodical stimulation of educational interest of the child in science, technological concepts and environment.

2. Improving the protection of rights of children, particularly the ones of migratory families and those whose parents, due to different reasons, do not possess permanent living quarters (such as children of Ukrainian political prisoners and the ones living in exile in various Republics of the Soviet Union). Here are included also research studies on the role and effect of changes of living conditions upon the process of psychological and physical development of the child.

3. Help to, and increase of, children's cultural programmes, such as television, theat-

re, shows, literature, libraries and creative talents.

4. The Commissioner of the International Year of the Child of United Nations is to cooperate in realization of the adopted plans and resolutions with governmental agencies of various countries.

The subjects of the second meeting of the Commission of the International Year of the Child in 1977 were the legalistic aspects of the rights of children:

1. It was resolved to organize a Convention of the Rights of the Child and present before it recommendations against discrimination in aspects of education, national and cultural identity of children of different countries and underdeveloped groups or tribes.

2. It was resolved to organize research and take practical steps to safeguard national and cultural identities of nations and peoples, which are represented by national freedom movements, and on the basis of such research, to prepare for, and disseminate among, children books and publications.

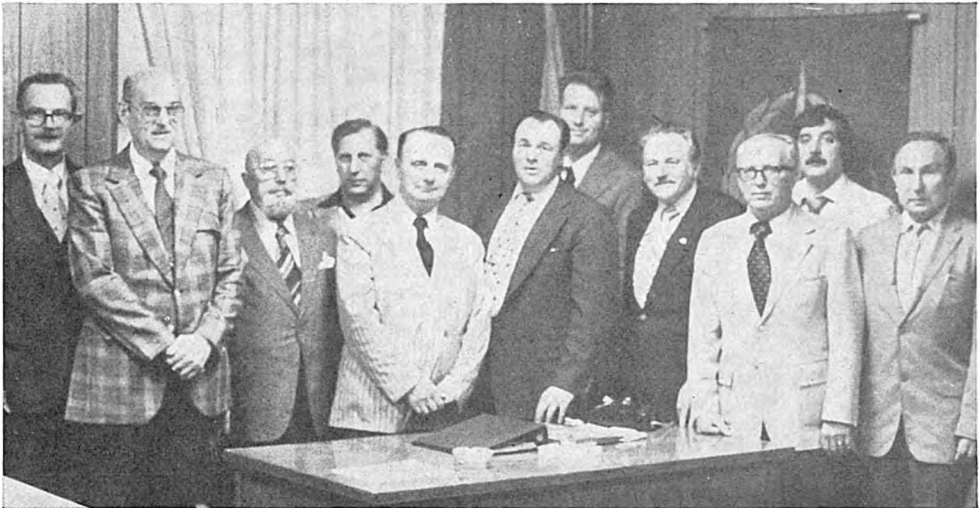
3. Children may not be discriminated against for actions and criminal or political records of their parents.

4. Special commissioner will be appointed for safeguarding and broadening the teaching of the child's native language, particularly concerning migrants' children. The Commission of the International Year of the Child asserts that children should obtain their education in their native language assures full facilitation of the child's learning abilities and secures the free manifestation of the child's creative talents.

5. The family has the right and obligation of bringing up the child. The mother may not be forcefully separated from her child and her first and foremost occupation and interest should be her child's upbringing.

In conclusion, Ukrainian children are appealing to the Counsel General of the United Nations and to the countries of the world to intervene on their behalf with the Russian tyrants to cease and desist the politics and policies of russification of Ukraine and return to the Ukrainian children their inalienable rights to their own nation, language and culture.

*Translated from Ukrainian by  
Zena Matla-Rychtycka*



*Presidium of the AF ABN, New York.*

## The Kidnapping of Vladislavas Cessiunas

On August 14, 1979 the 39 year old Lithuanian canoeist Vladislavas Cessiunas, who was a member of the USSR squad at the world canoe championships in Duisburg, West Germany, defected and sought political asylum. A month later, on Sept. 13, he mysteriously disappeared while on his way to German language classes in Iserlohn. While members of the Lithuanian community in Germany feared that Cessiunas had been kidnapped or killed by the Soviet secret police (KGB), the West German authorities appeared to be doing little about the matter. German officials had taken no special measures to guard or shadow Cessiunas despite the fact that the former Olympic champion (he received a gold medal in Munich, 1972) had announced his intention to write a book in which he would expose the illegal doping practices to which Soviet athletes are subjected.

Suddenly on Oct. 16 an anonymous caller to the German Embassy in Moscow hinted that Cessiunas was in fact in Vilnius, convalescing in a hospital with extensive head injuries. The call was obviously intended to pave the way for an official announcement. The next day "Pravda" issued an article announcing the "voluntary" return of Cessiunas to the USSR following his forced stay in the West which was a result of some mysterious drugging and his complete "dis-orientation" for the next month. According to the oft-repeated script, Cessiunas was then produced (without the head injuries) before the cameras of West German TV reporters for a confused interview in which he was unable to coherently answer questions concerning his return.

Following an uproar by the opposition in the German parliament and protests by the Lithuanian community, the parliamentary leader of the ruling SPD party, Herbert Wehner, offered the explanation

that according to his undisclosed "responsible sources" Cessiunas returned to the USSR on his own volition. His explanation was to be supported by evidence which he would produce during a parliamentary inquiry.

Whatever the evidence which Wehner may have from his "sources", Cessiunas' friends maintain that he had been forcibly returned by the KGB and that the failure of the German authorities to protest the Soviet action was scandalous. The Lithuanian community in Germany even produced a tape-recorded interview with Cessiunas prior to his "disappearance" in which he mentions that he may well be killed by Soviet agents.

Despite the misinformation campaign by the Kremlin and the obvious cover-up of this affair by the West Germany ruling party many west German papers were outraged. In an editorial of the influential "Die Welt", E. Loewenstein drew an analogy between the kidnapping and the murders of Stepan Bandera and Lev Rebet by the KGB as acts of direct violations of West German sovereignty by the Soviet actions against persons who lived under German legal protections. What consequences the detente-blinded government of W. Schmidt intends to take following this scandal remains to be seen, but the prospects for a resolute response appear to be minimal.

**Eugen Malaniuk**

**DAS**

**WESEN**

**DES**

**BOLSCHEWISMUS**

1978 — UKRAINISCHES INSTITUT  
FÜR BILDUNGSPOLITIK —  
MÜNCHEN e.V.



## US PRESS REPORTS

*Yaroslav Stetsko's Press Conferences in USA, November, 1979*

### **Ukraine Leader Asks Captive Nation Status**

By ARMAND GEBERT  
Detroit News Staff Writer

A Ukrainian leader is demanding that the "Ukrainian liberation movement be given recognition through the accreditation . . . at the United Nations on the same legal basis and with similar status enjoyed by the Palestinian Liberation Organization."

Yaroslav Stetsko, leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, added that such recognition should also be "extended to analogous organizations of the other captive nations," especially those under the Soviet Union's heel.

Such recognition by the UN, and the United States, would offer a "psychological" impact to the internal complications now developing inside the USSR, according to Stetsko.

"There could be an uprising in our time," he said in Detroit last week, repeating the old, undying Ukrainian call for freedom. About 85,000 of his people make their homes in the Detroit area.

Stetsko, 67, says there is growing unrest inside the "Russian Empire." This unrest is an "Achilles heel" which should be exploited by the United States and the Western world, he said.

Stetsko brought reports of increasing underground activities inside Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Turkestan and other suppressed nations within the USSR.

He spoke of underground publications, revolts inside Soviet concentration camps and clandestine support of one oppressed nationality for another.

He said the defiance continues despite persecutions, assassinations and imprisonments.

Stetsko said the time is ripe for a political and "psychological" offensive by the free world.

"The West has not seen fit to utilize instruments on a political or diplomatic level with respect to the USSR," he said.

Stating that the West is not being asked to provide armed intervention, he urged that "no more aid be given to our, and the free world's enemy" on the political-psychological, economic, technological and military levels.

Using the example of the recent establishment of independent states in Africa, Stetsko said, "It is only correct and just that the same principles be extended to Ukraine, a nation of 53 million with 1,000-year-old traditions."

### **Ukrainian Freedom Fighter's Visit**

Yaroslav Stetsko, president of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), will speak in Warren today and Monday as part of his tour of United States and Canada to seek support for liberation of all nations under Soviet rule.

Also president of the European Freedom Council (EFC) and chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stetsko is expected in his speeches to talk about SALT II and Soviet troops in Cuba.

In a telephone interview today, Stetsko said SALT II does not favour Western powers, particularly United States.

He said in lieu of SALT II, declarations formerly made by the United States and United Nations to help all subjugated nations should be carried through.

The occupation of Cuba by Soviet troops, said Stetsko, is another step by the Soviet Union to encircle, isolate and pressure United States.

*The Daily Tribune*

*Needed: U.S. moral support*

### **Ukraine's Last Leader Asks Aid**

By DENNIS TANNER

Macomb Daily Staff Writer

WARREN — Free-world nations should use tactics of the Soviet Union to support actions of freedom-seeking peoples in the ever-expanding Russian empire, the last prime minister of the free Ukraine said on Monday.

Yaroslav Stetsko, a political prisoner of World War II, said revolutionaries in Iron Curtain countries need the moral and psychological support, perhaps more than weapons, of the United States, if they are to regain control of their lands.

"If the United States is not the defender of human rights," Stetsko asked, "who is the defender of human rights?"

"The United States worries about avoiding thermo-nuclear war, but that is not the problem. We need support politically, morally. We have the arms. We have two-thirds of the populations in these countries.

"The problem is that the Helsinki Accord recognized the Russian empire. That was the greatest mistake."

Speaking at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Warren, Stetsko said he could not predict when attempts may be made to oust the Soviets from the countries they control, but he believes they are coming.

"The revolutionary process is spontaneous," he said. "I cannot foresee it. But there are underground publications. There are groups."

Stetsko, who also is president of the European Freedom Council and the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, estimated that 70 per cent of those living in Soviet-controlled lands support the overthrow of the government.

"I cannot say that I speak for all the Ukrainians," he added. "I am of the opinion that our organization (Organi-

zation of Ukrainian Nationalists) has the majority (of the estimated 53 million Ukrainians in Soviet-held areas.)

Stetsko also believes that a group "infiltrated by the Kremlin" is responsible for the current holding of American hostages in Iran.

"The Communist philosophy is to capture the house in Iran to dominate in the area to use it against the U.S.," he said. "A strong position of the U.S. is necessary, not only for the U.S., but for all freedom-loving people in the world."

Stetsko said imprisonment and execution of Ukrainian activists often go unreported and that the "Russification" of controlled peoples is an attempt to destroy the possibilities of an overthrow.

He insisted that the size of the Soviet Union has now created its greatest liability: less than half of its population is Russian. Large portions of the population are Ukrainian, Baltic and other groups.

Even the 1980 summer Olympic Games are tainted by the Russians, Stetsko added, citing the testimony of a recently released Ukrainian political figure imprisoned for 10 years.

"It has become evident that the medals and souvenirs of these Olympic Games are being produced by the forced labour of political prisoners whose work norms are being increased through punitive isolation, torture and lower food rations," he said.

"The sale of these Olympic items to western tourists will provide the U.S.S.R. with lucrative profits."

### **Russia Can't be Trusted on SALT**

Yaroslav Stetsko's view of Russia is based on one feeling: mistrust.

The Russians cannot be trusted to observe the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) with the United States, said the Ukrainian native, active in anti-Russian and anti-Communist organizations, said earlier this week.

And trade with the Soviets increases their ability to create problems for the free nations, he said.

Stetsko is visiting the U.S. to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian Nationalist group.

Stetsko said the Russians "in the past have violated every agreement. They have never upheld, and I don't believe they would uphold this one."

The U.S. should follow the mandate of its own Congress, Stetsko said, to use economic pressure on Russia aimed at liberation of nations subjugated by Russia.

"More than two-thirds of the Soviet empire includes peoples which are not Russian. They are subjugated nations."

The U.S. despite claims by some disarmament experts will remain unable to verify that Russians have limited armaments in

accord with the treaty. "My conviction is that we cannot control that."

Whenever the U.S. supplies technological information to the Soviets, Stetsko said, "it supports Russian armament against the U.S. It is against the interests of the U.S. It helps the Russians export revolution."

Despite fears of some defence experts that the Russians have overtaken the U.S. in the arms race, Stetsko said the U.S. remains stronger. "The strength of the U.S. is greater than the Russian empire because the Russians are totalitarian and depend on subjugation." Support of liberation movements, he asserted, will prevent the likelihood of thermonuclear war.

Stetsko became active in the Ukrainian underground during a Polish occupation in the 1930s, helped form the Anti-Bolshevik organization during World War II and was in a German concentration camp.

### **Ukrainian Foresees Rebellion in Russia**

By DON AHERN

St. Paul Dispatch Staff Writer

The greatest threat to Soviet survival, says a leader of the underground resistance movement in present-day USSR, is not Western nuclear missiles but the discontent of subjugated nations.

That discontent, says Yaroslav Stetsko, president of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, could break out into open

Stetsko, former prime minister of the Free Ukrainian Government (1941), was in the Twin Cities over the weekend to address a commemorative dinner on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

He held a press conference on Monday to call attention to the continuing resistance of peoples of the subjugated countries to what he called the Russian empire.

Stetsko asked for the support of the American people and government in boycotting the 1980 Olympic games in Moscow because "it has become evident

that the medals and souvenirs of the Olympic games are being produced by the forced labour of political prisoners . . ."

To be successful, he conceded to a questioner, a revolution must be widespread among all the subject Ukrainians, Georgians, Turkestanians, Armenians, East Germans, Poles, Hungarians and others. He said "coordination of simultaneous uprisings by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations" would be necessary.

An uprising would not need foreign arms, Stetsko said, because "the Russian Army is full of Ukrainians, Georgians and so forth. The subjugated peoples in the Russian empire outnumber the Russians. We don't need American guns. We'll use Russian weapons when the time comes."

Stetsko, 67, was imprisoned in the 1930's for his activities as editor-in-chief of underground periodicals, and by Germany in 1941 for his efforts to form an independent Ukraine.

*The Daily Tribune*

## **WACL Calls for Support to Freedom Fighters**

*Joint Communiqué 13th WACL Pre-Conference Executive Board Meeting,  
Asuncion, Paraguay, November 17th, 1979*

As Latin Americans are striving to cope with Communist aggressions in their region, the Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) has held its meeting in Asuncion, Paraguay in order to work out programmes of action towards freedom for Mankind. The participants in the meeting comprise board members from Asia, Europe, North America, Latin America, Middle East, Africa, captive nations and international youth organizations.

At the meeting, effective measures taken to ensure unity and cooperation among WACL's European members by setting up a regional organization. The Executive Board has resolved to greatly expand its framework so as to include APACL, NARWACL, OAF and the Paraguay Chapter, which will contribute more positively to the activities of WACL. The Executive Board has decided that the 13th WACL Conference shall be held in Europe.

Recent global events have demonstrated that the confrontation between the Free World and the Communist bloc is accentuated as a result of the policy of detente; peoples are rising everywhere against Communist regimes for national independence and human freedom. On the other hand, the Communists have intensified their "United Front Tactics" to sow the seeds of discord for the Free World disintegration.

WACL has moved forward correctly, foreseeing that freedom shall prevail over Communist totalitarianism.

The Executive Board re-affirms that freedom, peace and prosperity are not possible unless Communism is eliminated. Defense of freedom and democracy cannot be attained through concessions, to communist aggressors.

The Executive Board therefore urges all free nations to strengthen their global strategy for safeguarding common security and interest.

The Executive Board strongly supports the Latin American campaigns against Communists, such as those in Paraguay, Argentine, Chile, Guatemala, Uruguay, Honduras and others. It is hoped that the measures will be taken to accelerate the downfall of the Castro regime in order to prevent other countries, such as El Salvador, from suffering under tyranny which is now imposed on Nicaragua. The Executive Board commends that positive steps have been taken towards the establishment of a common security system for the entire region, as resolved at the Meeting of Military Commanders of Latin-America in Bogota, in November 1979, and also at the Latin American Parliamentary Union this year.

The Executive Board further supports the efforts of free African Nations for economic development and modernization. Vigilance be heightened against Moscow and Cuban attempts to manipulate the racial strife against the free world. The people of free nations must resolutely oppose economic aid and the transfer of finance and the technology to the communist regimes. Attention should also be drawn to Communist attempt to create labour unrest in the Free World and to exploit inflationary trends.

The Communists in Europe have continued their drive for power through parliamentary struggle and other seemingly legitimate means. The Chinese Communists, anxious for power ascendancy and hege-

mony, have fully exploited the West desire that they can better deter the Soviet Russian advancement. It is advised that the free world should refrain from playing the "China Card", so as not to hurt further the free world.

For Asia and the Pacific to enlarge the scope of freedom and security, the free nations concerned must enhance their cooperative ties and resort to collective security measures to check and repel Red aggressions. Mindful that North Korea's strengthening of its armed forces, and the increasing military build-up of the Soviet Union in the Far East constitutes a major threat to peace in Asia. The Executive Board calls upon the United States to continue its ground forces in Korea and to reinforce its military presence in the Southeast Asia and Pacific region. The Executive Board expresses its deep condolence and sympathy to the people of the Republic of Korea who have recently lost their Great Anti-Communist Leader, President Park Chung Hee.

The Executive Board urges the Free World to attach great importance to oil supply and to other Middle East issues to seek an early solution of their problems. It further supports the heroic struggle of the Afghanistan people and the strong Islamic resistance against Communism, while it also deplors Marxist aggressions in Central America, as well as conciliatory attitudes taken by some free countries towards the Sandinistas.

The Executive Board is aware of the aspirations and struggles of freedom-fighters, such as in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania and others behind the Iron Curtain. It further supports the proposal that the ideals of national liberation and the dissolution of the Russian Communist empire be incorporated into the foreign policies of the Free World. Human rights of the subjugated nations in the Soviet

Union are merely illusory, unless they recapture their national sovereignty.

The Executive Board further demands the immediate release of imprisoned freedom-fighters on the Chinese mainland, in the Soviet Union and elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain. The Free World should impose sanctions against Moscow, the Chinese Communists and other Red regimes, as long as human beings there are deprived of their well-being and dignity. Timely assistance be given to refugees in Thailand and elsewhere coming from Indochina and the Chinese Mainland. Positive steps should also be taken against those regimes that are exporting refugees in their attempt to undermine the Free World.

The Executive Board expresses complement to the Great Anti-Communist leader of this country, Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, and its sincere appreciation for the hospitality of the Paraguay people and very satisfactory arrangements of the meeting made by the WACL Paraguay Chapter.



*Norwegian friend of the subjugated nations, J. Crossby, reading ABN Correspondence in the office of the Norwegian Chapter of the World Anti-Communist League.*

## Sakharov Hearings refusing to Consider National Rights

*The statement below was issued jointly by the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Hetman Organization of America, the Byelorussian-American Association and the United Baltic Appeal.*

The International Sakharov Hearings, a tribunal representing itself as a defender of legality and legal norms in the USSR, stubbornly refuses to consider problems relating to the nations aspiring to independence.

1. Thus, the International Sakharov Hearings refused to consider the problem of mass annihilation of Ukrainians and other non-Russians during the period of genocide — by means of the artificially created famine, executions by shooting, mass extermination as a result of extremely harsh conditions in prisons, concentration camps and exile. Illegality of such actions of the Soviet authorities does not need additional proof. It is quite clear, for instance, that the Soviet authorities could not advance any accusations against Ukrainian children whom they starved to death, and often threw them, still alive, into common graves.

By refusing to consider this question and to condemn those guilty in the murder of millions of people, the International Sakharov Hearings lose every moral and legal right to grow indignant at the illegal arrests and persecution of individual persons. Otherwise, it would seem that if individual persons, among whom there are also Russians, are persecuted, then this is a crime about which one should shout for all the world to hear, but when millions of non-Russians are killed because of their nationality then this is a trifle for which one should not waste one's time. This is precisely the way in which the International Sakharov Hearings behave, for they reply to the proposal to consider the mur-

der of millions of non-Russians with empty phrases. Such a proposal and the response to it by the International Sakharov Hearings were published in the journal "Fakty i Mysli" (Facts and Thoughts) No. 7 and No. 10, New York, 1979.

2. The International Sakharov Hearings refuse to consider the question of granting independence to the non-Russian nations, although the refusal to grant them independence is, on the part of the Soviet government, a gross violation of the international law and pacts and treaties ratified by that very same Soviet government (the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Art. 1, p. 1 and p. 3; Art. 2, p. 2; Art. 4; Art. 5, p. 1, "Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Sovieta SSSR" (Record of the USSR Supreme Soviet), Moscow, 1976; journal, "Fakty i Mysli," No. 14, New York, 1979).

In spite of the international obligations taken upon itself (the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Art. 2, p. 2., Art. 25) on July 5, 1978, the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the law "On the Council of Ministers of the USSR" ("Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Sovieta SSSR," No. 28, Moscow, 1978), according to which the management of the principal enterprises (plants, factories, mines, etc.) in the national republics is implemented directly by all-union ministries of the USSR, bypassing the ministries and Communist parties of the national republics. In accordance with Soviet legislation, any enterprise in the territory of a national republic may be directly subordinated to the all-union ministry by the decision of all-union authorities without asking the government of the national republic. To this one should add the single monetary system and the obligatory approval by Moscow of prices and wages in the national republics, and one will find that the national republics

are completely deprived not only of every right, but also of any possibility to have a say with regard to the utilization of their own economic resources which are put at the service of the Russian occupying power.

In accordance with Soviet laws, Moscow ministers or ministerial departments may make decisions about the type of production, the transfer and liquidation of enterprises and institutions directly subordinated to them, situated in the territories of the national republics, without even notifying the "governments" of these republics. According to Article 23 of the law "On the Council of Ministers of the USSR," the enterprises and institutions of the following ministries are directly subordinated to the ministries of the Moscow government: aviation industry, automobile industry, foreign trade, gas industry, civil aviation, machine-building, machine-building for animal farming and fodder production, machine-building for light and food industry and general services, medical industry, merchant marine, petroleum industry, defense industry, instrument-making, automation and control systems, communication, radio industry, medium machine-building, machine, tool and instrument industry, construction, road and municipal machine-building, petroleum and gas industry enterprises, shipbuilding industry, tractor and agricultural engineering, chemical and petroleum engineering, paper industry, electronic industry, electrical industry, power plant engineering.

The enterprises and institutions subordinated to the union-republic ministries and situated in the territories of national republics, according to Art. 21 of the law "On the Council of Ministers of the USSR," are also managed by Moscow, but the task of implementing the orders of the Moscow ministers is usually placed upon the shoulders of the ministers of national republics. In accordance with Article 24 of the cited law, the enterprises and institutions of the following ministries

belong to this category: interior, higher and secondary special education, geology, purchases, health, foreign affairs, culture, light industry, timber and woodworking industry, land improvement and water management, assembly and special construction work, meatpacking and dairy industry, petroleum processing and petrochemical industry, food industry, industrial construction, building materials industry, education, fishing industry, communications; agriculture, construction, construction of heavy industry enterprises, trade, coal industry, finance, non-ferrous metallurgy, ferrous metallurgy, power industry and electrification, justice.

In addition, in accordance with Article 25 of the above law, the enterprises and institutions situated in the territories of the national republics, within the jurisdiction of the following committees, are directly subordinated to the Moscow all-union state committees: science and technology, inventions, standards, foreign economic relations, hydrometeorology, material reserves.

In accordance with Article 26 of the same law, the enterprises and institutions situated in the territories of the national republics, and managed by the Moscow committees through the legislatively subordinated republican committees, are subordinated to the Moscow union-republican state committees. These committees are as follows: state planning, construction, material and technical supply, labor and social problems, prices, professional and technical education, television and radio broadcasting, cinematography, publishing, printing and book trade, forestry, state security (KGB), industrial and technical supplies for agriculture.

After this what remains for the management by the "government" of the national republics? And this kind of legislation exists in the USSR contrary to international treaties signed by its own re-

representatives. This is a gross violation of legal norms, a legislative sanctioning of the pillage of the national republics. The International Sakharov Hearing, however, do not wish to consider this question.

3. In 1977, in spite of the international obligation to encourage selfdetermination of the peoples (International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Art 1, p. 1 and p. 3), a new constitution was adopted in the USSR, legalizing the enslavement of the national republics.

Article 6 of the new Soviet Constitution makes the Communist Party responsible for determining the internal and foreign policy of the Soviet Union (all republics). This is, however, a Russian party; earlier it used to be known as the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (of the Bolsheviks). Its renaming did not change anything. The CPSU is that very same Russian party, with its supreme organs in Moscow. The branches of this party in the national republics, just as the "government" of these republics, do not have any influence not only on general state matters, but also on the management of the overwhelming majority of even small plants and factories situated in the territories of these republics.

Article 72 of the constitution guarantees for each republic the right of secession from the USSR, but is in fact reduced to zero by Article 73, p. 2, which makes the modification of the borders of the USSR the prerogative of the all-union authorities, while the Soviet criminal law calls for the death penalty for any activity designed to separate a national republic from the USSR. Consequently, according to Soviet law, it is only the highest Moscow authorities which have the right to separate a national republic from the USSR, but in no case the people or the government of that particular republic. No procedure for a national republic leaving the Soviet Union at the wish of its people or govern-

ment is envisaged by Soviet law. On the other hand, criminal punishment for any activity designed to separate a national republic from the USSR is envisaged.

Article 77 of the Soviet Constitution makes it incumbent on every union republic to implement the decision of all-union authorities, and Article 140 makes it incumbent upon the "governments" of the national republics to see to it that Moscow's orders are being implemented in their republics.

Article 73 of the Soviet Constitution makes it the prerogative of the all-union authorities to establish general principles of activity of the organs of power of the national republics, ensuring uniformity of legislation in the entire Soviet Union, the problems of peace and war, the management of the army, the establishment of rules for relations between the national republics and foreign states. This and other articles list so many prerogatives of the all-union authorities that the "governments" of the national republics are deprived by law of any trace of governmental authority.

The hearings on legal problems should make it clear to the world community that the Soviet internal legislation contradicts sharply the international agreements ratified by the Soviet government, and should demand that the Soviet government bring its internal laws and practices with respect to the national question into conformity with its international obligations. However, the International Sakharov Hearings do not find it necessary to consider this problem.

4. The Soviet government conducts a policy of Russification in all the national republics, making every effort to eradicate the national identity of the non-Russian peoples. A planned fusion of nations is being implemented. Under various pretexts and in various ways, the central authorities enforce internal migration of peoples. The



Russian language is the official state language in all the national republics except Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidzhan. Teaching in Russian is permitted and encouraged throughout the entire territory of the Soviet Union, while teaching in the languages of other nations of the USSR is permitted only in the territory of the respective republics, regions or districts (in violation of Article 13, p. 3 and p. 4 of the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights).

Despite the fact that Article 36 of the Soviet Constitution forbids any preaching of national exclusivity, the Soviet government carries on a shameless propaganda of the superiority of the Russian nation, of the Russian language, the Russian character, the Russian culture; it glorifies the conquests of the non-Russian territories by tsarist armies, tries to prove that the Russians have priority in all the fields of science, etc. Russia is called "great" even in the state anthem of the Soviet Union.

Such actions of the Soviet government are a gross violation of the international obligations accepted by this very same government. For instance, the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, ratified by the USSR in 1976, requires from each signatory that it guarantee the absence of discrimination because of national origin in the field of education, culture, utilization of economic resources, etc. (Art. 2, p. 2).

The impudent propaganda of the superiority of the Russian nation, the contamination of children with the poison of chauvinism, carried out by the Soviet-Russian government, lead to the dehumanization of the Russian people. It makes them look down at the non-Russians and

think that anything is permitted with respect to the non-Russians. However, the International Sakharov Hearings do not wish to consider this crime either.

The above-stated facts show that the International Sakharov Hearing are indifferent to the status of the non-Russians in the USSR and that they do not wish to consider the violations of the rights of the non-Russian nations and the crimes committed against these nations.

The International Sakharov Hearings conduct themselves as an assemblage of Russian chauvinists trying to prevent consideration of the right of nations to self-determination, using as a cover the alleged defense of human rights. But if one takes away the right to the absence of discrimination in the sphere of language, culture and economics, if one takes away the right at least not to listen to the Soviet ravings about the superiority of the Russians, about great Russia and about the Russian superiority in science, what remains from these rights for the non-Russians?

Discussion by the International Sakharov Hearings of the violation of the rights of individual nationals without any discussion of the question of the violation of the rights of their nations, as well as discussion of crimes only in relation to very small peoples who do not demand independence, without discussing the crimes in relation to bigger nations demanding independence, to whom an overwhelming majority of the victims of the Stalinist terror belonged, amounts to demagoguery.

If the International Sakharov Hearings do not change their attitude toward the nations subjugated by Russian tyranny, it must reckon with a boycott on the part of these nations.

There are no beds in Poland because the Party is on guard, the enemy is awake, the patriots are behind bars and the workers are sleeping on roses.



The Ukrainian community in Ukraine, especially the warriors of the revolutionary OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), UPA (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army) — the fighters of the Ukrainian nation in its war on two fronts against the Nazi German and Russian invaders after the proclamation of the re-establishment of the Ukrainian Nation-State in 1941, the participants in the all-national insurrection in 1942-1953 led by the OUN-UPA, are very deeply moved, due to the very sad and untimely death of one of the most heroic figures of the OUN-UPA — Halyna Dydyk (pseudonym — Anna). Her death is a result of long years of bolshevik persecution and prison tortures. For years Halyna Dydyk was a leading member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the district leader of the Ukrainian Red Cross of the UPA at the Ternopil district, the Deputy Leader of the UPA Ukrainian Red Cross, the Chief Courier of the Supreme Leadership of the OUN and its head — Tur (Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka — R. Lozovsyj).



Halyna Tomivna Dydyk was born in 1912 in the village Shabylyn (Berezhany rayon, Ternopil district). She was a teacher by profession.

The deceased became a member of the OUN while she was young and soon endeared the trust of the leading OUN activists with her devotion to the cause of liberation, her idealism and courage.

Her final function was most significant and highly confidential — this being the post of Chief Courier of the Head of OUN Leadership in Ukraine, under the grave conditions of Russian occupation, amidst the all-encompassing network of the MVD system of surveillance and terror. On March 5, 1950 she was captured near the Headquarters of the UPA Commander-in-Chief in Ukraine, after attempting to warn him of an attack by the military forces of the MVD. It was then that she swallowed a poison capsule, so as not to fall into the enemy's hands, but she was subsequently saved from death for purposes of forceful interrogation. Nevertheless, she bravely endured a series of tortures, at the cost of her own health.

The occupational "court" sentenced her to 25 years imprisonment of the severest regime, 15 of which she spent in the harshest Vladimir Prison, the

remainder in the Upper Ural region of Siberia, and her final years, from 1968, were spent in Mordovia (camp No. 6).

She was released on March 24, 1971 and not permitted to return to her native region. After an exile in Kazakhstan in 1972, she moved to Western Ukraine to Bibrka, but since she was obstrusively persecuted by the KGB, she decided to settle in Khrestynivtsi in Cherkasy rayon, where she worked at a kindergarten, from whence she was also forced to leave. Thus, she aged without any visible means of sustenance.

The Anna that grew gravely ill from prison tortures, her attempted self-poisoning, which also caused gastral disorders and heart disease, departed from us into the eternity of heroes and martyrs for Ukraine and Christ.

Our unforgettable Anna died of heart failure on December 23, 1979 in Khrestynivtsi, Ukraine and was buried there December 25, 1979.

Halyna Dydyk was the type of nationalist that radiated human grandeur, the essence of which is not so much in her death for an idea as in the outward personification of this human grandeur by her death for an idea.

Throughout all her life, the deceased worried and grieved for her comrades, friends and others who fought for the same idea. She had no aspirations for herself. Everything she had or obtained throughout her life, which was itself full of proudly endured sufferings, were shared with her spiritual and idealistic kin.

Anna belonged to those heroes, who in their altruistic national, patriotic deeds do not feel their own self-sacrifice, self-dedication or self-renunciation, but, in living for their comrades and the cause of liberation are continuously discovering their own heroic being in their self-manifestation, self-realization and not self-denial or self-renunciation of oneself!

She found the true essence and contents of her life in the lives of others. This was an individual with the most noble qualities of soul, morals, and character, the basis of which was self-realization within the ideal of a free Ukraine as an integral component of this everlasting Ukraine that will live together along with her in our hearts and souls, in the everlasting memory of the Ukrainian Nation, which will always be proud of her hero-martyr, Halyna Dydyk-Anna.

Long live the glory and memory of Halyna — Anna Dydyk, leader of UPA's Red Cross and a leading member of the OUN!

The Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) expresses its sincere sympathy to the entire family and loved ones of Halyna Dydyk in Ukraine and outside of Ukraine, in deep respect bows its head over the grave of a fighter for a sovereign and independent Ukrainian Nation-State!

The Leadership calls upon the Ukrainian community to commemorate the holy memory of the deceased with Divine Liturgies and prayer on Sunday February 3, 1980, so her soul may rest in peace.

January 1980

*Leadership  
of the Organization of Ukrainian  
Nationalists (OUN)*



SVYATOSLAV KARAVANSKYI and his wife — NINA STROKATA-KARAVANSKYI (centre of photo, holding placards), both former Ukrainian political prisoners recently released from the USSR (December 1979), taking part in their first Ukrainian demonstration in the Free World in defence of Ukrainian political prisoners in front of the Russian embassy in London, Great Britain — Dec. 1979. In 1941 Svyatoslav Karavanskyi became a member of the revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN — popularly known as the “Banderytsi”). After becoming an active participant of the OUN-led national-liberation struggle in Ukraine, he was arrested by the MVD (forerunner of the KGB) in 1944 and later sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. Karavanskyi was amnestied on December 19, 1960, after having served over 16 years in Soviet-Russian concentration camps. Being a philologist by profession, Karavanskyi translated into Ukrainian a number of foreign literary works, most notably the works of Shakespeare, and wrote a considerable amount of original poems and essays, full of national fervour. On November 13, 1965, he was again arrested and was sent to serve out the remaining 9 years of his original sentence without trial. In Vladimir prison, an additional 5 years imprisonment were added on to Karavanskyi's sentence, which all together totalled over 30 years of imprisonment. His wife, a micro-biologist, was sentenced in Odessa (Ukraine) to 5 years of imprisonment in 1972.

# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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Easter Greetings from Ukraine by a Persecuted Artist

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## **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

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## Russian Aggressors in Afghanistan

Nothing unexpected has happened. Moscow has occupied Afghanistan, just as they had planned for years — this was well known. At present, Moscow's strategic plan for conquering the world is at the following stage: to occupy Africa's geo-political, strategic, economic, and, in part, her human resources, especially in Central and Southern Africa, and to systematically occupy the Near and Middle East, especially the oil fields, in that manner economically blockading all of Western Europe.

Free Europe, in the progression of civilization, will automatically fall within the axis of Moscow, if this strategic plan of Russian imperialism is actualized. The author of this article has been writing about this for years. Part one of this plan concerning Africa is being actualized on a full scale with the help of Cuban, East German, and other "satellite" country mercenaries. At the same time, Afghanistan was being invaded and taken over by Moscow in stages. Since their plans regarding Amin (Moscow's former lackey president in Afghanistan) obviously fell through, they, then, had him liquidated and occupied Afghanistan, which could have been foreseen.

At the same time the uncalculating Ayatollah Khomeini has further complicated the matter with his senseless conflict with America, which can only have negative consequences for Iran. This conflict can only be in Moscow's favor. Iran is a multi-national state. From a population of 35 million, 15 million are Persians, 10 million are Azerbaijanians, 4-5 million are Kurds, 2 million are Arabs from Kuzestan, and one million are Baluchis in Baluchistan. Hence, Moscow holds in its hands the key to the destruction of Iran. We know of the disruptions in Tabriz (Azerbaijan), in Kurdistan, and soon Moscow will be coming "to the aid" of the Azerbaijanians, or the Kurds "to create" baffooned states for themselves and eventually unite these states with the Azerbaijanians in the USSR, or they may create a separate "state", which will be a satellite of Moscow with Tabriz as its capital. From a population of 20 million in Afghanistan, only 60% are ethnically Afghan, whereas the remainder consists of Pathanians, Mongols, Tadziks, and Turkmen. Everywhere the central question is the National Question, followed by the Religious Question. In this case Islam, which is experiencing an unusual dynamic rebirth, and if united with nationalism, can become a volcanic power. First and foremost, this power will explode within the Russian empire. Nationalism, united with religion, is a very significant force, continuously ignored by the US and Western Europe, which we have been stressing for years.

Faced with a real threat from Russian imperialist aggression, the Khomeini conflict with the US makes little, if any sense from the point of view of the interests of Iran. Until the present, the US reaction to this conflict has not been well thought-out and is motivated, perhaps, by their lack of knowledge of the current situation in Iran. Khomeini must apply terror, because he must somehow control the national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations. The Shah had the same problem. But, he can no longer do anything about it now. Even Khomeini's call to Islam will not suffice, because his Shiite group is not a unifying force, and secondly, only Islam united with the idea of national-liberation can be victorious. One imperialist minority group (8%) can never achieve such victory. In the name of one Islamic minority religious group, Islamic peoples were subjugated, such as the Azerbaijanians, or the Kurds — this is a contradiction in itself. A call to unity in the name of one minority religious group, is of little value, but a call for the unity of Islam in harmony with the

idea of national-liberation, is an indomitable force against Russian tanks and bombers.

What should have the US and Free Europe done with regard to Afghanistan or Iran, which is also threatened by the Russian empire, or, in general with regard to all the oil-rich countries?

In a direct, straight-forward answer on Afghanistan, the US should have militarily liberated Cuba, and thus dismantle the second part of Russia's strategic plan, e.g., Cuba, as the bastion of Russian imperialism in Latin America, and concurrently, place the Cuban mercenaries in Africa in a position where they will have to automatically transfer their loyalty to the national forces of the African nations, thus undercutting Moscow's plan in Africa. We were very pleased to learn that this same proposal was also offered by the British M.P. — David Atkinson, not long ago in London.

The US should stop waiting and give military assistance to the Afghan Insurgent Army. The responses of the US concerning Afghanistan have been generally positive until now, but they completely do not suffice. In contrast to the lack of dignity and national pride in the American politicians and capitalists, we are amazed by the great outpour of such national pride in the American workers, who refuse to load Russian ships despite the pleadings of President Carter. These are the true spokesmen of the great American nation, who were educated by the great American patriot, the leader of their trade unions — the deceased Mr. George Meany.

For the last few years, we have been urging a boycott of the Moscow Olympics, and we were the first to bring this matter to the forefront. Now, we are indeed pleased, that several world leaders are also proposing such a boycott, especially the British Prime-Minister, M. Thatcher and the President of the United States of America — J. Carter. However, we are puzzled by the naivety of some people, such as the chief of German sports — Mr. Weyer, who continuously state, that "sport has nothing to do with politics". If the athletes of the entire world want to march in front of tyrants, whose hands are bloodied with the murder of millions of people, who do not have the smallest iota not only of national dignity, but human dignity as well, then this is a matter of their (the athletes') moral degradation and degeneration. Every lamb chooses for itself its butcher. This is not democracy, but anarchy, when a government states, that athletes themselves ought to choose whether they want to compete on a sport field in Moscow, covered with human blood!

In analyzing the policies of the U.S., after numerous meetings and sleepless nights, we feel the following: the lack of leadership in the freedom-loving world, the lack of fundamental decisions, the lack of courage to make such decisions and the complete disregard of the MOST IMPORTANT WEAPON (without which the U.S. and Free Europe will be defeated by the aggressors, a priori) — the Achilles heel of the empire — the subjugated nations! The key to halting and liquidating Russian imperialist aggression as well as the Russian empire is the active support of the national-liberation struggles of the subjugated nations in this empire — the USSR!

In Iran there are 15 million Persians and 18 million non-Persians. Similarly, in the USSR there are at most 120 million Russians to 150 million non-Russians. Moreover, Islam is also erupting in the USSR, while Washington remains silent! If one were to include the "satellite" countries, then there are over two-thirds non-Russians subjugated in the Soviet-Russian empire. This weapon is always being disregarded, even ignored by the U.S. and even more so by free Europe. For them there are 270 million Russians in the USSR, just as there are 35 million Persians in Iran!



The United States — the most powerful country in the world — is afraid to send weapons to the Afghan heroes, who are fighting the onslaught of Russian tanks with bare hands! It must be stated that only Pakistan and China have been aiding the Afghan insurgents.

Why doesn't the U.S. take over Aden? Why doesn't President Carter proclaim a *Great Charter of National Liberation* of all the nations subjugated by Moscow in the USSR and the "satellite" countries, and initiate a holy war for the dissolution of the tyrannical Russian Godless empire, a war for the idea of a nation, for liberation nationalism, a war for Islam and Christianity, both of which are united in the first front of the struggle. Liberation nationalism, heroic Christianity and heroic Islam against the Russian barbarians, invaders and atheists — this is the primary weapon! Why doesn't Washington strike at USSR from within, when millions upon millions are waiting for the voice of America, but not the voice of bureaucrats, but the voice of American dock workers, whose working hands are embellished with callouses, and who stand up for freedom for all nations, rather than load the ships of the enemies of the United States and all the subjugated nations.

Washington ought to remember, that the siege of their Embassy in Tehran is no longer being done by Moslem "fanatics", but by communist Russian agents. If Iran decides to send aid to the Afghan heroes (although this is improbable), then they will put Washington to shame, who could have resolved the Tehran crisis within a matter of two months, if a resolute stand was taken instead of postponing the issue, prior to the Russian occupation of Afghanistan.

Washington ought to at least listen to the propositions of the statesmen of the subjugated nations, instead of being convinced that it has all the solutions to the problems of the empire, because — as experience has shown — it was not able to foresee the events in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, nor Hungary in 1956, nor in Afghanistan in 1979, or in Cuba, in Angola, in Ethiopia, etc. Washington especially does not understand the larger strategic plan of Moscow, which was presented in depth by the ABN spokesman several years ago, and only now is becoming self-evident to everyone.

And finally, why was the development and production of the neutron bomb terminated at a time, when it is so necessary?! This is a secret, which we will not attempt to guess. How can one trust Moscow about the SALT II Pact, how can one recognize in Helsinki the territorial inviability of the borders of the Soviet-Russian empire?! Now is the time for Washington to show its strength. For example: the ultimatum that Kennedy gave Khrushchev in Cuba, which forced him to run with his battleships.

The world is waiting for the implementation of the only successful weapon against Moscow: the dynamite of the subjugated nations in the empire!!

*E. Orlovskij*

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### **Soviet Russian 5 Year Economic Plan**

This is one of the jokes in USSR: "The coming 5 year economic plan assures that all Soviet citizens will have a motorcycle. The next 5 year plan will provide every family with a car. The plan following will give every family an airplane..."

"On hearing this promise one sceptical

man asked why an ordinary working man would want an airplane. The answer came, "you see, Comrade, for example, if word gets out that sausages have become available in Kharkiv (a Ukrainian city hundreds of miles away), all you have to do is climb aboard your airplane and fly there."

## He Dared Revolution



Thirty years ago, on March 5, 1950 in Bilohorshcha near Lviv (Ukraine) the Commander-in Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA — General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka fell in combat with the Russian occupational security police forces — the MVD. At the time of his heroic death, Roman Shukhevych was also the Head of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), in Ukraine, as well as the Head of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) — the revolutionary government of Ukraine. By way of attempting to give recognition to the enormous significance of General Roman Shukhevych in the national-liberation struggle of Ukraine, in one person was united at this time the entire complex of the military, revolutionary and political leadership of the national-liberation struggle of Ukraine.

In his youth, Roman Shukhevych already understood, that a subjugated nation can only achieve total independence and state sovereignty by initiating an all-out, revolutionary, national-liberation

struggle, in which even the greatest sacrifices, necessary for the achievement of this goal, will not be begrudged. For the initiation of such an all-out revolutionary, total liberation war, a subjugated nation must have at its disposal a heroic military force, since in the multi-faceted revolutionary process, the armed aspect of this struggle will always be the culminating apex and the crucially decisive variable. General Shukhevych-Chuprynka dedicated his entire life to the necessity of creating such a heroic-military force.

In 1930, after the creation of the OUN (1929), which soon became the political-revolutionary vanguard of the Ukrainian national-liberation struggle, Roman Shukhevych was named the Chief of the Combatant Division of the National Executive of the OUN in Western Ukraine. In this initial period, in the 1930's, the situation became such, that wherever OUN cells were present, there the entire population was mobilized and geared toward a total revolutionary liberation war for Ukraine's independence and statehood. To a very large measure, this was due to the great influence and strategic-organizational talents of Roman Shukhevych.

In 1938, when the Carpathian Ukraine gained its independence, in consequence of the dissolution of Czecho-Slovakia, Roman Shukhevych, on the directive of the OUN, began organizing military forces there to defend this Ukrainian territory from foreign invasion.

In 1939, when Poland ceased to exist as a separate state, a result of the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the OUN was quick to understand, that any form of collaboration with a foreign power is tantamount to sounding the death knoll for every revolution, since the strategic imperatives and tactical logistics peculiar to

every revolutionary, insurgent guerilla-partisan war can only be implemented in practice by the concurrent independence of action in orienting the entire struggle primarily on one's own integral strength.

With this in mind, Roman Shukhevych as the military chief of the National Executive of the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, began the difficult task of organizing a Ukrainian military force. In June of 1941, when war broke out between Germany and the Russian empire, Ukrainian military detachments under Shukhevych's command entered Lviv ahead of the invading Nazi army. There, on June 30th, 1941, an Independent Ukrainian State was proclaimed, with Yaroslav Stetsko as the head. Roman Shukhevych was also a member of this revolutionary government. Soon afterwards, Stepan Bandera and Yaroslav Stetsko were imprisoned by the Germans and placed in a Nazi concentration camp. In 1942, on the OUN's directive, the first UPA units were created in the northern regions of Ukraine (Polissia). Henceforth, the most heroic period of Ukrainian modern history began. With his UPA forces, with this legendary Army of Heroes, General Shukhevych-Chuprynka was invincible! In his own words, "in comparison with this epoch, all sorts of Thermopylae are rendered pale!"

In 1943, General Shukhevych-Chuprynka became the Head of the OUN Leadership. Also in this year, on the initiative of the OUN, and under Shukhevych's guidance, the First Conference of the Subjugated Nations was convened in the forests of the Zhytomyr region of Ukraine. Representatives of 13 subjugated nations were present at this Conference. The idea, adopted at this Conference, of simultaneous revolutionary struggles and uprisings of the nations subjugated by Russia and Germany against both imperialist invaders as the most realistic path to the final dissolution of the Soviet-Russian empire —

the USSR — later became the central guiding concept of the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). The present slogan of the ABN — "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" — was also first adopted at this Conference.

In 1944, after the creation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) — the revolutionary government of Ukraine — General Shukhevych-Chuprynka became the Head of the General Secretariat, a position which was equal to that of a prime-minister. Thus, the revolutionary, national-liberation struggle reached its apex under the leadership of Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka. This struggle manifested enough strength, dynamism, and vivacity, that the imperialist Red Army forces of bolshevik Russia were not capable of liquidating the heroic combat units of the OUN-UPA-UHVR, which led the armed revolutionary struggle of the Ukrainian people, until 1953 — three years after the heroic death of General Shukhevych-Chuprynka, and a full eight years after the cessation of all combat activity on a world wide scale.

In retrospect, it must be stated that General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka, was indeed victorious, despite his untimely death, and despite the fact that the Ukrainian revolutionary armed struggle experienced a temporary setback after World War II. This victory is in that General Shukhevych-Chuprynka blazed a path leading to Ukraine's independence, as well as to the independence of all subjugated nations in the USSR and the satellite countries; he conclusively proved that only via an all-out, revolutionary war of national-liberation can this goal be achieved. In short, against seemingly indomitable odds — HE DARED REVOLUTION!

In this lies the invincibility of General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka!

*R. Zwarycz*

## Subjugated Turkestan — Russian Imperialist Spring-board

Russia became a great power at the cost of Islam, after militarily conquering the Islamic countries, such as Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Idel-Ural and Turkestan, and then annexing these countries to the Russian empire.

These countries regained their independence in the years 1917—20, but Communist Russia again reconquered and incorporated them within the Soviet Russian empire. In 1924, after liquidating the independent Islamic republics of *Buchara* and *Kharazim* and then incorporating their territories into Russia, Moscow not only recaptured these Islamic countries but continued its expansionist drive.

After the conquest of Turkestan, Russia then had a center from which it was possible to infiltrate the other Islamic countries. Moscow erected Turkestan, which should have become a classic Islamic country, but from which its military, ideological, propagandistic aims could be pursued. Only by having Turkestan as Soviet Russia able to occupy Afghanistan near the end of 1979 and to, thereby, directly threaten Pakistan and the other Islamic countries of the Middle East. It is indeed tragic, that the Soviet Russian empire turned Turkestan, which cannot be divided from the union of the Islamic spirit and culture, into a center of aggression, against the rest of the Islamic world.

We hope that the free Islamic countries have realized the tragedy of Islam in the Soviet Union. Russian imperialism, hidden under the mask of communism, has led an aggressive war against Islam from its sphere of power. Millions of Moslem lives were lost in order to regain their national independence and freedom and to protect Islam against atheism, against this onslaught of Russian imperialism and communism. It is obvious that Russian machine guns and bombs were powerful enough to crush the freedom-loving Moslems. But, the Moslems have not given up hope that one day they will regain their freedom. They remain faithful to Islam in spite of the terrible existing conditions created by the regime of Russian communist terror. They would like to free themselves from this Russian communist slavery. There can be no doubt that the oppressed Moslems, with the help of Almighty Allah and their brethren in faith, who continue to live in conditions of freedom, will regain their national independence and freedom, and in that manner, contribute to the growth of Islam.

It is a known fact that there are over 50 million Moslems living under the Soviet Russian yoke, 35 million of which live in Turkestan, in the so-called Soviet socialist republics of Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Uzbekistan, Tagzhikistan and Turkmenistan. The Russian occupiers fear the continual natural growth of the Moslem population in the USSR, as well as their anti-communist attitude. By occupying Afghanistan, the Soviet Russian regime has taken the first step towards the complete enclosure and suffocation of Turkestan.

We would like to draw your attention to the fact, that the leadership of the USSR never kept it a secret that Turkestan and Azerbaijan ought to become a Soviet-Russian imperialist spring-board for the so-called "liberation of the peoples of the Orient through revolution".

We would like to ask that, in considering the liberation of Afghanistan from Russian occupation and in the course of the defense of Pakistan, Iran, and the other Arabic countries around the Persian Gulf, the Free World also take into account the problem of the liberation of the Moslem peoples subjugated within the USSR. We are convinced that a properly coordinated libe-

ration policy on the part of the Free World, which will include the Moslems of the Soviet Union, particularly Turkestan, may become like an atom bomb, in the spiritual sense, against Soviet-Russian imperialism. All the subjugated peoples of Christian faith are in solidarity with the Islamic peoples of the Soviet Union.

B. H.

## In God we Trust

**TO: The Secretary General and member nations of the United Nations**  
**FROM: The Afghan Association of Freedom Fighters, USA**

**THE FREE-LOVING PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN** deem the new changes in the Russian-backed regime in Afghanistan as a blatant attempt by the Russians to install their faithful agent, Babrak Karmal, to power. To the Afghan people, Karmal is a well-known Marxist, Soviet-Russian agent, and a traitor to Afghanistan. Thus, he does not represent the people of Afghanistan and his government is considered to be totally and absolutely illegal.

**THE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN** are determined to continue their struggle against this naked, shameless, and barbaric invasion of their country by the Russians. This invasion against an independent sovereign state is not only a violation of international law, norms of behavior, and the principles of peace and justice established by the United Nations Charter (of which the Soviet Union is a member), but it is also an immoral, unjust act of aggression against humanity and the dignity of mankind.

**WE DEMAND** of the Secretary General, the members of the Security Council, and especially of those member nations of the Islamic faith, to consider this very grave issue at once. This is not only a matter concerning Afghanistan — it is an open venture of aggression by the Soviet-Russian that threatens the very existence and security of all Islamic nations in the region; thus, it is an act that threatens world peace and jeopardizes international order.

**WE DEMAND** that the members of the Security Council of the United Nations fulfill their obligation to world peace by taking this grave matter under serious consideration now. We demand that the Security Council act immediately to stop the Russian invasion and to call upon the Soviet Union to pull all military equipment and combat troops out of Afghanistan.

**Afghan Association of Freedom Fighters, USA**

### Olympic Spies

British authorities note that one of the top KGB men assigned to the 1980 Olympic Committee is Anatoly Gorsky, who from 1936—1944 helped direct Soviet spies Kim Philby, Donald Maclean, and Guy Burgess from his desk at the USSR Embassy in London. To avoid embarrassing its British guests, the Kremlin listed

Mr. Gorsky on the Committee payroll as Professor S. Nitikin.

Another Olympic Committee member is Alexander Gresko, who Lord Home expelled from Britain eight years ago for spying.

*(News Digest, December, 1979)*

# The Right to Life

The National Issue by Yuriy Badzyo

*Yuriy Badzyo was a long-time member of the Literary Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR and a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the early sixties, Badzyo lost his position at the Institute because he organized commemorative meetings to honor Ukraine's national poet, Taras Shevchenko. In 1965, he was ejected from the CPSU for protesting the wave of political arrests that were sweeping Ukraine. Since then, Badzyo has been the subject of great har-*

*rassment which intensified in recent years. On April 23, 1979, he was arrested for alleged crimes against the state. According to Badzyo's wife, Svitlyana Kyrychenko and others, Badzyo was arrested because of his authorship of a monumental work analyzing Ukrainian history in its present political context. Badzyo's own account of the work is printed below. Badzyo is reported to be in the custody of the KGB in Kyiv and is enduring lengthy and intense interrogation.*

*An open letter to: The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Foreign Communist Parties, The Democratic Citizens of the World.*

## I. The Future or a Terrorist Concept of National Extinction

Somehow, a letter addressed to such a large mailing list is looked upon sceptically by people and though I did not wish to address my letter in such a manner, my situation leaves me little choice.

Behind me are six years of intense work which resulted in more than 1400 single-spaced typewritten pages. Suddenly, I was hit by a catastrophe, a terrible tragedy for me. My manuscript disappeared. In all likelihood, I have this one evening of freedom left to tell people what I have been relating in conversation over the past six years. My work is of a strictly scholarly nature, although it includes general social analysis which is not limited to the framework of the national situation of Ukraine.

The political arrests of Ukrainian intelligentsia in 1972 dealt a severe blow to the national interests of Ukraine. I had intended to voice my views on these arrests in an open letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. I wanted to conduct a matter of fact discussion about the national situation of Ukraine within

the framework of the Federation of Soviet republics. What originally began as a letter grew into a scholarly research project dealing with various aspects of national life in Ukraine. The title of the work is *The Right to Life*, where I conclude that the imperialist chauvinist policy of the CPSU has denied the Ukrainian nation its right to life.

The official party ideology with respect to national relations denies my people and all non-Russian peoples their rights to a future. The highest party leadership of the Soviet Union, in essence, the political representative of Russia implementing Russian chauvinist policies, utilizes the Marxist thesis of the amalgamation of all peoples as a theoretical justification for its imperialist policies which systematically assault the national interests of non-Russian peoples and prepare the theoretical base for the liquidation of the formal state sovereignty of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR. The concept of the merging of nations is used to justify a broad propaganda war against national patriotism of non-Russian nations and results in an assault

on their ethnic integrity and political autonomy. This concept is treated as an historically inevitable law, as a scientifically justified policy. Actually, it can only be considered as an hypothesis — an hypothesis which past and contemporary history contradicts. Reality does not offer any examples of a nation voluntarily rejecting its national self-integrity and political independence. On the contrary, today the spirit of national revival and liberation has spread throughout the world. The concept of the merging of nations is unscientific and not true to life. It is a reactionary idea based on ideology to be used as a weapon in the hands of the chauvinists in Soviet-Russian communist society. Its political existence is made possible only by our anti-democratic social conditions. Today, the condition of the so-called “internationalization of Soviet society” is not a result of the free development of the nations of the former Russian Empire, but rather a severe distortion of the national relations of the peoples of the USSR toward the direction of Russian imperialist politics and the era of Stalinist despotism. Leninist social-political and national ideology has not promoted material well-being nor has it strengthened the national liberation of the peoples subjugated by the Russian Empire. Certainly, it was the Bolshevik-Leninists who announced the slogan declaring the rights of nations to self-determination to the point of secession and the creation of independent countries. From the very beginning, however, Lenin, in opposition to his own propaganda, firmly differentiated between the issues of national self-determination, the creation of independent countries and the question of the advisability of that national separation. It is clear that the right to decide the advisability or inadvisability, in practice, was reserved for the centralist imperialist Russian forces. Not by accident, did Lenin come out strongly against demands to

actually realize the right to self-determination as outlined by the Russian Social Democrats. He decisively rejected the principle of a federated structure which would create a party of parties. This, of course, denied the non-Russian peoples their own organized Social Democratic political leadership. Initially, Lenin also denied the federalist principle of international relations among the nations that comprised the Russian Empire. Only the powerful national liberation movement of the non-Russian nationalities, particularly the Ukrainians, forced Lenin to alter his views on the national question, after assessing its strength in the given historical situation. It is my view that Lenin’s plan for the structure of the USSR, rejecting Stalin’s proposal for an “autonomous” Russia, was more than a strategic ploy. The point is, that above the theory and practice of the Bolsheviks, there constantly loomed the spirit of a nationally indifferent Leninist communism. Psychologically and politically, it neutralized the concept of free national development of the peoples in the Soviet Union. Even more important, the idea of the merging of nations fell on the fertile soil of the imperialist traditions of Russia and the nationalist psychology of broad layers of Russian citizenry. The struggle between Russian great power advocates and the non-Russian nationalist patriotic forces was waged inside the ranks of the Social Democratic Party itself, even among the Bolsheviks. The threat of Russian imperialist politics emerged at the very moment of the creation of the USSR, on the very day of the signing of the treaty creating the “federated Soviet republics.” In his notes, Lenin speaks of the reality of the conditions where the “right to secede from the Union” will prove to be an empty piece of paper. He threatened that when he regained his health he would chew up Russian chauvinism with all of his healthy teeth. But it was too late. The non-Russian

peoples were left without any organized, nationally autonomous political strength, while the centralist social-political ideology did not promote the right to national self-determination. The national revival of the oppressed nations was so powerful, however, that for some time after the death of Lenin, the international forces of the party and society were able to build the Union only as a federation of separate countries. Stalinist repressions, however, put an end to that. A destructive blow, which we have still not fully comprehended to this day, was dealt to Ukraine, to which the Russian chauvinists have always responded with exceptional vehemence. Ukrainian nationalist party cadres were physically destroyed along with the bulk of Ukraine's intelligentsia - people who constituted Ukraine's finest individuals. In 1933, a year of good harvests, several million Ukrainian peasants were tortured to death by famine. The Twentieth (1956) and Twenty-third (1966) Party Congresses of the CPSU did not place the national question in its proper

place and did not properly assess national relations in the USSR as they developed during the era of Stalin. Following the removal of Nikita Khrushchev from power, (actually it was a coup d'etat), the policy of the CPSU continued on its course of Russian imperialist assaults on the non-Russian peoples. A false, reactionary concept was introduced, proclaiming one Soviet nation as a new historic community of people. This concept was devised to prepare the foundation for the liquidation of national statehood for the non-Russian peoples. It is characteristic that these propositions were made during the discussion of the projected constitution. It is also characteristic that the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU made reference to them. Even more interesting was his response to the propositions: we should not hurry the process for it is proceeding to that condition. There is no need to accelerate an "objective process." Indeed. As a matter of fact, it is being accelerated in many ways. The latest evidence



*The ABN representative for Denmark, Mr. P. Balecky, together with several young representatives of the Afghan national-liberation movement at a demonstration in protest of the Soviet-Russian invasion of Afghanistan, held in Copenhagen in January, 1980.*



of that is the thesis, announced in the latest USSR constitution, of a monolithic, unified country. This contradicts elementary logic: if the USSR is a federation and not a country, then it cannot be a "monolithic, united country." If a country is a union, then it is no longer a monolith. The concepts of "a monolithic, united country," of "one Soviet nation" are the political concretizations of the ideas of the approaching and merging of nations. These ideas rob the non-Russian nations in the USSR of their future and torment their national consciousness with the nightmare of national extinction. In order to insure the peoples in the USSR equal justice and the conditions of free development as nations, the CPSU must reject the Leninist hypotheses of the merging of nations, the nearing of peoples, one Soviet nation, etc. and return to the national program based on the idea of the rights of nations to national self-determination. In short, the theory of one Soviet nation sounds irrational in view of the constitutional right of the member republics to secede from the federation. A theoretical and historic-political analysis of these and many other questions comprises the first chapter of my work, entitled "The Future or a Terrorist Concept of National Extinction."

## II. The Concept of an "Ancient Rus Nationality"

The specifics of Ukraine's national circumstances are such that the nightmare of national annihilation looms not only in the future, but in the past as well, for the official historiographic concepts of Ukraine's history raise doubts about the historic credence of the Ukrainian people. The unscholarly theory, sewn with political threads, about a "single ancient Rus nationality" creates an overbearing inequality between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples. It would seem that the concept in general is valid: until the 14th Century there was one ancient Rus nationality from

which three East Slavic peoples were formed. In fact the concept is not based on equality, but is grossly chauvinist. 1) Russian scholarship and propaganda speculate on the terms Rus, "Rus'ian" — ancient Ukrainian ethnonym — which in time became the national self-appellation of the Russians. As to Ukraine, it is forbidden to use the term "Ukraine" when referring to the pre-14th Century era. Russians, on the other hand, can calmly speak of "Russian History", "Russian people" and "Russian culture" referring to the era beginning in the 9th Century and even as far back as the 6th. All discussion is carried on in the tone and spirit of Russian patriotism. 2) The issue is not one of terminology and double meanings: Russian historians do not divide the history of Russia into an "ancient Rus'ian" era that was prior to actual Russian history and into Russian history by itself which began in the 14th Century. They view Russian history as one uninterrupted historical process, beginning not only with the era of Kyivan Rus, but from the emergence of the Eastern Slavs on the historical arena. Clearly, they include in Russian history the entire history of the Eastern Slavs to the 14th Century. Ukrainian society is educated in the consciousness that prior to the 14th Century, Ukrainians did not exist and that, in fact, they emerged as a people as a result of the invasion of Eastern Europe by the Mongol-Tartars who disunited the "Rus'ian lands." After the 14th Century, it seems, the Ukrainian people were struggling not for national independence but for "reunification" with Russia. The concept of ancient "Rus'ian" nationality and "reunification" with Russia, as formulated by the theoreticians, logically renews to its full extent the pre-revolutionary Russian chauvinist historiography, which did not recognize the national exclusiveness of the Ukrainian people and did not permit their existence outside the perimeters of the Russian state. In the

second chapter, I cite a great deal of factual material, drawn almost exclusively from USSR sources (from the works of USSR scholars) which shows the lack of scholarly foundation for the concept of "one ancient Rus'ian nationality." I also discuss the political basis for the idea of "reunification" and the overbearing inequality of the historiographic circumstances of Ukrainians in comparison with Russians. The idea of "reunification" begins in the 19th Century and is now supplemented by the idea of struggle against so-called Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. The lack of genuine historical scholarship and the political tendentiousness in this area are unbelievable. In all nations, the bourgeoisie are acknowledged the historic right to lead a national liberation movement, but the Ukrainian bourgeoisie are denied that right by historiography in the USSR. The Ukrainian national liberation movement is painted as nationalist (in a negative connotation) while its representatives and members are vulgarly contrasted to the "revolutionary democrats" who supposedly fought against nationalism and for "reunification" with Russia.

### **III. The Past Versus the Future or the Myth of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism as a Mask for Russian Chauvinism**

In the third chapter, "The Past Versus the Future or the Myth of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism as a Mask for Russian Chauvinism," I examine the theoretical problems of nationalism based on an analysis of the works of T. Shevchenko, I. Franko, P. Hrabovsky and L. Ukrayinka (late 19th and early 20th Century Ukrain-

ian literary figures, now depicted in officially sanctioned Ukrainian literary circles as pre-revolutionary, socialist visionaries — trans.) as well as other documents. In Chapter Three, I show how contemporary "internationalists" who "wage war on Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" are one and the same with the pre-revolutionary Black Hundreds (an ultra-nationalist Russian organization in Tsarist Russia — trans.) while T. Shevchenko, I. Franko, P. Hrabovsky and L. Ukrayinka would be considered genuine "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" according to the criteria of today's party propaganda. In particular, they never opposed the idea of an independent Ukraine. On the contrary, I. Franko clearly announced that goal as a program for the Ukrainian national liberation movement. In fact, discrediting the idea of an independent Ukrainian state by party propaganda and historiography has an anti-constitutional character, since the right of Ukraine to create its own separate independent state is guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR.

Soviet historiography also grossly falsifies historic truths when it examines the question of the bourgeois nature of the Ukrainian nation and its peasantry — allegedly the theoretical base for Ukrainian nationalism. Incessant official propaganda against so-called Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism has long since become a psychological war against the national consciousness of Ukrainians, against the whole Ukrainian nation. It is a powerful ideological tool for the Russification of Ukrainians.

## **GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE**

by

**Prof. Vasyl Pliushch**

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

#### IV. The Present or the Right to Merge with Death

The fourth chapter, "The Present or the Right to Merge with Death," I only began writing. A subjective individual would probably have a difficult time imagining the true situation of contemporary Ukraine, a nation of 50 million living in the center of Europe. Propaganda will maintain that Ukraine has its own statehood, that there are Ukrainian schools, newspapers, radio and television and books published in million-copy editions. First of all, some things do exist, but they are not attributable to the Russian internationalists but are rather the fruits of the Ukrainian struggle for national independence. Secondly, everything cannot be "merged" and "internationalized" at once. Thirdly, our visible conditions are far removed from those that would be basically satisfactory. Most importantly, between the official versions of Ukraine's past and "future" which the chauvinist will of the CPSU has perverted into wastelands, there is no room for the normal historic life of a people. Our "present" (which I place in quotation marks because the consciousness of the future and past are the most important aspects of the contemporary life of a nation) is not very enduring. With us, in essence, the process of nation consolidation has not yet been completed (that is how our history has developed).

Our inheritance from Russian imperialism is a defective national organism. Our national rebirth was unable to sustain itself. Today's cultural circumstances are difficult to the extent that Ukrainians have developed an inadequacy complex. This is a result of our history of enslavement and amounts to a serious anti-Ukrainian historical factor. The prestige of Ukrainian culture is very low. This is not surprising for its development has been one-sided and inauthentic. Scientific literature is usually published in Russian. There are very few Ukrainian schools in Eastern Ukrainian cities. Their content is actually anti-Ukrainian, for they educate Ukrainians in the spirit of "reunification" and "united peoples" — at one time as "ancient Rus'ians" and now "Soviets". Films are made in Russian and only a portion of the releases are also produced in Ukrainian for the villages. Television and radio are also mainly in Russian. Most basic is the question of quality. Ukrainian culture has been reduced to the level of a propagandistic supplement to Russian culture. To add to it all is the total persecution of nationally conscious Ukrainians, especially those who even faintly express demands with respect to the national status of their Homeland. A person who only sees the showy facade of a "sovereign" Ukraine, would be horrified at the extent and measure of national persecution of Ukrainians in the Soviet Union.



*Young representatives of Ukraine, Latvia, Bulgaria, Lithuania, and other subjugated nations participating in an ABN demonstration against Russian imperialism. Toronto, Canada.*

## Soviet-Russian occupation of North Caucasus

North Caucasus is one of the most severely stricken subjugated nations in the Soviet-Russian empire, enslaved by Moscow. In 1937, Stalin declared that "the North Caucasians are a petty bourgeois people, who must be eradicated from the roots. If they are only cut off at the top, then they will grow again unhindered." Hence, in 1937, mass deportations to Siberia occurred, reminiscent of previous deportations and slaughter of North Caucasians, after several insurrections had taken place. Orders from Moscow were sent to the Communist Party headquarters in every village and township of North Caucasus. These orders were to be followed and executed by the local functionaries to the letter, regardless of the ever-increasing amount of efforts and energy that was necessary to fulfill the continuously burgeoning required quotas of people who were to be produced for the Russian hangmen. Such lists of "bourgeois" North Caucasians were continuously being produced by the local party functionaries for the NKVD commandoes. A "bourgeois" was defined as someone who in the last five or ten years possessed three cows and 200 head of lamb, or someone, who so much as uttered a critical remark against the Russian-Communist regime. For the Russian-Communist party organs even a 6-year old "pioneer" (a Communist youth organization) was to play a role — to spy on and pass information about his family or, in effect, to unconsciously commit treason against his loved ones. At "pioneer" meetings, each youth was given a mission to report on the conversations between their father and mother, and other family members to the Komsomol. Thus, these children were very often innocently responsible for the imprisonment, deportation and interrogation of their close relatives. Russian farmers, workers and

functionaries were implanted in the vacated homes and villages of the former inhabitants, who were forcibly deported to Siberia. This was done in such a way that some North Caucasian towns and villages soon became up to 75% Russian, whereas only 25% of the inhabitants were of the previous national population. In this manner the brutal russification of North Caucasus, of its culture, its inhabitants and its scenery was carried out. For instance, the old Arabic scripture had been forbidden. School books were destroyed. The Latin alphabet had to be replaced by the Russian alphabet. The language, songs and music met a similar fate. It can be estimated that during the last 60 years the national population of North Caucasus, together with its culture, had been systematically uprooted and fundamentally disfigured. At present, the functionaries of the communist party even admit to this. They blame the long-since dead Stalin as the main culprit, which, nonetheless, brings little if any satisfaction for the North Caucasian people. Even now, when the grey-haired North Caucasians are allowed to return to their homeland, this is not a humanitarian deed, since they are never permitted to resettle in their previous village or city. The reason for this is that the Russians — the new inhabitants of North Caucasus — have taken the places of the previously deported inhabitants. In their new and foreign environment the newly-returned North Caucasians cannot nor do they want to feel at home. In this manner they are forced to live the twilight of their lives. This same situation may soon meet the Afghan people.

When in 1942 the German army managed to reach North Caucasus, they were welcomed by the national population as liberators from the unbearable yoke of Soviet-Russian occupation. The North Cau-

casian National Committee in Berlin, under the leadership of its presidents — Prof. Achmed Nabi Magoma and Ali Kantemir, soon formed military legions from the North Caucasian population, who fought side by side with the German soldiers until the very end. Naturally, many other nations fought on the side of the Germans against Communism. But, the severest blow for the Soviet-Russian empire came from the North Caucasian legions. Hence, North Caucasus was most severely punished by the Russian Communists. After the withdrawal of the German army on April 22, 1944, approximately one million North Caucasians were deported to Siberia, where the majority eventually perished. Stalin personally spearheaded this action by using an infamous and treacherous maneuver. He declared that he would come to North Caucasus on a specific date — the date of the Red Army —

for the manifestation festivities. The North Caucasian people were called to appear in Grosny and other points in order to take part in the festivities ordered from the top. If the masses would have known Stalin's real aims, they would have come armed (although they would have preferred to disappear in their mountain hideouts) so as to sell their life and freedom at the highest possible price. Rather than having the usual notorious speeches or elaborations on new 5-year plans, Stalin ordered to put all the defenseless people in wagons, or to force them into marching columns with the end station in Siberia. Only 50% of those deported — aged, men, women and children — managed to survive this harsh trek to Siberia. The remainder were dead by the end of this transport.

*The North Caucasian National  
Committee*

### **How the University in Tbilisi is Being Russified**

Prof. D. Chykvshvyli, Rector of the University of Tbilisi, reported that Moscow has assigned over one hundred college graduates of Laos, Nepal, Tunisia, Pakistan and several other countries to the capital of Georgia. During the initial months they will study the Russian language only meaning, the other students have to accomodate to the Russian language also. In this manner Moscow is russifying the Georgian University in Tbilisi, where the official language is Russian and not Georgian. On the other hand Moscow has purposefully planted hostility between the Georgians and foreigners from different countries, because they are forcing them to study the Russian language only, then study their subjects from Russian textbooks. When the students of the University in Tbilisi have mastered the Russian language they must become familiar with the fundamentals of the Humanities (marxism-leninism, USSR constitution) and later with the technical sciences and other special activities, namely, espionage upon return to their countries, and some will be sent to other countries to be used as diversionaries and agitators.

**“Russia — I stand before you, Ancient Dragon, with a naked chest, but unafraid . . . You cannot overpower me, because I am the Immortal Spirit of Ukraine . . .”**

**Oles' Berdnyk, 1979**

## Amnesty International Asks Moscow to Release Prisoners

NEW YORK, N. Y. — Amnesty International issued on October 10 the text of an open letter to dictator Leonid Brezhnev appealing for the unconditional release of all prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union and for an end to the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes.

Amnesty International said it issued its appeal at this time because the forthcoming 62nd anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution next month and the holding of the Olympic Games in Moscow in 1980 are both opportunities for the USSR government to demonstrate its commitment to human rights.

The letter points out that in direct violation of the Helsinki Accords USSR authorities have arrested 19 of those attempting to monitor the implementation of the accords and sentenced them to terms of imprisonment of up to 15 years. Five of these Helsinki monitors have been arrested since March 1979, among them four Ukrainians.

The letter also notes that Amnesty International is now working on more than 300 individual cases of prisoners of conscience. These prisoners, believed to be only a small percentage of those arrested for political or religious reasons, include religious believers, advocates of enhancement of the position of subjugated nations, writers, would-be emigrants, conscientious objectors and workers' rights advocates.

The letter states that conditions of imprisonment remain severe. It cites the example of the special-regime corrective-labor colony in Mordovia. Prisoners at this camp are forced to work at polishing glass without the equipment necessary to protect their lungs from glass dust and are kept on a diet of measured starvation.

Amnesty International also appeals for an end to the confinement and torture of prisoners of conscience in psychiatric hospitals. AI is aware of more than 100 such

prisoners who have been forcibly confined to psychiatric hospitals since 1975 because of the nonviolent exercise of their rights. The case of Dr. Mykola Plakhtoniuk is cited specifically. The letter also points to the many activists, among them Ukrainians, who have been arrested for speaking out in defense of national rights.

Below is the full text of the letter.

Amnesty International appeals to the government of the Soviet Union for the unconditional release of all prisoners of conscience and for an end to the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes. As the Soviet Union celebrates the anniversary of the 1917 Revolution this November, and as the world's peoples look toward Moscow in 1980, we appeal to your government to fulfill its human rights commitments under international law, the USSR constitution and legislation.

Symbolic of the human rights violations in the USSR are the harassment, imprisonment and ill-treatment of those USSR citizens who, since the USSR government signed the Helsinki Final Act in August 1975, have monitored violations of the human rights provisions of this international accord. To date, in direct violation of the agreement, USSR authorities have charged and sentenced 19 of the Helsinki monitors — belonging to different groups, from Moscow, Armenia, Georgia, Lithuania and Ukraine — to terms of imprisonment of up to 15 years. Some were charged with vague and overtly political offenses ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"); others were convicted on various criminal charges ("hooliganism" and "parasitism"). None had fair trials — public access was forbidden, free choice of defense counsel was refused, the right to call defense witnesses was denied. Amnesty International does not know of a single case in which a Soviet court has acquitted a political or

religious defendant. At present, 10 Helsinki monitors are serving sentences in various camps and prisons. Another is serving a sentence of exile. Those in camps and prisons are subjected, like other prisoners of conscience, to chronic hunger and compulsory labor in severe conditions, to inadequate medical attention, and arbitrary deprivation of the very limited rights to correspondence and family visits. Since March 1979 five other Helsinki monitors have been arrested. All were in prison as of August 1979 and, we presume, are awaiting trial: Oles Berdnyk, Petro Sichko, Vasyly Sichko, Yuriy Lytvyn and Eduard Arutunian.

Besides the Helsinki monitors and other human rights activists, prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union, whose cases are known to Amnesty International, include religious believers, advocates of enhancement of the position of captive nationalities, people imprisoned for their writings, would-be emigrants, conscientious objectors to military service and workers' rights activists. Amnesty International is working on more than 300 individual cases at this time, who are only some of those we believe are imprisoned for political or religious reasons in your country.

The official restrictions that limit many areas of religious life — the printing of books, the conduct of priests and ministers, the teaching of religion, freedom of association in worship — have led to the imprisonment of many believers. More than a thousand Baptists are known to have been in prison in the 1960s and 1970s. Amnesty International knows of approximately 100 Protestants who are now prisoners of conscience. Other religious believers imprisoned in recent years for reasons of conscience have been members of the Lithuanian and Ukrainian Catholic, Russian Orthodox, True Orthodox, Jehovah's Witnesses, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Armenian Apostolic and Georgian Orthodox religious groups.

A large number of USSR prisoners of conscience are imprisoned for advocating greater autonomy, cultural integrity, or in some cases, political independence for their national group. In recent years Lithuanians, Latvians, Armenians, Estonians, Georgians, Russians, Byelorussians, Uzbeks, Crimean Tatars and, most frequently, Ukrainians have been tried for expressing non-violent national views. Members of some national groups have also been imprisoned for campaigning specifically for the right to emigrate (particularly Soviet Jews and Volga Germans) and for seeking permission to reside in their ancestral homeland (Crimean Tatars).

Since 1967 Amnesty International has worked for the release of prisoners of conscience who have been imprisoned for campaigning either individually or collectively for workers' rights and the establishment in the USSR of trade unions independent from the state. By early 1978 at least five leaders of the first unofficial trade union had been confined in psychiatry hospitals. In late 1978 another unofficial trade union was formed, and within three weeks one of its founders was similarly confined. Three other members were later imprisoned. We regret that the USSR government's reply to complaints about the imprisoning of these workers, voiced at an International Labour Organization meeting last February, was that they were based on "the tendentious fabrications of Amnesty International."

In June 1975 Amnesty International published its 154-page report "Prisoners of Conscience in the USSR: Their Treatment and Conditions," describing the cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of prisoners of conscience in camps, prisons and psychiatric hospitals. Conditions of imprisonment for prisoners of conscience in USSR penal institutions remain severe. We cite the example of the special regime corrective labour colony in Mordovia. The political prisoners in this colony are forced

to work at polishing glass for chandeliers. They must work without the equipment necessary to protect their lungs from glass dust and the industrial abrasives that endanger their health. Prisoners are known to have died in recent years from health hazards, including tuberculosis. Prisoners of conscience there have been beaten. The cells are moist with dampness and infested with mice. Prisoners are meted out a mere 2,000 calories a day in rotten cabbage soup, watery gruel and salty herring, yet their work requires 3,100—3,900 calories by World Health Organization standards. They are on a diet of measured starvation.

We appeal for an end to the confinement and torture of prisoners of conscience in psychiatric hospitals. Amnesty International knows of more than 100 prisoners of conscience who have been forcibly confined to psychiatric hospitals since 1975 because of the non-violent exercise of their rights. Virtually anyone from any national, religious, or social group who publicly criticizes your government's practices is in danger of being certified as mentally ill. Amnesty International is not alone in condemning such abuses. The World Psychiatric Association, at its 1977 congress in Honolulu, explicitly referred to the evidence of the systematic abuse of psychiatry for political purposes in the USSR. Soviet citizens who have spoken out against the abuses have been imprisoned on such charges as "anti-Soviet slander." Some Soviet psychiatrists, speaking for the state, have defended psychiatric confinement as more "humane" than the harsh winters in a corrective labor camp. We reject any notion that punishing people with excessive doses of pain-causing and disorienting drugs can be justified either morally or medically.

We choose this time to make a concerted public appeal because the 62nd anniversary of the Soviet Revolution this autumn provides an opportunity for the USSR government to fulfill those articles of the USSR Constitution that are said by the USSR

government to implement international instruments of the United Nations concerning human rights, and specifically freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, and freedom from torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

We also appeal now because the Olympic Games will be held next summer in Moscow. Official statements indicate that the Olympic Games will demonstrate the extent to which the USSR authorities govern according to the ideals of peace and friendship. In contrast to these ideals, Amnesty International believes that, in anticipation of the large number of foreign visitors to Moscow during the Olympic Games, your government has ordered the transfer of prisoners of conscience out of prisons and psychiatric hospitals in or near the Moscow area and into distant areas. One potential effect of these transfers is to conceal political imprisonment and to prevent any potential contact, however indirect, between these prisoners and the thousands of foreign visitors to Moscow during the Olympic Games.

Amnesty International believes that some prisoners' detention is being prolonged until after the Olympic Games for similar reasons. Dr. Mykola Plakhotniuk, for example, a 42-year-old Ukrainian doctor now held in a psychiatric hospital in Smila, central Ukraine, was due to have his case reviewed in February 1979. The attending psychiatrist is reported to have told him, however, that "until the Olympic Games have taken place, there can be no rush in your case."

In addition, Baptists in the Moscow area have been threatened with mass expulsion and forced resettlement at the time of the Olympic Games.

In the hope that the USSR government will respond to international appeals, Amnesty International is launching an international campaign today for the release of



prisoners of conscience and for an end to the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes in the USSR. As is our practice in such campaigns, we shall address ourselves not only to government authorities in the USSR but also to governments, political parties, individuals and institutions around the world who are thought to have any capacity for persuading your government to meet its international human rights obligations. We include among these institutions, of course, the International Olympic Committee and the various national Olympic committees in the countries where Amnesty International has members. We shall do so, not because we oppose the holding of the Olympic Games in Moscow (Amnesty International neither supports nor condemns boycotts of cultural events), but because we regard the games, as we similarly regarded the World Cup Soccer tournament in Argentina in 1978, as an opportunity to inform international public opinion and the many thousands of visitors of the Olympic Games about the reality of Soviet-Russian political imprisonment.

In April 1980 we shall publish a revised and up-dated edition of our 1975 report on imprisonment in the USSR. It will show that political imprisonment and related human rights violations have continued over the past five years. Your government has repeatedly denied that there is political imprisonment in the USSR. When Amnesty International and other organizations have asked for the release of prisoners in the USSR who have been imprisoned for the non-violent exercise of their rights, your government has invariably either ignored our appeals or said that the prisoners named were imprisoned for some other reason than the exercise of their rights.

People imprisoned for writing about human rights violations have been labelled as criminals, renegades, traitors, spies troublemakers, malcontents, hooligans or

parasites. People imprisoned for urging autonomy or opportunities for their nationalities, your government has labelled bourgeois nationalists, reactionaries, sowers of enmity among the people of the USSR. People imprisoned for teaching religion to their children or printing bibles have been labelled as archaic and fanatical corrupters of souls. People imprisoned for all such activity have been labelled as mentally ill.

By international standards they are prisoners of conscience. We appeal for their unconditional release. We appeal for the abolition of the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes. We appeal to your government, in short, to bring its practice regarding dissenters into line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with the obligations undertaken by the USSR government in international law, with the model of peace and friendship as presented in the ideals of the Olympic movement and the Helsinki Final Act, and, finally, with the moral and political imperative to secure fundamental rights and freedom for every citizen of your country.

**Igor  
Shankovsky**

## **SYMONENKO**

**a study in  
semantics**

1977

UKRAINISCHES INSTITUT FÜR  
BILDUNGSPOLITIK — MÜNCHEN  
e.V.

## Scholars Protest Russification of Schools

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Members of the Permanent Conference of Ukrainian Studies (PCUS) at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute sent a letter to UN Secretary-General Dr. Kurt Waldheim, asking him to look into the matter of officially-sanctioned Russification of schools in Ukraine.

The August 10 letter was written in response to a May 27 meeting of the PCUS, at which the matter of what they called "language genocide" in Ukraine was discussed. Thirty-eight members of the conference signed the letter which reminded the UN secretary-general that what the USSR government is doing is in violation of its constitution because it guarantees each child the opportunity to study in its native language.

The Ukrainian scholars said that the October 13, 1978, decree of the USSR Council of Ministers, instituting an intense programme of Russian language instruction in Ukraine, would "have a detrimental effect upon the national identity of Ukrainian children."

The letter was written by Dr. Assya Humesky, president, and Dr. George A. Perfecy, chairperson of the Section on Russification.

It was signed by:

Eleonora K. Adams, Temple University; Olexa Bilaniuk, Swarthmore College; Borys Bilokur, University of Connecticut; Yaroslav Bilynsky, University of Delaware; Stepan Chorney, State University College, Brockport, N. Y.; Zirka Derlycia, New York University; Illa Demydenko, Rochester, N. Y.; Ludmyla Demydenko, Rochester, N. Y.; Kateryna Dowbenko, University of Pittsburgh; Eugene Fedorenko, Rutgers University; Luba Gina, New Haven, Conn.; George Grabowicz, Harvard University; Lubomyr Hayda, Har-

vard University; Ihor Hulawyj, Warsaw University; John S. Kark, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Zenon Kohut, Harvard University; George Kulchycky, Youngstown State University; Zynowij Kwit, University of Pennsylvania (graduate student); Miroslav Labunka, La Salle College; Eugene Lashchyk, La Salle College; Semen Mychajlyshyn, Baltimore, Md.; Ivan Myhul, Bishop's University, Quebec; Larissa Onyshkevych, Rutgers University; Andrij Paschuk, Kew Gardens, N. Y.; Natalia Pazuniak, University of Pennsylvania; Lada Prokop, Warren, Mich.; Bohdan Romanenchuk, Niagara University; Ivan L. Rudnytsky, University of Alberta; Leo D. Rudnytzky, La Salle College; Dmytro Shtohryn, University of Illinois; Christina Slevinsky, Stratford, Conn., Aleksander Sokolyshyn, Brooklyn Public Library; Nila Stecki, Tonawanda, N. Y.; Frank Sysyn, Harvard University; Marta Tarnawsky, University of Pennsylvania; Ostap Tarnawsky, Community College of Pennsylvania; Roman Tratch, St. John Fisher College; Oleh Tretiak, Drexel University; Renata Holod-Tretiak, University of Pennsylvania; Irene Twerdschlik, Rochester, N. Y.; Petro Twerdschlik, Rochester, N. Y.; Mykola Voskobijnyk, Central Connecticut State College; the Rev. Meletius M. Wojnar, OSBM, Catholic University of America; Christian Yuzych, Wayne State University; Myroslava Znayenko, Rutgers University; and Wolodymyr Zyla, Texas Technological College.

Below is the full text of the letter:

We, the members of the Permanent Conference of Ukrainian Studies at the Harvard University Ukrainian Research Institute, assembled at our annual meeting in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on May 27, 1979, view with increasing anxiety the Soviet Union's most recent deliberate attempt at total Russification of Ukrainians.

On October 13, 1978, the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued a decree which will have a detrimental effect upon the national identity of Ukrainian children. According to the decree, an intensive programme of the Russian language will be introduced beginning with the first grade in the school system of the Ukrainian SSR. This programme, however, involves more than just the study of language alone. It represents a total immersion in Russian culture aimed at complete Russification of Ukrainian children.

In view of the fact that the Constitution of the USSR guarantees each child the

opportunity of school instruction in its native language (Article 45), we solemnly proclaim indignation at this flagrant violation of the Ukrainian child's constitutional rights. Because the United Nations has proclaimed 1979 as the International Year of the Child, we appeal to you most sincerely on behalf of Ukrainian children in the Ukrainian SSR to do everything in your power to convince the government of the Soviet Union to stop the implementation of its newest educational decree, which can only result in linguistic genocide and eventually total denationalization of future generations of Ukrainians.



*The Ukrainian community in Minneapolis, USA, greeting the President of the ABN — Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko together with his wife — Mrs. Slava Stetsko, also a member of the ABN Central Committee in December, 1979.*

### **REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE**

the protest writings of

**VALENTYN MOROZ**

edited and translated  
by John Kolasky

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## National Liberation Fight in the USSR

In Mordovian and Perm concentration camps, in Siberian exile, and in the infamous Moscow's Vladimir Prison we find numerous participants of national-liberation movements of different generations. There we can meet grayhaired, crippled and mutilated "Banderists", participants of OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) — UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) battles, as well as Lithuanian "Brothers of the Forest" (partisans). There I met and conversed with Victor Solodkyj, who is completing his 36-year term of imprisonment; Andrij Turyk, who in 1982 will complete his 32-year sentence; and Yurij Shukhevych, the son of Roman Shukhevych, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — UPA, who was killed in action in 1950. Yurij Shukhevych is completing his 30-year sentence. After 25 years of imprisonment, Evhen Pryshlak, Ivan Pokrovskyj, Stepan Vovchanskyj, Mychajlo Prociw, Ivan Ilchuk and others were released not long ago. Many Ukrainian nationalists of the older generation were made "criminally" responsible for the second time (sentenced and imprisoned twice for the same "crime"). Among those known to me are Bohdan Chujko, Andrij Moroz, Ivan Stolar. Formerly active patriots and nationalists of Baltic countries also are not left in peace. In 1974 in the Vladimir Prison, I met a group of Latvian nationalists from the war years — Elias Tumilkans, Vishker and Irbitis — also sentenced shortly beforehand. Some former OUN members, even in present circumstances, are not laying down their arms, they have only altered the form of their struggle — from using firearms to using propaganda. In this way, in 1967, a group of old partisans of the Lviv Region was sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Some of them — Ivan

Hubka and Prokopovych — just this year have completed their long terms of exile. Other participants of these 1967 proceedings are still serving their sentences.

National liberation movements in USSR have not ceased during the entire era of Russian domination — once in a while they only quieted down, to again awaken with renewed flame. Sometimes this flame sparks up as a complete surprise to the governing authorities, as exemplified by the 1968 events in Tashkent, or the awakening of nationalism in Moldavia at the end of the sixties.

The most active displays of national liberation movements are — the struggle of the Ukrainians, particularly of western regions, for independent Ukraine; the struggle of Baltic nations, particularly Lithuania, for independence from the Russian-empire and national sovereignty; the struggle of the Armenians for an independent Armenia in its historical boundaries; the struggle of the Crimean Tatars for their right to return to their lands; the struggle of Germans for their right to immigrate to Germany; and the widespread and successful fight of Jews for their right to immigrate to Israel and the West.

### Ukrainian National Rebirth

In overwhelming numbers, the youth of Ukraine is taking the places of the elder generation of Ukrainian nationalists. The rebirth of celebrations of purely Ukrainian national holidays and commemorative days is widespread. Nationalistic spirit is growing in strength among all Ukrainians, publication and circulation of "samvydav" (Ukrainian underground publications), like "Ukrainian Visnyk" (Ukrainian Herald) is constantly expanding. At the beginning of the seventies, a group headed by Zoriana Popadiuk, a student in

Lviv, was engaged in such publishing activity. A group of Ternopil students headed by Stepan Sapelak were not satisfied by this sort of propaganda only and turned to displaying Ukrainian national flags, destroying statues of Lenin and distributing inflammatory pamphlets. It should be noted that Ukrainians constitute a majority of all political prisoners of the USSR.

New repressions in Ukraine illustrated the sixties and seventies. A group of jurists, Levko Lukianenko, Ivan Kandyba and others, who attested to the legal constitutional right of Ukraine to withdraw from the Soviet Union, were arrested in 1961 in Lviv. In 1965, the Russian authorities decided to crush Ukrainian opposition once and for all. A whole wave of political trials, searches, terror and pressure upon thousands of individuals followed. During the early sixties, we witnessed the rise of the second citadel, after Lviv, of Ukrainian national rebirth — the capital of Ukraine — Kyiv. The activities of Ivan Dzyuba, Ivan Svitlyvnyj, Evhen Sverstiuk, Mykola Kholodnyj, Vasyl Stus, Ihor and Irena Kalynech, Zenovij Antoniuk, Olexander Serhienko and others proved to be most successful in awakening national consciousness in many formerly russified Ukrainians. This is most startlingly evidenced by the life, genius and tragic death of Alla Horska.

Literary evenings conducted for the youth by Ukrainian educators, like a day commemorating Taras Shevchenko, are attended by hundreds. In halls and on public squares vivid discussions and readings of “rebellious” poems are taking place. The activities of the Kyivan intelligentsia found their echo of support in various regions and cities situated far from the capital. In Rivne they were supported by Valentyn Moroz, in Odessa by Nina Strokata and Olexsij Melnykiv, in Lviv by Vyacheslav Chornovil. The term “shestydesiatnyky” (activists of the sixties) emerged in Ukraine and received its due in printed literature

there and in the West. Such literary-political works as “Internationalism or Russification?” by Ivan Dzyuba, “Diary” by Vasyl Symonenko, the poems of Vinhranowskyj and Kholodnyj, “Report from Beria Reserve” by Valentyn Moroz were widely distributed. There also were some cases of outward protest. In the camps, I became friends with Mykola Bereslavskyj who attempted self-immolation and Mykola Bondar, who, on November 7, 1970 during a demonstration on Khreshchatyk Boulevard in Kyiv, courageously unfurled a placard proclaiming “Shame to the criminal leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union”.

In the beginning of 1972, the movement of Ukrainian rebirth received a severe blow. Prominent leaders and participants of this movement were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Hundreds and thousands of persons were persecuted.

Among other subjugated nations in the USSR, the most perceptible nationalist movements exist in Armenia and Lithuania.

### **Nationally-United Party of Armenia**

In 1965, in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the mass murder of Armenians 50,000 people demonstrated in Erevan, the capital of Armenia.

In 1968, artist Ajkazun Khachatrian and others with similar beliefs organized the Nationally-United Party of Armenia. From 1967 to 1975, fifty members of this Party were tried in 18 different judicial proceedings. Very often, during these judicial proceedings, hundreds of persons awaited the appearance of the defendants, near court-houses, greeting them with flowers and glorifying them as national heroes. So honored were colonel Asatur Babayanov and his son, Ajriyakh Parujrov, current Secretary of Nationally-United Party of Armenia, imprisoned twice, Bahratov Shakhverdian and others.

### Lithuanian Spirit of Resistance

The incidents in Kaunas, capital of Lithuania, illustrated the vitality among Lithuanians of the spirit of resistance and their desire for national independence. The whole city reacted to the self-immolation of Kalantas. Soon an underground organization emerged under the leadership of Sharonas Zhukauskas. With the help of a magazine entitled "Naulyasis Varpas" (New Bell), the organization planned to inform the citizenry about the criminal activities of the Soviet-Russian government against the Lithuanian people. Six members of this organization were sentenced and imprisoned.

From time to time Lithuanians find in their mail-boxes appeals for strengthening of their national unity and for resistance to the plunderers of their country. Here and there national flags appear. For such activities, a group of young people was sentenced and imprisoned — Shylinskas, Pashylis and Balkajtis.

Most Lithuanians are Catholics. Their national fight is closely interwoven with their fight for freedom of religious expression. They publish an underground magazine entitled the "Herald of the Lithuanian Catholic Church". Adherence to national customs, rituals of national holidays, celebrations, weddings — all of these deepen the feeling of national identity.

The Lithuanian group monitoring the implementation of Helsinki agreements was devastated, as were other similar groups. Balis Hayauskas, after completing his twenty-five years of imprisonment, and after enjoying only four years of so-called freedom, was again sentenced to fifteen years of imprisonment.

### Cooperation of National Groups

Generally, in Soviet-Russian concentration camps, international in scope through their contingent of prisoners, people unite, rightfully, by nationalities. Less frequently, they also unite by religions, ideologies, and seldom by age or profession. Among some nationalities, particularly strong bonds of friendship and loyalty develop. In Mordovia's Third Zone, Armenians developed close ties of friendship with Latvians, Jews with Ukrainians. Such united nationalities, together, prepared documents, petitions and organized various actions.

However, an overwhelming majority of prisoners of Russian nationality, consisting of fascists, monarchists, social-christians, practiced separability. All of them were great believers in "one, great indivisible Russia", enslaving other countries; therefore, they provoked hostile feelings in nationalists desiring national independence from Russia. Only steadfast democrats such as Volodymyr Bukowsky, Kronid Lubarsky and Yehor Davydow were trusted by the nationalists.

In the camp, the nationalists developed liaisons for more expanded actions against their common enemy — Russian imperialism. Nationalists from different parts of the USSR advanced common programs and common demands. The west knows about the "Message to the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR" by political prisoners of Baltic countries, Ukraine and Caucasus. Signed by nineteen political prisoners, this document exposes the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its policy of national oppression, and presents the demands of the non-Russian countries.

*Translated from Ukrainian by  
Zena Matla-Rychtycka*

There are no beds in Poland because the Party is on guard, the enemy is awake, the patriots are behind bars and the workers are sleeping on roses.

# ABN Ideals in Russian Concentration Camps

## Appeal to the Community of the Free World

We, political prisoners of different nationalities, strictly isolated one from another and from the outside world in the Soviet-Russian harsh regime prison of Chystopolk, desiring to be heard in the matter of... (illegible)... release... (illegible), who are suffering under the yoke of the Kremlin's despicable despotism, will take part — from July 23 to August 1 — in the Decade of solidarity of nations struggling against Soviet-Russian colonialism and imperialism. In the framework of the Decade, continuing the tradition established by the prisoners of the Ural concentration camps of different nationalities:

*On the day of demands of return to ones homeland (July 23), we will rise in opposition to... (illegible), practiced to date, which is used for the purpose of stifling the national-liberation struggles, and until recently, physical destruction... (illegible) genocide of non-Russian nations, practice of mass and individual deportations to remote regions of Russia, Ural, Siberia (in the same manner, to territories of other subjugated nations), to severe climates; we will demand cessation of this criminal... (illegible) practice, which also constitutes an outrage against the institution of citizenship of "union republics" — "sovereign countries" — we will demand that we be returned to our native countries.*

On the day of protest against national discrimination in... (illegible) deprivation of freedom — Day of Silence (July 26) — we will express our firm protest against depriving us of the opportunity of communication with the administration; private and business correspondence; during visits, prohibition to converse in language other than Russian; deprivation of reading materials, radio and films in our native languages; prohibition to celebrate our national holidays and days of commemora-

tion; prohibition to conserve, treasure and practice our national customs and rituals; prohibition to unite into national societies.

*On the day of solidarity with Tatar-Bashkir and Mordovian nations (July 30) — we will submit a declaration of our solidarity with them, and express our protest against forceful transformation of their territories into places of deportation and exile of political prisoners — members of other nationalities, including active participants of national-liberation movements.*

On the day of right of nations to self-determination (August 3), we will traditionally commemorate the anniversary of the signing of Helsinki agreement by protesting against the brutal violation by the USSR government of Principle VII of the Declaration of Principles of said conclusive act and demanding immediate implementation of this most important international lawful covenant regarding all prisoners of Soviet-Russian colonialism and imperialism on the territory of present-day USSR and beyond its borders. We will express our solidarity under the banner — "For the freedom of each of our nations", using an old sacred slogan — "For your and our freedom!"

However, we realize that solidarity of enslaved nations alone is not enough, and we are also counting upon the sympathy and support of our endeavors by all freedom-loving countries of the world, especially by those, who gained their independence not long ago, by all countries of the Third World, and by democratic countries of the West.

Expressing our acknowledgement for all manifestations of solidarity — annual celebrations of captive nations week, solidarity week, which is celebrated by New York and other States — we are asking

everybody to consider our Decade as a call for continued growth of consolidation. In the spirit of such solidarity, we hope for your support of our protests and demands, which we are transmitting to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of USSR, to our "union republics" Tatar and Mordovia during the days of the Decade.

Further, we are calling all countries and governments, political, national and religious parties and organizations, all international societies, public and social activists, private individuals — to everywhere firmly and consistently insist upon the complete and final liquidation of national and colonial enslavement by the ever-present practitioners of history's last Russian-Soviet empire — the "prison of nations", which, today, at the end of the Twentieth Century, constitutes the main hindrance to world development. Only this can guarantee world peace, stability and... (illegible).

Let the Decade, side by side with which go unavoidably strengthened repressions and psychological pressures upon its participants, become a new warning of danger to peace and freedom of all nations and peoples, that arises from this historically doomed and, therefore, twice-dangerous entity, which still stubbornly opposes the coming of the inevitable end of its empire. (illegible); in the name of their future, nations should display constant vigilance to Russian-Soviet camouflaged and open expansionist desires, and not allow themselves to be hypnotized by false assurances of committals to quests of national liberations of "foreign" countries, because actually there is just one goal — imperialistic and undermining interests — to deceive with the help of bright, but empty statements and false labels of fig leaves, that hide merciless national pressures, masked by fictitious characteristics of "independence" and "sovereignty" of "union republics", a state of complete lawlessness of national

structures in the USSR and inexistent independence of satellite countries.

In order that our today, where each nation has its designated role of a mute in the grandiose farce, under the name of "history's new society of peoples — the Soviet nation", which, in the opinion of its creations, should stubbornly aim toward its complete realization... (illegible), unification and denationalization to take the place of the colorful mosaic of numerous nations, a role of supplier of prisons and other resources for the insatiable Monster, — which constantly moves toward incessant expansion of its empire, — in order that our today does not become your tomorrow, in order that civilization does not become degraded under the boot of Kremlin's world hegemony, if it does not perish in the fires of atomic war, which, by the way, without any scruples, always and particularly in a critical moment, Kremlin is ready to wage.

All who live on this earth and for whom life, peace and liberty of their nations are precious, may not lose a minute.

Political prisoners of Soviet-Russian harsh regime prison in Chystopolk, Tataria: *Razmik Zahrobian — Armenian, Anatoly Shcharansky — Jew, Vladimir Balakhanov, Mikhaliv Kazachkov — Russians, Vasyl Fedorenko, Yuriy Shukhevych-Berezynskyj — Ukrainians.*

We, the undersigned prisoners of concentration camp Sosnovka in Mordovia, after becoming familiar with the contents of appeal of the political prisoners of Soviet harsh regime prison in Chystopolk, completely and wholeheartedly underwrite this text, and will take active part in the second Decade of solidarity of captive nations.

*Borys Gayauskas, Alexander Ginzburg, Nikolay Yevrbrafov, Swiatoslav Karavanskyj, Levko Lukianenko, Bohdan Rebruk, Oleksa Tykhyj, Danylo Shumuk, Edward Kuznetsov.* April 10, 1979



## Volodymyr Ivasiuk – An Everlasting Melody

News that the murder of the talented composer and incorruptible Ukrainian patriot, Wolodymyr Iwasiuk, which was carried out by the hands of the KGB, and of his tremendous funeral, has reverberated and echoed throughout the whole Ukraine.

Thousands of patriotic young Ukrainians took part in the funeral, which took place at the Lychakiwski Cemetery (Lviv, Ukraine) on May 22, 1979. Shortly after, on June 12th, the holiday known to all Ukrainians as “Zeleni Sviata”, which commemorates all heroes, a true pilgrimage took place at the grave-site of Ukraine’s present-day national hero — a symbol — the purity of which could not be blemished by any attempts of bribery on the part of the occupier.

Many documents, which testify of the all-national pilgrimage in remembrance of W. Iwasiuk are reaching the West. Photographs, poetry and letters continuously reach the West.

The murder of Wolodymyr Iwasiuk by the KGB was also covered by the German press. January 8, 1980, the German daily newspaper “Die Welt” printed an article written by Hans Peter Ruhlmann, titled “A final ride in the car of the KGB”, in which he writes: “Tens of thousands crowded the cemetery grounds the day of the funeral. Almost everyone took part in the funeral, university students boycotted their lectures and classes in order to attend the funeral. Representatives of intelligencia, and those who would never count themselves as part of the political opposition, took part in the funeral, as the day of the funeral fell on the same day that the whole Ukrainian Nation commemorates their greatest national poet, Taras Shevchenko.

The question whether Wolodymyr Iwasiuk, as many other singers of popular genre, hung himself, or was another victim of the KGB — became completely se-

condary; the Ukrainian Nation, particularly the youth were given a new hero whom they read to be a martyr. The roar of Iwasiuk’s murder was heard even in Munich: Ukrainian nationalists, who in the West were labelled as political corpses burned down the Soviet airline office — Aeroflot.” This assumption that H. P. Ruhlmann made is very brave and simply fabulous.

In a letter from Ukraine someone wrote: “I think, you, there, are interested in what is happening with us, here. First of all, no one is paying any attention to the arrests here. The grave in which W. Iwasiuk once laid is covered with mounds of fresh flowers. On Sundays there are always masses of people standing by his grave singing church songs, folk songs, and mainly his — Iwasiuk’s songs. Everyone is emotionally upset and angry, as a boiling cauldron.

I wrote “the grave in which he once laid”, because his body was cremated, and his remainings were taken to another place. People know of this, but do not visit his present grave because it is *severely guarded in secrecy*.

On the holiday of commemoration to all heroes (June 12th), the only thing missing was the slogan “Strike the Russians” war, and mass slaughter would have broken out in Lviv.

### Leaflet from Ukraine

The barometric pressure of revolutionary fury amidst the population, surprisingly reached an incredible peak. Moscow then, grew deathly frightened. A revolutionary leaflet was distributed throughout Ukraine containing the following (received from the Ukrainian Information Service):

“Ukrainian Brothers and Sisters!

Unite, do not sell-out one another for money! We are being grabbed by our legs, and do not even feel them. Ukrainians do not have the right to voice. On television

and radio we are hearing less and less of our Ukrainian language and... still continue to be silent! We were silent when W. Iwasiuk died. People, you do not know! He did not commit suicide! He was murdered because he fought for Ukrainian truth, and because he was a nationalist! These are the kind of people who disturb the regime. Do not forget this. All of you, be nationalists, then our people will not die like flies.

Fight for Ukraine's truth, demand truth! Fight for the Ukrainian Nation! The trail that leads to Wolodymyr Iwasiuk's grave will no longer grow grass!

Long live a FREE Ukraine!

Poetry in dedication to Wolodymyr Iwasiuk is frequently being sent to the West. Below we have printed poems of unknown authors from Ukraine, which we received from the Ukrainian Information Service.

**In dedication to W. Iwasiuk**

*And one more life has been devoured  
By the Gulf of Death,  
That took our Wolodymyr Iwasiuk  
Into the dark labyrinth.  
The enemy has killed you,  
But cannot kill your music,  
You will live in that music  
For centuries to come.*

*Your "Red Rue", Brother,  
We will sing until eternity.  
True, you are gone, but, your  
Spirit will always walk along our side's.  
And the way you loved Ukraine,  
For Her, you gave your life,  
Your name as a symbol, son,  
We will carry-on through the Future.  
And today, we all kneel down to you,  
We are singing your song,  
A song about a Free Ukraine,  
Hear us: about our Ukraine, and not any  
other!*

✱

Your music will not silence,  
It will always be with me,  
Just as the song the Nightingale  
Awakens us with at springtime.  
Your colorful music with  
Anxiety not once filled our hearts,  
And gave poetry its life,  
That was as clean as the morning dew.  
They cannot cease it.  
It will resound everywhere  
Just as they could not kill you,  
Not the regime, not Judas, the proletariat.  
It is not thunder in the sky  
And it is not rain that is falling, my Kosak.  
Hate is what has exploded,  
Son, it is Ukraine that is crying!

*Translated from Ukrainian by  
Lesia Zwarycz*

**From Letters to ABN-Correspondence**

*I am enclosing an article which appeared in the influential Maltese weekly "Il-Mument". The article was written by members of our Movement and was based on information supplied by ABN-Correspondence. Your magazine is often quoted in other articles written by members of M. A. K.*

*I take this opportunity to thank you for the wonderful work you are doing. You are an inspiration to us. In turn, such articles as the one appearing in the enclosed newspaper have brought the mes-*

*sage of the heroic Ukrainian freedom fighters to the Maltese people. We of M.A.K. were thrilled when we learned of Valentyn Moroz's release because we had conducted our own campaign for his release — a campaign based mostly on information appearing in ABN Correspondence.*

*Please keep sending us your magazine and other suitable material.*

*Yours sincerely*

*Edward Vassallo  
President of M.A.K.*

## After the Tashkent Conference

### *Additional measures to improve the study and Teaching of Russian in the National Republics*

*Summary:* The USSR Ministry of Education has taken further steps to improve the study and teaching of the Russian language in the non-Russian republics. The new measures are based on the recommendations of the all-Union scientific-theoretical conference on "The Russian Language — the Language of Friendship and Cooperation of the Peoples of the USSR" that was held in Tashkent last May. One set of instructions, issued in June, 1979, encompasses the areas of pre-school education, general education, and teacher training. In a separate order, dated July 18, 1979, and devoted exclusively to pre-school education, the Ministry of Education has proposed that the study of Russian be introduced in kindergartens and nurseries in the Union republics for children lacking facility in the language by September 1, 1980.

A recent announcement in the journal *Russky yazyk v natsional'noi shkole* includes information on additional measures adopted by the USSR Ministry of Education to improve the study and teaching of the Russian language in the national republics in the wake of the all-Union conference in Tashkent on "The Russian Language — the Language of Friendship and Cooperation of the Peoples of the USSR" (May 22—24, 1979).<sup>1</sup> Thus, on June 15, 1979, a series of measures based on the materials and recommendations of the Tashkent conference were approved in the areas of pre-school education, general education in the national school, and teacher training.<sup>2</sup>

In pre-school education, the Ministry planned in the course of 1979 to complete the draft "Model Educational-Methodologi-

cal Recommendations for Teaching the Russian Language to Children in National Kindergartens"; to formulate proposals for issuing methodological literature and educational visual aids to assist teachers of Russian in pre-school institutions; to develop a curriculum and program for improving the qualifications of teachers of Russian; to set up a plan of scholarly research in the field of Russian-language study in the national kindergartens; to organize a scientific-methodological council on the Russian language in pre-school institutions within the Administration of Pre-school Education of the USSR Ministry of Education; and, in 1981, to stage an all-Union scientific-practical conference on teaching children the Russian language in pre-school institutions.

At the level of general education in the national school, in 1979 and 1980 the Ministry will draw up standard requirements for Russian-language lessons; propose recommendations for the use of technical aids for the teaching of Russian; introduce changes in the model program for the Russian language in Grades 1—10 and develop a model program for intensive study of Russian; amend the statutes of international friendship clubs for Pioneers and schoolchildren in accordance with the recommendations of the Tashkent conference; establish a committee of the Scientific Methodological Council on Russian language and literature in the national school within the USSR Ministry of Education; conduct zonal seminars and meetings on organizing extracurricular work in the Russian language and the use of educational study rooms and technical aids for teaching Russian; and between 1981 and 1985 prepare and publish dictionaries and conversational texts for the study of Russian.

In the area of teacher training, the ministry intended in 1979 to establish regulations governing departments of further training for teachers of Russian in the general education school and instructors in the special day schools who work with national groups; develop new curricula for the course in practical Russian and the introductory course in Russian literature; issue methodological recommendations for the organization and establishment of special courses and seminars on the Russian language and teaching methods, and for ensuring coordination in the teaching of philological subjects. In 1980, regulations and a plan will be evolved for temporary attachment (*stazhirovka*) of advanced students of pedagogical institutes in the field of "Russian Language and Literature in the National School" to pedagogical institutes in the RSFSR, Ukraine, and Byelorussia. Proposals will also be made for the creation of a network of departments of further training for teachers of the Russian language and teaching methods who work in pedagogical institutes in the Union republics, as well as for teachers in general education schools and instructors in secondary specialized schools. Finally, all-Union conferences will be conducted on improving the linguistic and methodological training of teachers of Russian for the national school and optimizing coordination of philological subjects in higher pedagogical institutions.

On July 18, 1979, the USSR Ministry of Education issued Order No. 137 "On Measures for Introducing the Study of the Russian Language in Preschool Institutions and Preparatory Classes of General Education Schools with Native-Language Instruction." Under the terms of this order, Union republic ministries of education are instructed to draw up and implement measures for the introduction of the study of Russian in pre-school institutions for children lacking facility in the language by

September 1, 1980. The study of Russian was also to be introduced in the current school year in preparatory classes of general education schools that use the native language as the medium of instruction. The order also includes supplementary instructions encompassing specific program and methodological recommendations approved by the collegium of the USSR Ministry of Education on June 29, 1979, which are to be used in initiating study of Russian at the pre-school and preparatory levels, and directives regarding the training and retraining of teachers. By August 15, 1979, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences was enjoined to present the Ministry of Education with a draft model program on the Russian language for preparatory classes as well as methodological recommendations for the organization of the study of Russian in preparatory classes of general education schools with native-language instruction. Lastly, Order No. 137 allows for the training of students in the appropriate departments as teachers of Russian in pre-school institutions and preparatory classes of general education schools where the native language is the language of instruction.<sup>3</sup>

According to the latest available data, there are 21,900 native-language pre-school institutions in the USSR attended by about two million children. However, the percentage of kindergartens and pre-school institutions that use the native language as the medium of instruction varies from republic to republic. In Kazakhstan, for example, only 9 percent use Kazak as the language of instruction. In Estonia native-language pre-school institutions account for 62 percent of the total, in Azerbaijan 60 percent, and in Armenia more than 80 percent.<sup>4</sup>

It should also be noted that the study of Russian at the pre-school level, which varies from ages four to six depending upon the republic, is a sensitive issue from the

standpoint of nationality policy. Although few details are available, it apparently stirred considerable controversy during the Tashkent conference in 1975.<sup>5</sup> This was perhaps to be expected in view of the considerable importance that USSR Minister of Education Mikhail A. Prokof'ev attached to the study of Russian in pre-school institutions.

Prokof'ev emphasized that pre-school facilities constitute the first stage of public education. All told, about eleven million children of all nationalities of the USSR attend these institutions. Naturally, the question arises: Shouldn't we begin the study of the Russian language here as well, with games and discussions? Specialists maintain that the sooner familiarization with a second language begins the better one learns it. We have the experience. This kind of teaching has been introduced in a number of kindergartens in the Uzbek and certain other republics. A special program has been created, and this can be done in other republics too.<sup>6</sup>

The experience mentioned by Prokof'ev refers to a major experiment in the teaching of Russian to pre-school children that was begun in 1974 in Georgia, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Ukraine, Kirghizia, Moldavia, and the Yakut and Bashkir autonomous republics.<sup>7</sup>

A comparison of the recommendations of the 1975 and 1979 Tashkent conferences in the area of pre-school education reveals very little in the way of significant new initiatives in this field. In both cases the recommendations propose that Russian-language lessons be organized for older children in kindergartens and nurseries. In 1975 it was also recommended that the network of pre-school institutions providing instruction in Russian where parents desire it should be expanded.<sup>8</sup> The 1979 recommendations are more wide-ranging, including proposals for various games and activities in Russian as well as the native

language in order to broaden conversational practice; a more active role for parents in the learning process; the development of a model program and methodological recommendations for the study of Russian; the publication of a periodical with the title *Russky yazyk v natsional'nom detskom sadu*.<sup>9</sup> Other recommendations made in 1979, such as the establishment of a scientific-methodological council for the teaching of Russian in pre-school institutions within the Ministry of Education, have been implemented in the new instructions.

In conclusion, it may be noted that there is now confirmation that the number of hours devoted to the study of Russian in the national schools will indeed be increased. This was made clear in the speech of USSR Deputy Minister of Education, Viktor M. Korotov, during the Tashkent conference. Korotov stated that the curricula of the national schools currently provided for between 1,260 and 1,715 hours of instruction in Russian language and literature during the entire course of study, and that the new curricula to be introduced in 1980 would increase the time allotted to these subjects.<sup>10</sup> According to another source, this will amount to an additional two to three hours weekly.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For details of the renewed emphasis on improving the study and teaching of Russian in the national republics, see RL 120/79, "New Measures to Improve the Teaching of Russian in the Union Republics," April 17, 1979, and Roman Solchanyk, "Russian, Russian, Everywhere," *The New York Times*, October 11, 1979. The recommendations were published, apparently in full, in *Byulleten' Ministerstva vysshego i srednego spetsial'nogo obrazovaniya SSSR*, 1979, No. 9, pp. 19—26, and in abridged form in *Russky yazyk v natsional'noi shkole*, 1979, No. 5, pp. 30—33.

<sup>2</sup> "V Ministerstve prosveteniya SSSR," *Russky yazyk v natsional'noi shkole*, 1979, No. 5, pp. 91—92.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> M. I. Zhuravleva, "Doshkol'niki uchat

## Subjugated Nations — Invincible Power

*ABN President Visiting Latvian Community in Detroit, November, 1979.*

Dear Mr. Chairman, Sigurds Rudzitis, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I am very pleased and honored to have this opportunity to greet you, my dear friends and co-fighters of the brave Latvian nation. On behalf of the Central Committee of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and on behalf of the freedom-loving Ukraine I am privileged to extend our warm greetings to you — freedom fighters for the dissolution of the Russian empire into national independent states of all subjugated nations in the USSR and satellite countries. I salute you with our revolutionary slogan: "Freedom for nations — Freedom for the individual".

The friendship between all subjugated nations and Latvia is unbreakable; Our fate is the same and so is our goal. No-one will give help to us if we will not help ourselves. Only the strong ones are being helped. Our strength stems from the unity of all nations subjugated by the Russian imperialism. Therefore ABN is our banner. It is a symbol of our strength.

No individual nation could separately regain freedom and political independence. This could be achieved only through com-

mon efforts, only through coordinated, synchronized national revolutions against Russian occupation. Together with the satellite countries we constitute two-thirds of the entire population of the Russian empire. The Russians are merely one third. **THUS — WE SUBJUGATED ARE AN INVINCIBLE POWER!**

My dear Latvians!

Always with pains I remember the late minister of free Latvia, Alfred BERZINS, my best friend from the time of German concentration camp, who took part in the two-front struggle against Russia and against Nazi-Germany. I have learned from him to love glorious undefeatable Latvia. He was the Chairman of the Council of Nations of ABN.

Dear Latvian co-fighters and here present representatives of other subjugated nations!

We accuse Moscow of genocide and murder. We demand from the Free World to boycott the Olympic Games in Moscow — the country of genocide, murders, concentration camps. We demand that the idea of the dissolution of the Russian empire become an integral part of the foreign policy of the West, similar to the Leninism-Communism which is an integral part of the foreign policy of Moscow.

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russky yazyk," *Russky yazyk v natsional'noi shkole*, 1979, No. 5, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Natsional'nye otnosheniya v razvitom sotsialisticheskom obshchestve*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Mysl', 1977, p. 206.

<sup>6</sup> M. A. Prokof'ev, "Russky yazyk v natsional'noi shkole i doskol'nykh uchrezhdeniyakh," *Russky yazyk v natsional'noi shkole*, 1975, No. 6, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Zhuravleva, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> "Rekomendatsii Vsesoyuznoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii po sovershenstvovaniyu russkogo yazyka v natsional'nykh shkolakh, srednikh spetsial'nykh i vysshykh uchebnykh zavedeniyakh (Tashkent, oktyabr' 1975 g.)," *Russky yazyk v na-*

*tsional'noi shkole*, 1976, No. 1, p. 80.

<sup>9</sup> *Byulleten' Ministerstva vysshego i srednego spetsial'nogo obrazovaniya SSSR*, pp. 19—20.

<sup>10</sup> V. M. Korotov, "Aktual'nye zadachi obucheniya russkomu yazyku," *Russky yazyk v natsional'noi shkole*, 1979, No. 5, pp. 11 and 13—14. See also "Glubokoe izuchenie russkogo yazyka — ob'ektivnaya potrebnost' sovetskikh lyudei," *Russky yazyk i literatura v shkolakh USSR*, 1979, No. 5, p. 18.

<sup>11</sup> V. V. Anisimov, "Neustanno povyshat' kvalifikatsiyu uchitelya," *Russky yazyk v natsional'noi shkole*, 1979, No. 6, p. 5.

The United Nations resolution on the decolonization, which calls for granting independence to colonial countries and peoples must be applied to the Soviet Russian Empire.

The bolshevik counter-revolution brought us a sea of blood, russification, the subjugation of dozens of nations and tens of million victims. Russian tyranny rules over the nations in the USSR and the satellite countries till this day.

Five million political and religious prisoners are still languishing in Russian prisons, concentration and labor camps, among which Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians

and Estonians, constitute the greater majority.

Freedom loving nations and peoples unite in the struggle against Russian imperialism and communism for the independence and sovereignty of nations.

Death to the Russian Empire! Long live national independent states on their ruins! Down with the policy of detente with tyrants and nation-murderers! Long live national liberation revolutions as the way to independence!

Long live the ABN and free independent Latvia and her heroes. We salute the heroes of the national liberation revolutions of all subjugated peoples.

### **TUSM pickets Soviet-Russian Mission in New York on Solidarity Day**

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Members of the Ukrainian Student Society of Michnowsky (TUSM) in New York picketed on January 12 the Soviet-Russian Mission to the United Nations here on East 67th Street as a sign of solidarity with Ukrainian political prisoners.

Picking up the appeal of Vyacheslav Chornovil to protest against the 1972 arrests in Ukraine, Ukrainian youth organizations in the United States urged their members to organize defense actions on January 12.

The TUSM members distributed leaflets about rights violations in Ukraine and gathered signatures on petitions to President Carter in defense of Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of General Roman Shukhevych, who has been imprisoned

since he was 15 years old. According to the New York TUSM branch, many passers-by eagerly offered their comments denouncing the Soviet Union for Russian imperialism and for its invasion of Afghanistan.

At the same time another group of TUSM students, together with Valentyn Moroz, gathered signatures on petitions in front of the Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front building on the Lower East Side.

The New York TUSM branch reported that some 1,800 signatures were gathered and over 4,000 leaflets were distributed in the course of the day. The organization's defense action was reported by WCBS channel 2, WNBCFM radio and the Associated Press.

## **NATION oder KLASSE**

by

**WOLFGANG STRAUSS**

**60 Years of Struggle Against the October Revolution**

**A History of the Resistance Movements in the USSR**

## Olympics and Russian Aggression

*Leaflet Distributed at Winter Olympic Games in USA*

*Athletes of the World!  
Participants of the 1980 Winter Olympic  
Games!*

The Soviet-Russian invasion and occupation of Afghanistan is the most recent in a series of overtly-imperialist, aggressively expansive campaigns undertaken by the Soviet-Russian empire — the USSR against the freedom-loving peoples of the world. In its desire to conquer and subjugate the entire world within its tyrannical slave-system of imperialism and communism, the USSR values little human life or national dignity. And yet, the next Summer Olympic Games are planned to be held in the very hub of this tyrannical and despotic prison of nations and people, in the capital of the USSR — Moscow.

When the first Olympic Games of the modern era were held in Athens in 1896, the organizers expressed the hope, that through the Games a genuine contribution to world peace could have been made. However, at present, the Soviet-Russian imperialist aggression against Afghanistan has made a mockery of the Olympics. Since ancient times the Olympics enhanced a mutual feeling of fair play and friendship in the world. The Soviet-Russian rulers intend to, instead, turn the Moscow Olympics into a propaganda bonanza, so as to convince the Free World of the “humanity” of their regime, similarly as Hitler utilized the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games for his propaganda purposes.

The USSR is a prison of nations and people; the Soviet-Russian empire has subjugated Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia, Turkestan, Estonia, Latvia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, and others, as well as the nations of the so-called “satellite” countries, such as Hungary, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia and others, and now it has sub-

jugated the freedom-loving people of Afghanistan.

It is impossible to establish and uphold the true Olympic Spirit in Moscow, since how can one compete fairly with anyone who plans to cut your throat. To participate in the Moscow Olympics would be similar to dropping in for a cup of tea with the arsonist who burned down your home.

It is not only ironic, but a gross and devastated parody of the free spirit of fair competition, that some of the events of the Summer Olympics are planned to be held in Kyiv (Ukraine), Minsk (Byelorussia) and Tallin (Estonia) — the capitals of some of the nations colonialy oppressed in the Soviet-Russian empire. To hold the Games in these cities would be utter cynicism, when the surrounding peoples groan in slavery. This would be a mockery of freedom, peace and friendly relations among peoples. At this very moment a countless number of political prisoners, patriots of their nations, are languishing in Soviet-Russian concentration camps in the icy cold of Siberia and in utterly inhumane conditions. In point of fact, the various Olympic coins and medals that will be selling as the official souvenirs throughout the streets of Moscow, have been actually made by the bloodied and frost-bitten hands of those same political prisoners! Hence, to buy these coins would be tantamount to assisting the tyrants of the Soviet-Russian empire in their repression of all national and individual freedom in the subjugated nations in the USSR.

Is there any sense of moral and ethical, human and national dignity left in the Free World? If there is, then the states of the Free World would resolutely and uniformly boycott the Moscow Olympic Games, which, in reality, only would make



a disgusting sham of the original Olympic Spirit, and then organize a separate Olympics, to be held in the Free World, e.g. Montreal, with athletes truly representative of the subjugated nations also included in these Games.

We, the representatives of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the satellite countries, united in our struggle to liberate our nations from the Soviet-Russian neo-colonial yoke under the common front of the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), appeal to you:

— not to participate in the Moscow Summer Olympics and to contribute to the efforts of having the Games transferred

to an alternative site outside the USSR; — boycott any further Olympic Games in which the USSR — the Russian empire — is to be a participant, and until national-independent states are re-established on the ruins and after the complete dissolution of this anachronistic empire;

— help the athletes of the nations, subjugated by Soviet-Russia, to participate in an Olympics of the Free World and the Subjugated Nations!

Only you can prove, that the Free World has retained its moral sense of conscience and obligation!

*Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)*  
February, 1980

### Lithuanian Olympic Champion in Psychiatric Prison

The German Press Agency (DPA) reported that Cessiunas was brought to Moscow against his will and was in a Vilnius, Lithuania, security hospital (psychiatric, of course).

Cessiunas' illustrious athletic career includes a gold medal in the 1972 Munich Olympic Games, where he came first in the 1000 meter race for two-seater canoes, together with a Russian, Lobanov. He also won four world championships. In 1973 and 1974 he was elected by the sports fans as the top Lithuanian athlete.

In an interview with a correspondent for the Lithuanian-language daily. "Draugas", (Chicago, Sept. 4, 1979), Cessiunas disclosed that he had received several Soviet medals and the title of "meritorious physical culture worker", which entitles the bearer to old-age pension of at least 120 roubles. He added ironically that the average Lithuanian's old-age pension is 12, 30 or 40 roubles.

To a question, why did he choose the West, Cessiunas replied that it was a "dream since his childhood and adolescence". During his participation in athletic competitions abroad, he saw the "difference

between the Free World and the communist "paradise".

In commenting about the recent Spartakiade, he called it a "very well-organised dress rehearsal for the Olympic Games". He was astonished by the very large contingents of militiamen and soldiers there: "This also may have been a dress rehearsal for eventual political outbursts at the Olympic Games".

When asked about the Olympic Games, to be held in Moscow next year, Cessiunas defined them as "pure propaganda". He was planning to write his memoirs in which he was to expose the "true face of sports in the Soviet Union".

**Eugen Malaniuk**

**DAS**

**WESEN**

**DES**

**BOLSCHEWISMUS**

1978 — UKRAINISCHES INSTITUT  
FÜR BILDUNGSPOLITIK —  
MÜNCHEN e.V.

## The Enemy Within

Robert Morris, *Self Destruct. Dismantling America's Internal Security*. New York 1979, Arlington House. \$ 12.95.

No rational, informed person can doubt that Moscow poses a direct and threatening challenge to free men everywhere. It is a challenge which assumes many forms. It is a challenge which, while modern in its communist form, is very ancient in substance. It is rooted in the theory of Moscow being the Third Rome and in the prophecy that the Fourth Rome will never exist. The peace has to be attained by imperialist expansion and constant aggrandizement of the original territory which resulted in the rise of the Muscovite State from 18,500 square miles of territory in 1300 to 8,650,069 square miles in 1945.

In 1547, Grand Duke of Moscow, Ivan IV, known as the Terrible ("Groznyi") was crowned the Tsar ("Caesar") of Moscow. The downfall in the 15th century of both the Eastern Empire and the Golden Horde, two events of immense consequence, left Muscovy as the natural heir of both Byzantium and Sarai.

Lenin did change nothing in the imperialist scheme of the rulers of Moscow. He only substituted Orthodoxy with materialistic atheism and the old regime with the totalitarian efficiency and ruthless discipline of the pseudo-communist system. In its essence, this system means a struggle between freedom and tyranny and, therefore, it must be maintained by force and violence. Yet, this atheistic and materialistic ideology, with its flexible and pragmatic concept of morality, represents a strong challenge to all other systems and as such represents a remarkable psychological threat. Based on the formidable power which has been amassed by Moscow, this threat is evidenced by the claim of inevitability of "communism," by its in-

vincibility which leads to its portraying as the onrushing wave of the future, against which all opposition is futile. This powerful psychological weapon is intended to instill a defeatist attitude in the minds of the people subjected to the "communist" subversive thrusts.

It is quite natural that the United States has been the major target for attack by the forces of the world communist movement directed by Moscow. This is not a figment of the imagination. It is a hard, realistic statement of purpose which was the essence of a Communist declaration to the world in 1960. In November, 1960, representatives of 81 communist parties convened in Moscow, unanimously adopted a declaration which reiterated the determination of the world communist movement to achieve the goal of world domination by Moscow. In that communist declaration, the United States was singled out as the main enemy. Since then, Soviet-Russian and Soviet-Russian-bloc agents have increased their clandestine efforts to penetrate our nation and to destroy its internal security. The massive offensive directed by Moscow against the United States in particular clearly exposes the false nature of the detente.

The offensive against the United States has been carried out by the powerful KGB (Committee for the State Security) and its military subsidiary, the GRU (Military Intelligence). They are not only charged with gathering intelligence, but with spewing out information to be credulously accepted by the media, penetrating governments, foundations, media, churches, labor unions, educational institutions, engineering assassinations and terror, training and directing hardcore communists and fellow-travellers, organizing riots, disorders, strikes, fomenting interracial struggle,

smuggling and illegally distributing narcotics, spreading moral decadence, etc. In our country, the KGB has only one objective: to destroy the United States. This gives the KGB subverter wide scope: riots and wars, sabotage and destruction of private and public property, public disorder or highjacking disinformation or declining morality, songs by Tom Dylan or Pete Seeger, all contribute to the subverter's main objective.

The trained Russian subverter has his finger to every pie. The most dangerous KGB intrigue involves exploitation of what the Russians call "agents of influence." Through them the KGB endeavors to develop its own disguised voices in foreign governmental, political, journalistic, business, labor, artistic, scientific, and academic circles.

The KGB derives still another advantage from the security services of Cubans and East Europeans. Moscow dominates these services completely and to all practical purposes they are mere extensions of the KGB. They are valuable auxiliaries of the KGB because they often are not perceived in the West as Soviet servants.

On June 27, 1972, shortly after negotiations with President Nixon, Leonid Brezhnev emphatically asserted that the Soviet Union remains determined to support "all revolutionary forces of our times." The detente with the United States, he declared, "in no way signifies a possibility of weakening the ideological struggle" against the West. Lest anyone misunderstand, he concluded: "On the contrary, we should be prepared for an intensification of this struggle."

And this struggle has been intensified. It's a pity that exactly at such a time, our internal security has become a joke.

The Red conspiracy operating in the United States is a terrible and destructive force, but we lack of proper security safeguards in our country.

In 1970, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) launched a nationwide drive to destroy all domestic intelligence-gathering agencies. The destruction of vital police intelligence files has been one result of the combined ACLU, communist and "liberal" anti-intelligence assault. A nationwide *Campaign to Stop Government Spying* is now under way. Its object: to end all intelligence gathering within the US Intelligence agencies are legally harassed: there are FBI agents and officials (as well as their counterparts in the CIA, DIA, Secret Service, and other intelligence and law enforcement agencies) who are targets of a rash of civil suits filed by groups or individuals, both criminal and radical, as part of the efforts to undercut US intelligence operations. Friendly foreign services are no longer giving the CIA or the FBI as much information as they once did (some are not giving any) and the CIA is finding it more difficult to recruit individual foreign agents abroad — because of irresponsible congressional and media investigations, leaks and exposures in connection with Freedom of Information Act. Drastic reorganizations and adverse publicity on "illegal" and "tyrannical" FBI and CIA crippled the activities of these strongholds of national security to a significant degree. If we add the abolishment of the Congressional Committees (The House Committee on Internal Security, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the Subversive Activities Control Board), the picture of the dismantling America's internal security is complete. We owe this picture to Mr. Robert Harris, who is singularly well equipped to tell this story because he was an officer in Naval Intelligence, and counsel to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Mr. Robert Morris has been a municipal court judge in New York City, president of the University of Dallas, and

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## Free Yuriy Shukhevych

It is difficult to imagine a more unique martyr, imprisoned, despite all the principles of humanity — as our own fellow Ukrainian — Yuriy Shukhevych.

In September, 1972, Yuriy Shukhevych was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in a concentration of the “severest regime” and then to five years of exile, but, he is no stranger to prison life. Yuriy Shukhevych was first arrested in the fall of 1947 at the young age of 13, and was sentenced in the spring of 1948 to 10 years of imprisonment for the activities of his father, — General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who was killed in battle with the Soviet-Russian MVD police forces. Yuriy was released in the spring of 1956, and six months later he was again arrested, and sent to prison to complete the remainder of his initial sentence. Just before his release, Yuriy was again arrested and sentenced to a further 10 years of imprisonment. After his sentence was completed he was denied to return to his home in Ukraine from the Eastern-Asian region of the USSR. He then married, had two children, and shortly after was again arrested and sentenced to ten years of imprisonment on the grounds of “anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation”.

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←  
president and founder of the University of Plano. You will hardly find another book where the threat, techniques of the Moscow’s assault against the national security of the United States, various aspects of the Moscow’s psychological and political warfare, eurocommunism, Puerto Rican terrorism, urban guerrilla, skyjacking and terror, sabotage potential, communist traitors in the West, assassination of President Kennedy, Operation Keelhaul (deportations to the USSR) were so thoroughly discussed than in this book.

Yuriy Shukhevych is a prisoner of conscience. His conscience does not allow him to renounce his father, although this would make his life much easier and would surely expedite his release from prison.

Yuriy Shukhevych’s cousin lives in Australia. Along with her full support and cooperation, the Executive Board of the Association of Ukrainian Organizations in Australia have agreed to begin actions on his behalf. A special action committee formed from within the Association of Ukrainian Organizations in Australia began to act in defense of Yuriy Shukhevych this year.

We are also including within this committee, in full cooperation and participation, the following: Ukrainian Communities, regional defense committees, Youth Organizations, Ukrainian Women’s Associations, Ukrainian Schools, Churches and the entire community.

Our main goal is: to make it possible for Yuriy Shukhevych and his family to emigrate to Australia within the next 12 months. Preparations for his emigration have been made. Visas for admittance to Australia have been granted by the Australian Government.

We are calling the entire Ukrainian community to extend their help for the realization of this action! Our dream — every Ukrainian in Australia will not have peace of mind, until Yuriy Shukhevych arrives in Australia.

Please contact your members of Parliament and influential people in your area, inform them, so that all may understand that the Ukrainians in Australia as a whole — want Yuriy Shukhevych in Australia.

On behalf of the Executive Board  
of the  
Association of Ukrainian Organizations  
in Australia

*Yurij Mencinsky*

## Sichkos — father and son sentenced

Petro and Vasyl Sichko, father and son, have each been sentenced to three years imprisonment. The trial was held last month, but no details about the proceedings have yet reached the West. Petro Sichko, a former member of the OUN-UPA underground has already served a 10-year sentence; his son Vasyl was expelled from the Kyiv University where he studied journalism.

Both were arrested on July 5, 1979 and charged under Article 187 of the Criminal Code for "slandering the Soviet system". The arrests came shortly after the two had spoken at the grave of composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk, who was murdered last spring. The rock-composer's body was found hanging in a restricted zone outside Lviv and the KGB (Russian secret police) listed the cause of death as "suicide".

According to the clandestine Chronicle of Current Events (issue No. 53), a large commemorative ceremony was held at Ivasiuk's grave on June 22, 1979, the Feast of the Pentecost or "Zeleni Sviata".

Young Sichko and his father were among many speakers who addressed the crowd. Residents of Dolyna, Western Ukraine, the two travelled 100 kilometers to attend the service.

Vasyl Sichko said that May 22, the day Ivasiuk was buried, should be commemorated as a day of sorrow in memory of all Ukrainian cultural activists who died under mysterious circumstances. Sichko mentioned Mykola Leontovych, Alla Horka and Rostyslav Paletsky.

His father, Petro told the crowd that both of them are members of the Ukrainian Helsinki group, a body which, he added, is struggling for human rights in Ukraine and national rights for the Ukrainian people.

"Travelling here we saw villages decorated with flowers and greenery. This means that despite 40 years of a policy of

suffocating the national spirit and despite atheistic propaganda, the national traditions are alive, the faith is alive. The Ukrainian people should preserve itself, its culture," said the older Sichko.

According to the chronicle, after Sichko finished speaking, the crowd began chanting "Glory for Ukraine!"

As the Sichkos were leaving the cemetery, an unidentified man approached them and said that they could be seized and that he will give them a ride in his car. The older Sichko replied by accusing him of being a KGB agent.

The Sichkos were escorted to the bus by a group of people and some of them boarded the bus with the Sichkos.

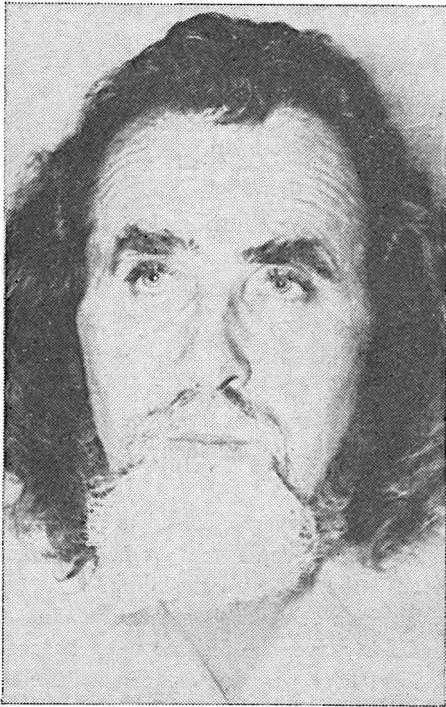
Within a few days of their speeches at Ivasiuk's grave, the Sichkos were attacked by local Lviv party newspaper as "professional nationalist mourners". The vitriolic press attacks merely attracted more attention to the mysterious death of Ivasiuk.

### Berdnyk, Lytvyn sentenced

Oles Berdnyk, a poet and science fiction writer has been sentenced to six years imprisonment and 3 years of exile for his membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. Berdnyk was a founding member of the group and served as its head following the imprisonment of fellow poet Mykola Rudenko in 1977.

Another member of the group, Yuriy Lytvyn, was sentenced to three years imprisonment for "resisting authorities". The sentences brought the number of imprisoned members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to 12. Of the ten founding members of the group, only two are still free.

News of the two trials which were held in December were relayed by physicist, Andrei Sakharov, who was exiled from Moscow to the closed city of Gorky last month.



**Oles' Berdnyk**

Another member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Mykola Horbal, who was arrested last October on a charge of "attempted rape" was to have been tried in

January, but no details of the trial are available.

In Toronto, over 50 students demonstrated before a dealership selling Soviet-made "Lada" cars at the time of Horbal's trial. The January 11th protest received wide press coverage as the U of T students pointed out the parts of the "Lada" were produced in Russian concentration camps.

### **The Prosecution of M. Bilorusec**

On June 16, 1979, Kyiv's Prosecuting Magistracy issued a "warning" to Marko Bilorusec about his inevitable arrest, if he continues his activities in defense of civil liberties. This same evening, he was severely beaten on the street, not unlike the beating received not long ago by Petro Vins.

Marko Bilorusec, born in 1943, a construction engineer, single, lives on Khreshchatyk Boulevard in Kyiv. He translates prose and poetry from German into Ukrainian and during a time his translations were published in "Universe" (for example, No. 6, 1978). He is particularly well known as a translator of the works of the Austrian poet Paul Celan.

### **Byelorussians in Defense of Afghan Freedom-Fighters**

*H. E. Kurt Waldheim*

*Secretary-General of the United Nations*

*Your Excellency,*

*The brutal aggression of the Russian Red Army in Afghanistan has been condemned by the entire world. The true aims of the Russian communist regime in Moscow have been exposed once again — the conquest of the entire world.*

*For over 60 years, Byelorussia has suffered under the Russian communist yoke and, for this reason, we deeply sympathize with the Afghan people; we will never accept the brutal occupation of Afghanistan.*

*Yet, the so-called representatives of the Byelorussian people in the United Nations supported and even justified this bloody invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. Therefore, we, the true representatives of the Byelorussian nation, declare in the name of our people, presently subjugated by Moscow, that the recent occupation of Afghanistan is in direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations.*

Respectfully yours, *Dimitry Kosmovich*

*President of the Byelorussian Liberation Front  
and the representative of the Byelorussian  
Central Council.*

## The Pattern of Russification in Lithuania

The article titled "A New Threat to the Lithuanian Language" was received by Elta (Information Bulletin of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania) in April. It discerns "distinct efforts of Russification" since 1975 and presents numerous examples: "City executive committees keep a close watch on signs and posters, to make sure that they are not in the Lithuanian language only. Information signs in stores and post offices are in Russian only. The Lithuanian-language wall calendars, especially popular in rural areas, are published in such a small circulation that they disappear "from under the counter"; yet the Russian-language calendars can be obtained freely. The same is true about holiday cards. The Russian language is also foisted on medical establishments... In Lithuania, too, dissertations as well as scientific articles are written in Russian only... Thus scientific thinking in Russian is promoted; as a result, few scientists (outside the humanities) are able to speak on their subject extensively and correctly in the Lithuanian language. More and more authors write their books on Lithuanian culture and art in the Russian language; these books are not published in Lithuanian. Thus, the functions of the Lithuanian language are being narrowed slowly but methodically... The broad attack against the Lithuanian language is waged in the rural areas as well..."

"Since early 1979, the circulation and the scope of Lithuanian magazines and newspapers, with the exception of the official periodicals of the Central Committee, have been considerably reduced... And yet we have novelties: the periodicals "Russkij jazyk v skole" (Russian Language in School), since 1977, circ. 6000 and "Litva literaturnaja" (Literary Lithuania), since

1978, circ. 4320. Meanwhile, the publication of the Institute of Lithuanian Language and Literature, "Kalbos kultura" (The Culture of Language) is published in a circulation of 7000."

Teaching of the Russian language is being intensified. Russian is to be taught in kindergartens and Russian-language broadcasts are being augmented on the radio and TV. A Russian-language group has been established at the Institute of Lithuanian language and literature in June of 1977, by the decision of the presidium of the LSSR Academy of Sciences.

The all-Union scientific-practical conference in Tashkent in May, 1979, on the promotion of the Russian language in the non-Russian republics of the USSR, represents a new "programme of de-nationalization". The recommendations adopted in that conference "suggest" that children be taught in Russian, "that a five-year old child should be already thinking in foreign concepts..."

"We must wage an iron-fisted resistance against the denationalisation imposed on us... Let us not be afraid to protest in the meetings of parents against the new measures of Russification in kindergartens and schools. Let us bare our actions on the right to learn in one's native language, guaranteed in the Constitution — let us *boycott* classes if individual disciplines are taught in Russian! Let us not be afraid of threats that this might negatively affect the student's grades or to hurt his chances of entering a university..."

"Teachers and educationalists! Don't be blind fools in the hands of the occupying power which has resolved to undermine the very base of national distinctness — the language..."

# News and Views

## **A new Tunnel is Discovered under the Demilitarized Zone in Korea**

North Koreans started to dig a new tunnel under the demilitarized zone of parallel 38; this was confirmed by the Pentagon, in Washington.

The discovery of this new underground passage, the fourth in five years, confirmed that the North Korean regime has not abandoned its aim to attack South Korea some day.

Ultra modern devices for detection made it possible to locate the shaft, designed clearly to infiltrate spies and saboteurs to South Korea, in order to facilitate a massive attack against the regime based at Seoul.

Fixed on granite, this new tunnel was located a few weeks ago, and the confirmation of this could be obtained only recently.

It seems that its discovery was made after President Carter's decision to stop temporarily last July any withdrawal of troops pertaining to American forces established in South Korea.

The President's decision came as a result of the discovery made by American Information Services, regarding the fact, that North Korean forces' potential surpassed the calculations that had been made up to that moment.

According to the latest informations, North Korea has 700 thousand men under its banner and owns a number of tanks and artillery that is superior to that of South Korea, whose armed forces have not reached 600 thousand men.

As it happened in preceding cases, the discovery of the new tunnel will prevent its completion and in Washington it is expected that this tunnel will be destroyed, as were the others.

Since 1974, Americans and South Koreans, alarmed by the detection of the first tunnel, installed additional detecting devices along the demilitarized zone.

## **Aggressor's Birthday**

The great Soviet Union, or being more exact, the great slave empire, marks its 62nd birthday with mighty military parades, huge demonstrations, gatherings and meetings, and certainly with fiery speeches by party leaders promising "liberation" and "justice" to all peoples living in the Free World.

But there are many questions put to the Kremlin leaders and to those political leaders who are the Kremlin's willing tools. There are many anti-Kremlin gatherings outside the Kremlin's empire, and those people ask the communist bosses:

Give us a report of why millions of Ukrainians were sent to hunger-death in the 30's; what happened to the Polish prisoners of war in 1939—40 and what is the Katyn Massacre; what happened to hundreds of thousands of Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian farmers who were put into box cars and brought into Russian ice boxes in March, what happened to Volga-Germans, Crimea-Tatars and to many Caucasian peoples?

It was genocide and nobody was punished for those criminal deeds. And what happened to the tens of thousands of Hungarian freedom-fighters who wanted to liberate their beloved country from the Soviet Russian yoke?

Are you, masters of the Kremlin today, going to give an account on those crimes?

*Elmar Lipping*  
*November 15, 1979*  
*The News World*



## Religious "Freedom" in Yugoslavia

It is in general believed that in Yugoslavia, which stands politically in the middle between Eastern and Western blocs, religion is somehow more free. The reality is quite different.

The Yugoslav government is just as anti-religious as other communist regimes, its aims, the gradual elimination of religion still being the order of the day. Slovenia is a separate Yugoslav republic bordering on Austria and Italy and practically the only religion known is Christian. During the war, from 1941 to 1945 the suffering of Christians was terrible. During this same time period at least 70 priests out of the 1000 serving were murdered. 200 emigrated in 1945 with the political refugees, while 60% of the remaining number went through communist prisons for periods of 3 to 7 years. In those hard times the fate of priests was sealed if their influence was an obstruction to communism. After the war, and this is valid also for the present

time, the persecution follows the classical ways of the USSR or worse. Most of the Churches and Seminaries confiscated after the war, have still not been returned to the church. The construction of new churches is nearly impossible.

Religion can be taught in churches or some improvisory rooms only if both parents do sign the proper government authorization. Priests are in such material distress and discriminated against in so many ways that they are now the proletarians of Socialism, as stated by Rev. F. Rode. Rev. Rode, for whom some from of persecution is already in the making, also said in an important speech in the fall of 1978 and we quote: "There is no Slovenian who at a certain time was not contacted and talked to in order to get him or her away from the Church. Benefit of such a step is evident, he or she who does remain Christian is in no position to get ahead in society and in fact is a second class citizen".

## Croatia — Land, People, Culture

### History of Cultural Achievements of the Croatian People in Eight Volumes

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## Demonstrations through the World

By Jane Lesslie

Despite snow, rain, freezing wind and temperatures, more than 250 members of the Ukrainian Youth Association ended a *ten-day vigil in front of the Soviet Embassy* yesterday with a vigorous demonstration.

The protesters marched without incident from Parliament Hill to the embassy shouting for the release of Yuriy Shukhevych, who has spent more than 30 years in Soviet labor camps and prisons.

Shukhevych, now 46, was deported with his mother to Siberia when he was 10, the group said. Four years later, he was sentenced to 10 years of hard labor because he was the son of a Ukrainian nationalist leader, said organizer Nick Figol.

"He was brought out only once in those ten years to identify the body of his dead father, Roman Shukhevych," Figol said.

Shukhevych's sentence was commuted in 1953 but he was promptly sent back to Vladimir prison. His sentence was commuted again in 1968, but he was prohibited from returning to Ukraine.

He was imprisoned once again in 1972 for "anti-Soviet agitation", say his supporters.

The group carried picture posters of Shukhevych saying, "This man is guilty by reason of birth."

The demonstrations were also calling for the release of Lev Lukianenko, a lawyer arrested in 1972 for "anti-Soviet agitation". Speakers at the rally said Lukianenko was arrested for an essay he wrote focussing on Ukraine's "constitutionally guaranteed right to separate from the Soviet Union."

### Similar to Moroz protest

The protest was reminiscent of one held seven months ago calling for the release of Valentyn Moroz, the recently freed Ukrainian historian.

"We were hoping to have him participating, but he had prior commitments in New York City," demonstrator Roman Czyrsky said.

"Moroz, Petro Grigorenko, a former general of the Soviet army and Andrei Sakharov have all called for Western help," said Czyrsky.

Shukhevych had signed a statement in 1970 protesting the imprisonment of Moroz.

### 'We'll be back'

"We didn't hope for very much today," said Figol." But the Soviet ambassador has admitted he's feeling the pressure we're putting on him.

"We'll be back. Maybe not tomorrow, but we'll be back again and again and again." (Ottawa Journal)



WACL — Swedish Chapter poster: "Reject the Moscow Olympics. Do NOT support imperialism, colonialism, aggression and oppression of human rights!"

## Ukrainian Youth Confronts Moscow at Lake Placid

Concern with the Carter administration's focusing solely on the Soviet-Russian invasion of Afghanistan as justification for an Olympic boycott and, the unconscionable policies of the International Olympic Committee and its president, Lord Killanin, in refusing to consider moving the Olympics out of Moscow, dictated the strategy of singling out the United States Mission to the United Nations in New York City and the Lake Placid Olympics as the sites for broadranging activities to bring the issue of Ukraine's colonial status into the Olympic boycott debate.

The week long activities began on February 17, three days prior to President Carter's deadline for pulling the United States out of the Moscow Olympics. Members of The Ukrainian Student Association of Michnowsky (TUSM) and The Federation of Ukrainian Student Associations of America (SUSTA) held a demonstration at the United States UN Mission to demand that the President honor his commitment to announce the US boycott by February 20th. In addition to the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet Russia, the occupation of Ukraine and other subjugated nations was cited as reasons for not delaying the Presidential announcement. The statement of the two student organizations concluded by urging „President Carter, the US Olympic Committee, US athletes and the people of the US to boycott the 1980 Moscow Olympics”. The demonstration attracted extensive media coverage including: N.B.C., W.P.I.X., W.N.E.W., Venezuelan National T.V., Reuters and U.P.I.

### Taking the Message to Lake Placid

The objectives of the Ukrainian Youth groups — TUSM, SUM and other organizations from the United States and Canada

in Lake Placid, were to make their demands known to the 4,000 journalists in the Olympic Press Center, to apprise the International Olympic Committee of the terror and suffering in Ukraine, to confront USSR athletes and their “watchdogs” and to elicit support for the boycott from the spectators attending the winter games.

Having gained press accreditation from the Olympic Press Center, the Ukrainian Central Information Service correspondent conducted daily press briefings and distributed press kits to virtually all news bureaus located in the Olympic Press Center. By Saturday February 23, thousands of leaflets and brochures had flooded the building causing the Olympic security personnel to take the unusual move of not only expelling the correspondent, but all journalists accredited on a daily basis.

Besides displaying four Ukrainian flags and two banners the protesters found themselves sitting in a section primarily occupied with spectators from the USSR. Taking advantage of this unusual opportunity our representatives produced Russian and Ukrainian language leaflets and attempted to distribute them to spectators. As confrontations developed Canadian and American hockey fans joined in chanting anti-Russian slogans, even congratulating the Ukrainians for their resourcefulness. Before the first period of play had ended, six Russian spectators were ejected from the games by New York's finest to cheers of “nyet-nyet Soviet, da-da Kanada.” During the USSR vs USA semi-final game the four Ukrainian flags were shown on ABC-TV.

### Occupation of IOC Headquarters

After several unsuccessful attempts at arranging a meeting with the President of the International Olympic Committee, Lord Killanin, a portion of our group numbering 16 individuals entered the Lake Placid

Hotel and made their way to IOC headquarters in the Governor's Hall. Rushing past two security guards the sixteen entered the main offices and announced an occupation, demanding that Lord Killanin meet with our representatives. During the one hour confrontation IOC operations were suspended and two mysterious fire alarms were sounded. The protesters were forcibly evicted by New York State Troopers, but were allowed to exit through the main Hotel lobby where they first sang the Ukrainian national anthem before being hustled out into the street. Although detained, the protesters were not arrested. Apparently the IOC did not want the press coverage that the arrest of the demonstrators would have evoked.

In front of the Lake Placid Hotel the protesters explained to journalists that "already 44 countries, hundreds of athletes and millions of outraged men and women are saying no to Moscow as the site of the 1980 summer Olympic games. "They stressed that from Ukraine to Afghanistan in Southwest Asia, Soviet Russia has occupied and colonized dozens of nations,

maintaining control through the physical destruction of millions who would not succumb to their domination." "The most effective way," they said, "to demonstrate our concern to the Soviet Russian regime and, more importantly, to the voices of freedom reverberating throughout the empire is to say no to the Moscow Olympics!" News of our occupation was broadcast into the USSR by VOA on Sunday, February 24.

### **Russian Bear "Misha" Biggest Attraction**

With some 50,000 spectators attending the Olympic games each day, street demonstrations proved the most effective means for mobilizing popular support for boycotting the Moscow Olympics. Besides four Ukrainian flags, five large banners, placards and 20,000 leaflets, our protesters had with them the symbol of Soviet Russian might — a Russian Bear — (a protester dressed in a bear costume). The bear, with a large red star on his forehead and the hammer and sickle on his chest, held a rifle in one hand, and a chain that



bound a Ukrainian girl holding a Ukrainian flag, in the other. The demonstrations, attended by 30 our protesters, were held at the Olympic Press Center and at the Olympic Center. The demonstrations were received with such enthusiasm that at times the thousands of spectators that stopped to view the event were disrupting the flow of traffic. When State Troopers attempted to force the demonstrators to move from the site, many of the spectators took up the chant "commie-cops let them go"; at which point the police withdrew. The demonstration at the Press Center brought out a score of video crews and reporters, who interviewed the demonstrators.

Having discovered the location of one of the residences of the Soviet Union participants, the protesters distributed leaflets and brochures specifically written in Russian and directed to the USSR participants a separate leaflet of the Organization of

Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukrainian was also distributed. Soviet Union participants were confronted with ABN and Ukrainian leaflets at their residences, on shuttle buses, on the streets of Lake Placid, at Olympic events and at IOC headquarters. By Saturday, February 23, no visitors from the USSR could be found on the streets of Lake Placid.

The young demonstrators indicated that the impact of their actions will become apparent in the days and weeks to come, but their satisfaction was derived from their ability to present before the world press and participants from 34 countries the plight of the Ukrainian and other subjugated nations languishing under the yoke of Soviet Russian colonialism. It seemed superfluous to them that Ukrainian athletes were not represented under the Soviet Ukrainian flag. Indeed, they said "A red flag flying over Ukraine will always mean repression and subjugation to us." *B.P.*

### **Lithuanian Students Distribute an Appeal on Russification**

The appeal circulating in the University of Vilnius points out that Stalin's terror cost Lithuania about a third of a million people. Suslov's goal was "Lithuania without Lithuanians". Stalin's death put a stop to the physical destruction of Lithuanians but spiritual terror continues in more refined ways: "The falsification and distortion of the history of Lithuania goes on, its political and ideological leaders are slandered, religious believers are persecuted. The occupation government understands that the only brake to de-nationalization is national consciousness, which is promoted by the national language and press. Therefore, the restrictions imposed on the Lithuanian language and press are the means most widely used by the occupying power: the native tongue

has been pushed out of the offices, book circulation is reduced."

The authors of the appeal urge students and all Lithuanians to fight against Russification. The appeal concludes as follows: "Let us know that the occupying power, having begun to narrow down the use of the Lithuanian language, will try to push it out completely in the future. To achieve this, they will take advantage of any manifestations of spiritual feebleness! Concessions to the occupying power will provide them with an opportunity to introduce other means of de-nationalization as well: to send graduate students outside Lithuania's borders and to make it difficult for them to return home... Unity is our strength! Freedom is our future!"

## A Great Friend of the Subjugated Nations Has Died

We are very grieved to pass on the sad news, that the Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo has died after a long and grave spell of illness. The Hon. I. M. Lombardo was the President of the European Freedom Council, an honorary member of the Central Committee of the ABN, the former Minister of Foreign Trade of Italy, the Secretary-General of the Italian Socialist Party, a radiant Italian patriot, a great friend and fighter for the independence of the nations subjugated by Russia in the USSR and the "satellite" countries, a resolute and uncompromising enemy of communism and Russian imperialism, a propagator of the idea of the dissolution of the Russian empire in all its forms, always a true defender of the idea of national sovereignty and independence of all the nations subjugated by Russia on all international forums, regional and world conferences, a co-founder of the European Freedom Council (EFC), and the World



Anti-Communist League (WACL), a member of the Executive Board of WACL, as the representative of the free countries of Europe, a personal friend of the President of the ABN and the Head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, and a great statesman and fighter for the rights of nations and individuals.

His heart was always open for all the subjugated and oppressed, his feeling for justice, his faith in God, his love for his Fatherland — Italy will always set an example for his own countrymen and for the wider patriotic political circles of other nations, among which he was well known.

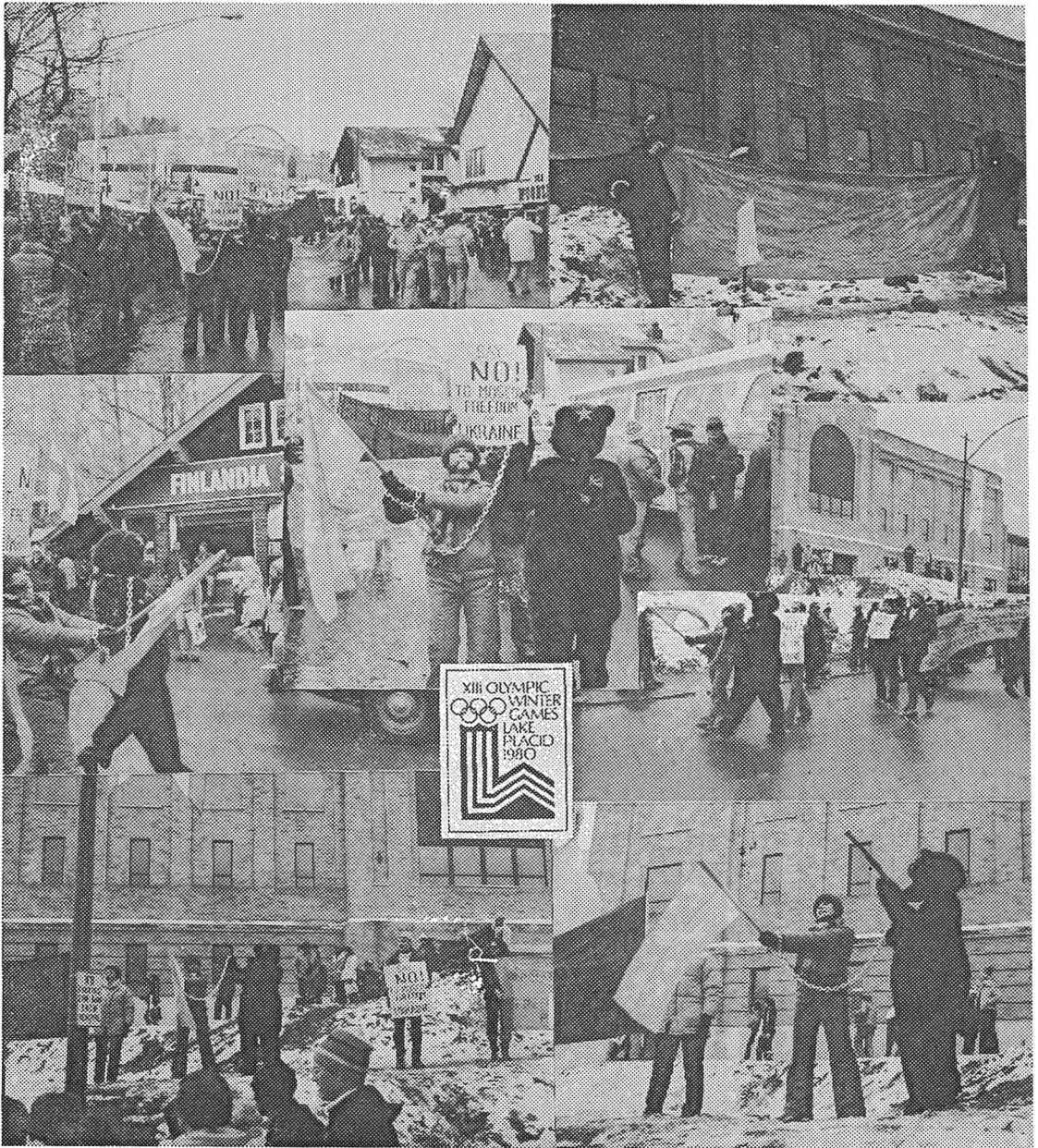
For many years, the deceased was the President of the Italian Atlantic Committee, vice-president of the Atlantic Treaty Association, and, as well, was in various positions of a number of formations of the Atlantic Pact. He was an especially active, noble, idealistic, and self-sacrificing individual, always unflinchingly dedicated to the cause of the national-liberation of the subjugated nations from Russian-Communist tyranny and enslavement. He was a man, among very few in the Free World, who understood the integral connection of the fate of the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism and the nations of the Free World. He was an active participant in international conferences on all the continents of the world, especially in the WACL Conferences, the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, The Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League, and especially significant and personally important for him were the various actions and Conferences of the ABN and the European Freedom Council. He gladly contributed to the various ABN publications, was a constant guest at the ABN Headquarters, as well as a frequent guest of his personal friend — the President of the ABN. In turn, he frequently invited the President of the ABN to visit his family in Rome or Lugano. Throughout the last two years, he was gravely ill. In appreciation

of all that he had done for the subjugated nations, the ABN Congress on the proposal of the Central Committee unanimously honored him with the highest title of the ABN — the position of honorary member of the Central Committee with all the rights and privileges of this position. The Honorable and Noble Deceased was proud of the fact, that Ukrainian blood flowed in his veins. His mother, who was from Kyiv, gave him the name — Ivan. While hapily listening to Ukrainian songs and the playing of a “bandura” (a very melodic Ukrainian instrument) at an EFC Conference, he solemnly rose and said: “I cried, because my Ukrainian heart had awakened.” Then, in this very moving moment, for the first time we found out, that among us is an Italian with a Ukrainian heart.

By his death, a gap has been left open in the world-wide antibolshevik movement, which cannot be easily filled. The subjugated nations, the ABN will always remember this Great Champion of the struggle for freedom and independence!



*The Honorable Ivan Matteo Lombardo addressing a protest rally against Russian imperialism on the occasion of a ABN-EFC Conference at the Speaker's Corner in Hyde Park, London, October 20, 1968. Standing from left to right — Mr. J. Graham, Hon. I. M. Lombardo, Hon. Prof. F. Durchansky, Hon. Y. Stetsko, (unknown), and Mr. I. Dmytriw.*



*Youth demonstrations at the Lake Placid Olympic Games demanding a boycott of the Moscow Olympics, February, 1980.*



# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



World-wide hunger strikes and demonstrations, organized by Ukrainian students, against Russian imperialist tyranny, calling for the immediate release of Yuriy Shukhevych and other Ukrainian political prisoners. (Munich, Germany, March 28—29, 1980).

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## **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

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## The “Afghan Crisis”, or the Global Crisis of the West?

### What has come of the political will to fight?

In view of the recent Russian imperialist aggression in Afghanistan and in conjunction with the weakness of the West, including the USA, the crisis of the Free World was exposed with all its far-reaching consequences. First and foremost, this is a crisis of incapacity, a lack of will to pose any sort of opposition, a crisis of being lulled to sleep in one's prosperity, a crisis of frightening disinterest in the future. The Western powers have concentrated all of their attention on the endless agglomeration of luxuries, of ever-burgeoning wages, without giving a second thought to the future, without any vexation over the possibility that in one night the wave of bolshevism may drown their material riches and a great concentration camp of destitution, suffering, terror and despair may be erected.

Intoxicated by its hedonism, the West is sleeping. A candidate for political office does not have any chance of victory in any type of election, if he or she does not make promises to aggrandize every citizen's prosperity. The will to fight has become non-existent. The idea of the nation, patriotism, a burning faith in some higher ideal, the idea of heroic Christianity — are all weakening, and instead, we have a Christianity of comfort which disdains any self-sacrifice, or self-negation in the name of higher ideal. Hence, the West is faced with a grave crisis of spirit, morality, and world-view (Weltanschauung). Elections are won by those, who conceal from the people the severe problems of this era of turmoil, danger, and the bolshevik threat of world annihilation. He who has the courage to point out the threat of the bolshevik deluge is labelled a “fascist”, a “war-monger”.

The noble attempt of President Carter did not receive the necessary understanding and “support”. Mr. Carter was unprepared for the highest office of the greatest super-power in the world, since he was unacquainted with the history of the Russian imperialist nation. This lack of knowledge was exposed when President Carter made the statement, that he only recently realized that he had been fooled by Brezhnev. This statement is without parallel in the historical annals of world statesmen and leaders. The entire history of Russia is a factual attestation of the inevitability and historical determinism of the further development of Russian expansionism. President Carter should have at least read one basic historical primer on the Russian empire, which was and continues to be a deadly threat to the world. It would seem, that he never even read the smaller, but essential studies identifying the Russian spirit, such as the writings of N. Berdayev, who was born in Kyiv (Ukraine), considered himself to be Russian, but who also was an analyst par excellence of the integral Russian spirit, as well as one of the few Russians, who denounced the Russian nation for its intrinsic imperialism, of which Solzhenitsyn, who is a defender of the further existence of Russian empire, does not even want to hear about.

### Afghanistan — a historical goal of Russian aggression

Afghanistan has always been in the historical plan of Russian imperialism, regardless of whether this plan was formulated by the Russian tsarist or bolshevik regimes. This has been historically proven. President Carter has declared, that he had warned Brezhnev with regard to Afghanistan, but, in truth, this is a very naive position. What is essentially needed is not some secret warning, but the capacity to create some sort of military resistance. Why did President

Carter not issue a public warning? We are very sceptical as to whether any warning whatsoever was issued by President Carter, who has gravely compromised himself in this crisis.

Because of a total lack of the WILL to fight, the West, therefore, also lacks a global strategy, especially in regard to the Russian empire. All these so-called doctrines of Truman, Nixon, or Carter, Dulles' containment policy, the policy of co-existence, or detente — all this amounts to nothing in the face of the systematic realization of Moscow's global strategy. Afghanistan is only the next step in the logical development of the political-strategic concept of Moscow. This is not simply the outcome of some spontaneous decision, nor is it due to some fear of a "threat" from the West, but, quite simply, this is the consequence of the plan of Russian imperialism, which is being systematically realized from several centuries in the past. The national-liberation movements continuously threaten to destroy the Russian empire from within. So as to keep this empire intact, it is necessary to mobilize the chauvinistic, messianistic instincts of the Russian masses for ever greater, new conquests.

Russia's current plan is clear and simple: to seize the oil fields of the Near and Middle East by overpowering and occupying the countries of Africa, thereby gaining control over the natural resources of these countries, on which the industrialized West, especially Western Europe, is highly dependent. Moscow intends to sever Western industry from these resources and, consequently, bring the West to its knees. Hence, the capitulation of Western Europe will be achieved without a thermonuclear war, or, for that matter, without any war whatsoever. Their aims are obvious and simple. It is inconsequential whether Moscow will occupy a country, or, instead, place it within its sphere of influence, whether this be Cuba, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, South Yemen, or some other country in South America, or in South-East Asia, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos. This is all academic from the point of view of *Moscow's general political strategy* — the conquest of the entire world.

Moscow seeks out the most vulnerable spot on every continent, or geopolitical complex, and when a vacuum appears — it is quick to fill this vacuum with its military subversion and disintegration. In the end, "a friendly invitation" is issued from the "government" of this new "satellite", or rather from Moscow's gendarme regime in this colony calling for "aid" which is then rendered in the form of military occupational troops and in a short period a new victim has fallen within the Russian jaws while the rest of the world looks on. And then we find people like Mr. Brandt, Mr. Bahr, Mr. Wehner, Gen. Bastian, who are ready to justify Moscow's aggressions in any way possible. Several German and French politicians are political illiterates with regard to their knowledge of the *national* complex of the USSR. For them, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Russians — this is one and the same people! Furthermore, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and even F. J. Strauss always use the queer label — "Soviet", or "Soviet people", etc., which only further confuses and deceives the general populace. There is no greater nonsense in the world. "Soviet" is the Russian equivalent of the English word — council. Hence, how is it possible for a nation to be a nation of councils, or, for instance, a nation of committees? How can a nation be erected out of local, regional, or national councils, or out of a "Supreme Soviet" (Council)? This is the kind of naivety that the politically ignorant West allows itself to be caught in. How can a "Soviet" — that is a council — attack another nation; how can a nation, a people of councils exist? Nowhere in the world has there been an instance, where some administrative, or legislative forum created a nation! Mr. Schmidt declared that he is waiting for the "Sov-

iets" to retreat from Afghanistan, and other such nonsense. There are no "Soviets" occupying Afghanistan, or any other country for that matter. What we have are RUSSIAN occupational forces threatening every freedom-loving people in the world. Here we are attempting to point out an essential and elemental detail. This detail, however, or rather, the total lack of comprehension of its basic significance in the West, points out the West's complete ignorance of the most important complex in any future victory over the USSR — *the subjugated nations!*

### **For a global and political strategy of the West**

Once we accept the fact that the Russian plan is to conquer the entire world, then we must formulate a global anti-strategy. An "Afghan crisis" as such does not exist; instead, there is a crisis of the West — a crisis of a lack of leadership. Afghanistan is an historically-determined step in the process of Russian expansion. The next step will be Iran, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, Latin America, Africa, with Rhodesia included. It is unimportant who is to be the next successive victim. Any global strategy depends to a large extent on the element of surprise. Should the not-so-distant events in Angola and Ethiopia have not been enough to point out to the Pentagon the proper direction to be taken? What about Vietnam, Kampuchea? Should it not suffice to mention the fact that the Russian empire has the largest modern, land-based army in the world, the most powerful nuclear potential, the greatest military naval fleet and air force strategically positioned in all the oceans and seas of the world, which allows it to forcibly appropriate, on every possible occasion, new seaports for itself (as was most recently shown in the Indian Ocean)? Only a bolshevik agent, or a political illiterate, or an electoral candidate for political office, who desperately wants to be elected even at the cost of deceiving the public, will persist in maintaining, that the USSR has constructed and all-powerful military machine, which it only intends to use for defensive purposes.

From whom must the Russian empire defend itself? The USA is neither attacking anyone, nor is it a threat to anyone. It is a crime to equate Afghanistan with Vietnam. The Americans were *defending* South Vietnam and lost this war because of their politically naive position. By no means can the Americans be considered oppressors in Vietnam. Their elemental mistake was that they continued to adhere to their agreements with the bolsheviks, against the will of the Vietnamese people, when the Russians, on the other hand, never manifested any intention to adhere to their part of these agreements. Instead of permitting President Diem to march on the North with the idea of liberating it — the Americans were hopelessly bickering among themselves as to their aims in Vietnam, only to capitulate totally in the end, never taking the crucial and decisive decision to initiate a serious offensive, and, more importantly, never giving Diem the chance to launch an offensive on his own. All those, who at one time condemned the United States, are now silent, when hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese workers are drowning on the high seas, after having to escape from their hell, or when millions of Cambodians are dying from an artificial plague, organized by the Communists!

It is unimportant whether the Russians will next attack the Persian Gulf, or Central Asia or the Near East (they are already preparing an attack on Iran and/or Turkey), or some other country of South America, or in the Pacific Ocean. For all these various aims, they have their naval fleet, their fifth columns, and all the necessary weaponry. The West will not be able to salvage anything without its own global concept! Any attempt to put out the flames, which periodically flare up here and there, are all worthless. That power will

actively pursue the actualization of its global strategic concept! The West must formulate a more sophisticated and wide-ranging strategy which must also include other elements, besides those strictly military in scope — that is, the West must identify and utilize the Achilles heel of the Russian empire — the *subjugated nations!*

Strictly military strategies, which, in any case, the West does not have, will be rendered useless, unless the West seriously considers and analyzes the idea of the political liberation of the subjugated nations of the Russian empire. This was best proven by the events in Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, South Yemen, and Cuba. Even the best military strategy or doctrine of war is not viable, if it is not a *function of the political aspirations* to fundamentally change the existing tyrannical imperio-colonial order, which enslaves whole nations. Without the inclusion into this global military strategy of the political factor, without the construction of this strategy on the concept of the liberation of the subjugated nations — the defeat of the West is assured.

NATO, as a regional military alliance, will never reach its goal, since it must become integrally imbedded in the global military and political strategy and system. Moscow is actualizing its global strategy, when NATO, in comparison, is antedated and antiquated. The viewpoint of the German government, namely — that it is only interested strictly in the geo-political complex of NATO, is an attestation of their total lack of comprehension of Moscow's global aims. It is not possible to regionally resolve the problem of Europe, since the Russian empire stretches far beyond Europe. Who, if not NATO, is supposed to counterpose Russian aggression in Africa, Asia, and Latin America? Yet, the Germans feel that this is beyond the competencies of NATO. The Russians are presently occupying not a part of the USA, but a part of Germany, and their empire is global and not limited to Europe! Hence, NATO has become antiquated without its inclusion into the global center of strategic planning and action.

Furthermore, due to the European's lack of political will to fight NATO is completely dependent on the decisions and risk of the USA. The European member states of NATO (including Germany) must begin financing their own, more sophisticated atomic weapons arsenal, and not only depend on the sacrifices of the American peoples. Not being included within the global context, NATO leaves all the continents outside of Europe to be defended by the USA. The relations between the USA and China, the defence of the Near and Middle East and Africa — crucial geo-political areas for Western Europe — are potential components of a global strategic doctrine of the USA, which as of yet does not exist! It is not surprising that De Gaulle developed a separate atomic weapons system for France, despite US opposition. And it turns out that this move was justified when we look at the increased aggression of Russia. This is not to be understood that we support the opportunistic pro-Russian politics of the French government, which is egotistically hoping that the US will pull the chestnuts out of the fire in the interests of France. Western Europe must understand that it must become a partner of the US, it must develop its own weapons system, so that together with the US it can pose some viable opposition to the Russian global strategy. There cannot be any third power which will be the beginning of the finlandization of Western Europe; instead, Western Europe must become a partner of the US with the same aims: the *dissolution of the Russian empire with the aid of the subjugated nations*, as the key factor in a new global strategy, as a partner, as a new political super-power.

**For the development of conventional military forces and a naval fleet,  
especially guerrilla forces**

A new military strategy of a global nature must primarily develop conventional military forces, a naval fleet, air-force, and, also, a strategic "alarm force" of several parachutist divisions, which would be always on alert to liquidate future Russian aggressions on defenceless countries, such as Afghanistan, Angola or even Rhodesia. In the general plan of this global strategy, various roles can be instituted, if we were to regard the necessity of including the so-called "Third World" into a military and economic alliance of friendship and mutual benefit with the West, also respecting the sovereignty of these countries of Africa and other continents outside of Europe. Western Europe, for example, should pay greater attention to Africa, the Near East and in part Latin America, whereas the USA ought to interest itself more with both continents of North and South America, as well as with the Far East and the Pacific Ocean. The Americans and the Western Europeans should apportion between themselves the responsibilities of defending the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. This is not to be regarded as a mechanical apportionment of responsibilities, but this ought to be understood as a means of accenting the necessity of acting in *unison*, whereas within the various specific complexes, some will have relatively greater or lesser responsibilities. Only within such a construction can there be a victory over Russian imperialist aggression! However, even the most far-reaching and thought-out strategy will be rendered useless in the long run, if it does not take into account the most significant factor — the superpower of the nations subjugated by Russia in the USSR and satellite countries. Any military plan, that does not include this superpower as the crucial variable, will end in defeat, as did Hitler's or Napoleon's military strategies. "*Ceterum censeo*": *without the national-liberation revolutions — armed insurrections — of the subjugated nations, the West can never be victorious over the Russian empire!*

**Without a concept of the dissolution of the empire  
there can be no common front**

In its global military and political strategy the West must include the guerrilla-revolutionary concept of a liberation war — armed insurrections — of the subjugated nations. There is no chance of victory over any empire, and all the more against the Russian empire without the consideration of this decisive factor. It is indeed possible that a situation may arise which will force the subjugated nations to take up arms against Russia and the West, as was the case with imperialist Nazi Germany, if the West will choose to ignore this political and spiritual superpower. It may happen that the soldiers of the so-called Soviet Army will fight against the Western forces instead of deserting to the side of the West, if the West does not proclaim as its military and political goal the idea of the dissolution of the Russian empire. In the Red Army forces which were invading Berlin, there was a considerable amount of non-Russians, who were simply taking revenge for the genocidal policy of the Germans throughout the war; by no means were these troops attacking for reasons of allegiance to the Russian empire and the Communist system.

On the other hand, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists — UPA-OUN actualized its own concept of liberation in a common front with the subjugated nations, in a two-front liberation war — and this concept remains unalterable for the OUN. This means that if an analogical international situation should arise, the OUN-UPA will continue to actualize its self-inherent and self-authoritated Ukrainian political-liberation

concept with its own military-insurrectionary, guerrilla and political strategy, regardless of whether China or the US or some other bloc of powers should enter into a war against Russia. *Without the prior recognition of the concept of the dissolution of the empire and the re-establishment of a sovereign and independent Ukrainian Nation-State and independence of other subjugated nations — there can be no common front!* The West must finally realize this fact. The revolutionary forces of the subjugated nations will never enter into a common alliance with anyone who will fight to keep the empire intact.

Therefore, the key variable in the global strategy of the West must be a strike at the very heart of the empire and system, and not only at the peripheries; the policy of containment or balance of power are “periferal”, since every defensive concept of the West is doomed to be defeated. During Truman’s term in office, the West was in sole possession of the atom bomb and, hence, was capable of forcing the USSR to retreat; the West was powerful enough to destroy the Russian imperialist system. This was not to be, and through various phases of “containment”, “co-existence”, “detente”, the West finally degressed to the point of having to accept and formulate a policy of balance of power between the two superpowers, which has already been transformed into the military ascendancy of the Russian empire! The only possible solution (from the point of view of the West) to this disadvantageous state of affairs can only lie in the dissolution of the Russian imperialist system from within, and not in some “arms race” with the USSR. The key to the final resolution of this global crisis is the liberation nationalism of the subjugated nations! It is absolutely absurd to claim that some “one world” utopianism (a world government) can be this key. Neither can this key be the military-technical superiority of the West, but, as a primary factor, the subjugated nations armed with the idea of national liberation. A crucial and significant function will also be carried out by the religious sphere in conjunction with the national Holy Wars for the nation, for the Fatherland, for God — are all currently emerging in history!

The Russian empire is surrounded by inimical forces from without and from within: Japan, China, the western nations, the peoples of the Near, Middle, and Far East, Central Asia, South-East Asia . . . Those who presently do not understand the Russian threat, or are blinded and deceived by fanatics, inspired by Moscow, such as Khomeini, will sooner or later come to their senses. *The decisive factor is the enemy within — the subjugated nations!* The tragedy of the West is that it does not want to understand the key position of this force. It is indeed surprising that despite the liberation of the African nations from the imperialist fetters and with the establishment of their role in the world, the West remains incapable of formulating a parallel deduction with regard to the liberation of the nations, currently subjugated by Moscow, in spite of their ancient traditional heritage. What sort of strange blindness is this?

#### **For the immediate implementation of anti-Russian measures**

Presently, the matter of discontinuing all technological, financial and economic aid for the empire, including all grain sales, is becoming an actual necessity; the West must utilize the internal weaknesses of the empire, in similar manner to the Russians, who utilize the weaknesses of the Western nations on the military, socio-political and other levels, interfering in every open flaw in the West. Hence, the West ought to utilize every economic weakness of the empire, *but its primary focus ought to be geared toward supporting the revolutionary national-liberation struggles of the subjugated nations!* Let us look at Moscow’s actions in Africa, for instance.



*In regard to the Russian occupation of Afghanistan, the boycott of the Moscow Olympics is a bare minimum, of which the West is not even capable!* This is frightening and is proof of the total moral degradation, the loss of all honour and dignity — not only national honour, but human honour as well! The vital factor in strengthening the liberation revolution is the psychological, ideological and political war in the spirit of the subjugated nations!

The Western states must organize an all-out campaign among their citizenry, especially the youth in the area of their militarization and patriotic upbringing, informing them of the fact that the USSR is a multi-national empire and not a monolithic state. The fact, that even some Western journalists and parliamentarians are completely unaware that *the USSR is the Russian empire*, is beyond comprehension! The various means of mass communication must finally begin informing the people of the horror of bolshevism, about the concentration camps, genocide and russification, rather than simply continuing to condemn the crimes of Nazism, which is long since dead, when, at present, humanity is threatened by the Father of Nazism, namely — Bolshevism! It is horrifying that not one demonstration of the western youth against the genocide in Vietnam, in Kampuchea, in the USSR, has yet taken place.

The Western European nations must cease in their role of an intermediary between the USA and the USSR. All this amounts to is the demobilization of a common front and the repudiation of a common global strategy!

The most shameful role in this regard was played by France and Germany. The statement by Mr. Brandt or Giscard d'Estaing to the effect that the Near East complex in conjunction with Afghanistan is simply a point of conflict between two superpowers, is a manifestation of, either, an unbelievable political naivety or megalomania, or malice, which can only be to the benefit of Moscow.

The US declaration, in which it was stated that they will treat the Persian Gulf as a matter of their national security, ought to be accepted with great gratitude by the entire Free World. Here the US is not defending *its national interests*, since it has enough oil for itself in the USA and Latin America, but, instead, the US is defending the interests of the Near East, of Germany and France, and their further existence.

The statement of leading German Social Democratic politicians, claiming that Germany must defend strictly its interests separate from those of the US, is bordering on capitulation in front of Moscow. The oil of the Near East is in the national interests of Germany, and not the USA. This is not an "imperialist" target of the USA, but a matter of life and death for German industry, a matter of whether Germany will or will not capitulate in front of Moscow. The interests of free Europe are, first and foremost, being defended in Afghanistan, and not strictly the interests of the USA! The USA is not so much defending itself in the Persian Gulf, as all the Western European nations! If the Persian Gulf should fall under the direct control of Russia, then Germany, France, Italy, etc., will also all become dependent on Russia's whims and wishes. Therefore, the refusal of Chancellor Schmidt to boycott the Olympic Games is not simply a blow for the US, but is against the interests of Germany! It turns out, that the interests of Germany are being defended by Moscow and are being harmed by... Washington! This is NONSENSE. If Bonn were to eventually decide, sometime in May, to boycott the Moscow Olympics in solidarity with the US, what significance will such a belated action have, when their current refusal to boycott has created a situation which demobilized other Western nations, such as Norway, for instance, whose Olympic Committee has already decided to participate in the Moscow Games? This position of Bonn

is in support of the politics of Paris in this and other matters. However, in the final outcome, Germany and Berlin will not be defended either by Paris or Rome, but primarily by Washington. How is one to comprehend the current politics of Bonn? In whose favour is it? And the statement of the head of the socialist parliamentary faction, Wehner, demobilizes every patriot; he justified Moscow's move in Afghanistan, claiming that Russia was forced to occupy this country so as to undercut the revolutionary aspirations of the Turkestanis and other Islamic peoples in the USSR. Since when do socialists stand up in defence of subjugators, even justifying their actions, in the manner of Wehner and Brandt, forgetting their traditions, established by Bebel, a great defender of the nations subjugated by Russia? This is similar to the actions of various Communist leaders of the Russian fifth columns throughout the world. There is no correlative precedent in the history of movements for national and social justice, to justify the subjugation of ever more *new* peoples by the necessity to keep those *already* subjugated within the imperialist yoke. We must assume that tomorrow a new statement will come from some socialists in the SPD, claiming that the Russians must occupy Pakistan or Iran because they are being threatened by the Islamic peoples of these countries. Furthermore, we must see the justification of *tomorrow's* occupation of West Germany, for reasons of a threat of revolution in *East* Germany. It will then become necessary to occupy France because France will constitute a threat to the Russian empire with its border on the Rhine, and, hence, it will become necessary to expand the empire to the Atlantic and, thus, the conquest of the entire world will have been achieved! Then, perhaps, the threat to the prison of nations and people will be liquidated. And so, we have reached our end... Where are you heading, Occident? What has become of the great, noble tradition of the Europe of yesteryear? Where is your love of freedom and independence, respect of human dignity, respect for the nation and the individual? Where is your Christian spirit?

The subjugated nations must carry the burden of a great, revolutionary responsibility: the spiritual, moral, idealistic, patriotic and religious rebirth of free nations. Perhaps, this was the mission given to us by God, through the sufferings and thorns to the laurel wreath?

*E. Orłowski*

*Oles Berdnyk (presently incarcerated)*

## **The Thorn Wreath of Ukraine**

### **For the immediate implementation of anti-Russian measures**

Russia! In times past, whether friendly or inimical, dialogues between nations continuously took place. They took place spiritually and intuitively. In this present epoch the privileges of national representatives have been usurped by dictators and oppressors of rights. That is why great muteness reigns in spiritual spheres of our nations, instead the social bazaar gurgles falsities and treacheries, with scanty fabrications of unity, friendship and harmony.

Let us leap over ancient walls of estrangement and apprehension, and begin a conclusive discussion — a discussion of ancient neighbors, closely bound through a joint destiny, with common sufferings and future cataclysm, which destroy all apparition-like illusions and consecrate all that is sacred.

Russia! You are not a monolith in your soul: there is the Russia of tyrants, executioners, torturers, betrayers, liars, murderers, — and there is also the Russia of poets, insurgents, cosmic creators, philosophers, saints, toilers, and loving mothers, who carry the relay baton through bloody ages of death and decay.

This message — is addressed to both Russias.

The spirit of Ukraine in this dialogue speaks to your spirit, Russia! Let these words come to you as a last warning, and a final possibility of Resurrection.

Three hundred twenty-five years ago in Pereyaslav, we gave one another our chivalrous word for brotherhood, unity and loyalty. Every one of us since that troublesome day sowed heaps of different seedlings into the earth throughout several generations.

It is already the fourth century, Russia, we are walking in the same field, reaping the harvest our forefathers bequested. What kind of harvest was it?

On the stage of the social bazaar, a synonymous answer will be given: Ukraine and Russia — equal among equals, two big sisters, maturing and flowering, both reaching radiant peaks. Ukraine gives so much cast iron, coal, bread, meat, an avalanche of books, millions of students, intellectuals and heroes.

For these charted determinants, Russia, you exhausted Ukraine's spirit. She throws them off with disgust, and points to her forehead.

Look at my forehead, Russia, — you will see a wreath of thorns! Yes, the result of our ancient jointly bound nations is — Ukraine's Calvary, — stolen, tortured, belied, crucified.

Do not rush to fury, Russia! Think, and recollect the past: your spiritual downfall and our shame began the day when we did not recognize the viper in the souls of your Moscovite tyrants, who opened Ukraine's Golden Gates to foreign hordes.

What has gone forth, through our Golden Gates to you, Russia, and what has come forth to me? All this happened on the field of history, you can hide nothing. You received the wealth of our land, Russia, and in addition to that — toilers hands and artistic souls, equals of which are very few in this world. Without sympathy, you devoured our wealth and shamelessly suckled the genius of Ukraine, seizing priority and glory for yourself. You hid the scantiness and worthlessness of your tsars and "oprytshnyks" — (tsarist executioners) with the beauty of our songs, philosophy, and sciences along with the conquests of our knights. Instead? . . . .

You destroyed the cradle of freedom — Zaporozka Sitch, a rare creation of Evolution, which in a few more centuries could have grown closer to an age of freedom and national-rule.

All of which was related to the history of the spirit of the Zaporizhan knights of heroic values — our hall marks, archives, legends and songs, you seized for yourself. You placed your veto on the mere memory of them, because you are horrified of their resurrection in contemporary spiritual spheres.

It is not worth to list the many facts and names in this dialogue: archives of your brutal catacombs have all that is necessary to refresh your memory. This is why I am mentioning the essentials only. In struggling with you, the Ukrainian nation conquered its sovereignty, its will, and strengthened its spirit, created the song, and ascending thought of the cosmic universe. We did not rob foreign wealth and seize foreign lands. Desiring freedom ourselves, we respected the freedom our neighbors had. We did not construct prisons, we did not enclose boundaries, and we did not make slaves of free citizens. If a Ukrainian military officer became a noble and overwhelmed himself with feudal privileges of the nobility, he cut himself off from the spirit of Mother Ukraine becoming her enemy and a servant of aggressive neighbors.

Our honesty willed to see in its neighbors, the kind of spiritual formation, which was in ourselves. This was a dreadful mistake.

The rule of unity in vessels illustrates the historical situation of our unity. The spiritual and economical *vacuum* of Moscow, irresistibly drew from Ukraine

to itself all that was famous and valueable: so that the freedom-loving heart of the nation could not give its repulse to the traitors and hypocrites, it was imperative to annihilate the ancient root of strength and liberty — the institution of Kozatstvo and Kobzarstvo — the two wings and the genius of Ukraine.

Yes, you inimical Russia, you plucked feathers, butchered and ruined these lively wings! You cleaved the wing of Kozatstvo instantly and most grotesquely. The dispersed remainings of our knights fluttered into obscurity: you built a dam of Finnish and Siberian mud with the disobedient and you blockaded the very disobedient with your Caucasian borders, and then you began to conquer the attractive and appetizing Eastern territories.

The wing of the Kobsarstvo was most difficult for you to cleave: this amputation dragged on for a number of years, because the source of creativity swam up from the bottomless well, where lay the heart of the people. Your diabolic soul, Russia, knew that this was the main mission to accomplish, because so long as the cloven wing remains flapping in the air, it could still be regenerated and reborn. You began to drain and evaporate Ukraine's well of creativity. Like the caterpillar, you wound up our land for Peter's and Catherine's mongrels and traitors.

Once a most cultured nation in Europe let itself into the lowest circles of inferno: the infernal servants could not succeed in venomously striking Ukraine's heart, so as to finally put an end to the livelihood of this creative wing.

During this critical age, it was only the phenomenon of Taras Shevchenko, the genius of our dear nation, that saved Ukraine from degradation and resurrected the livelihood of this wing. This was a rare incision in the rupture of spiritual spheres, from which the source of creativity had flourished.

The furious antagonistic spirit of Russia was satanistic. It was too late to do anything about that: prohibition even more so inflamed our fire of rebirth. The sorcerous viper-spirit chose a different road — the road of admission, and then inserted us into their program. The prophet with whom the enemy embraces loses its revolutionary power!

The powerful jolt of the twentieth century did not bring resurrection to Ukraine: all creative strengths were brought into a witty game by political cheaters — some of us died on the battle field, some of us rotted in Siberian camps, and some chose the road to Pereyaslav — a road of shame and servility.

Experiencing three centuries of servility and humiliation has indicated one mistake: one wavering step results in a chain reaction of further mistakes and future declines. What has been done today — is impossible to re-do tomorrow.

Black seeds of betrayal and terror grow among the decaying thistle, from which it is very difficult to find a way out.

Conclusion: each nation should decide its own destiny, not allowing other nations to take upon supervisory initiatives.

It is better to die a hero, than to miserably exist as a slave!

We once had such a knightly testament — it was disregarded. Hundreds of years of slavery — the payment for the betrayal of spiritual freedom!

But, Russia, you are not happy standing before the pile of plucked feathers of our lively wing: the cleaved wings have not grown organically onto your viper trunk. You burdened yourself with your criminal acts, downfalls and betrayals, from which all your saints and hermits cannot cleanse you. You became a gigantic prisoner of nations and have refused to destroy your prisons after the October Revolution, and tightened the grasp on your sceptre of brutality.

*(to be continued)*

## Russian Imperialism and Bulgaria

Russian imperialism, which since the middle of the 19th century regained a powerful and renewed stride, pushed on by the wish to have access to the free and warm seas, stumbled in its ambition over one unforeseen obstacle: Bulgaria.

Some superficial and hastily expressed opinions would have it for historical, ethnic or other reasons that Bulgaria was an unflinching loyal and devoted partner of Russia. This legend was very skilfully upheld by Russian propaganda and even diplomats and statesmen, who were well-informed, fell into that pitfall and helped to create in world public opinion a mistaken or, in any event, a very much exaggerated point of view.

The history of the Bulgarian Third State shows without doubt, that Bulgaria suffered very much and continues to suffer from Russian interference in its internal affairs and that it has paid a heavy price to Russian and Soviet-Russian imperialism.

Bulgaria is situated geographically in the most direct path of Russian imperialism's natural expansion to the south. As long as she has been able to benefit from help and understanding from outside, she has been able to muster her forces sufficiently to resist her reputable "big brother" and preserve her national independence. Left alone to herself, submerged by the avalanche of the armoured divisions of the Third Front from Ukraine, she had to submit and was reduced to that state of semi-independence by which she is known today: a satellite country.

Modern Bulgaria is described as a victim of Russian imperialism and the advantage that she has now been able to draw from the "friendship" with the former Russian of the tsars, and then with Soviet-Russia, are insignificant in comparison with the

losses and immense misfortunes which have come upon the Bulgarian people, in the name of "Russian friendship".

We shall here try to explain this by examining the relation between Bulgaria and Russia in three stages:

— tsarist Russian imperialism and Bulgaria

— Soviet-Russian imperialism and Bulgaria

— the occupation and "satellitization" of Bulgaria by Soviet-Russian imperialism.

### **Tsarist Russian imperialism and Bulgaria**

Already before the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish (Ottoman) subjugation, Russia showed itself strongly preoccupied with the situation in the Balkans and its ambassadors in Constantinople followed very attentively the evolution of the situation in that area.

Russia resolutely opposed the establishment of a National Bulgarian Church independent from the Phanar Patriarchate. It was against the will of the Tsar that the Bulgarian Church renewed its existence. Let us recall that the last Archbishop of Ohride (in western Bulgaria) survived the fall of Tirnovo in 1393 and an independent Bulgarian Church continued to exist up to 1767 when the intrigues of Phanar succeeded in suppressing it by the Holy Ports.

The proclamation of the Independent Bulgarian Church was a great victory — probably the most important event in Bulgarian history in the last quarter of the 19th century.

The Bulgarian nationally-conscious youth began at this time a revolutionary struggle to regain political freedom and independence for Bulgaria. However, this revolution was subsequently suppressed by the

Russian tsar, who sent Russian troops across the Danube, resulting in the partition of Bulgaria and a series of grave events, which a century later were still haunting the region and created the "Balkan question".

In 1862 the Bulgarians, who were placed under religious jurisdiction by the Greek Patriarchate of Phanar, now in a state of chaos, decided to recognize the Pope as their supreme spiritual leader and, therefore, place themselves under the protection of France in order to acquire a more advantageous constitution. The Russian Embassy, however, reacted very violently. It subsidizes anti-uniatic publications, and, angered by the popularity of the movement, the Russians, without any concern for international standards, kidnapped Monsignor Joseph Sokolski, the Archbishop of the Bulgarian Uniate, and exiled him to a monastery in Kyiv, Ukraine, where the octogenarian Church dignitary died in 1879. It was thus that their attempt to better the situation of the Bulgarian population, or at least part of that population, was waned because it went counter to Russian interests.

The Russian opposition to the religious interests and aspirations of the Bulgarians suffices to give a fore-taste of what was to follow. It shows clearly that Russia regarded Bulgaria as its private "hunting-ground", as a stepping stone for the conquest of Constantinople, the control of the channels, and access to the open seas. Such actions taken without regard for the will of the Bulgarian people, could not but cause it grave harm.

As skilful manipulators and without scruples, the Russian diplomats tried everywhere and by every means to convince the world, that Bulgaria would never choose another path, other than that which Russia prepared for it and that the "little brother" would never abandon the "big brother". This campaign was conducted

with such intensity and such forceful conviction that England and Austro-Hungary believed the fable and opposed the creation of an independent Bulgaria within its ethnic frontiers. They called for the convening of the Berlin conference (June-July 1878) where they secured a treaty partitioning Great Bulgaria into three parts.

These two powers knew perfectly the ethnographic situation of Bulgaria. They were aware of the desperate struggle of the Bulgarian people to gain independence and freedom. At the time of the Conference of Ambassadors in Constantinople (January 1876), they demanded internal autonomy for the Bulgarian part of European Turkey, which, from the aspect of its size, was superior to that created by the treaty of San Stefano. Why did they draw back at Berlin? If at that time they demanded that Macedonia stay within the Ottoman Empire and that Eastern Roumelia be made an autonomous province, this was because they feared that Great Bulgaria would become a loyal ally, an unconditional ally, almost a vassal of Russia, which thus would be in a position to seriously threaten the Straits of Constantinople.

A completely invalid assertion, let us add, spread by Russian propaganda whose inaccuracy was shown in the course of time, but which has considerably damaged the young Bulgarian state; its immediate consequence was, that even though liberated by Russian troops from the Ottoman yoke, Bulgaria could not achieve its national unity because of the Russian imperialist policies and diplomacy.

While declaring a war on Turkey the tsar worried very little about the Bulgarian people. He had visions of a State which would be completely devoted to him, a sort of a "Danubian province" serving Russian interests. They profited from a current of sympathy which arose in the world in favour of the Bulgarian revolutionaries at the time of the Revolution of 1876, the

massacres of Batak and other Bulgarian villages which had rebelled in order to pose as defenders of the Bulgarian people. The English press, whose spokesman was W. Gladstone, lamented the fate of the Bulgarians and the "Daily News" even wrote: "it is better to see the Russians than the Turks in the Balkans provided that the Bulgarians be saved."

Once the war was won, without worrying in the least about the Bulgarian people or its wishes, and by-passing the open protest of Rumania, they invaded Bessarabia and, as a token gesture, gave Rumania the Bulgarian "Doubrodja".

The debt of gratitude of the Bulgarian people for the Russian blood that flowed for the liberation of Bulgaria we paid by the loss of Doubrodja and several hundred thousand Bulgarians had to switch from Turkish domination to Rumanian. Also, the purely Bulgarian territories of Nich, Pirot, Vrania were allotted by Russia to Serbia.

The great French historians E. Lavisse and A. Rambaud stated that "the partition of Bulgaria into three parts is a crime of genocide."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Bulgarians had to devote all their efforts to the realization of their natural unity by struggling against the clauses of the Treaty of Berlin. The Kresna rebellion was designed for the liberation of Macedonia. But the most important efforts were directed towards Eastern Roumelia, which was an autonomous province.

Quite obviously, the Bulgarians lacked experience regarding the conduct of government but statistics prove the existence of an intellectual elite. Thus, among the members of the Constituent Assembly, two thirds of the deputies spoke French, one third spoke German. Many used these two languages and those who had successfully completed higher education in Paris, Aix, Heidelberg or elsewhere were quite numerous.

The Russian administration in Bulgaria headed by the Prince Dondukoff-Korsakoff, quickly became aware of the fact that the people were not unanimously devoted to the Russian cause, that Bulgaria wanted to preserve its independence and that it was opposed to any interference in its internal affairs. Thus, the project for a constitution proposed by the Russians was rejected, and instead, the Sobrania voted for the constitution that contained among its Organic Laws such that were the most democratic of the time.

The internal problems which marked the first years of the existence of the Bulgarian state fell primarily on the Russians who wanted to tutor Bulgaria, to reduce it to a lesser state, wanted to make it a fief politically and a colony economically.

The Russian interference displeased the Bulgarians who wanted to remain masters in their own house and could not for long agree to be the tool of foreign interests. "Bulgaria for Bulgarians", were the words of the Bulgarian statesman, Stefan Stambouloff, which became the battlecry around which the Bulgarian patriots rallied and saved Bulgaria from Russian domination.

With the approval of the great powers, Sobrania chose Prince Alexander Batenberg to accede to the throne of the young Bulgarian principality. Alexander Batenberg was a nephew of tsar Alexander II, and Russia counted heavily on him to strengthen its stronghold over Bulgaria. But once in Bulgaria, Prince Alexander chose to rule seriously and with a great deal of love. Very soon he chose to be a Bulgarian prince and not the tsar's puppet. He made it his goal to restore the national Bulgarian spirit and to make Bulgaria a free and independent country and not a Russian province. From that moment the Russians considered him their worst enemy.

The Russian generals, Soboleff and Kaulbers, strove to establish the Russian influence all over Bulgaria:

a) in the Army, by adopting Russian rules, uniforms, ranks and arms;

b) in the field of education, by demanding the implementation of Russian programs of instruction;

c) in the field of jurisdiction, by demanding the adoption of Russian legal codes;

d) in the economic domain, by demanding that the development of large enterprises (such as building of railways) be awarded to Russian entrepreneurs;

Meeting with Bulgarian opposition, they tried to plot the forced abdication of the Prince, but they failed in their efforts and had to leave the country after having been declared "persona non grata". That happened on September 19, 1883.

Since Prince Alexander and the Bulgarian government ceased to be agreeable to St. Petersburg, and since the Russians became aware that Bulgaria intended to keep its independence and its national identity, they at least tried to slow down the process which would lead to the reunification of Eastern Roumelia with Bulgaria. Meanwhile this re-annexation was effected against the Russian will on September 6, 1885 with the aid of England

and by the unanimous wish of the Bulgarian people. The Prince took the title of the Prince of the two Bulgarias. Henceforth, Russia withdrew all its specialists from Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. She was opposed to the appointment of Prince Alexander by the Sultan as Governor of Eastern Roumelia, and later enticed King Milan of Serbia to attack Bulgaria. King Milan thought that Bulgaria, deprived of Russian officers and instructors, would be an easy victim.

It was at the time of this treacherous attack that the Serbian King for the first time thought of claiming the title of King of Macedonia. This land was always unanimously considered the home of Bulgarian civilization. Defeated in 15 days, the Serbs asked for an armistice. Peace was signed in Bucharest on February 19, 1886.

The prestige of Prince Alexander was immense. Russia tried to fight him by all means. The Russian Consul General (Ambassador) in Sofia, Kojander, paid for the printing of all pamphlets, newspapers and publications directed against Prince Alexander and the Bulgarian government. The Russian military attache, colonel Zaharoff,

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## **PENTECOSTALISTS TRIED IN SOFIA**

**In October, 1979 six members of the Pentecostal Church in Bulgaria were sentenced to prison**

The defendants were repeatedly accused of having had clandestine contacts with representatives of religious groups abroad. One of the strongest arguments of the prosecution was that they helped distribute thousands of smuggled Bibles and other religious books, acts described by "Anteni" as "provocations against our social system, against our laws, against our national feelings". Officialdom equates religious literature with pornography, and does not allow Bibles to be imported. Every Bible or religious book that is found is confiscated on the spot and its possessor is either

arrested and prosecuted or immediately extradited.

The court had given unusually harsh sentences ranging from three to six years in prison and fines from 1,500 to 4,00 leva (one US dollar officially equals 0.86 leva.)

This fresh example of persecuting people for importing and distributing Bibles and religious books is yet another violation of the UN Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of which the USSR is a signatory, and by which religious freedom is to be guaranteed.



organized on August 19 1886, a military coup d'etat which, benefiting from the elements of surprise, succeeded in removing Prince Alexander from the throne. Two days later, a counter coup d'etat, conducted by the President of the National Assembly, Stefan Stambouloff, and the Commander-in-Chief, colonel Moutkouroff, put things back in order. The insurgents were arrested, tried and executed. Some fled and obtained sanctuary in Russia. All had Russian passports which permitted them to flee in the event of a failure. The flag of the regiment of Strouma, — the regiment which was used in this act of treason by the Russians — burned and the regiment dissolved.

Aware of the hostility of Russia and thinking he would act for the good of the country, Prince Alexander decided to abdicate, this time on his own will. As a result, trying to profit from the fact that the throne was vacant, Russia doubled its efforts to subjugate Bulgaria. General Kaulbers, brother of the former minister, was especially sent by the tsar to guarantee the election of a Russian subject to the Bulgarian throne. He traversed the whole country, making many speeches, but did not succeed. His interference in internal Bulgarian affairs was considered impertinent. He both begged and demanded, without any concrete results. He even threatened by sending to Varna two Russian military battalions. He organized and sent to Bulgaria two armed units, commanded by Russian officers, which were soon surrounded and annihilated by the Army and the Bulgarian population. He then tried to force the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church of Bulgaria, a traditionally pro-Russian institution, to intercede but he failed again.

Kaulber's mission failed completely. Russia did not succeed in dominating Bulgaria and we owe this result in great part to the great Bulgarian patriot and statesman, Stefan Stambouloff, who, with an iron will,

opposed all foreign intervention in internal Bulgarian affairs. Stambouloff had adopted the slogan "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians". He had installed an almost dictatorial regime, but he used the power for the good of Bulgaria. Russia never pardoned him (his influence) and in 1885 he was brutally assassinated in Sofia.

After the death of Alexander II, the relations between Russia and Bulgaria relaxed somewhat and a rapprochement was worked out which, however, never reached the stage of a friendly "detente". The tsar was not able to forget his failure.

At the time of the Balkan War 1912—1913, Russia did not side with Bulgaria. The tsar refused to arbitrate the Bulgaro-Serbian conflict regarding the allocation of the zone of north-western Macedonia. Moreover, he let Rumania attack Bulgaria, which shifted the fortunes of the war.

At the beginning of the great war, Russia no longer supported the just Bulgarian demand to reconsider the borders decided upon in the Treaty signed in 1912. This fact was decisive in 1915 in the decision of the government of Radoslavoff to rejoin the Central Empire. Russia countered this move by sending to Dobroudja its better cavalry divisions. The allies, deceived by Russian propoganda, were surprised by the reaction of the Bulgarian Army, which did not hesitate a moment and defeated the Russians.

Some people, referring to the liberation of Bulgaria by Russia, complained loudly of treason, forgetting to mention that this liberation was paid for dearly, very dearly, by the brutal and arrogant interference of Russia in Bulgaria's internal affairs, which showed the real face of the imperialism of tsarist Russia. Even those Bulgarians who were traditionally pro-Russian, like the uncontested leader of the Bulgarian Rusophiles, Dragan Zankoff, had to state with a great deal of bitterness: "from Russia we want neither the honey nor the bee."

## **Soviet Russian Imperialism and Bulgaria**

In the fall of 1917, the tsarist regime collapsed and the power passed into the hands of the Russian bolsheviks. The peoples under the domination of Moscow were set free. The government of the bolsheviks posed as the champion of the freedom of peoples.

Alas! Such praiseworthy intentions were dissipated very soon. The Kremlin re-established the empire of the tsars. Russian imperialism had changed its appearance but not its substance. The goal of tsarist imperialism became that of Soviet Russian imperialism. It did not take long to prove itself to be much more dangerous because it was better organized, more skilful, more active and more effective.

The tool of Soviet Russian imperialism was the Communist International known by the name of Comintern. Since its creation, the Comintern focussed its attention on Bulgaria. Accordingly, Bulgaria was to become the first "Soviet state" in the Balkans, the core of the future "Balkan Soviet Republic". This explains the important number of Bulgarians who held key positions within that organization. This also explains why Bulgaria was the prime target of the terrorist action conducted by the Kremlin. The letter no. 2960 of March 12, 1925, from the Executive Committee of the Comintern is a clear and precise instruction. It foresees the seizure of power in Bulgaria after the removal of the Head of State and the Council of Ministers.

Conforming to this letter of instruction, the terrorist group consisting of four communists and a farmer organized on 14 April 1925 around 10.30 am., an attack against the person of the King Boris III and the persons who accompanied him. Two people in the royal entourage were killed, but the bandits escaped. The next day, the terrorists killed the General of the reserve, Gueorguieff, an influential and

well-known personality. The funeral was due to be held the next day, April 16 at 3.00pm. in the Sveta Nedelia Cathedral. An immense crowd gathered outside and inside the Cathedral. The Council of Ministers with the President of the Council at its head, and numerous deputies were present at the occasion when suddenly a huge explosion caused a terrible conflagration. From the debris 160 dead and 500 wounded, many of them critical, were removed. Although they were injured and bruised, the ministers escaped alive. The King, for his part, had not yet arrived, having been detained at the funeral of one of the members of his entourage killed two days earlier at the time of the assassination of Arabakonak, which was mentioned earlier.

The strong reaction of the government and of the population surprised the Comintern. The hunt for the communists involved some excesses. Those chiefly responsible for the plot were quickly arrested and tried. Among these, four were hanged in the presence of a large crowd which had gathered at the site of the execution. However, the chief leaders, those who had directed the insurrection of farmers and communists in September 1923, escaped and took refuge in Moscow, where they waited until the Second World War in order to have another chance to achieve some success. In effect, because of the stern repression of communist terrorism, the illegal activity of Bulgarian communists was reduced to a minimum.

In June 1934, the Bulgarian government re-established diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. Since that moment, the Soviet Russian embassy became a center of plots and espionage against Bulgaria.

The embassy official did not hesitate to organize two important intelligence networks: the network of the General of the reserve, Vladimir Zaimoff, and that of Dr. Alexander Peeff, who caused a lot of dif-

difficulties for the police before being discovered and removed.

After the signing of the Treaty between Stalin and Hitler, the head of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, V. Molotov, emphasized the importance which the USSR attributed to the Balkans, and particularly to Bulgaria. Soviet Russia even sent an ambassador to Sofia in order to make a proposition of "protection and friendship" to the Bulgarian people.

Since the beginning of the War between Germany and Soviet Russia, the Comintern ordered the establishment of an armed movement of resistance in Bulgaria. Since mid-August until the end of September 1941 the Soviet Russian navy disembarked on Bulgarian shores two groups of professional terrorists, directed by a colonel of NKVD. The Air Force also sent several groups of parachutists. Altogether there were 50 people who had the task to organize and direct the movement of armed resistance in Bulgaria.

After completing their instruction in sabotage and terrorism in a special camp in Sbodnia, along the railway line Moscow-Leningrad, the leaders of the groups were received by the General Secretary of the Comintern who gave them instructions and an order for action.

Here are the general instructions which were given:

— the groups constitute the military organization of the Communist Party in Bulgaria;

— in the course of their action they ought to seek the support of non-communist elements and introduce themselves as an organization of Bulgarian patriots;

— they particularly had to:

1. organize groups of three persons for the implementation of sabotage actions, destruction of warehouses, military transports;

2. work for the re-establishment of the Bulgarian Communist Party;

3. study the location of depots of arms in order to appropriate them at a given moment;

4. to provoke discontent among the population;

5. to prepare a plan of action for a revolution by using the experience acquired during the Spanish War.

By such means, Soviet Russia intended to interfere forcibly in internal Bulgarian affairs and to change the Bulgarian government by means of general elections through large popular support.

This time again, Moscow has misjudged the real feelings of the Bulgarian people. In a short time, the police arrested or neutralized these "ambassadors of death". The resistance movement could not play the role which Moscow had anticipated and it remained relatively insignificant.

It is necessary to emphasize the fact that during World War II Bulgaria had not declared war on the USSR and that Sofia was one of the few capitals where the German and Soviet-Russian embassies were obliged to co-exist. In return for such a benevolent attitude, Soviet-Russia declared war on Bulgaria on September 5, 1944. Because of the indecisiveness of the Bulgarian government and a period of difficulties in the Regency Council (the King was merely 7 years old)\* the "Patriotic Front" created and directed by Moscow, seized power in a coup d'etat in the night of 8 to 9 September, 1944. But already the Soviet-Russian divisions had invaded Bulgaria.

### **The Satellitization of Bulgaria by the Soviet-Russian Army**

The government of the "Front of the Homeland" ("Patriotic Front") which had seized power in the shadow of Russian guns, was composed of representatives of the Communist Party, farmers from the left, social-democrats and representatives of the political circle *Zveno*. Meanwhile, the keys were in the hands of the communists

who, with the minister of Internal Affairs and the Justice Minister, looked for ways to liquidate their political enemies. As quickly as possible Moscow sent specialists to direct the repressions. So-called "popular" tribunals — which actually were nothing else but "death tribunals" were instituted. In the period of several months more than 3,000 people were sentenced to death and summarily executed. Among them were the three regents of the kingdom, 22 ministers, 160 deputies, numerous officers, and others. Also very numerous and very severe sentences of condemnation to prison were pronounced. All these sentences and executions were political, rather than judicial acts, because in the majority of the cases, the tribunals had no knowledge of the laws in force no more than the judicial usages and customs of the country. Parallel to the action of the tribunals, and without even disguising this ridiculous pseudo-judicial action, around 100,000 persons were killed. 32,000 others were sent to death at the front in order to support the Russian Army and to fight outside of ethnic Bulgarian territory.

Around 800,000 Bulgarians were sentenced and sent to prisons and concentration camps. Thus Bulgaria was subjugated by the force of the arms of the Red Army, and the Iron Curtain isolated the country from the free world.

The principal artisan of such terrorist activities was the Soviet-Russian Commissar for Bulgaria, the President of the Allied Commission of the Armistice, General Birusov. He held the country in an iron grip much more so than 65 years earlier the tsar's Commissar, Prince Dandukoff, who did not dare to suppress all opposition by exterminating or imprisoning the country's elite. Then, the evolution of the situation in Bulgaria was absolutely identical to that of other European countries placed under Soviet-Russian domination;

— suppression of the police, replaced by a communist militia;

— creation of the institution of political commissars in the Army, 1109 communists, 353 young communists (RMS), 9 farmers (BZNS), the political circle Zveno, 8 without a party were nominated by decree. Not one social democrat, although this party is in the government;

— strict control of the Army by Soviet-Russian commissars placed above the commanders of regiments and higher units;

— introduction into the Army and the Air Force of "Soviet" uniforms, arms and rules;

— introduction of the Russian language as a compulsory language in education on all levels;

— total economic expropriation and the subordination of the Bulgarian economy to the needs of the Soviet-Russian economy, by signing preferential agreements and the concentration of imports and exports of the country to and from the USSR; the fixing of the price of goods at Russia's will. Thus Bulgarian products for export were evaluated below the average world price level, while the goods from the USSR were priced above the current world levels.

Within the country, the principal branches of commerce and trade were placed under Soviet-Russian control. The creation of mixed companies, like TABSO (a company of air transport), GORUBSO (a company for the mining of natural resources) etc., are some of the more telling examples. All commercial activity was nationalized.

The collectivization of the land and the establishment of kolkhozes (TKZS) were often accompanied by repressions and brutality. Other "measures" taken:

— suppression of all opposition, be it nationalist (execution of Nicolas Petkoff), or agrarian (execution of the General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Traitcho Kostoff);

— persecution of 101 farmers' deputies and socialists sent to Parliament by 1,250,000 "outside" voters who did not participate in the elections organized and controlled by the Communist Party;

— the adoption of a new constitution which sanctioned the dictatorship of the proletariat (December 4, 1947) and the proclamation of the Republic under the form of a so-called popular democracy (16 October 1946);

— in the intellectual sphere, the Moscow-supported regime eliminated the literature, art, sculpture and generally all forms of artistic expression, not conforming to the definition of "socialist realism" or rather to the orders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Thus Bulgaria, although "legally" independent, in reality was no more than a Russian province. Dominated politically and economically Bulgaria was transformed into a docile and obedient servant.

Yet, in its efforts to denationalize the Bulgarian people, of depriving it of its specific character and of reducing it definitively to its own will, Moscow once again failed. After over a quarter of a century of continued efforts in this direction, with tens of thousands of people locked up in prisons and concentration camps, and a docile and manageable machine of the communist party have all

proved ineffective and impotent. As a consequence of the awkward and chauvinistic policy of Moscow we find in Bulgaria the beginning of a renewal of Bulgarian nationalism, the birth of a new anti-Russian current, which permits us to conclude that Bulgaria will never play the role of a spring-board for the access to the warm seas for Soviet-Russia. Just as she did not do it for tsarist Russia.

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<sup>1</sup> *Histoire Generale*, by E. Lavissee and A. Rambaud (volume XII — p. 445 — editions Colin, Paris 1925).

\* August 28, 1943, King Boris III of Bulgaria died suddenly in circumstances which remain mysterious. This premature death left the country in disorder and made Bulgaria an easy target for the imperialist intrigues of the USSR. For more details of this episode of Bulgarian history, we refer the reader to numerous articles which were written on the subject and especially the pamphlet "The mysterious death of a King" by Strachimir Belphegoroff (Munich 1968).

#### NOTICE

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

Mr. Ya. Shevchuk is authorized to collect debts owed to ABN. We, therefore, kindly request your cooperation in this respect. Please contact him at the following address:

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## Genocide in Estonia and Latvia

In the February 27th (1980) issue of the German daily — “Die Welt”, an article was published analyzing the brutal process of natio-cide being carried out by the Soviet-Russian imperialists in Estonia and Latvia. The Russian population in these two countries is increasing at such a rate that the integral national population is becoming a minority, within its own country. In the years between 1959 and 1970 the number of Latvians in Latvia decreased from 62% of the total population to 56.8%. During the same period, the number of Estonians also decreased from 74.6% to 68.2%.

The statistics from 1979 are further proof of the russification of Estonia: the total population of Estonians grew from 893,000 in 1959 to 948,000 in 1979. However, in the same time period the Russian population in Estonia grew from 240,000 to 409,000 — almost double that of the former figure. The Estonian population increased between 1970 and 1979 by 2.3%, whereas the number of Russians increased by 22.1% in this period. On the basis of the latest statistics, the population of Estonia is composed as following: 64.7% Estonians, 27.9% Russians, 2.5% Ukrainians, and 4.9% other nationalities.

Estonians are very much troubled that the tragic fate of the Latvians should not also become their fate. Latvians already constitute a minority of the population, when compared with the Russian population, in their own capital of Riga.

The article further points out that the Estonians have managed to preserve their way of life, which has traditional Scandinavian roots and is far from the Russian Communist lifestyle. Concurrently, Estonia is the direct target of Russian pressures, in the form of the Russian army and naval fleet. The families of Russian officers, stationed in Estonia, are coming by the thousands from Russia to live in the defence bases located throughout Estonia,

thereby altering the ethnic make-up of the country. Another reason for this lies in the fact that Estonia is considered to be culturally in Western Europe, where life is more pleasant, from which Russians also want to benefit. To all of this, one must add the Russian-led campaign against Estonian nationalism, or, in fact, against Estonian national consciousness and identity. In one word, Moscow is determined to uproot a nation with a long historical tradition of statehood.

The colonization and russification of the various subjugated nations in the USSR is being carried out at an ever-increasing pace, so that in the future there will no longer be any need for the so-called national republics in the USSR, since there will be a hodge-podge of various ethnic groups. Thereby the insane doctrine of the “merging” of nations is being realized, which in practice means the national death of the subjugated nations. This national death, however, does not pertain to the Russians. They are an exception. Their numbers are increasing yearly through this brutal policy of Russification.

**Igor  
Shankovsky**

### **SYMONENKO**

**a study in  
semantics**

1977

UKRAINISCHES INSTITUT FÜR  
BILDUNGSPOLITIK — MÜNCHEN  
e.V.

## **Estonian War of Independence 1918—1920<sup>1</sup>**

### **External and internal political situation of Estonia**

During the German occupation, an Estonian foreign delegation was active in Western Europe and Scandinavia, the foremost task of which lay in obtaining recognition of and support for Estonian independence by the Allied Powers. As a result of the work of the foreign delegation, England, France and Italy, in May 1918, recognized de facto the Estonian National Council as the supreme power in Estonia, pending the assembly of the General Peace Conference where the question of the recognition of the independence of Estonia had to be finally decided. By the autumn of 1918, Estonian diplomatic relations with the more important Western European countries were recognized. Relations were lacking only with the Reds. Representatives of the White Russians were working towards securing from the Allied Powers co-operation in the reconstruction of a unified indivisible Russia", and were unwilling even to hear of the independence of Estonia, while the Bolsheviks were making preparations for a military onslaught. Against the first enemy, a diplomatic fight was in progress, and against the second, military operations were started by the Estonian Provisional Government after the attack on Estonia by Soviet-Russia.

The Estonian provisional government met in Tallinn on November 11, 1918, the day of Germany's capitulation and once more proclaimed the independence of Estonia. The German troops were evacuated but the country was left wide open for the Communist troops. Two days later, on November 13, 1918, the Soviet-Russian government declared the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk null and void. On November 28, the Red Army took Narva and started the

invasion of Estonia, which was denuded of all arms by the retreating Germans.

A war with Russia ensued which lasted for fourteen months.

### **Creation of the Estonian Defence Forces**

As the first armed force, the Estonian Defence League placed itself at the disposal of the Estonian Provisional Government with Konstantin Päts as Prime Minister on November 11, 1918. The Estonian Defence League was a voluntary armed organization composed of citizens and led by officers. The League was organized in secret by the officers of the Estonian national military units during the German occupation. The government ordered general mobilization. In support of the infantry a number of armoured trains were organized, and for the protection of the capital, Tallinn, from the sea, plans had to be made for the organization of coastal defences and the creation of naval forces.

The position was very difficult as regards supplies for the army and armaments. Approaches were made to Great Britain and Finland for military assistance and war supplies.

Finland sent guns and rifles, while on December 12, a British naval squadron under Rear Admiral E. A. Sinclair arrived in Tallinn and put ashore 1,000 light machine guns. On December 23, Colonel Johan Laidoner was appointed commander-in-chief of the Estonian forces. A few days later Admiral Sinclair handed over to him two Soviet-Russian destroyers captured near Tallinn.<sup>2</sup>

In the Estonian victory over the Soviet-Russian colossus and in securing independence, British help played a major role.

The British Navy came at the request of Estonia to the Finnish Sea and secured the Estonian mainland against the Russians, keeping the waterways open for the transportation of military equipment. The military equipment was not given free to Estonia, but as a loan which the Estonian Republic later repaid in yearly instalments. In addition, Finland and the whole of Scandinavia were of great help. Finland sent about 3.000 volunteers, all trained troops; Denmark and Sweden sent several hundred men. This was, of course a relatively small number, but they helped to make it possible to resist the Bolsheviks in the early stages. Later it became possible to carry out general mobilization and to equip three divisions. For this help Estonia will always remain thankful to the British and to the Scandinavians.<sup>3</sup>

### **Invasion of Estonia by the Red Army**

The attack of the Reds commenced on November 28, 1918, but was repulsed by the defenders.

The Soviet-Russian seventh Army directed its main blow for the conquest of Estonia, supported by the Fleet, in the Narva-Tallinn direction, with a subsidiary attack from the South by Lake Pihkva, Voru-Tartu and Voru-Valga-Viljandi. In the beginning of December, the sixth enemy Division resumed the attack with its main forces in the general direction of the Narva-Tallinn railway line and pushed forward. Rakvere fell on December 15, Tapa on the 24th. On January 2, 1919, the front was only about 40 kilometres from Tallinn.

Disregarding the setback on the fronts, the organizing of the Army and the obtaining of supplies was carried on, new units being formed. The most active and conscientious voluntary forces to stand up against the enemy in the first instance had been the officers and schoolboys.

### **Counter-offensive by the Estonian forces**

On January 2, 1919, Laidoner started a counter-offensive helped by 2.000 Finnish volunteers.

Between January 2 and 7, breaking point was reached in the war of Liberation. The victories which turned the tide in the War of Liberation created favourable conditions for a general counter-offensive. An attack was launched on the front of the 1st Division on January 7, supported by landing parties on the North Estonian coast under screen of fire from destroyers "Lembit" and "Lennuk". Tapa was taken by armoured trains on January 9. Narva was taken on January 19. Tartu was taken by an unexpected blow delivered by the armoured trains and Kuperjanov partisans on January 14. Valga was taken on February 1, Petseri on February 4.

On February 24, 1919, the first anniversary of the republic, Laidoner was able to report that the invaders had been driven out of national territory.

### **Carrying the offensive into Soviet-Russian territory**

General J. Laidoner decided on the plan of carrying the war into the enemy's territory as early as the end of January 1919. The object of this was to carry on a war of active defence to enable our neighbours, the Latvians, Ingermanlanders and Russians, to become organized on their own soil for the fight with the Reds, which would also assist the defence of our own frontiers. A favourable opportunity for an attack presented itself in May 1919.

The Red Armies had suffered heavy losses in their attack against Estonia in the Winter and Spring of 1919.

The enemy counter-attack commenced on February 16. On February 28, the Estonian forces were compelled to abandon



Marienburg and to withdraw to the line Riia-Pihkva road. On March 29, the Estonian forces again were advancing up to Marienburg. In May 1919, the last two Battalions of Finnish Volunteers left Estonia.

On April 17, the enemy commenced a fierce attack for the possession of Voru, but counter-attacking later pushed back the enemy from Voru on the Southern front.

The Red Army were unable to make good their losses, because Russia was engaged in civil war.

For political reasons, the Estonian commander-in-chief decided to leave the initiative for the attack in the Spring of 1919 to the White Russian Northern Corps, which was under his command.

The Northern Corps, after its retreat from Pihkva in December 1918, continued its re-organization on Estonian territory and at Estonian expense. The Command of the Northern Corps was composed of Russian and Baltic Germans, who did not accept the idea of an independent Estonia, for which reason the Estonian High Com-

mand had some difficulty in cooperating with them.

During April 1919 the Corps was transferred to the Viru front, between Narva and Peipsi, for an attack on Petrograd.

The attack of the Northern Corps was launched on May 13, supported by the Estonian Army. From the sea the attack was supported by a British Squadron under Admiral Sir W. Cowan, and the Estonian Fleet, under Captain J. Pitka. The enemy retreated in disorder.

On the southern front, Pihkva was occupied on May 26.

Regardless of the pressure from the German-Russian monarchists, the Baltic governments refused to have any part in the war against Soviet-Russia, with which they were engaged in a defensive war only, and defeated and threw out of their territories all interventionist groups, such as those of Count von Keller, General Yudenitch, Virgoulitch, Bulka-Balachovitch, Bermond, von der Goltz, etc.<sup>4</sup> →

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### Young Estonians demonstrate in Tartu

According to information from occupied Estonia, school students in Tartu demonstrated on St. Mary's cemetery on Christmas Eve. The grave of Lulus Kuperjanov, a hero of the Estonian war of independence (1919—1920), was full of burning candles. Several hundred youngsters assembled around the grave shouting, "Long live Estonia!", "Free Estonia from foreign occupation!" and singing patriotic songs that are officially banned. Candles were also burning on other graves of soldiers killed in the war of independence.

After the demonstration on the cemetery which lasted about one hour, the students marched to the downtown square in front of the city hall where they again called for the liberation of Estonia from occupation. While the KGB agents did not take action against the youngsters on the cemetery (they stand there as guards of honor, the students cried), a militia bus soon arrived at the city hall. The young demonstrators were dispersed and some were arrested and interrogated but dismissed later.

## War against the Landeswehr

The war, however, continued because of new Communist offensives and also because of the need to help Latvia in its two-front fight against the Red Army and a German force commanded by Rüdiger von der Goltz. In their march against Estonia the Germans were beaten (June 21—23, 1919) and pursued to the gates of Riga, where an armistice was signed.<sup>5</sup>

According to the Armistice conditions between the Allies and Germany, the German armies were to remain in the Baltic provinces, for their defence against the Bolsheviks, as long as required by the Allies. In the Spring of 1919, the Germans overthrew, on April 16, the Provisional Latvian Government under Ulmanis, which was friendly to the Allies, and brought into power the Government of Needra.

As a result of the May offensive the Bolsheviks were obliged to evacuate Riga, which was occupied by Germans from Courland. The Estonians, after clearing Northern Latvia of Bolsheviks, met the Germans in the vicinity of Riga. A conflict between them ensued immediately. The Germans commenced military operations.

On the demand of General Gough, the Chief of the Allied Mission, an Armistice was concluded on June 10.

The Germans broke the Armistice on June 20, in the hope of overcoming the Estonians by force. On June 21, the Landeswehr again attacked. Near Vonnu it broke through the front line. To liquidate the break-through at Vonnu the Estonian Commander-in-Chief ordered a counter-attack on June 21. On June 23, the town of Vonnu was captured. The Germans were pursued on the whole front. On June 25, the Estonian troops reached the outskirts of Riga. The Estonian troops had won a victory, putting an end to the German rule over the Baltic region. General Gough, on July 3, again intervened, proposing an Armistice under the following conditions:

The Ulmanis Government be restored in Riga and the Germans evacuate Courland in the immediate future.

Finally, after the peace Conference, he sent (on September 27) a fourth note demanding that von der Goltz should evacuate the country. The Germans attacked Riga, and pressed the badly armed Latvians from the southern shore of the Dvina.

## 7. General considerations

In the Estonian War of Independence, foreign assistance from Finland was important. There were Finnish volunteers and also volunteers from Sweden and Denmark.

The Bolsheviks were able to draw fresh reserves to the Estonian front.

In Narva, half the town was reduced to ruins by the heavy Soviet-Russian bombardment. After difficult fighting — the Estonians being outnumbered by five to one — the attack was beaten back by the middle of May.

Out of thirty-five regiments of Bolshevik troops, twenty five were entirely Russian, six Latvian, the other four consisting partially of Estonians, who had been forcibly conscripted during the temporary occupation of the Bolsheviks.

Toward the end of the war, the Soviet-Russians had two armies with a total of 160.000 men on the Estonian front.

At the end of the war Estonia had under arms: 86.000 men in the army and 119.000 men in the Defence League.

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<sup>1</sup> Excerpt from Summary, Estonian war of Liberation 1918—1920, Historical Committee of the war of Liberation, Tallinn 1937, reprint New York 1968.

<sup>2</sup> Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 8, London 1973, p. 736.

<sup>3</sup> Ast, K., Estonia's Struggle for Independence, The Baltic Review No. 13, New York 1958.

<sup>4</sup> Bildmanis, Dr. Alfred, Baltic States and World Peace and Security Organization, Washington 1945, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 8, London 1973, p. 736.

## ABN: Idea and Action

*And the giant will rise from earth  
Will spread out his threatening arms  
And will instantly break upon  
himself  
All iron fetters*

*Lesya Ukrainka (1913)*

“Human history”, said H. G. Wells, “is in essence a history of ideas”. ABN stands for the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the fundamental idea of this international organization is the destruction of Russian imperio-colonialism, absolutely needed to liberate the subjugated nations which became its victims and to establish their sovereignty and independence. In the ABN doctrine, Russian Bolshevism is the culmination of the centuries-long history of continuous Russian imperialist aggression for the domination and colonial control and exploitation of neighbouring non-Russian nations. Since Prince Ivan Kalita (1328—1340), the rulers of Moscow have been constant aggressors. With patience, skill, fraud and without advanced technology, they built an enormous and unique empire. Their successors, the German-born emperors of St. Petersburg continued their work and employed substantially the same techniques. Russian bolshevism was not only a genetic development of conquests, predations, assimilation and exploitation inherited from the Russian Tsars and Emperors. As a result, out of the last 200 years of Russian history, 128 years were devoted to wars of aggression, and only four and a half passed in wars of defense. The remainder were wars, which Russia lost.

Another result of the continuous Russian imperialist drive was an incomparable expansion of the Russian domain. What in 1300 was a small Grand Duchy of Muscovy with 18,500 sq. mi. of territory, increased

to one-sixth of the world in the form of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with 8,650,000 sq. mi. of territory. The historians addicted to statistics tell us that at the same time the Empire increased by 300 subjects daily. One of the consequences of the absorption of ever new non-Russian elements into the Empire, was the fact that it, finally, was ruled by a Russian ruling clique. Without any regard to treaties, as, e. g., the Pereyaslav Treaty with Ukraine in 1654, the Russian ruling clique treated the conquered territories as Russian colonies, stamping out of what remained of their freedoms and establishing a ruthless system of their economic exploitation and cultural assimilation. In this manner, out of this Russian expansion into non-Russian lands, a veritable “prison of nations” emerged in which the Russian racial minority ruled over a majority of non-Russians. According to the Russian imperial census of 1897, there were 44.3% Russians as against 55.7% non-Russians in the population of the Russian Empire in that year.

Lenin was conscious of the heterogeneity of the Russian Empire and repeatedly stressed it in his writings. However, it was Lenin who, having established his power in Russia in 1917, started immediately the “holy” wars for the reintegration of the lost Russian colonial empire. In the Revolution of 1917, this empire completely disintegrated into its national components. The colonial war of Russian Bolsheviks against Ukraine (1917—1920) was the first war in this series and it marked the beginning of the new phase of Russian imperio-colonialism. In this war, Ukraine and its population served the Russian Bolsheviks as a gigantic laboratory in which the methods of future colonial conquests were worked out. The methods

which Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin adopted to master Ukraine, have since the end of World War II been employed successfully in many countries of Europe and Asia (as, e. g., in Afghanistan today) and many European, Asian and African peoples met the same fate as did the Ukrainians in those years. History is indeed repeating itself and it can be said from the viewpoint of present Soviet-Russian conquests, that the history of "Sovietization" of Ukraine in 1917—1920 should call for a never-ending interest of the intelligent reader everywhere in the world.

The history of the Russian imperialist expansion is undoubtedly a major episode of human history, but this episode has not been completed as yet. Today again, as in the past, Russian imperio-colonialism is on the march. Confident of its new-found nuclear power and advanced technology and combining traditional imperialist expansion with Communist ideology, the rulers of Moscow are again searching for new colonial territories. Since 1945, their direct or indirect conquests in Europe, Asia and Africa have been innumerable. The list of their victims is long. Plans to conquer new areas by the use of fifth columns, agents trained in Moscow, propaganda and economic, political, diplomatic, and if necessary, by military pressure, have constantly been elaborated and the plans of the last imperialist power on earth have been carried out, sometimes directly, sometimes by proxy. At the same time, since the late 1950's, the Soviet Union has been engaged in a massive military buildup, both in nuclear and conventional forces. Many in the West tend to dismiss the vision of nuclear war as unthinkable (what the Russians do not), but the vision of Soviet-Russian political dictate backed by overwhelming nuclear and conventional forces is quite a possibility and it is already visible in the Persian Gulf area where the Soviet Union moved rapidly and effectively

(Afghanistan, Yemen) in the belief that the conquest of Iran would permit them to bring Europe, Japan, Israel and the Arab world to their knees because the United States would not have the effective military power to oppose it. The essential question arises: How did this threat come to be what it is?

Kremlin strategists find it useful to wear a mask of Communism and to spout out what they label as Marxist propaganda, when in fact they are cold-bloodedly pursuing the paths of world empire. As we pointed out, the roots of Soviet-Russian imperio-colonialism rest deep in the background developed by the imperio-colonialism of the Russian tsars. Nicholas Berdyaev, a Russian philosopher gave a warning: "It is particularly important for Western minds to understand the Russian national roots of Russian Communism and the fact that it was Russian history which determined its limits and shaped its character. A knowledge of Marxism will not help in this". Nevertheless, many in the West who believe in Communism think of Russian imperio-colonialism as a sort of Communist Mecca and others who oppose Communism think that the real enemy is "international Communism". "Big media" in the United States supports the myth of Communism and forgets about Russification, Russian genocide, Russian mystical messianism, the Russian police state and Russian Gulag Archipelago.

It must be said that the Russian imperio-colonialists continually attempted to use ideological cloaks in their expansion in order to find supporters in neighbouring countries, which they planned to conquer. So the slogan of "gather-of all lands of Ruce" (Kyivan Rus' was called in England "Ruce") helped them to conquer Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands of Ruce. The doctrine of the Third Orthodox Rome found them supporters of national rights on the Balkans and among the Orthodox people in

Turkey. The doctrine of Pan-Slavism helped them to "liberate" the Slavic peoples of Austro-Hungary and of the Ottoman Sultanate. At present, the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, which is also a smoke screen for Russian world domination, helps them to build fifth columns and conspiracies to spread ideological bluffs and to incite class struggles or "national liberation struggles" in the entire world.

The world's masters in empire-building continue to reap enormous successes from the ignorance, dullness and consequent inconsistency of the West in dealing with

them. Paradoxically enough, it was Karl Marx who recognized a century ago the same problem and wrote in the "New York Tribune" that "Russian diplomatic supremacy owes its efficiency to the imbecility and timidity of the Western nations". However, the words of Admiral William H. Standley, the former US Ambassador to Moscow, are proof that the Americans are able to recognize the true nature of the present Russian imperio-colonialism. In his book: "Admiral Ambassador to Russia" (Chicago 1955, p. 508), Admiral Standley wrote: "Over the ancient skeleton of Rus-

## **СВОБОДА НАРОДАМ И ЧЕЛОВЕКУ!**

### **ЛИТОВЦЫ, ЛАТЫШИ, ЭСТОНЦЫ!**

**ПАМЯННО ПРИВЕТСТВУЕМ ВАШУ ГЕРОИЧЕСКУЮ БОРЬБУ ЗА СВОЕ ОСВОБОЖДЕНИЕ ПРОТИВ РУССКО-БОЛЬШЕВИСТСКИХ ОККУПАНТОВ! В УКРАИНЕ ТАКЖЕ ВЕДЕТСЯ УПОРНАЯ ОСВОБОДИТЕЛЬНАЯ БОРЬБА.**

**УКРЕПЛЯЙТЕ СВЯЗИ С УКРАИНСКИМ ОСВОБОДИТЕЛЬНЫМ ДВИЖЕНИЕМ!**

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**УКРАИНСКИЕ ПОВСТАНЦЫ.**

*FREEDOM FOR NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS!  
LITHUANIANS, LATVIANS, ESTONIANS!*

*We send our warm greetings to your heroic liberation struggle against the Russian-bolshevik colonizers. A determined liberation struggle is also being waged in Ukraine.*

*Strengthen your ties with the Ukrainian liberation movement!*

*In a common front let us expand our offensive against our common enemy!*

*Long live the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations!*

*We call upon you to respond likewise to our appeal!*

**UKRAINIAN INSURGENTS**

**(LEAFLET DISTRIBUTED IN THE 1950's IN THE BALTIC NATIONS)**

sian imperialism, Lenin and Stalin threw a cloak of Communist ideology, but the bones show through. Even as in Czarist times, when the Russian bear stands on his hind feet with its front paws held up as in prayer, we must beware of the Bear that walks like a Man!"

In its basic essence, ABN represents the ideas of national and personal freedoms of the nations enslaved by the Russian imperio-colonial complex, and organizes the common struggle of those nations for liberation and for the establishment of sovereign and independent nations of the subjugated peoples on the ruins of the Russian colonial empire. The ABN struggle sharpens the contrast between the ideas of national and personal freedom in a sovereign independent state and those of imperio-colonialist domination and totalitarian control. ABN follows its battle-slogan: "Freedom for Nations. Freedom for individuals!" The mythical contest between Communism and Capitalist Imperialism does not concern the followers of ABN because they know that the contest is between Russian imperio-colonialism versus national independence and personal liberty. They know that it is the totalitarian Russian imperio-colonialism which is against all freedoms, against national self-determination and personal liberty, against national, religious and human rights. If in Hungary in 1956, the Hungarian patriots scrawled on the buildings the slogan: "Russians, go home", it gave evidence that they considered the Russian officers and soldiers as representatives of an occupation army which should leave their country, as military occupation is inconsistent with freedom and independence. The Hungarians also showed that they recognized that the real enemy was Russian imperio-colonialism, as it had been in their history in 1849.

ABN was established at the first Conference of the Subjugated Nations, which took place on November 21—22, 1943, on the territory of Ukraine where the Ukrain-

ian Insurgent Army (UPA) was the dominant force. At that time, parts of northern and eastern Volhynia were almost entirely under the control of UPA, and the Nazi occupational power was limited to large cities and some towns. The roads in the UPA-controlled terrain could be used only by large convoys, as was indicated by large posters: "Beware of partisans. Road passable only in convoys."

As early as July 1, 1943, the Nazis started their biggest operation against the UPA in Volhynia. It was meant as a retaliation for the killing of SA Fuhrer Lutze by Ukrainian insurgents. Large security forces were assembled and put under the command of Himmler's Special Plenipotentiary for Combatting Bands, Obergruppenführer and General-Lieutenant der Polizei, Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, later notorious for his combatting of the Warsaw uprisings. HSS u. Polizeiführer in Reichskommissariat Ukraine, Obergruppenführer and General-Lieutenant der Polizei Hans Prutzmann and all his forces were subordinated to Gen. von dem Bach.

The operation against the UPA lasted for three months (July 1 — Sept. 30). Air force and armoured trains bombed and strafed even the people working on the fields, motorized columns penetrated villages and towns, and the victors burned churches filled with priests and peoples. Those who remained alive were sent to Germany to forced labour camps. However, this action did not weaken the fighting strength of the UPA, but rather tended to drive civilian population to rise up in arms. Before the Gen. von dem Bach operation, the UPA in Volhynia amounted to some 10,000 fighters. In the action, the civilian population lost 5,000 people, the UPA some 2,500 fighters, but on Oct. 15, 1943, there were 20,000 fighters in the UPA. Even if some UPA units were broken up or scattered and supplies and equipment was lost, the units which in most in all "selected" cases of combatting "bands"

pletion of the operation and the withdrawal of the Nazi units, reassembled and strengthened their positions with new supplies and reinforcements.

One of the chief reasons why Gen. von dem Bach's operation against the UPA failed to arrest the growth of the UPA and to pacify the Volhynian countryside, was the low combat capabilities of the Nazi troops used in the action. In October 1942, in connection with the increase of partisan warfare in Byelorussia, Himmler appointed Gen. von dem Bach to a post of a special plenipotentiary for combatting "bands" in the rear area of the German front in the East. Initially, Himmler planned that Gen. von dem Bach would take over the combatting "bands" in the entire rear area from the Baltic to the Black Sea. However, Gen. von dem Bach convinced Himmler that it was an impossible task to centralize such a wide area of combat in the hands of one man and that his staff could be able to act only in selected cases. Gen. von dem Bach got from Himmler Gen. Rhode as his deputy and Col. Goltz as his Chief-of-Staff. All three were active in all "selected" cases of combatting "bands" in Byelorussia, Ukraine (Volhynia) and Poland (Warsaw uprisings). All three ended their meritorious service with Himmler as "war criminals" but none of them was put on the war criminals trial for their abominable crimes in Ukraine.

As for troops which could be used in "combatting of bands", there was a real scarcity. German troops were tied to the lines of communication and, besides, they were older in age and insufficiently trained. They were afraid to enter forests. Having

no German troops, all that Gen. von dem Bach could use were battalions of Eastern volunteers ("Hilfswillige" — "Hiwis"), composed of Red Army prisoners of war, and other indigenous troops as, e. g., the Polish police brought by Gen. von dem Bach from General Government (Poland). But the Eastern volunteers had little combatant value in the struggle against the UPA but refused to surrender either. They were afraid that if they surrendered, they would be shot. The UPA answered by printing leaflets, always in the language of the volunteers (Georgian and Armenian leaflets were printed in Odessa where the printing shops had the necessary type styles) and soon the UPA had legions of Eastern volunteers on its side. In November 1943, the UPA had within its ranks: one Uzbek battalion, one Azerbaijanian battalion, two Cossack, one Tatar mounted MG company, two Georgian companies, one composite granade-thrower company, many Armenians, Byelorussians, North Caucasians, Turkmen. Taking this multinational composition of the UPA under consideration, the UPA HQ, then under Lt. Col. Roman Shukhevych and his Deputy, Rostyslav Voloshyn, took the initiative for the organization of the First Conference of the Subjugated Nations in which 39 representatives of enslaved nations participated: (Ukrainians 5, Georgians 6, Armenians 4, Ossetinians 2, Kazakhs 1, Kabardinians 1, Tatars 4, Chuvashes 1, Bashkirs 1, Byelorussians 2, Uzbeks 5, Azerbaijanians 6, Cherkesses 1). On the second day of the Conference, a Nazi unit happened to pass in the vicinity and all participants of the Conference together

## GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

by

**Prof. Vasyl Pliushch**

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

with the UPA unit which served for the Conference's protection, went into battle and dispersed the Nazis. After this incident, the deliberations of the First Conference of the Subjugated Nations were ended and correspondent resolutions were approved.

Thus the fundamental idea of the ABN, i.e., the idea of the united struggle of all the nations under the yoke of the Russian imperio-colonialism for their liberation and for the regaining of their independence was conceived in 1943 on the battlefield of Ukraine during the common war of the representatives of different non-Russian nationalities against both Communist Russia and Nazi Germany. In the history of Ukraine, it was not the first time that the Ukrainians enlisted the support of other non-Russian peoples in their struggle against the Russian imperio-colonialism. In 1711, after the battle of Poltava, in 1709 when the Swedish King — Charles XII and the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa had been defeated, Mazepa's successor, Hetman Philip Orlyk, dispatched his Adjutant-General Hryhor Hertsyk to the Crimea to conclude a working alliance against Moscow of Ukraine, Zaporozhian Kozaks (then on the Tatar territory in Oleshky), the Crimean Tatars, the Don Cossacks under Ottoman Nekrasov and of Yaik (Ural) Cossacks. Hertsyk succeeded in his task but Turkey's war against Russia ended with the treason of the Grand Vezir on the Prut River, where, after being bribed by Tsar Peter I, he let the Russian army escape from encirclement and annihilation. Tsar Peter I could never forget Hertsyk's achievement and ordered his kidnapping on Warsaw's streets in 1721. It was the second kidnapping of a Mazepist diplomat after the kidnapping of Col. Andriy Voinarovsky on the streets of Hamburg in 1716.

The second case when the Ukrainians tried to enlist the support of other non-

Russian nationalities as well as to organize them for a common struggle against Moscow, was the convocation of the Congress of Nationalities in Kyiv in September of 1917. Representatives of all non-Russian nationalities of the former Russian Empire took part in the Congress, whose deliberations lasted for a week. However, this Congress had no practical results because its federalist platform was annulled by Lenin himself who made a proclamation to the "peoples of Russia" and to the "Moslems of Russia" and the East in which he acknowledged the right of self-determination "even including secession", and the creation of independent states. The pledge was, of course, no more than a strategic move during the ensuing Civil War, but it prominently helped Lenin to win this war.

Said Victor Hugo: Nothing in this world is so powerful as an idea whose time has come. The ABN idea had come in 1943 just in time. Today, after 36 years, it is clearly visible how realistic and farsighted the participants of the First Conference were. The Executive Committee of the First Conference appealed to the subjugated nations to join forces in the struggle against Russian imperialism and today the ABN is not only a powerful international organization, quite unique from the point of view of its longevity (there are no international organizations of subjugated nations that has a longer active existence than ABN) as well as from the point of view of its actions inside and outside the USSR which repeatedly justify the idea of ABN, as the only realistic road to liberation. Thus, ABN is not only an organizational international structure but also a concept and a strategy of a common liberation front that alone is able to lead to the final goal — the liberation of the subjugated nations enslaved by Russian imperio-colonialism and the establishment of the sovereignty and independence of the subjugated nations in the Russian-dominated parts of



Eastern Europe and Northern and Central Asia.

The Executive Committee elected by the First Conference of the subjugated nations appealed also to the Western Allies not to support the Soviet Union in her struggle against the subjugated nations but rather to support the subjugated nations in their struggle against Russian imperio-colonialism. It was pointed out in the appeal that only a victory over both imperialist aggressors, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, would assure a just and lasting peace in the world. Today, after 36 years, we know how correct the Executive Committee of the First Conference was in its assumptions. Had its appeals not fallen on deaf ears, as they had, the world would not have been now paralyzed from fear of the imminent danger of a nuclear holocaust, but rather freedom and democracy would have prevailed in the world. We must also say that the ABN warned the West repeatedly about the true aims of Russian imperio-colonialism, but to no avail. How sad it is that the West had always been day-dreaming about its "gallant ally", as it is day-dreaming now about SALT I & II and detente. What else is meant under the policy of detente in Moscow than directing a worldwide paramilitary offensive by proxy (Vietnam, Cuba) against the United States, inciting "national liberation wars" and revolutions in Asia, Africa and the Americas. We have not only a Red Star over Cuba, but we witnessed recently the Russian assault on the Western Hemisphere, the seizure of Nicaragua and of the strategically important islands in the Caribbean, or the Russian threat to Panama. One wonders at whatever happened to the Monroe Doctrine, but, in fact, what we have seen in the past 5 years (after Vietnam) in the international arena is a foretaste of what it will be like in the face of further American retreat: not a more diverse and independent world, but one increasingly accessible to Soviet Rus-

sian influence and control with all the consequences of such a development. Writing in "Commentary" (October 1979), Francis Fukuyama of Harvard University calls such a process "self-Finlandization" of the United States. As we have said before, the question arises: What is it that has caused such a state of affairs? Who is responsible for it?

The members of the ABN who belong to the Eastern European nations, which have fought for freedom and independence for their motherlands since the Revolution and who, at present, increasingly attack Moscow under the ABN banners: Freedom for Nations, Freedom for Individuals, are not pessimists. They do not hold Moscow for an invincible superpower, nor do they fear it. We, Ukrainians, have an invaluable experience in fighting against the victors over Hitler's war machine. The Red Army captured Berlin, Hitler and Goebbels committed suicide, Goering evaded hanging by poisoning himself, but in Ukraine every bush burst with shooting at the victors. "After the war", complained Khrushchev ("Khrushchev Remembers" pp. 140—141), "we lost thousands of men in a bitter struggle between the Ukrainian nationalists and the forces of Soviet Power" (Edward Crankshaw adds in the note: "it took a large-scale military and police operations with all the paraphernalia of tanks, aircraft and heavy artillery to break up the rebel forces...") In these years of "peace" the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) continued the struggle, although it was not very numerous and was badly supplied with arms and ammunition, clothing, medicines, etc. Its resistance according to a CIA expert, Harry Rositzkie, lasted to the fall of 1953 (i.e. for 8 years after the conclusion of war), when a Soviet-Russian motorized regiment carried out a military action against the UPA. The UPA had the full support of the Ukrainian population and felt quite comfortable in its

underground bunkers, but it had to cease resisting because of almost total lack of ammunitions and because of betrayal of UPA concentrations by the notorious British traitor H.A.R. (Kim) Philby (he boasts of this feat in his memoirs). It must be added that a multinational army is never able to win difficult wars. In World War I, the multinational armies — Imperial Russian (Tsarist) and Austro-Hungarian armies disintegrated into its component national parts: the same fate awaited the multinational Red Army in 1941, when in the first 6 months of war, 3,600,000 officers and soldiers of the Red Army surrendered to the Germans, some even did not exhibit any pretence of fighting. It was Hitler who by his "Lebensraum" policies in Eastern Europe by his "Untermensch" concept, by his extreme cruelty and maltreatment of prisoners of war, by his mass shootings and terrorization of the civilian population, decidedly contributed to the regeneration of the Red army and to the stiffening of its resistance. Yet, at the end of the war there were still 1 million former Red Army prisoners of war, who fought the Red Army in German uniform. The annals of war history do not know another case similar to that. Obviously, these soldiers in German uniform considered Hitler a criminal but must have considered Stalin a greater criminal than Hitler.

In the present situation which constitutes a great threat to the United States because the latter allowed the Soviet Union to catch up and to overtake the United States in nuclear and conventional armaments, the ABN completed 36 years and began the 37th year of its existence. It represents the working alliance of 23 European and Asian nations. In 36 years of its existence, the ABN gained worldwide importance. The World Anti-Communist League (WACL) with a membership of 75 nations and 25 international organizations

accepted not only the ABN into its membership but also introduced the basic ideas of the ABN into its constitution. These ideas are: 1) Disintegration and decolonization of the Soviet Russian colonial empire; 2) Re-establishment of sovereignty and independence of the nations enslaved by Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism; 3) Permanent representation of the ABN members on the WACL Executive Board. The European Freedom Council also introduced the principles of the ABN into its charter. The principles of the ABN are clear and invariable.

ABN is not an emigre organization of national communities in exile. ABN continues its struggle in and outside the Soviet-Russian concentration camps and receives frequent appeals from the patriots in Ukraine to wage the liberation struggle in a common front. They do it in Ukraine themselves. Recently, representatives of 5 nationalities (Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Georgians, Lithuanians) established an international liberation organization in a Perm camp. In another camp, Ukrainians and Armenians organized a "solidarity bloc" which was joined later by the Georgians. In Estonia, a Ukrainian who was forced to live in Estonia, joined the Estonian Liberation Committee, was arrested, tried and sentenced to several years of incarceration for doing just that. We can continue our list of joint actions which justify the ideas of the ABN and are the only realistic ways of the revolutionary liberation struggle in the USSR. Such actions cannot be ordered from the outside; they represent the revolutionary changes in the human mind and consequent free decisions of the person who has to live in a society dichotomized by the contradictions of the political, moral, national, economic and religious nature.

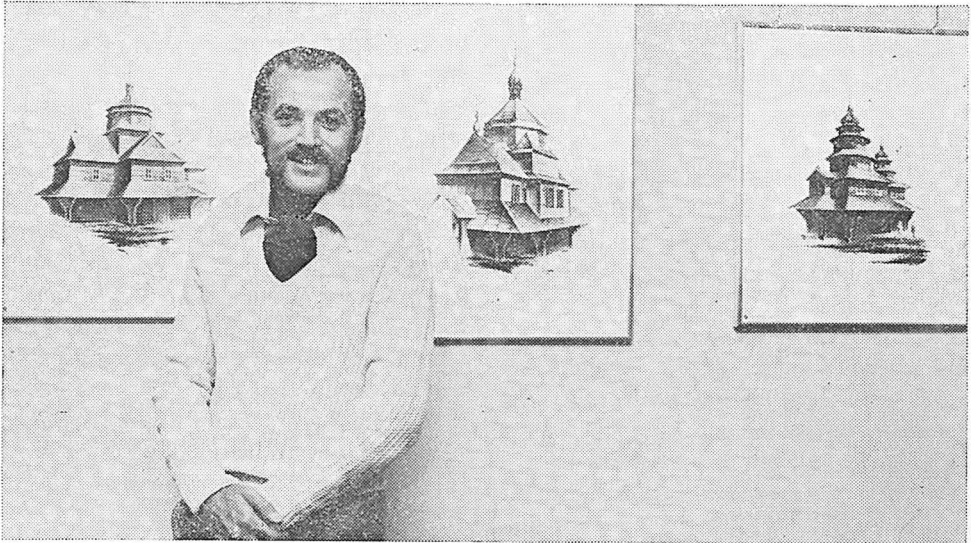
The struggle against imperio-colonialism envisions also the struggle against the imperialists and their henchmen. The motiva-

tion of such a struggle sometimes eludes us. We shall never know what motivated M. Braychevsky to write his essay on "Annexation or Reunification" which destroyed his career as a prominent archeologist and historian in the Ukr. SSR. Yet, this essay, considered highly controversial by the Soviet-Russian regime, had been written and published in "samvydav". Its source was a contradiction between historical truth and "Soviet" falsification of history, which was not tolerated by this scholar without regard as to consequences.

The hearts and minds of the revolutionaries must be prepared for "metanoia", a change of mind and mentality which may produce the courage to do the right thing at the right time. The ABN believes in "metanoia" of the people and of the nations. The West lost its attraction when it showed its inability of "metanoia", when it renounced and trampled on its ideals, its mission, its faith in the greatness of its culture, spiritual tradition and civilization, when it lost its self-confidence and self-respect. "Better red than dead" is the decadent motto of the hedonists of the West who are motivated by the extreme

fear of the nuclear holocaust. Such people would denigrate the ideals of patriotism, the idea of religion, heroic outlook on life, Christianity. One must believe in something, one must know what to live for and what to die for. It is the only way to the ideological victory over the threatening enemy and such ideological victory is a matter of life and death for the West.

The West must prepare itself for "metanoia", a change of mind and mentality. If this is achieved, a right thing will be done at the right time, and all wrongdoings will be left for the Politburo in Moscow. A slave state cannot prevail over a free state. It is necessary only to do away with different mythologies pronounced by Moscow and give way to the truths of Soviet-Russian imperio-colonialism which is no riddle, and no mystery, and no enigma. It is just a tyrannical colonial empire and we must disseminate the truth about this empire in the interest of our liberation policy. There is a tremendous amount of work done in this area by the educational activities of the ABN, but the devices in this area are endless and the work must be continued on all appropriate occasions.



*Mr. Winnik at his art exhibition, with several drawings of Ukrainian Churches hanging in the background.*

## The Murder of Croats in Germany

It is a known fact that Yugoslav agents are carrying out a series of assassinations of Croatian nationalists in Germany. The German daily "Die Welt" published an article about this, entitled "Does the Murderous Weapon come from the Belgrade Arsenal?" In this article it is stated that among Croatian circles in Germany there is a great deal of trepidation, especially among 50 more prominent Croats, who are constantly under the surveillance of the Yugoslav intelligence agency. On January 13, 1980, Mr. Milevich was murdered in a parking lot in Frankfurt. This murder was carried out nearby Mr. Milevich's home. This is already the 38th Croat murdered on the territory of Germany since 1967.

An interesting note is that in 17 of the murders the same weapon was used — a 7.65 mm revolver. However, other weapons were also used — a small revolver with a

silencing device, so that the gunshot cannot be heard. Such a weapon could have been devised in the headquarters of the Yugoslav secret service. Such a weapon is convenient, since murder can be carried out without fear of attracting the attention of witnesses.

Croatian statehood has traditional historical roots. In the Xth century, Croatia became a kingdom (924). She was invaded by Constantinople and France. Croats, as Roman Catholics, recognized Rome as their religious centre. In 1102, Croatia entered into a union with Hungary. After the battle at Mohach in 1526, a section of Croatia became part of Austria. In 1779, Croatia became totally integrated within Hungary. And in 1918, this nation became a part of Yugoslavia against its will.

During World War II, Croatia was an independent state.

## At what Price "Friendship"?

*5th Conference CANADA — USSR  
Association, March 28-30, 1980*

This conference is being held at a time when:

- Soviet troops have invaded Afghanistan, butchering Afghans in an uneven struggle, utilizing chemical and biological warfare.

- Moscow has unleashed a new wave of repression against advocates of human, national, religious and civil rights in the USSR, including the use of physical force and murder.

- The KGB has stepped up arrests and jailings of members of the Helsinki Accords monitoring groups, sentencing them to long terms in concentration camps, psychiatric asylums or forced exile.

- The new czars continue to eradicate the national and cultural heritage of Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Armenia, and other peoples through overt Russification in

all spheres. Religious persecution of Christians, Jews and Moslems continues unabated...

Yet the "guests" and "delegates" at this conference sanctimoniously preach about peace, understanding, detente, friendship and co-operation.

This Moscow — sponsored circus is an affront and insult to all Canadians.

The delegates *do not* represent Canadians, nor do they reflect the views most Canadians hold. The delegates attending today's conference are either very naive, are opportunists who hope to gain financially or professionally from such "contacts", or are outright collaborators with a Nazi, totalitarian regime.

The guests and observers from the Soviet Union who came here under the guise of being poets, artists or officials of cultural agencies are *KGB operatives*.

*(Leaflet distributed in Canada, March 28—30, 1980.)*

## Dissidents and Psychiatry

Letter to THE TIMES Thursday, February 21, 1980

*From Professor Ralf Dahrendorf, FBA, and others*

Sir, The large attendance at a recent public meeting in London confirmed the revolution felt in this country at the Soviet regime's continuing practice of internment of its critics in mental institutions, then forcibly administering drugs to them until they "recant".

We share this same revulsion, and call on concerned people among your readers to express their views forcefully to the Soviet Ambassador and other Soviet authorities about three current cases which exemplify different aspects of an alarming situation.

Dr. Samyon Gluzman recently emerged, in very bad health, from seven years in a strict-regime labour camp, imposed for calmly (and heroically) exposing the corruption of his psychiatric profession. But he must still serve three further years of Siberian exile. He deserves to be released without further delay and allowed to emigrate.

Mr. Osyp Terelya is a Ukrainian worker, a Catholic and poet, currently imprisoned in the Dnepropetrowsk special psychiatric hospital for circulating a long letter about a previous internment. Latest reports say that he has been reduced to a serious condition by intensive drug treatment, and compare his state to that of Mr. Leonid Plyushch when held in Dnepropetrovsk in 1973—76. His wife, a doctor, has appealed for Western intervention, and now the World Psychiatric Association at the request of Britain's Royal College of Psychiatrists, is investigating the case.

Over the last three years Moscow's unofficial "Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes" has, helped by brave psychiatrists,

carefully documented this and several hundred other cases, the documentation now exceeds 1,000 pages. Members of the Commission have been harassed and arrested.

Recently the KGB have threatened Mr. Vyacheslav Bakhmin, a prominent member and a computer scientist, who is apparently their next intended victim. A strong Western stand in his defence could save him from arrest.

We hope that pressure from your readers will help to persuade the Soviet authorities to abandon these sinister politico-medical practices.

Yours faithfully,  
RALF DAHRENDORF,  
JANNER,  
DESMOND POND,  
RAWLINSON,  
SAINSBURY,  
LEONARD SCHAPIRO,  
DONALD SOPER,  
21 Admirals Walk  
St. Albans  
Hertfordshire, Gt. Britain.

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*From WACL Circular Letter:*

### **Prof. Adolfo Cuellar of WACL El Salvador Chapter Murdered**

According to a news brief from Prof. R. Rodriguez of CAL, a shocking incident occurred in El Salvador, in which Prof. Adolfo Cuellar, representative of WACL El Salvador Chapter, had been murdered by direct order of Communist agents.

We deeply mourn the untimely passing of our esteemed anti-Communist leader — Prof. Adolfo Cuellar. His dedicated contribution to the cause of freedom will continue to inspire us for our fight against Communism. We are convinced that the lofty sacrifice of the late Prof. Adolfo Cuellar will be rewarded with our ultimate victory over Communism.

# News and Views

## NATO's timidity gives Russians confidence to invade countries

*by Barnett J. Danson, former Minister of Defence.*

*External Affairs Minister Flora MacDonald said the other night on television:*

The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan "is the greatest threat to world peace since the Second World War... It has the potential for global conflict."

I couldn't agree more. As a former Canadian representative on the Defence Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, I have been sitting back in bewilderment and anxiety as each day passes and there is no sign of NATO alert and reinforcement. NATO's main objective is to deter aggression and is designed to do so by demonstrating cohesion combined with resolve within the alliance. The failure to do so is an invitation to the Soviet Union to continue its march to its ultimate objective.

Miss MacDonald said: "One would have to be naive to believe that the Soviet invasion will be confined to Afghanistan" and that its ultimate objective was the Persian Gulf. The failure of NATO to respond rapidly and in strength is a signal to the Soviets that it is facing a fractured alliance without the political will to respond when the very circumstances it was designed to meet present themselves.

Britain and the European nations should have called up their reserves. The US sea and air capacity should be carrying troops, ammunition and equipment to the European theatre. Canada's Brigade Group and Air Group in Germany should be up to wartime strength and its AMFL (Ace Mobile Force Land) commitment at least on full alert in Canada, if not in Norway. SEATO (South

East Asia Treaty Organization) should be doing the same. Only then would the Soviet Union take the West seriously now, or in the future.

One might argue that such reinforcement of NATO would be provocative. I submit that its collective timidity is what is most provocative. When the Warsaw Pact nations see clearly that NATO is unwilling or incapable of decisive action in strength they will treat it with the same contempt they display for the United Nations. Soviet bloc nations will be far more willing to follow Moscow in its adventures and the Soviet-Russians will be more likely to take low-risk chances. The provocation following NATO's failure to reinforce arises when we finally say we've had enough and our only effective response is nuclear because we won't have our conventional forces in place to provide the essential deterrent. And surely there must be a time when we say, "You have gone this far and that's it. No further."

Miss MacDonald's response was most revealing and disturbing. She said that the last meeting she attended was "the most critical and crucial meeting of NATO in the past 25 years". In this case I can't agree. I believe the most critical and crucial were a series of meetings I attended at NATO on trying to reach a decision on AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System), a sophisticated defensive deterrent which would demonstrate the cohesion and will essential in the alliance. When I saw the lack of these qualities over years of indecision and months of summit squabbling resulting in a late compromise decision, I believed NATO had already de-

monstrated to the Warsaw Pact nations that it was a paper tiger. This gave the Soviet-Russians the confidence to move into places such as Afghanistan where the West is demonstrating that their confidence is well placed.

The Russians must be laughing all the way to Kabul. NATO has been caught with its pants down. Well-worn pants without belt or braces. Ten days without strengthened forces in Europe would provide the Warsaw Pact with the advantage it requires to be half way across Europe, even in a "come as you are war", and to neutralize ports, landing and staging areas essential for any effective defence once deterrence has failed.

Grain shipments, technological exchanges and threats to move the Olympic Games are minor inconveniences to the Soviet

Union without a display of credible strength. Even a reinforced NATO in present circumstances is marginally credible, but a denuded alliance is incredibly dangerous to world peace, other than a peace under Soviet-Russian terms as a result of a free ride or a cheap victory.

Does the West never learn? Did Hungary or Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 teach it nothing? Does it not recall the price of similar lack of resolve in the 1930s? I can almost foresee a Waldheim, Carter or Vance with an umbrella and a piece of paper alighting from an aircraft from Moscow saying "Peace in our time". What a party there would be in the Kremlin. And what a guest list — Indira Gandhi, Fidel Castro and all the Warsaw Pact leaders, plus others, including Tito's successor. *(The Globe and Mail)*

## **Russian War against Afghan People with Biological weapons**

### **Biological weapons**

Of great potential danger to the nearly one million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran is the arsenal of Soviet biological weapons. By use of various delivery means, 'germ warfare' of a long-range strategic nature can be used against densely-packed refugee camps inside Pakistan and Iran to cause lingering death and disease. To trace such germ warfare to the Soviets will be very difficult due to the nature of the illnesses. Soviet biological warfare against Afghan rebel sanctuaries is a distinct possibility and will be extremely difficult to authenticate.

Babrak Karmal's Marxist political aides are apparently willing to condone Soviet massive acts of violence against Afghanistan's rebellious population which borders on genocide. The present Kabul regime has expressed its willingness to depopulate the nation by three million persons to solve various economic and social problems. Afghanistan's current population is variously

estimated at between 17 million and 21 million, with more than 90% of it Moslem, predominantly of the Sunni sect. To Karmal and his Soviet masters, Afghan life is cheap.

### **Chemical warfare**

Unconfirmed reports from Afghan guerrillas state that Soviet forces have already used limited chemical warfare against the *mujahdin*. Napalm bombs have been used by Soviet fighter-bombers against Afghan rebels and isolated villages since last December. Use of Soviet nerve and other toxic gases against Meo tribesmen in Laos and against Cambodian guerrilla by North Vietnamese forces has been confirmed by interviews with survivors, so there is little doubt that Soviet Army units in Afghanistan will employ chemical warfare against the rebels.

Use of persistent nerve gas to block passes leading into Afghanistan from Pakistan can be expected. US intelligence has already confirmed the presence of Soviet

Army chemical warfare units inside Afghanistan. If Russia fails to take action against the guerrilla sanctuaries, rebel tribesmen along Afghanistan's periphery and in its mountainous heartland will be encourag-

ed and strengthened to strike harder blows against Soviet lines of communication and against isolated bivouacs and garrisons with increasingly sophisticated weapons.

*(Intelligence Digest)*

Peter Worthington

## Athletes' duty to humanity

With the Trudeau government apparently reversing the previous Clark government's support of the American and British boycott of the Moscow Olympics, it might be timely to examine the observations of the London Times' brilliant Bernard Levin. His appeal to British athletes is worthy of consideration by all who wonder about at the wisdom of boycotting the Games. Here, slightly edited, are Levin's views.

I think British athletes should be advised not to go to Moscow. Let me offer three quotations from official Soviet sources. The first is from the most recent (1979) edition of the Soviet government's Handbook for Party Activists, which contains the rules for those Soviet citizens who are specifically charged with the advancing of Soviet interests within their country and around the world.

*"The decision to offer the honored right to hold the Olympic Games in the capital of the first Socialist State was convincing proof of the universal recognition of the historical importance and correctness of the course of our country's foreign policy."*

### 'Untenable view'

The second quotation is from an official handbook, called Soviet Sports — Questions and Answers, published in Moscow (in English) by the Novosti Press: *"The view popular in the West that 'Sport is outside politics' finds no support in the USSR. This view is untenable in our country... When, for instance, Soviet representatives call for the expulsion of the South African and Rhodesian racists from the Olympic*

*movement this is, of course a political move... So whenever someone says that sport lies outside the framework of political relations, we feel their remark is not a serious one."*

As a matter of fact, I have never thought that Lord Killanin's remarks on the subject of sport and politics have been very serious, but it is useful to have the Soviet Union's contemptuous view of him and his case so clearly expressed.

The third quotation was made by Soviet Premier Kosygin when the Chinese invaded Vietnam: *"No peace-loving country, no person of integrity, should remain indifferent when that sort of thing happens, when an aggressor holds human life and world public opinion in insolent contempt."*

In a sense, the whole story is summed up in the three excerpts.

The rattle of the chains from the Soviet concentration camps, the screams of the tortured in their psychiatric prisons, the rumble of the tanks on the roads of Afghanistan, the fears of the captive peoples of the Soviet European Empire — these things are presumably "ideological differences," which must be "resolved" — by, I take it, ideologues — lest the appeasers should have to admit the truth about the way in which rulers like the Soviet-Russians ones use sport as an instrument of ideology exactly as they use the censor's pencil, the jailer's key and the soldier's gun.

If the appeasers admitted that, of course, they would have to admit much more; that the Soviet Union was ineligible 10 times over under the Olympic rules to stage the



games, long before the invasion of Afghanistan was contemplated; that the claim that the IOC keeps politics out of sport is false; and that the shameful pleasure of strutting in the Moscow limelight is more enticing than the stern dictates of honor.

Those things the IOC cannot admit. *Within one week after refusing to cancel or postpone the Moscow Games, a refusal based on the claim that such an action would be a political one, the International Olympic Committee expelled the Taiwan team, on entirely political grounds.*

No less exclusively political was the expulsion from the Olympic movement of South Africa (Lord Killanin's insistence that the Soviet Union must at all costs be allowed to keep the games is now particularly odious in view of the grossly racialist character of that country's policies).

Now for a fourth quotation. Who said this in March, 1936, when the terror was getting under way in Germany, when the whole array of antisemitism was being put into force, when re-arming for aggression was Hitler's chief and unconcealed concern — and when preparation for a colossal Nazi propaganda show at the Berlin Olympics was going busily forward?

"These games... play a real part in creating a better understanding between the nations of the world... it would be nothing short of calamity if this country, to whom the world often looks for a lead, were not fully represented... the Germans are deeply conscious of the obligations which they have entered into by undertaking to hold them in their country." The voice is that of Lord Exeter; he wrote those words in a letter to the Times, published on March 7, 1936.

### Propaganda purposes

Let me sum up. The Soviet Union, contrary to the letter as well as the spirit of the Olympic Charter, uses the Olympic movement entirely for propaganda purposes, pays her athletes, discriminates among athletes on grounds of race and political opinion, does not abide by the rules for freedom of communications, allows her Olympic Committee no independence from the state — indeed makes it an integral part of the state machine — and concludes the list of her offences against the Olympic rules by invading a fellow-member of the Olympic movement.

Suppose the members of the Committee to decide that the charter does not matter, that aggression does not matter, that the fielding of an entirely professional team does not matter, that censorship does not matter; that racism does not matter — that nothing matters beside having fun in Moscow. What then?

It *behooves* me to ask our athletes, what makes them think that they are exempt from the general obligations of human beings not to behave like brutes? Do they not even understand that in a democracy we are the politicians — the ones in Parliament being only our representatives? Do they admit no obligation to their common humanity with those whom their Moscow hosts oppress?

No man is an island; not even if he is an athlete. Let none be under any illusion; by going to Moscow and giving the Soviet Union a victory for propaganda following a victory for aggression, they will be condoning tyranny, disgracing themselves and betraying the ideals of sport.

*(The Toronto Sun)*

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

### **Sportsmen in Czecho-Slovakia Ask Boycott of Olympics in Moscow**

VIENNA, AUSTRIA — On January 23, 1980, "Sportsmen under the Communist regime in the CSSR" issued an appeal to the Free World, asking the West to boycott the summer Olympic games in Moscow. The appeal in part states as follows:

"We appeal to the responsible statesmen and politicians of the West not to be misled by the so-called argument that sport cannot be mixed with politics. There are no politics involved in Afghanistan, but a military aggression; it is brutal violence against a peaceloving nation on behalf of Soviet-Russian imperialistic ambitions. We would ask Killanin and Daume if they would organize the Olympic Games in Moscow if the Russians would occupy Great Britain and West Germany?..."

*(Slovak Information Service)*

### **Political trials to hide economic calamity**

In this year it is expected that shortages of consumer goods will be on the increase, that the crisis in the supply of energy will be more pronounced than during the previous year and that prices of all consumer goods will hit a new high just before the harvest season. There are several reasons for all of this, but two of them are cited most frequently:

1. The high price of crude oil. (Czecho-Slovakia must pay the Russians the prevailing world price, but the Russians are paying Czecho-Slovakia for goods they purchase "whatever they feel like paying".

2. The low working morale of the workers which creates low productivity and even lower product quality.

To divert the attention of the public from this economic calamity the communist regime is planning several political trials in which some leaders of Slovak political exiles will be among the accused (they will be tried "in absentia".)

These trials were being prepared since

last summer. The cases were assigned to several "law experts" at the Slovak Academy of Sciences and at the Slovak University in Bratislava under the leadership of Prof. Kvasnicka.

### **Report increase in number of Christian prisoners in the Soviet Union**

Since May 1979 at least 22 Baptists, 10 Orthodox, 6 Catholics and 6 Pentecostals have been arrested, as well as one Armenian Christian and one Seventh Day Adventist. The pace of the arrests intensified in the latter part of 1979 and is continuing at a high rate in 1980.

For example, in addition to Father Dimitri Dudko, who was arrested on January 15, four members of the Christian Seminar were detained in January and February. Also, seven Baptists were arrested in January.

Details have been emerging in recent months on Christians who have been under arrest for some time. It was only recently learned that Father Iosif Rinkevich, an Orthodox priest, has been held in a psychiatric hospital in Grodno region, Byelorussia, since 1973.

Many political prisoners, arrested for defending civil and national rights, are Christians. Since the publication of "Christian Prisoners in the USSR" by Keston College, Great Britain, 36 such cases have come to light — some of these prisoners have been imprisoned for almost 30 years.

Altogether, Keston College now has details concerning 232 Christian prisoners, compared with the 180 cases known nine months ago.

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

## Extermination Camps in the USSR — 1980

The research concerning the existence in the USSR of concentration camps, whose prisoners are being used in various works presenting danger of death or leading to fatal diseases, has been conducted by our Research Centre for a number of years. In search of information we interviewed people arriving from the USSR. We also get direct information from our friends still residing in the USSR and sending us new data on the subject.

In 1977 we published an article under the title "Death Camps" wherein 8 addresses of such camps in the USSR were given; in the camps described in that article, prisoners work at the extraction of the uranium ore and on cleaning of the exhaust tubes of the atomic submarines without any protective overalls.

By 1980 we have information concerning 41 Soviet-Russian concentration camps of death.

Soviet extermination camps can be divided into three main categories:

1. camps, where work results in inevitable death from leukaemia received at the extraction and processing of the uranium;

2. camps, where the risk of getting an overdose of radio-active irradiation is very high and where prisoners quite often get sick with leukaemia as a result of work; this group includes, in particular, the camps where prisoners are forced to clean the exhaust tubes of the atomic submarines or where they work in the unhealthy workshops of military plants producing warheads for nuclear rockets;

3. camps, where work for a certain period of time inevitably results in such diseases as tuberculosis of lungs, silicosis, loss of sight, etc. or where prisoners get poisoned as a result of work. These are, for example, the camps where prisoners work at polishing glass without any ventilation, at splitting mica, painting with or pulveriz-

ing of acetone lacquers, polishing of surfaces with the acetone by hand, etc.

The list of these camps published at the end of this article will show you where and what kind of work prisoners do in Soviet-Russian camps being subjected to deliberate extermination. Therefore, we intend to give below just a few detailed examples.

On Mangyshlak peninsula on the Caspian Sea there is a closed zone. Here is located a complex of camps whose prisoners work at the extraction of the uranium and its processing for the purpose of getting the plutonium necessary for the ballistic rockets. An atomic reactor works here as well, and it is also manned by the prisoners of the same camp complex. All these camps, as well as the residential settlements of the civilian specialists and guards, are located in the salt-marshes. The entire complex is headed by the hero of socialist labour Grigorian. Once, one of his subordinates offered to try planting of greenery in the area, but Grigorian gave him the most unambiguous answer: "The best decoration of the area are the barbed-wire fence and watch-towers of the camps". Ever new parties of prisoners are being delivered by prison barges to the Port Shevchenko; but cases of release from these camps are extremely rare...

In another part of the USSR, in the North, in the area of Cherepovets (Vologodskaya oblast) there is also a large camp complex whose prisoners extract the uranium ore from the open pits. Witness L., physician by profession, told us that once he received a patient with leukaemia. Being very upset and excited, the patient told the doctor "confidentially" that he was an officer of guard in one of the camps where prisoners work at the uranium ore extraction and that the irradiation zone was so vast that they had to bring the prisoners to the place of work at the distance of some 50 kilometers every day, as it was

absolutely impossible to keep the camps any closer to the uranium quarries. The officer also told the doctor that there had even been a strike of the guards: they refused to convoy the prisoners to work because there had been cases of leukaemia among the guards. He said that the guards do receive some protective clothes, but even this is not enough to protect from irradiation, whereas prisoners work without any protective clothing.

Another camp complex where prisoners work at the extraction and processing of uranium is located in the Ural mountains, in the area of Kishtym town (Chelyabinskaya oblast). This complex is comparatively new: it was created already after the awful explosion which happened here in 1960 at the uranium processing plant sending its output to Cheliabinsk — 40 where another military plant produces nuclear war-heads and where also work prisoners from the nearby camps. Thousands of people died in the explosion, among them certainly all the prisoners kept in the area. The disaster embraced the territory of about 150 sq. kilometers with villages, settlements, plants and factories. Those who survived were severely irradiated. Now, in this dead region there are again camps and prisoners doomed to death again extract uranium, process it, deliver it to special repositories, move out the radio-active waste...

Under the same horrible conditions and also without any protective clothes, prisoners work in dozens of other places all over the USSR: in the Far North, in the Caucasus, in the Middle Asia, on the islands beyond the Polar Circle and in the Far East.

To the best of our knowledge, the administration of the camps, where prisoners are being exterminated in the above described manner, do not inform the prisoners of the fatal doses of irradiation they get and even of what kind of ore they extract and pro-

cess. Those who get sick are transferred by the KGB to special invalid camps where they die out of sight of those prisoners who are still well enough to continue to work.

The same awful kind of extermination camp complexes exist today in the Middle Asian settlements of Rudnii, Aksu, Al'malyk, Kairagaly, all of them in Kazakhskaya SSR prisoners extract the uranium ore from the open quarries in the vicinity of Borovoye settlement which is one of the most popular resort places visited by people from all over the country. Nobody tells the people that they are "resting" in the area of extremely high irradiation which jeopardizes their health. Why? Because this is a state secret. Anything concerning the extraction and processing of uranium is a top secret in the USSR and nothing gets published in the media about the disasters similar to the one in Kishtym.

Here is another typical example: prisoners extract uranium near the town of Leninobad in Tadzhikskaya SSR, and the radio-active waste stone was used by the authorities for the foundations of new apartment buildings. As a result, thousands of people were fatally irradiated, thousands got into hospitals. This too has never been published in the USSR press and there have been no demonstrations of protest. And nobody in the USSR demands cessation of works in the atomic industry of the USSR. As you can see, the "advantages" of the communist methods of government are apparent.

Still more horrifying data concerning the work of prisoners at uranium extraction do we have from Novaya Zemlya and Vaigach (the islands beyond the Polar Circle) and from Bukhta Ol'ga, Bukhta Shamor, Kavalerovo settlement on the Pacific shore in Primorye. Here the prisoners are kept in the immediate vicinity of the uranium quarries and they are, therefore, subjected to irradiation 24 hours a day.

It has been already mentioned above that in the camps where prisoners work on cleaning the exhaust tubes of the atomic submarines they are also subjected to severe irradiation and also work without any protective overalls. Such camps are located in Bukhta Paldiski in Estonian SSR, in Bukhta Rakushka in the Far East, in Severodvinsk in the North and in Bukhta Tarya on Kamchatka peninsula.

There are other camps where the work is considered less dangerous and where, in fact, it leads to the loss of health and very often to death. Such is the work in the unhealthy workshops of military plants where prisoners are used in the production of the war-heads for nuclear rockets and where the irradiation is very high (for eg. in Novosibirsk). Such is the process of polishing of glass with Carborundum disks without any ventilating pipes (for eg. in the special strict regime camp in "Dubrovlag", Mordovia), where the air is filled with the glass dust accumulating in the prisoners' lungs and resulting in silicosis. Such is the process of splitting mica by hand (for eg. in the women's camp in Slyudyanoye settlement of Irkutskaya oblast where the administration tells the women their work is "easy and warm under the roof" and do not explain that this work leads to the loss of sight and to silicosis. The same is true of the process of painting of various machines, radio- and TV-set cases and other items by way of hand spraying of acetone lacquers, which is not regarded as an unhealthy work at all and which leads, however, to numerous cases of poisoning and to various lung diseases. After painting, the prisoners

polish the painted surfaces by hand. This is being done with a polishing wad which is dipped into an open vessel with acetone every couple of minutes. As everywhere else, the prisoners work on this work 10 hours a day and breathe with the poisonous miasma.

The fate of invalids in the USSR is horrible: after they are released from camp the disabled man gets a state pension in the amount of several roubles per month and is doomed, therefore, to beggary. The state, having squeezed from him whatever was possible, is no longer interested in his fate, which is hungry existence and fading away from a professional disease. As for the prisoners getting an overdose of irradiation, they as a rule, die in the camps.

Do not think that such deathly dangerous work is given by the Soviet-Russian authorities to prisoners sentenced to death — not at all. In these camps you can see prisoners sentenced to 5—10-year terms for the "crimes" which can hardly be regarded as crimes in any normal country: for faith in God, for the desire to emigrate, for reading prohibited books, for writing protests and leaflets demanding the democratization of the regime, for private initiative in trade (which is called "speculation" in the USSR), for the struggle for national rights, for dignity and independence. The USSR authorities are eager to get rid of these people, and this is being done without bullets or Oswencim-type gas-chambers: the prisoners merely give up all their energy and health to the murderous state and then die.

*Research Center  
Jerusalem*

## NATION oder KLASSE

by

**WOLFGANG STRAUSS**

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

## Dissident's Arts Exhibition

Lubomyr Taras Winnik, a Ukrainian artist, who defected not more than six years ago from the Soviet Union, has displayed for the first time a "one-man exhibition" of his art work in Zürich, Switzerland. Mr. Winnik has previously held many other exhibits along with other talented artists. The one-man exhibition opened Saturday, March 22nd and will last until April 18th at the Quartiermuseum "Im Hüsli" in Zürich. A number of prestigious representatives of Swiss Press Agencies, journalists, and Art critics along with other guests were present at the opening of the exhibit.

### About the Artist

Lubomyr Taras Winnik was born in 1943 in the district of Ivano-Frankivsk in Western Ukraine. As a boy of 14 years he began to contribute to the local press with his illustrations and photographs. At the age of 15 he was a member of the Editorial Staff of the weekly "Construction Worker" in the Donbass coal region. At the same time he studied at the School of Fine Arts and prepared himself for exams and graduation. After resettling in Odessa he enlisted at the Marine School for military service. Upon completion of his services at the military, he began to work as a reporter for the newspaper "Soviet Highlander". His reports were always accompanied by his own illustrations and photographs. In 1968 he began to work for the newspaper "Free Ukraine" in Lviv. Shortly after, in 1970 he was fired because of "his political unreliability". At the end of 1971 after long efforts, he successfully defected to Poland where he joined his wife. During his two year stay in Warsaw, he worked for the Polish publication "The Capital", as a reporter. He arrived in Switzerland in 1973, and his present occupation is a Graphic Artist employed by the Swiss Jean-Frey Agency. He is also a member of the

Association of Swiss Graphic Art, Cartoons and Illustrations. Many of his cartoons and graphic work appear regularly in leading Swiss and European newspapers, magazines and other publications.

### About His Work

Lubomyr Winnik is an outstanding graphic artist specializing in caricatures, humorous cartoons and satire. Displayed was a most interesting exhibition composed of approximately fifty graphic works. The themes in Mr. Winnik's works displayed at the exhibit varied. Some were based on industry, politics, philosophy, moral ethics, technology and the social conditions of our modern world. The artist demonstrates an art for keen and fresh wit in the themes of his works. A popular work which drew a number of viewers at the exhibit, personified the reality of the "Salt II Treaty". The work shows a somewhat hesitant man with a very guilty expression on his face in a white gown, holding a palm branch upright in his hands symbolizing "peace". Standing behind him, is a devious half-man creature in combat garb, pointing a pistol into the man's back while holding a grenade in the other hand. Following him is a whole procession of deviously grinning creatures also wearing spiked combat boots, and all holding different types of war weapons. At the end of the procession another is shown holding two missiles pointing forward with "Salt II" written on one of the missiles, and still another creature is shown standing by, with his finger in a ready position to press the control button.

Such a satirical drawing needs no words to explain its meaning nor who's who, as neither do many of Lubomyr Winnik's works, for his drawings speak for themselves and communicate with each viewer individually.

Mr. Winnik uses pen and ink (black on white) in his works, and occasionally dis-

plays color with an air brush in some of his humorous cartoons. The lines in his caricatures and satires are very similar to the shape of icicles — rigid, therefore manifesting power and strength. Lubomyr Winnik's works are indeed very powerful and eye catching.

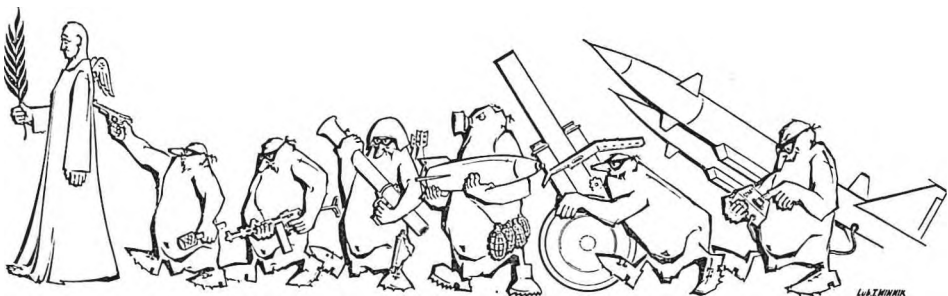
At the exhibition one can also witness another side of the artist. A more emotional side — exhibiting lines of a different nature, connected with his homeland: more relaxed lines and not as rigid. This was evident in a series of five or six pen and ink (black on white) drawings of old, traditional Ukrainian wooden churches, located in various small villages of Ukraine. These drawings attracted many at the exhibition. The artist frequently answered many questions posed by viewers interested in these unique drawings. The artist explained that he sketched the churches in his homeland — Ukraine, on the premises where they were located. One church is located in the "Hutsul" region in the village of "Yamna", another in the village of "Vuzhok" in the "Carpathian" region, and others in various villages in Ukraine. Each drawing is so detailed that before every drawing, the artist actually counted each shingle on the roofs of these churches, then

proceeded to precisely draw what he saw. It was when he reached the West that he was able to carefully perfect each of these drawings. The artist drew these churches so as to record their historical existence and to preserve their beauty, because many Ukrainian churches in Ukraine are being destroyed by Soviet-Russian oppressors of religion and culture.

Besides displaying his own graphic work, Mr. Winnik also very attractively displayed several Ukrainian Art artifacts of the "Hutsul" region in Ukraine. Among them were several wood carved dishes, flasks, axes and other artifacts. Also displayed was a map of Ukraine alongside a short biography of the artist, providing each viewer with valuable and interesting information about the artist and his homeland, which is presently occupied by Soviet-Russian aggressors.

The exhibit was a true success and will long be remembered by the many who enjoyed the exhibit. Mr. Winnik has plans for exhibiting his works abroad in other European countries and also in the United States, in the near future. I strongly recommend that everyone see this extraordinary exhibit.

*Lesia Zwarycz*



# Book Reviews

## **The Devil's Alternative**

by *Frederick Forsyth, London, Hutchinson, 497 pp. 1979*

Andrei Drach is a Ukrainian born in Britain but dedicated to the ideal of a free Ukraine. He dreams of striking one spectacular blow at the Russian occupiers which will reveal their weaknesses and spark off an uprising.

Andrei gets his chance after a shipwrecked seaman, picked up in the Black Sea, tells him of a Ukrainian resistance group.

Together they aid two members of the resistance group to assassinate the head of the KGB, an event the Politburo stop at nothing to suppress. The assassins hijack a Soviet plane to escape to West Berlin and things start to go wrong for them.

Andrei and his group of Ukrainians from Canada, the USA and Europe hijack the world's largest oil tanker to bargain for the release of their comrades unaware that their lives now form part of the negotiations in a new SALT 3 treaty which, if a failure, means a Third World War.

Frederick Forsyth's book is immensely readable and exciting and deserves the number one bestseller position it has held in Britain since shortly after its publication.

The Ukrainian position is approached with sympathy and portrays the hopes of the romantic nationalists in the Ukrainian diaspora. A mini-history of Ukraine at the beginning of the book will probably win more friends for Ukraine than many of the scholarly works and addresses churned out over the years.

Frederick Forsyth worked as a journalist in Britain for many years and his gripping writing style is sometimes more akin to a feature article than a thriller novel. Each page is so packed with detail it provides

a do-it-yourself manual for everything from robbing a bank to steering a super-tanker.

As in his previous novels such as "Day of the Jackal", "The Odessa File" and "Dogs of War" Forsyth constructs an intricate web of numerous converging plots against a background that is entirely plausible.

"The Devil's Alternative", set in the near future, has a few twists to the tale which strangely seem to mirror the tricks fate has played on Ukraine so many times.

*Reviewer — Askold Krushelnycky*

## **Ukrainian Nationalism**

**John A. Armstrong**

*Reprint of the 2nd edition*

This is a dramatic account of a courageous revolutionary national liberation struggle for the re-establishment of Ukrainian independence against the imperialist ambitions of Nazi Germany and Soviet-Russia. In the initial stages, this struggle was led by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Later, during the war, this revolutionary struggle reached wider social proportions, burgeoning into an all-out national uprising and war of independence, which necessitated the formation of an all-national Ukrainian revolutionary army — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), created under the auspices of the OUN. Prof. Armstrong's major scholarly work, which is based on numerous personal interviews, extensive files of contemporary newspapers and countless unpublished documents, essentially deals with the historical development of the OUN-UPA nationalist-revolutionary movement, which culminated in the heroic two-front war of independence of the Ukrainian nation from 1941—1953.



The original work (published in 1955), dealing with the 1939—1945 period, was revised and expanded in 1936 to include such postwar developments as: the armed struggle of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) against the Soviet-Russia in the years 1945—1953, the Soviet-Russian policy following the UPA's defeat, and further activities of the Ukrainian emigration. In Prof. Armstrong's words: "If one takes into account duration, geographical extent and intensity of activity, the UPA very probably is the most important example of forceful resistance to Communist rule".

Hailed by scholars as "brilliant, courageous and informative", Prof. Armstrong's book has become the classic work on the subject of nationalism in Ukraine. Out of print and unavailable for over ten years, it is now available from Ukrainian Academic Press in a reprint of the 2nd edition published in 1963 by Columbia University Press.

"John Armstrong's excellent study is remarkably comprehensive in covering the conditions under which Ukrainian nationalists in Eastern Europe operated during World War II." (George Barr Carson, Jr. *The American Slavic and East European Review*, 1956, vol. 15).

Dr. John A. Armstrong is Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and former President of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies. He received his PhD and the Certificate from the Russian Institute at Columbia University. A well-known scholar of Soviet affairs, he is the author of numerous publications, among them: *The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite*; *The Politics of Totalitarianism*; *Ideology, Politics and Government in the Soviet Union*; *Soviet Partisans in World War II*; and *The European Administrative Elite*.

### "Spy"

Here are six great stories of twentieth century espionage — all true and all more

intriguing than fiction. Many of these spies have a real and lasting, if hitherto generally known, influence on world history.

In this book, Richard Deacon and Nigel West examine not only their political roles but their own psychology — what motivates a spy and what makes a successful spymaster?

Some of the spies like Richard Sorge and the beautiful "Cynthia" are comparatively well known. The identity of others, such as the Double Cross Agent, Tate, have only recently been revealed — their activities shrouded by the Official Secrets Act. The grim tale of Stashinsky — a KGB assassin deals with the murder of the Ukrainian hero, Stepan Bandera, Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), who was killed in Munich, West Germany, in October, 1959. The chapters on the Venlo Incident and John Vassall give an inside view of how spymasters and governments can and do make grave mistakes which cannot always be covered up.

SPY! in its combination of scrupulous accuracy and readability is a fascinating analysis of intelligence agents and the secret organizations for which they risked their lives.

Jacket photograph shows one of Bogdan Stashinsky's false passports issued to him by the KGB.

Published by the British Broadcasting Corporation. 35 Marylebone High Street, London, Gt. Britain.

### Slovak Culture Through the Centuries

*Edited by J. M. Kirshbaum*

The book contains essays by Slovak scholars engaged in teaching, research, and cultural activities in several European countries, the United States, Canada, and Argentina.

After dealing with general aspects of culture and with the significance of

Christianity in Slovak cultural development, the book sheds new light on the first period of civilization in Slovak territory during the great Moravian period. This "Siavic" period of Slovak cultural history played an important role in the national awakening of Slovaks in later centuries when Slovakia was part of the multiracial Kingdom of Hungary.

Culturally, Slovakia turned, however, to the West, even before losing its independence to the combined forces of Bavarians and Magyars, and remained attached to Western culture and civilization. The book deals with this period in the second part, paying extensive attention to church organization, which for Slovak culture was of particular importance. Before the clash of Hungarian and Slovak national aspirations affected Slovak cultural and national life, Slovakia had experienced favorable cultural conditions in the kingdom of Hungary, especially during the period of Humanism and the Renaissance. Three essays shed new light on both positive and negative phenomena of this period.

Scholarship, science, literature, and visual art are surveyed in Part III of the book.

In the last section, the essays touch on the little researched field of the cultural relations of Slovakia with some Western countries, after the Second World War when they were forcibly separated from the West and included in the Soviet-Russian culture and political orbit.

*Published by the Slovak  
World Congress, in 1978  
Toronto, Canada*

### **The Ukrainian Icon of the XIIth to XVIIIth Centuries**

*by Sviatoslav Hordynsky*

11x8,5 in. (28x22 cm.). 212 pages including 36 pp. of text, 24 colour and 193 black and white illustrations. Linenbound, gold-stamped. Two separate editions, English and Ukrainian.

This volume traces the development of iconographic art in Ukraine which played an important role in the art of Eastern Europe in general, from the XIIth to XVIIIth centuries. Throughout the many centuries, Ukraine has served as a main artery through which the exchange of iconographic ideas and forms was made between Byzantium and the Balkan countries on the one hand, and the northern schools of the icon on the other. The Ukrainian icon reflected these artistic trends; therefore, without understanding it, a real comprehension of the artistic and cultural processes of Eastern Europe is hardly possible.

Although numerous works on different aspects of the Ukrainian icon exist, no publication giving a concise review of this matter has appeared to date. This volume, in addition to the known icons, contains over 30 reproductions of Ukrainian icons which have never been published before. There are also many reproductions known only from sources difficult of access.

### **The Wachna Story**

*A Book Note — by Dr. Alexander  
Sokolyczyn*

LOOK WHO'S COMING; the WACHNA STORY, by Mary Paximadis. Illustrated by William Kurelek. Oshawa, Ontario, Canada, Maracle Press, Ltd., c 1976. 124 p. ill., ports., map. 27 cm. Bibliography: p. 124.

The WACHNA STORY is the account of a Ukrainian emigrant from the Carpathian Mountain region in West Ukraine, Lemkivshchyna, searching for a better life in Canada in 1897. He and others settled in the South-eastern corner of Manitoba, in Stuartburn, near the US border. This is known to be the oldest Ukrainian settlement in Canada, where Theodosy Wachna, a Lemko, settled. He emigrated in 1894 to Mayfield, Pa., in the USA, was em-

ployed in a coal mine, where he was injured, and with a knowledge of the English language he went to Canada and helped the Immigration Service in Canada settle Ukrainians in the less developed prairie provinces of Canada. He helped organize the Municipality of Stuartburn,

build the schools, roads, bridges, and churches. After several years many Ukrainian men and women, came from this settlement being successful in every field of legal, medical, teaching and business professions, and this was an important contribution to Canadian strength.

### **Ironical leaflet distributed in Canada during Russian Ballet Tour**

*Recent incidents have necessitated that tonight's performance be restricted to members of our outstanding mini-Bolshoi instead of a full cast. However, we guarantee that these are our best and most "trusted" artists and that you will not be inconvenienced by any defections or other capitalist ploys designed to undermine our friendly relations and cultural exchanges.*

*We hope that our mini-ballet will allow you to lapse into a world of fantasy and, for a moment, to forget about dreary everyday life and its problems. Our dances will dissipate all the nasty ideas you may have about our prisons, camps and asylums where some of our "dissenting" artists and other malcontents are being re-educated. We will dispell all the cold war myths about such "dissidents" as Lukyanenko, Shcharansky, Petkus, Rudenko, Shukhevych, Nudel who only want to undermine and smear our glorious cultural achievements.*

*Don't let anyone spoil your evening with protests, boycotts or other such nonsense. Culture and politics don't mix: we're only here to show you how art flourishes under our system of government.*

*Some of our detractors have lately even spread the rumour that we kill artists! They say that the Ukrainian rock composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk was murdered by the KGB. It's just not true — he hung himself! We don't know who mutilated him before his*

*suicide in May, but he probably deserved it. He was not a real Soviet artist anyway; who needs Ukrainian rock music when we have ballet and socialist realism?*

*Similar misinformation was spread about the painter Alla Horska, who was found murdered in 1970 in Kyiv. We had to arrest all her "dissident" friends who said the KGB did it, but our security police is not involved in eliminating people. That was only done under Stalin.*

*The KGB has changed. Today it actively promotes peace and cultural exchange. It has agreed to be instrumental even on this ballet tour: Our cultural attaché in Ottawa is an employee of the KGB, our translators are from that organization, and our KGB guides protect us from possible kidnappers. Our friendship societies with other countries are institutions in which the KGB takes enormous interest. Today the KGB is an integral part of all cultural contacts with the West and therefore promotes friendship and understanding.*

*We hope that you will not listen to cold war propaganda but enjoy tonight's performance. After all that's what you paid for and that's what detente is all about.*

*Yours truly,*

**ARTISTS AND MEMBERS  
of the "mini-Bolshoi" tour.**

## New Publications on Lithuania in English

- Bourdeaux, Michael. **Land of Crosses: The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Lithuania, 1939—79.** Devon (Gt. Brit.): Augustine Publishing Co., 1979. 339 p. £ 3,—.
- Vardys, V. Stanley. **The Catholic Church, Dissent and Nationality in Soviet Lithuania.** Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly; New York: distributed by Columbia University Press, 1978. xiii, 336 p.
- Tamosaitis, Antanas and Anastasia. **Lithuanian National Costume.** Toronto: Lithuanian Folk Art Institute, 1979. 256 p., illus., col. plates. ca \$25.00.
- Skrupskelis, Alina, ed. **Lithuanian Writers in the West: an Anthology.** Chicago: Lithuanian Library Press, 1979. 387 p. \$20.00.
- Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania.** No. 35. Nov. 16, 1978. A translation of the complete Lithuanian original. Tr. by Vita Matusaitis. Ed.: Rev. Casimir Pugevicius. Brooklyn, N. Y.: Lithuanian R. C. Priests' League of America. \$1.00 each issue.
- The Violation of Human Rights in Soviet-Occupied Lithuania.** A report for 1978. (Published since 1972). Glenside, Pa.: Lithuanian American Community. 200 p. ill. \$5.00.
- Prunskis, Juozas. **Lithuania's Jews and the Holocaust.** Chicago: Lithuanian American Council, 1979, 48 p. \$1.00.
- Kaslas, Bronis J. **Three Secret Protocols: the Lithuanian Strip in Soviet-German Secret Diplomacy, 1939—1941.** Pittston, Pa.: Euramerica Press. (22 p., map.).
- Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania.** Brooklyn, N.Y.: Lithuanian National Foundation, Dec. 1979. 12 p., map.
- The last two pamphlets can be received free from ELTA Information Service. (Please enclose 15 cts. mail stamp for each.)
- 
- ### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
- This is to advise you that yesterday I received the latest issue of the ABN publication, and as usual I found it most informative. You'll be interested to know that your editorial titled "Ukrainians Accuse Russians, etc." will be the first for our use. In fact, it will be used tomorrow on my broadcast. Thank you very much.*
- Sincerely,  
Stelios M. Stelson  
Free Lance Foreign News  
Radio Analyst — Correspondent
- I am a Norwegian friend of ABN, and I am very interested in Croatia, a country of which very little is known in Norway. I am also very interested in Ukraine, and what happened in Ukraine during the last war.*
- Sincerely yours,  
Nilstare Gjerde  
Molde, Norway
- 
- ### Problems of the Baltic IV The Estonian War of Independence 1918 — 1920
- On the occasion of its 60th anniversary from the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk to the Treaty of Peace at Tartu  
by  
Endel Krepp  
Stockholm 1980,  
Estonian Information Centre,  
Box 45030, Stockholm, Sweden
-

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BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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**Courage of freedom fighters triumphs over military technology.**



**Afghan insurgents on captured Russian tank.**

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## For new political strategy of the West

In the context of the present global political situation, and especially in conjunction with the brutal aggression of Russian imperialism in Afghanistan, allow us to bring to your attention the most fundamental problem of the current global political crisis, which is being incessantly created by the Russian colonial empire. Communism, is quite simply, the modern version of Russian imperialism, which in the past had been embodied in a number of various forms, i.e., Pan-slavism, or the defense of "Orthodoxy"; and now within its complex of imperialist ideas, Russian imperialism, presently embodied in this modern communist form, has also included the so-called "national liberation of subjugated peoples" in the colonial empires of the Free World, which have long since ceased to exist.

An integral component of the new USSR Constitution is the enunciated obligation to actively support and promote the so-called "national liberation movements" on this side of the Iron Curtain. Included in this Constitution is an article, clearly evident to all, which calls upon Moscow to initiate so-called "national liberation wars" and "social revolutions", or to render "aid" not unlike that of the "Afghan precedent", which was clearly provided for in the Constitution. It is our firm belief that none of the previous formulae and political conceptions of the West in regard to the Russian empire have justified themselves in the subsequent course of events, be it the policy of containment, appeasement, co-existence, or détente.

The present, self-evident, strategic plan of Moscow is to establish its dominant position in the crucial geo-political and geo-strategic complexes of Asia and Africa, thereby severing Western Europe and the Far East (Japan, etc.) from the abundant resources of the Middle East and Africa, which, consequently, renders Moscow the capability of being able to dictate to the highly industrialized states of the Free World a "peace" on its terms. Such a "peace" can only be tantamount to an absolute capitulation on the part of the Free World vis-a-vis Russian imperialist aggression. The response of the Free World to this imminent threat of Russian imperialist aggression must in itself be more offensive and less pacific, or appeasement oriented. For instance — Cuba has long since been the bastion of Russian imperialism in Latin America and a proximate strategic position against the USA, as well as a mercenary military force designed to occupy the countries of Africa within the larger strategic plan of Moscow to surround Western Europe and the USA, thereby also depriving the Far East (Japan) of access to these resources. Hence Cuba ought to be neutralized by actively supporting the national liberation movement of the Cuban people, resulting in all the self-evident consequences for Russian imperialism in Latin America and Africa.

At present Moscow has included in its current political arsenal not only the socio-political question, not only the ideological baggage of marxism-communism, but, more significantly, the national question as well.

As an example, let us look at Iran. Out of a population of 35 million, there are 15 million Persians, 10 million Azerbaijanians, 4-5 million Kurds, 2 million Arabs in Khuzestan, and 1 million Baluchis in Baluchistan. Therefore, for

purposes of internal division, Moscow finds it convenient to wield a double-edged sword; the national and social question. The most potent weapon, that the USSR can utilize against Iran will be the question of the Kurds, the Azerbaijanians, the Baluchis, and in part the Arabs. There is a precedent for this: in the past the USSR was quite instrumental in the formation of a pseudo-independent Kurdistan.

The USSR itself is the largest colonial empire in the world, in which Russians, as the dominant nation, are in a minority. Yet, in a curious twist of events, this same reactionary empire presents itself in the world as the promoter of the most progressive national liberation forces!

We believe, that the Free World does not have any chance of victory over the USSR, if it does not include the NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries within its political arsenal as a primary weapon and thereby, identify the USSR as a colonial empire, constituting a fundamental anachronism in this era of world de-colonialization!

Russians are a diminishing minority within the context of their domination, if one were to include the "satellite" countries of Europe and those outside of Europe.

The relative breakdown of forces within the USSR is 60% non-Russians to Russians. Accordingly, there are over 53 million Ukrainians in the USSR, circa 50 million Islamic peoples (Turkestanis, Azerbaijanians, North Caucasians, Tartar-Bashkirs, and others), as well as Georgians, Armenians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Armenians, Siberians, and others. May we add, that the peoples of the "satellite" countries are also against the Russian occupiers of their lands.

### **Historical Necessity**

The active support of the national liberation struggles of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries, should be included within the general conception of the foreign policy of the states of the Free World, as an integral component, similarly as leninism-marxism-communism and the so-called "national liberation of the colonial peoples" is an integral part of the foreign policy of the USSR as is clearly stated in the USSR Constitution. This is a historical necessity in relation to the USSR from which there can be no escape.

This is the only real path to the final solutions of the current world crisis. Therefore the Free World must actively and resolutely pursue the matter of the de-colonization of the Russian empire — the USSR — its dissolution, the concurrent re-establishment of national independent states of the presently subjugated nations on the ruins of this anachronistic empire, and, finally, the diminution of the Russian nation-state to its ethnographic boundaries, together with the return of all the deported members of the presently enslaved nations to their native lands. (This suggestion is in harmony with all the binding tenets of international law).

If the West fails to implement this weapon, then Russia will most certainly conquer the entire Free World.

Therefore, we propose the following:

— that the United Nations member-states of the Free World declare on the forum of the United Nations General Assembly a GREAT CHARTER OF



INDEPENDENCE OF THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND THE SUBSEQUENT ADOPTION OF A COMMON GOAL OF AIDING THESE NATIONS IN THEIR NATIONAL-LIBERATION STRUGGLE AS A PLATFORM OF THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE STATES OF THE FREE WORLD;

— pursuant to the United Nations “Declaration concerning decolonization, i. e., the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples”, adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 14, 1960, in which it solemnly proclaimed “the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations”, and pursuant to the subsequently adopted “Program of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration”, confirmed by the definition of imperialism given and ratified in the UN document on “De-colonization OP/522, August 1974 — 20m” and the “Definition of Aggression OPI/550, July 1975 — 20M”, the UN member-states of the Free World, especially those who are members of the “UN Special Committee of 24 for De-colonization”, should apply the basic tenets enunciated in the above-mentioned documents to the Soviet-Russian empire — the USSR, condemning the USSR for its imperialist policies of ethno-lingual-geno-natio-cide in Ukraine and the other subjugated nations in the USSR and the “satellite” countries, thereby actively pursuing the matter of the final dissolution of the Soviet-Russian colonial empire — the USSR;

— furthermore, being that the USSR is a colonial empire, and, as such, cannot be a member of the United Nations, since the continued membership of the USSR in the United Nations is in direct contradiction to the Charter and the above-mentioned Declarations and documents of the United Nations, the UN member-states of the Free World should exclude the USSR from the United Nations;

— on the basis of the precedent established by the adoption of a UN resolution by the UN General Assembly on December 1974, concerning the rendering of active support to the armed liberation struggle of the Namibian people, the UN member-states of the Free World should propose and adopt a similar resolution, pledging their active support of the armed struggle of the Ukrainian national liberation movement led by the OUN and other national liberation movements of all the subjugated nations in the Russian empire, and also condemning the Soviet-Russian empire and its neo-colonial policies in Ukraine and the other subjugated nations in the USSR and satellite states;

— on the forum of the United Nations propose the recognition of the liberation organisations of the subjugated nations by rendering the liberation organisations similar status to that of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), on the basis of the precedent established by the prior acceptance of the PLO into the UN;

— use all effective means for the initiation of a psychological war against Moscow, with the enunciated purpose of unmasking Russian imperialist aggressions throughout the world and for the final dissolution of the Russian empire as such, and utilize the forum of the UN for the continuous promulgation of such a psychological war against Moscow by systematically raising the issue of Russian imperialism with regard to the subjugated nations in the USSR and the “satellite” countries;

— on the grounds, that the subjugation of a nation cannot be regarded as the “internal matter” of an empire, but ought to be rightly treated as the right of independence of every nation in the world, in accordance with international

law, as well as the Declarations and Charter of the UN, to exclude the matter of non-interference in the "internal affairs" of the empire as a guiding postulate of international agreements;

The USSR is a colossus on clay feet, which managed to survive the gigantic onslaught of Nazi Germany, simply because Hitler pursued his campaign to the East as a new invader and oppressor, and also because the USA and Great Britain gave an enormous and decisive amount of aid to the USSR in the form of military, technical, and material goods, as well as with the opening of the second front.

In evaluating the vast military and economic strength of the Free World, we believe, that the key position in a victorious struggle against the Russian neo-colonial empire lies with the SUBJUGATED NATIONS in that empire. The majority of the military forces of the members of the subjugated nations, are non-Russian who will fight against the empire conjointly with an external power, if that power will recognize and support the aspirations to freedom and national independence of the subjugated nations and will not itself attempt to occupy the lands of these nations or to preserve the old empire in some altered form.

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*In the name of Allah (God) the most merciful, and the most compassionate. Not equal are those believers who sit "at home" except those who are disabled "by injury or are blind or lame etc." and those who strive and fight in the Cause of Allah with their wealth and their lives. Allah has preferred in grade those who strive and fight with their wealth and lives than those who sit "at home". "AL-Quran-ALKarim".*

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V. Kayum-Khan

## **As history begins to speak!**

### **The application in Afghanistan of the identic tactics of 60 years ago in Turkestan**

He who gives careful consideration to the events which took place inside Afghanistan shall discover that the same political and military tactics were applied by Russians 60 years ago in Turkestan. He who familiarised himself with the history of the times after the so-called Russian October revolution of 1917, knows which methods the Russian bolshheviks have in their expansion in Turkestan and how they abuse other countries and nations once they have established their power. Following a brief comparison is given of the documentation and the de-

velopment in Turkestan and Afghanistan showing the parallel as well as the role of Russia. After 1917 the tsarist empire was put asunder and the non-Russian peoples started to rid themselves of Moscow. On 12/15 Nov. 1917 a Declaration of Rights of the nations of Russia and on 24. 11./17. 12. 1917 a manifesto directed to all Muslims of Russia and of the Orient were issued — both signed by Lenin and Stalin. Help and support was promised to all Muslims in these documents. They stated among others:

"Mohammedans of Russia, Tartars of the Volga region and Crimea, Kirgizians, Sartens of Siberia and Turkestan, Turk peoples of Caucasus... you all, whose

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*Mr. Veli Kayum-Khan is President of the National Turkestan Unity Committee (the government in exile.)*

temples are devastated and whose national customs were disdained by tsars...

In this way of world renewal we expect sympathy and support...

From now on your religious beliefs and cultural arrangements will be considered free and untouchable... organise your national life without any hindrances..." (Turkpeoples of the Soviet Union from 1917, by Dr. B. Hayit, 1966)

These were the pronouncements and promises made by the Russian bolsheviks at the time when they themselves were compelled to fight for their own existence. All enslaved by Russia Moslem peoples, unfortunately believed in those promises and after 1917 established their own national governments in Turkestan, such as Alash Orda and Kokand.

When comparing these declarations made 60 years ago with such a declaration of the Afghanistan government dated 27 Dec. 1979, one can easily find the same content, style and even identical text. The president Babrak Karmal addressed all the strata of the population — from the working man to the priest, as well as all the nations and tribes in Afghanistan, like Pashtuns, Tadzhiks, Hasars, Uzbeks, Turkmen, Beludzhis, Nuristans, and others with such an opening address "My dear oppressed countrymen" and called against internal and outside foes for freedom and for our fatherland to fight in closed ranks:

"Our fight is being directed for the honour of the enslaved religion, for the justice of the Afghan peoples, the national and family traditions..."

(Friendship, 4. 1. 80 Zelinograd)

In order to comprehend the present day events in Afghanistan and the role played by the Russians in it, one should bring into comparison the development in Turkestan of 60 years ago.

After the Russian October revolution of 1918, national governments were created in Dec. 1917 from the Baltic Sea through Ukraine, Caucasus to Turke-

stan. Despite Lenin's declaration of 1917, in which freedom for the nations was promised, the national governments in Turkestan, like Alash Orda, the Kokand government, the Khanat Khiwa and Emirate Bukhara, were attacked and destroyed by the Red Army in 1918—1920. At the end of 1920 no single national government of the Turkpeoples existed inside the present Soviet Union.

Afterwards the people of Turkestan withdrew to the mountains and to the steppes and continued their fight against the Red Army. Major parts of Turkestan were under the control of the freedom fighters and even on 20 April 1922 they were capable of proclaiming the renewal of an independent republic of Turkestan in Samarkand under the premiership of Shor Mohammad Bek.

The insurgents of Turkestan pushed back the Russians and Turkestan was then sealed off by the Russians. Lenin created in 1917/18 a Turkestan military circle of the Red Army in order to set them against the insurgents (Basmatchi).

The graveness of the Russian situation in Turkestan can be recognised by the desperate radio message sent by D. I. Kolesow, chairman of the Council of the Peoples's Commissars of the Turkestanian ASSR, to Lenin:

"The Republic of Turkestan is encircled by the enemy... the situation is very serious and incisive. Our condition is very catastrophic.

In view of imminent death in this tragic period we long to hear you..."

Upon this Lenin sent from Moscow on 17. 7. 1918 the following telegram message:

"To help you we've taken all necessary measures. We are sending you regiments. Don't lose your courage!..."

(Uzbekistan Communisti, no. 5, 1968)

Thus Lenin sent the Red Army into Turkestan to save the autonomous republic of Turkestan but not to defend the Turkestanian people. He was anxious to

restore again the Russian bases in Turkestan. The above-mentioned call for help from Moscow is rather similar to the one supposedly sent by the Afghans. Now again Moscow has sent troops against the national insurgents — this time to Afghanistan — and the basis has been established.

After the Red Army destroyed the Kokand government and Alash Orda in 1918 it turned against Khanat Khiwa and Emirat Bukhara. Both of them remained in Russian Vassalage from 1873 onwards. From October 1918 they began to free themselves from Russian bondage. Lenin gave an order to occupy Khanat Khiwa, but Khiwa was able to successfully defend it against the Red Army and therefore Lenin was compelled to conclude a peace treaty on 8. 4. 1919 and to recognise the sovereignty of Khiwa.

There followed an exchange of diplomatic representatives. The Soviet side stated that:

“The revolutionary people of Harazim (Khiwa) requested help and the Red Army has lent its helping hand...”

(Uzbekistan Communist, no. 5, 1980)

Thus regardless of the diplomatic recognition, on 20. 11. 1919 Lenin ordered the commanding officer of the garrison Turtkul:

“Be ready to march into Khanat Khiwa to help the working-man of Harazim...”

General Frunse, the conqueror of Turkestan, issued on 22. 12. 1919 an order for the offensive and on 25. 1. 1920 the Red Army occupied the city of Khiwa. Khanat was entirely taken over by the Red Army and thus emerged the “Peoples Republic of Harazim”.

Similar tactics were employed towards the independent Emirat Bukhara. On 1. 9. 1920 the Emirat Bukhara was conquered by the Red Army which supposedly was called by young Bukharean reformers to come to the country to give help.

The Emirat Bukhara was transformed into the “People’s Republic” Bukhara, and

its government concluded on 4. 3. 1921 a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union, in which (18 paragraphs) the sovereignty and independence of Bukhara was recognised. Feisullah Hodsha, foreign minister and prime minister of the People’s Republic of Bukhara, issued on 1. 3. 1921 a declaration (Bukhara Ahbari):

“All the colonial chains and bondages were removed thanks to the treaty with the Soviet Union in agreement with the principles of complete equality of rights. Bukhara is absolutely independent in all areas of politics, economics, in national and military aspects...”

(Uzbekistan Communisti, no. 9, 1970)

Identical statements were made by the present president of Afghanistan, Babrak Karmal, in his appeal dated 27. 12. 1979.

In Bukhara events developed further. In 1921 the president of the P.R. Bukhara, gave a specially prepared banquet at Dushanbe, at which all his government ministers together with Russian representatives and military dignitaries were present. He expressed thanks for the help received but since Bukhara is now independent he reminded the delegates of the promises made by the Soviet government and said:

Osman Hodzha: “We would like you to return to Moscow and pull back the Red Army from Bukhara... The Turk nation shall live freely and independently in its own country...”

The Russian commander in Dushanbe, Marasuf, jumped up high with a red face: “How dare you speak thus?”

O.H.: “As a president of a nation”.

The Russian: “Which nation?”

O.H.: “The Turk nation”.

The R.: “Don’t you know such a nation is unknown to us?”

(National Movement of Afghanistan, A. Redjeb Baysun, Istanbul 1945)

During the war that followed between the Red Army and the soldiers of Bukhara, a blood bath took place and Osman Hodzha, together with his associates and

soldiers escaped to the Basmatchis. Shortly after all of the members of the government were incarcerated and in 1924 the republic of Bukhara ceased to exist. The territory was also divided as the case was with the PR of Harasim. Feisullah Hodzha "enemy of the people" was killed by the Russians and the Red Army continued to remain in Turkestan until today.

The Turkestanian insurgents — called "Basmatchis" by the Russians i.e. robbers" — withdrew to the mountains. They received no help from outside countries but they continued their fight with weapons seized from the Red Army, gaining support from the population. Such a fight for freedom lasted for 16 years until 1934. The Russians insulted then as "agents and servants of the imperialists" who supposedly received arms from the English.

Nowadays the same drama repeats itself in Afghanistan. Here the national insurgents in the Turkestan Soviet press are also named Basmatchis, who supposedly with the support of USA, Pakistan and China are carrying out armed attacks in Afghanistan. Indeed they have no weapons and are dependent on themselves. The Afghan freedom fighters received relatively little support as did the Turkestanis 60 years ago. The invasion of the Red Army into Bukhara was explained by W. N. Kuibyshev, the representative of the Soviet government in Turkestan, on the following grounds:

"The farmers of Bukhara requested our help, we had no right to refuse this help because we knew what we were fighting for. Our Red Army was mobilised to help our revolutionary brothers to free themselves from the terror of the bourgeoisie..."

The Red Army was sent to Bukhara after the Emir of Bukhara who, being under the protection of imperialists strengthened his forces against Soviet Russia, and also after the people had asked for help..." (Soviet Uzbekistani, 21. 11. 1969)

The same grounds were given for the

invasion of the Red Army into Afghanistan. Its government then published on 28. 12. 1979 the following statement:

"As the interference and provocation of the foreign enemies persist and will increase, the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA), decided based on the treaty of 6. 9. 1979 between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan which allows a request for political, moral, economic, including military help from the Soviet Union to safeguard from any danger the unity of the territory and the achievements of the April revolution. The government of the Soviet Union has to fill this request..." It was also declared that this help will not be necessary as soon as the armed attacks and provocations from outside ceased (Friendship 4. 1. 80 Zelinograd).

The same was confirmed by M. W. Zimyanin, secretary of the Central Committee of the communist party of the Soviet Union, in connection with the second anniversary of the Afghan revolution 26. 4. 1980 with a large party and government delegation arriving in Kabul:

"After the imperialist circles of the USA together with their sympathisers started an aggressive policy against the Afghan people, the Soviet Union, based on the treaty of 5. 9. 1978... upon the request of the government of DRA, sent their armed forces to Afghanistan.

The armed forces of the Soviet Union have the duty to destroy the aggressions performed by the USA, China and Pakistan against Afghanistan... When these conditions are over and when the government of Afghan will find that further stationing of the Red Army is no longer needed, it will then be withdrawn..."

(Soviet Uzbekistani, 29. 4. 80)

With this similar situation — as 60 years ago in Turkestan — the impression should be stressed that the Red Army has acted with help for the Afghan people on the grounds of the treaty of 1978, and its presence was only to be temporary to

provide protection and security to the new government.

In the middle of January 1980 a high official of the Soviet embassy in Washington confessed the truth in an interview given to the correspondent of the newspaper "Die Welt" when he stated:

"The USA has nothing to look for in the Orient. It is a power on the other side of the ocean... We arranged in Afghanistan our own "Forward Based System" against the sphere of interest of the West... Do you seriously believe that we would passively look on... as the United States starts to speak about their commandos of the "Rapid Deployment Force?... What is "rapid deployment?" I think that we have just demonstrated it in Afghanistan. The Russians mount their horse slowly but they gallop quickly..."

In an insulting and scornful way he continued:

"The Mohammedans are simple people. We have 40 million of them at home and do not experience any difficulties with them. We certainly do not have any difficulties with them in Afghanistan... The Moslems desire only a little freedom for their cults..."

(Die Welt, 14. 1. 1980)

This way he demonstrates very clearly the true Russian interests in Afghanistan. The Red Army which supposedly hastened with help for the Afghans, actually exercised the expansion of the colonial empire of Moscow. The strategic importance of Turkestan, similar to that of Afghanistan, is well known to the Russians.

Lenin already said in 1920: "Turkestan has world importance for the RSFSR." (Soviet Usbekistani, 16. 11. 79.) They constantly bear in mind the testament of Peter the "Great" that the way to the Indian Ocean leads through Turkestan and Afghanistan. 60 years ago Turkestan fell,

today it is Afghanistan, thus the Russians are now on the Pakistan border. At that time Turkestan was considered to be an underdeveloped country and in previous decades the same error was made in connection with Afghanistan. Little attention was paid to it and the land was left to the Russians, who in the course of decades strived for Afghanistan and prepared themselves in the long run for the actual invasion. Already the Afghan king and his government believed too much the theory of co-existence and cultivated very close connections with Moscow. On one side many Afghan cadres were trained in Tashkent and Moscow and on the other side Soviet advisors in all areas were very active in Afghanistan. Besides the "Soviet committees for solidarity with the countries of Asia and Africa" and Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Turkmen, Kirghiz, and Tadzhiks "Associations for the cultivation of friendship and cultural relationships with foreign countries", as well as writers' unions have unfolded a tremendous agitatorial work among Afghan intellectuals and youth, certainly as one can see not without success. Only a small Communist minority exists in this land.

As the Red Army invaded the northern part of Afghanistan it marched forward in the areas which are primarily populated by Turkestanis. The majority of the 6.3 million Turkestanis of Afghanistan live in the northern regions of Afghanistan, in Pamir, Badakhshan, Balch, Herat, Kunduz, Kabul, and other places. According to the latest reports these Turkestanis together with Afghans render exasperating opposition against the Red Army and suffer big losses. To some extent they are transported away in Russian military trucks to unknown destinations.

Thus today we are witnessing the identical tragedy in Afghanistan as of 60 years ago in Turkestan.

## **“Russian Empire murderer of Nations”**

**STATES IVAN HEL**

*Among the many documents which were recently smuggled to the West is an appeal of Ivan Hel to the United Human Rights Commission, dated July, 1979*

Ivan Hel was born in 1937, in the Region of Lviv, Western Ukraine, a student of history and a laborer, married with one daughter. He was arrested for the first time on August 24, 1965, tried and sentenced on March 25, 1966, by the Regional Court of Lviv to three years of severe harsh regime concentration camp for “anti-soviet propaganda and agitation”. For the second time, he was arrested on January 13, 1972 and sentenced in August of the same year under the same statute (62 CC USSR) to ten years of concentration camps (five years of special hard regime camps and five years of severe harsh regime camps) and five additional years of exile.

He begins his appeal to the United Nations as follows (quoted without any changes — Pub.):

### **“United Nations Human Rights Commission”:**

Ukrainian political prisoner Ivan Hel, born July 17, 1937, in the village of Klicko, County of Horodenka, Region of Lviv, is presently interned in special hard regime political prison of Sosnovka, Mordovia — address — Гель Іван, Мордовія, ст. Потьма, Сосновка, ЖХ 385/1-6 (Москва ВС 5110).

‘We, the nations of the United Nations, with resolute determination, again confirm our faith in basic human rights, dignity and value of an individual... (Charter of the United Nations)...’ Realizing that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free individual human being, benefiting from civil and political freedom and the freedom from fear and poverty, can actually be realized only under such circumstances where each and every individual will be able to benefit from his inalienable economic, social and cultural rights, as well as his civil and political rights... (International Pact on Civil and Political Rights).

Russian empire — prison of nations. This short and mathematically precise formula, which condenses robbery of foreign natural resources lasting hundreds of years, exploitation of human resources, and the oppression of intellectual and spiritual potential of enslaved nations brazen and unprecedented in its immensity, is presently in need of sematical definition. Today, the Russian empire is a murderer of nations. A murderer in a direct and indirect understanding of the word. It is not limited to the undisputable fact that, due to the unbelievable number of its victims, Russian Bolshevism immeasurably surpassed German Nazism, or to the fact that the artificially created hunger limited to the territory of Ukraine in only 1932-1933 reaped close to ten million people. These crimes against humanity were perpetrated to weaken, as much as possible, the strive of Ukrainians for their sovereignty and independence and, through terrors of collectivization causing property devaluation, to deprive Ukraine of its strength of determination. These tens of millions of victims of Russian prisons and concentration camps give the United Nations the absolute right to call Russia a murderer of nations and Soviet Bolshevism her executioner.

The United Nations, having included in its Charter obligations and responsibilities for the fate of nations, have to remember these crimes against humanity, because the aims of the empire and methods of their realization have not

changed. Evil has only altered its form and, in accordance with dictates of necessity, uses different means to achieve its end. Genocide was transformed into ethnocide and, in conjunction with transmigration of vast masses of people and total, essentially coercive, assimilation, these flesh-butchers of imperialistic policy are mutilating nations faster than before the Thirties.

The United Nations, having included in its Charter obligations and responsibilities for the fate of nations, have to remember these crimes against humanity. Higher education should be available to every person according to his or her ability and talent. The so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a country which occupies Ukraine and on its territory practices Russian jurisdiction, has ratified this international lawful document, thereby certifying equal opportunities for elementary as well as higher education.

However, actual reality indicates that the imperialistic administration on the territory of Ukraine practices the policy of forced mass denationalization of Ukrainians, utilizing all possible educational and professional establishments. In Ukrainian cities and towns, the majority of all kindergartens, elementary, high and trade schools, as well as colleges, universities and other institutions of higher education, through administrative procedure, were transformed into Russian. Russian language used by teachers in schools, Russian text books, technical publications and research data, business correspondence and documents, together with the press, radio, television, etc., constructed as efficient useful tools for rooting-out elements of Ukrainian language and culture in generations of Ukrainian youth, have become instruments of forced sterilization of national spirit, of thrusting upon Ukrainians Russian language, culture, psychology, and genetically foreign manner of thinking of the invader. In this manner, through liquidation on Ukrainian national territories of Ukrainian educational institutions and transformation of them into Russian, dual results were achieved: Prioritive opportunities for higher education were made available to Russians and the accomplishment of chauvinistic russificational political aims of occupational power.

Graduates of professional or technical colleges, special schools, universities and other institutions of higher education, if they are Ukrainians, are, as a matter of principle, being directed to places of employment outside Ukraine. On the other hand, if such graduates are members of other enslaved nations or Russian, they receive employment in Ukraine. This analogous practice is also taking place among the military, laborers, and other stratum of the young population. This results in the accomplishments of the strategy of artificial displacements and artificial intermixing of vast masses of population of different nationalities, thereby creating an international "mish-mash", forced to communicate in Russian language only, to live and bring up their children in this artificially created society and, as a result of such abnormal circumstances, to rapidly lose their national identity, language, characteristics. Accelerated assimilation is rewarded morally and materially — resistance to such assimilation results in repressions, to say the least.

This murderer is ethnocidal, committing crimes against humanity, and the nations enslaved by the empire are awaiting United Nations' action, especially since, in addition to mass russification, rapid population increase of Russians (by falsification of statistics, unnatural population growth), and their spiritual potential resulting from their thievery of cultural treasures of enslaved nations, the policy of displacement constitutes deportation and unlawful exploitation of foreign labor force for the economic development of virgin lands, annexed illegally by Russia.



According to the articles of the Pact, a human being has the right to freedom of thought, freedom to search for ideas and unhindered dissemination of said ideas, including the ideals of freedom, self-determination, and sovereignty of his nation. However, Russian punitive codes qualify the right of nations to self-determination as “infringement upon territorial integrity”, as an attempt to “dismember” the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Thus, the invader, with raging malice, takes his revenge upon patriots by incarcerating them for decades in prisons and concentration camps, their crimes being their love for Ukraine and defense of her right to sovereignty. For purposes of uninterrupted functioning of her imperial institutions and also for the unsparing smothering of national freedom movement in Ukraine, Russia has formed an occupational regime, which, together with collaborators and traitors to Ukrainian people, is robbing Ukraine of its natural resources and at the same time is thrusting upon Ukrainian people, particularly upon the younger generation, the gangrenous, compromised ideological doctrine of Bolshevism.

This specifically Russian theoretical inbred characteristic and the “formation” based thereon is not truly a social ideal and does not constitute an end to itself. The enslaved nations, during the last fifty years, went through all nine hellish circles of the “realistic socialism” and, as no other nations on earth, realize what constitutes this satanic breed.

Bolshevism is a perfect, “dialectically” pliant, ideological mask, that in its internal and external politics practices the policy of “anything goes” — internally there exist, in the hands of the ruling nation, the fundamental means, somehow justified by it, of practising terrorism as a mode of government — externally the fundamental methods of expansion are covered up by perfect diplomatic falsehoods. This is a highly organized mechanism for the expansion of the empire, for the intensification of colonial enslavement, and for “maintaining ground” for using force and violence against individuals and nations. This insane Russian idea is the latest continuation of wishful dreams of Moscow as the “third Rome”, of “Peter’s testament”, of panslavism, of the mad ambition to be the guardian of God’s grave, and today manifests itself in Russia’s lust for expansion throughout the world.

Bolshevism is an ideal of dictatorship and lawlessness, psychology of terror and cohesion, conformity and lack of initiative, narcotic for doping and the means of manipulating the people.

Bolshevism is extreme in its intolerance of heterodoxy, difference of beliefs...

Further, Hel gives examples of linguicide of the Ukrainian language, which is being “actually exterminated”, and also devotes a separate section to the status of Jews and Hebrew schools in Ukraine.

“Hebrew schools were forbidden a long time ago and they do not exist today. Suitable parallel courses or at least Hebrew study groups cannot be found. However, easily found are intensive instructions regarding non-admission of Jews to institutions of higher education or responsible career positions...”

Then Hel writes about violations of human, civil and political rights with reference to many of his friends and acquaintances. He also notes the persecution of and repressions against his wife Maria, who lives in Lviv, and his daughter Oksana, to whom “it was suggested that she transfer from a school of intensive instruction of English language to a different one...”

His appeal Hel concludes as follows:

“As a protest against violations of national, civil and political rights of the individual, as well as the repressions and terror used against my family, I, this

25th day of July, 1979, am starting a hunger strike. I appeal to the United Nations Human Rights Commission to analyze this document, carefully and minutely research the status of national and social life in Ukraine, place this matter on the agenda of the United Nations, and, upon discussion both at the United Nations forum and wide-spread public level, adopt an appropriate resolution.”

July 25, 1979

Ivan Hel

(Translated from Ukrainian by Zena Matla-Rychtycka)

Oles Berdnyk

## The Thorn Wreath of Ukraine

(Continued from No. 3 May—June 1980)

With this sceptre, you again, again and again mercilessly struck the head of innocent Ukraine — this naive Virgin, who so imprudently placed on her finger your wedding ring.

Who can measure the ocean of suffering in which Ukraine is sailing? Who can describe the martyrdom of millions who died from the artificial hunger in 1933? Who will be able to recount the cries of the innocents executed in 1937-1939? Who will be able to capture by the vastness of their spiritual sight the immeasurable world of humiliation, lawlessness, degradation, incarcerations, unknown deaths, hunger, loss of ideals, — that world, which became the historical phantom of Ukraine, her curse, her unceasing reality?!

Thousands of slain poets, artists, thinkers, intellectuals... Thousands and thousands more of tired, bribed, and terrorized!

At the time when all other countries on Earth are striving toward and finding pathways to freedom, you, Russia, have placed a noose around Ukraine's neck, ruthlessly strangling her in order to kill the memory of her glorious past and the cosmic calling of her existence!

Even now, when a son of Ukraine, Korolov, has opened for you the Gate to the Cosmos, even in such spiritually enlightened era, you do not want to soften your cruel heart, Russia! All of the better sons of Ukrainian spirit are again in prisons, concentration camps, exile, under watchful eyes of gendarmes! Every one who told you even one word of Truth — felt the blow of your sceptre of cruelty. Uncompromising *Moroz* — why are you punishing him? Certainly not for his heroic defense of Ukrainian culture? Are you so terribly afraid of the gentle *Sverstiuk*, who was only observing the scaffold of the cathedral of Ukrainian spirit through the eyes of his creative soul? The upright *Lisovyj*, who volunteered for the guillotine, in order to warn you; — can't you realize that such people are ready to extend to you their hand in friendship, even after being on the receiving end of your savagery?!

For what crime did you lower the sword of punishment upon *Mykola Rudenko* — the cosmic poet, through whose voice God gave you His words of rebirth and ageless wisdom; why did you so harshly wrong him and his friends, who took upon themselves the holy mission of defense of the enslaved — *Lukianenko, Tykhy, Matusevych, Martynovych, Vins*?

*Svitlychnyj, Chornovil, Stus, Kaly nec, Stasiv, Shabat urala* — dozens of heroic men and women of Ukraine, whose only crime was that they thought and acted *righteously* — Russia, what harm did they cause you?!

We will not count our losses! The spirit of Ukraine will again and again renew us for the terrible duel with the dragon of Slavery and Cruelty! But you, Russia, should in this threatening historical time define your direction and spiritual status! Remember — the time for your choice is now — to be resurrected into the family of free nations, or to fall into the abyss of desolation and oblivion!

You should not disregard this warning — neither the strength nor fear of other countries will save you from your fate, the same fate that met all violators — the fate of annihilation...

... Human blood is not water! The earth does not absorb it, each drop cries to heavens for revenge. Let this blood fall upon you, the Russia of Peter and Catherine, of Stalin and Beria, the Russia of contemporary despots! Let this blood incinerate the monstrous dragon, in order for the sleeping beauty to awaken to life of the Spirit!

I will testify at the Final Judgment in the name of Ukraine — I will testify for the betrayed and tortured Cossacks, for the tormented serfs, for the disgraced song, for the humiliated thought, for the numerous generations who died on foreign soil, without accomplishing their national mission, for the millions killed by hunger, for the thousands of my contemporaries who were murdered, for the millions of the forgotten suffering from sadness, despair and hopelessness!

Russia, give your answer to God and accept the alternative:

Only absolute liberty for the nations enslaved by you will free you! Only the Epoch of Spiritual Republics, Holy Nations, free from political and economic shackles of foreign ideologies, will give us the means of life of sovereignty and international friendship. Ukraine does not wish to continue pulling your foreign chariot toward thermonuclear abyss, toward complete destruction of creativity!

I am facing you, you double-headed eagle of Russia, in the morning light of a desolated field! I am challenging you to a duel, as in the olden times! Virgin-Ukraine named me her knight and bid me farewell with the words — *go into battle without a shield!*

And I am standing here in front of you, ancient Dragon, defenseless — but fearless! Come face me — with your prisons, bureaucratic gangs, tsars, chiefs, informers, provocateurs! You cannot overpower me — because I am the Eternal Spirit of Ukraine!...

Ukraine, January 7, 1979."

*(Translated from Ukrainian by Zena Matla-Rychtycka)*

## GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

by

**Prof. Vasyl Pliushch**

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

## The Frontiers of Culture

*Below we print in translation the first part of a major work dealing with Ukrainian culture. The text was recently smuggled out of the Soviet Union. The author is a political prisoner. His identity is known but he has asked to remain anonymous.*

### Introduction

Last year the society "Ukraina" published a brochure by I. Dzyuba entitled "The Frontiers of a Crystal". The work, average among hundreds of works with an analogous theme, can be distinguished because of Dzyuba's style of writing, his linguistic culture and because of two or three ideas that appear on the last few pages of the work, and in which at least the shadow of the former Dzyuba comes to life. The publication does not excel as a criticism, not only because "The Frontiers of a Crystal" is an ordinary propagandistic "mayfly", a super-official trumpet, an attempt to present a "grandiose" picture of the "development" and "blossoming" of Ukrainian culture — "an organic and inseparable constituent element of Soviet culture" (I. Dzyuba) — this, while it is undergoing a major offensive launched by a totalitarian imperial regime, aimed in particular against Ukrainian culture and the Ukrainian nation as a whole with the sole intention of draining its lifeblood to result in its total engulfment, — but also because it was specifically prepared for readership abroad and as a bellicose assault against their people and ideas, and thus against the linguistic activity of the Ukrainian emigration and its most important representatives — that section of the Ukrainian population, which for completely comprehensible reasons played a major role in the materialisation of that sacred national concept: sovereignty and statehood. For these reasons the book — a testimony to the achievements of the KGB — was personally delivered by its true editors to some Ukrainian political prisoners, who for this activity are also

settled beyond the frontiers of Ukraine — in Russian concentration camps.

Also, and obviously most importantly, the publication was not publically acclaimed because its author was, in the distant past, one of the most active members of the opposition. He was arrested in 1972 as one of the leaders and ideologists of the movement, and while in a KGB prison, he renounced his views, his activities, his earlier works, and in particular he renounced his most popular work "Internationalism or Russification?". Now, he merely "earns" his trust. I. Dzyuba's "extraordinary transformation" is now an everyday occurrence in our community. Indeed similar events have rarely occurred on the whole of Ukraine's social horizon, and among people of Dzyuba's calibre and level, it is simply exceptional. For this reason, the devotion, dedication, uncompromising idealism shown by such social activists as A. Horska, O. Berdnyk, M. Horyn, I. Svitlychny, Ye. Sverstiuk, V. Chornovil, L. Lukyanenko, M. Rudenko and many others — with whom Dzyuba stood as a companion in arms until recently — have today become the symbol of the determination of Ukrainians, the measure of state wisdom and the bearers and creators of national values.

Without directly referring to the phenomenon of Dzyuba, we shall simply add that Dzyuba as a product of communist society and as a typical representative of its morales clearly demonstrates the schizophrenia that it produces in an individual and the psychology of terror which results in a consistent devaluation of works, and which culminates in the prostitution of deeds. At the beginning of the 1960's

Dzyuba was carried to the crest of the turbulent wave of the Ukrainian renaissance and became one of the most important bearers of our rebirth.

However, under the pressure of repression he was confronted with an alternative: either to remain in position with the fighters against the Ukrainiophobic politics conducted in Ukraine and be sentenced, and thus corroborate Moscow's colonial politics, the mass genocide of Ukrainians, and through self-sacrifice, broaden the scope of the national-liberation process; or, to reject and renounce his principles and hire himself to the services of our colonisers. Dzyuba opted for the second alternative. This was not because his views had changed or because of a "sincere belief" in the "blossoming of Ukrainian culture", but because of his pusillanimity, his tragic indifference to those important processes that were taking place and growing in Ukraine and because of his underestimation of his role in them. He had been convinced of his talent as a literary critic by excessively "pliant" advisors and "admirers" — people who had consciously committed a similar error, and who, perhaps unintentionally, were trying to gain the "optimum" variant from the situation, "attempting to obtain the best from the present, past and future" for themselves at a time when the objective and independent study of the history of the struggle and the history of Ukrainian culture "blossoms side by side with other cultures". It seems that they are trying to say: "I am not the only deviator. There are more of us and not only us average men, but there is Tychyna in poetry, Dzyuba in criticism".

However, the different types of behaviour manifested by Ukrainian cultural workers as a consequence of psychological terror shall be discussed at a later stage. We shall only mention that having consciously raised and linked the question of culture,

spiritual, historical, psychological, legal, political, material and economic values and national characteristics, we are in the main dealing with political concepts, or to use Dzyuba's words: "The frontiers of culture". In using these concepts as set complex meanings, let us not imagine that we are using precise terms, formulas or definitions, or that we are dealing with the full extent of the question raised. The material presented, given the conditions facing its authors, is not particularly deeply researched nor does it consider the questions it has raised in their entirety, nor does it present any solutions to the problems. It is a reaction to Dzyuba's book "On the Frontiers of a Crystal" — a book assigned and virtually written by the KGB. It is also the reflections of its readers about the situation our nation is in, the true state of her culture and also several constructive ideas for possible directions that the opposition movement could take, and its perspectives. The material presented here, would not have seen the light in this imperfect and incomplete state were it not for the dire necessity of exposing, at least partially, the verbal screen of demagogy that conceals one of the greatest crimes of all centuries and nations: the destruction of ill-fated nations and the annihilation of their culture.

We, to a certain extent have consciously not attempted to specify or elaborate any detailed descriptions of the questions raised and their many nuances that would allow a deeper analysis of the problems. This is the task of those who are truly deeply troubled by the position of our nation and its culture and who study or work independently for the Ukrainian community. These observations are directed at Ukrainian youth, and it is to the youth of Ukraine that we dedicate them, who must know the truth, and most vitally, should be devoted to the Ukrainian nation, but who under the control of schools, uni-

versities are disinformed and who live under the constant pressure of the bureaucratic machine and its propagandistic mass information reproduced in transatlantic television, the cinema, the theatre. In such conditions, intended to produce total deception, it is not always possible to obtain objective knowledge about our history, national values, the protracted and powerful aspirations of Ukraine for her sovereignty and statehood.

### **National and World Culture**

Culture is an aggregate of ideals and symbols, norms and principles, achievements and values, the organisation and methods of human activity in the spiritual, material, creative and heraldic spheres that have been assimilated by a nation (or mankind) throughout its whole history. Culture, as a multifaceted totality of all these concepts in their causal and consequential appearance, as an aggregate of imperatives, as an organic need of man becomes a reality that is determined and controlled by the aspirations of man's soul, his biological development, the individual and general nature of the artist, by social factors and conditions, by the means of existence of both the creative individual and the nation to which he belongs.

The incessant flow of life gives culture its continual progress, its variations and the transformation of its forms, methods and means. Culture continually evolves and develops, and is enriched by the new values brought by each successive generation of its community. It unites and embraces language, religion, art and science, the means of social existence and the existing level of production. Culture, through this development and evolution simultaneously appeals to its past generations, to their deep spiritual, biological and historic origins, their sources and traditions. The harmony between the past and present is the guarantee of the opportunity

and right of a nation to take full advantage of its national cultural achievements. Their free and incomplete synthesis, their spiritual unity and organically reciprocal traditions are the precondition and guarantee for the natural, independent and free development of national cultures, and the basis of their development and evolution. This is also the basis that makes it possible for a national culture to make a worthy contribution to the culture of all mankind.

World culture is an aggregate of national cultures, which are integrated through a system of functioning organisations and which are united through a common circulatory system, through the assimilation of past cultural achievements, mutual influences and exchanges, and the mutual historic rivalry of opposing nations, and in the present culture is united by analogical processes. The culture of mankind is an aggregate of national cultures united into a single system, in which the universal nature of mankind of different nationalities has been harmoniously interwoven into the wide breadth of general human values with their multi-faceted manifestations. Global unity does not preclude, but rather anticipates the continual rivalry of cultures which stimulates the individuality of national characteristics because of the inherent need of each organism to verify its uniqueness. Without this rivalry and without continual mutual exchange the progress of both national and world culture is impossible. Thus we affirm the organic necessity for freedom, the right of an independent life, the right of the free evolution of each national culture and the right of national cultures to compete against each other as a precondition for the development and progress of both national and world cultures. This, because world culture can only develop through the concomitant development of national cultures. Indeed, there is no such thing as

an abstract world culture: world culture is composed of thousands of national cultures, and the richer these are, and the more original they are, then the richer and more original is world culture. For this reason the troubadours of international culture in their attempt to obliterate and merge national cultures are the gravediggers of world culture. Also the conflicts of chauvinist mutation result in the aggressive aspirations of one nation and culture against others.

### **Co-existence of Nations and their Cultures**

The inter-relations of nations and their cultures presents a complex of problems and contradictions, religions and relations. Despite this the culture of mankind is an aggregate of co-existing national organisms — of independent organisms with a natural historical progress of development and with a natural and legal guarantee of the right of life of each nation and national culture, whose independence is stipulated through the very use of the term nation, its spirit and traditions, its psychology and biological factors, its geographic regions and climate, its protracted historical existence, the coefficient of the creative potentials of its community and the realisation of these factors, which are dependent on the size of the coefficient and the historical fate of the nation.

Independently of these factors, of the size of the nation, its statehood, of its historical, political and economic factors, of the involvement and influence of the consolidating processes of world evolution, each national culture — a complex set of concepts relating to other national cultures — can either be on a higher or lower plane of development. As an organic whole and as an aggregate product of a community, culture encompasses different strata of society, regional differences that have been assimilated by the national language and by the bodies concerned with

cultural achievements. It evolves through its own development and through that of world culture, through the process of international relations and through the free exchange of ideas and values. It is from this that the geni of nations develop their own specific cultural characteristics while simultaneously assimilating the achievements of all mankind. Also this synthesis of complex and multiple interwoven concepts forms part of the treasure-house of world values. Because of the complexity of these processes and because of the natural uniqueness of each nation, the historical rivalry of nations and the communality of their achievements it is not possible to precisely measure the contribution of each nation to world culture. However, the effect of these contributions is quite obvious, and without a doubt, the more developed a national culture the more independent organisms that constitute mankind, then the more varied, the more original, the more developed and the higher world culture. The harmony between national and world culture is the guarantee of the right of the full development of national and world cultures and their free and incomplete synthesis, their total unity and the mutual co-existence of their traditions is the pre-condition and guarantee for the natural evolution of national culture and the foundation for its development and progress.

Different regions that evolved as a result of geographic, racial and biological factors, through their common inheritance of their ancient cultures, through the differences and similarities of the nation's psychology and soul — determined by national frontiers, and also a result of protracted historical relations, migrations and mutual exchanges, can have national cultures that are more or less related to each other, they can be affected most deeply by their own internal achievements or by the more pronounced influences of another culture.

However, they all belong to certain civilisations, cultural regions or cultural branches (European, the Eastern, Slavic, Anglo-Saxon, Roman, Latin American and so on). And even within the boundaries of these regions the existence of a nation with a historic community with a functioning culture, the consolidating process of the mechanism of relations bore and bears a complex, competitive and even a hostile character. The history of mankind — as an evolutionary process and as the development of general human values — both through international relations and the mutual exchange of values and national achievements, and the assimilation of foreign values — has experienced invasions, captivity, plunder, genocide. Having brought mankind countless sufferings and causing world culture to suffer irretrievable losses, the politics of aggression, occupation and colonisation, and “the compulsory mergence of nations regardless of the practical method of its realisation and political ideal”, the unification of national cultures and their compulsory assimilation is qualified by both natural and international law as a crime against humanity.

### **The Rights of the Captive Nations**

This is why the captive nations have the the right to defend the lives of social individuals and have the rights to fight for nations with the available optimum means, both on their own territory and in the libe-

ration process of the national diaspora, regardless of country of residence, views, party affiliations, the means and methods of the struggle (this is an internal-national question and can only be resolved by a national-liberation forum). A captive nation also has the right of the aid and solidarity of the world community and the active defence of the UN.

This is why each national culture — “the pride of the nation and its priceless historical heritage” (I. Dzyuba “The Frontiers of a Crystal”) — in the context of world culture should not be coerced, pressurised, unified and thus destroyed, but it should be free, free to contribute as a sovereign nation, independent from other nations and a complete individual. It is only as such an individual that a national culture can play its role within world culture.

Thus to treat a national culture as a part of another national culture is to degrade it. Such treatment can only result in discrimination and in the deprivation of the right to independent development. If the author of “The Frontiers of a Crystal” had this in mind, if his book was intended to present the true state of Ukrainian culture, if it was to confirm and supplement his previous objective research presented in “Internationalism or Russification?”, then we should agree with the author. The Ukrainian nation and its culture within the boundaries of the empire are placed into a

## **UKRAINIAN HERALD**

**Underground Magazine from Ukraine  
Issue IV**

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



subordinate position, they are discriminated against, and as a result of political assimilation mass transmigrations (the deportation of the Ukrainian population from the boundaries of Ukraine) the Ukrainian nation and her culture find themselves on the frontiers of decay. However, the author, in repeating the statements of the apologists of chauvinism and disciples of the imperial politics of Moscow towards Ukraine and its “development“, attempts to refute reality, and by trying to prove that this is the so-called Ukrainian culture . . . that is developing and which is “an organic and integral part of Soviet culture” he betrays the truth.

Such a unitary affirmation in respect of a separate Ukrainian culture and of the cultures of the captive nations, which have clearly pronounced and obvious differences, which have different historical traditions and different aspirations for the independent and sovereignty functioning of their cultures, and different interests, justifies their compulsory maintenance within the confines of one state, with a uniform, compulsory ideology — which controls all the nations and their means of existence, but which is incompatible with their natures, spirits and religions. While such an affirmation is a conscious and hypocritical mutilation of the true state of all national cultures, and of the Ukrainian in particular, it also acts as a mediator for the ruling nation both in the sphere of international relations and in the sphere of culture, and it also maintains the totalitarian imperial-chauvinistic character of the state.

Although the cultures of social groups existing within the regional branches of a national culture are an organic and indivisible part of national culture, despite the fact that, in principle, they are separate due to their origins, spirit and national cultural traditions. As an integral part of a national culture — on “the frontiers of a crystal”, it can be seen that such cultures

were once independent, but have now been fully assimilated by the nation and as a result of inauspicious historical conditions, have fallen into decay and dissolved into another culture. As such they are included into the category of unfunctioning cultures, but were absorbed and now constitute the branches and elements of a living culture. With certain reservations, the whole culture of a nation can be degraded to “the frontiers of a cult”, a phase, which in the distant future our Ukrainian culture could find itself in given the present rate of assimilation.

A fundamental error — committed through ignorance — affirmed that the Ukrainian national culture must become an organic and indivisible part of Russian culture. It cannot be denied that Ukrainian and Russian culture share certain influences and characteristics, which were consolidated during the three centuries of enslavement suffered by Ukraine. But despite the differences, the cultures of these two nations, their origins and histories, their national psychologies and spirits, their anthropologies and ethnographies, their customary traditions, their traditional mutual hostility and the difference between their national interests were united in the middle ages and unification in the works of our best known political activists and ideologists, scholars and writers (whose works are now prohibited). This is the reality. It was and is irrefutable proof and indisputable testimony that these two nations are completely different and totally incompatible. And these three centuries of a policy of consistently violating agreements, of uncertainty, of prohibitions, of genocide, of the theft and assimilation of our national relics and cultural values, of pogroms, mass annihilations and migrations — begun by Peter I and continued through to the present, including by Stalin who sacrificed the lives of 10 million Ukrainians — is ample testimony proving the

relations between these two nations. In perspective, these relations have the potential of transforming and becoming normal. And as soon as Ukraine leaves the folds of the empire, she must establish equal diplomatic relations between two sovereign nations, all Ukrainian ethnic lands that were partitioned must be repatriated (Kuban, Kurshchyna, Voronizhya, Bilohorshyna and so on). Ukraine must have indivisible territorial unity which shall be controlled by the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian state, all Ukrainians must be repatriated as must all the national values and relics stolen through the course of three centuries and removed to Russia's capital and towns. However, this is a question for the future. Today our national culture — in both a legal and literal sense — finds itself colonised and discriminated (which the author of the book shamefully admits in the last pages of his book). Although it is weakened, it is unbreakable and cannot be destroyed. It is a functioning culture of a captive nation and community that lives, fights and strives to realise its national aspirations — sovereignty, statehood, and freedom.

World history does not know of such a precedent where an empire has united its many nations into a single state, where an empire has united tens of occupied nations all antagonistic towards their occupier and where culture is intended to function as a single, united harmonious organism of all nations. In such a state the ruling nation has the dominating (although not necessarily the highest) culture and practises cultural imperialism in various forms. It is a dominant expansionist force and completely subordinates and controls the lives of its captives. The main aim of the occupier is to sterilise the individual characteristics and national spirits of these cultures and to replace them with its own spiritual values, ideas and psychology.

The “theoretical” foundations and the

introduction of economic and cultural exploitation, and in particular the engulfment of both human resources, their creative potential and their labour power (used as cannon fodder during the years of active external expansion) and also the politics of assimilation and various forms of liquidation (with consistent national immunisation particularly implemented during periods of active opposition — even unarmed — is frequently physical and massive) is an attempt to unify the cultures of the captive nations and to completely engulf them. Fundamentally these are the strategic principles intended to fulfill the political ambitions of the empire, they are methods of survival, power and expansion — and were inherited from the czarist administration and adapted to the needs of the time. After the overthrow of czarism in 1917 only the form of demagogy and propaganda changed while the strategic aims remained unchanged. Thus the fundamental ambitions of the czarist empire — both in external and internal politics — were inherited in full by the present regime. Today's rules of the empire and its ideologists in seeking justification for their internal politics are not ashamed of directly and openly relying on history, of leading on its authority and on the despotism of the legal state structure of the past epoch, on czarist imperial ambitions: “our conditions, our traditions“ etc. etc. The appearances of ideology, “scholarly literature”, historic essays, publications, periodicals, artistic work bear a similar tone as of czarist days, but are more candid and abundant in their terminology.

(Let us note while czarist Russia was a prison of nations, it had a relatively moderate regime, but Bolshevik Russia transformed this prison of nations into a regime that condemns everyone to death within a framework of a perfectly planned, organised plan. There is no other similar mechanism in the state machine — a con-

centration camp of ethnocide. In Russia the dominating postulates were always those of a super-state, pan-Slavism, the expansionist chauvinism of a ruling group operating against a background of passivity, obsequiousness, the excessive humbleness and weakness of the community — where it is hoped, no opposition will be able to form. But the regime was actively supported during the war years or when national-liberation movements were completely suppressed. Despite this, a degree of freedom still existed and the pressure exerted over the colonial nations was not all-pervasive. But having almost succeeded in destroying the roots of the sown seeds of democracy and because of the tolerance developed through almost three centuries of relations with Europe, after the ruling nation became a total chauvinist — community thought and free expression were totally suppressed while simultaneously, an attempt was made to completely deceive the peoples with “heated” communist ideology, which in essence, provides an abundant field for the development of a totalitarian re-

gime. The above enumerated tendencies have developed into a meglomania that permits any abuses of power, that allows total dictatorship and terror, and which was transformed into a desire for world hegemony which constitutes the crime of all epochs and the crime against all nations and which is committed within the boundaries of the empire and which is intent on destroying all nations. Communist demagoguery is a myth intended to camouflage the so-called unity of interest and the blossoming of national cultures, the harmony and friendship with the hegemonist-thief. Communist ideology and in particular, its practice, is a disease-ridden negative mutation controlling a national organism that has been deprived of its control over its ethnic and normal development, and has totally lost control over its politics. Communism, as it developed became pathological, particularly aggressive, despotic and chauvinistic.

(To be continued)

*Translated from the Ukrainian  
by Lessia Dyakivska*

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**Resolution sponsored by Senator Martin J. Knorr at the  
Wayside Cross 1980 Festival**

*WHEREAS, Millions of American citizens have their roots and origins in nations currently under totalitarian communist dictatorships either under the Russian colonial yoke in the USSR or in the satellite states; and*

*WHEREAS, The President of the United States and Congress should treat the nations from which we are descended equally with those nations which are receiving preferred treatment; and*

*WHEREAS, Attention should be given to policies which will lead to the national liberation of those peoples under dictatorships; now, therefore, be it*

*RESOLVED, That this Legislative Body memorialize the Honorable Hugh L. Carey, Governor of the State of New York, to proclaim Sunday, June first, nineteen hundred eighty as Festival of Nations Day in the State of New York to call attention to needed new Federal foreign policy based upon the principle of national independence for all nations; and be it further*

*RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution, suitably engrossed, be transmitted to the Honorable Hugh L. Carey, Governor of State of New York, to the President of the United States and to each member of Congress from the State of New York.*

## “Christ’s Testament”

### Message to a friend

*(UCIS) — Not long ago, new journalistic and literary works of recently imprisoned writer-mystic Oles Berdnyk were transmitted to the West. These works are disseminated in Ukraine through the self-publishing (sam-vydav) system. Among said works are historical essays, e.g. “Thorn Wreath of Ukraine” (ABN Correspondence No. 3/80), poems, letters, messages, etc.*

*Below is an excerpt of Berdnyk’s message to his friend entitled “Christ’s Testament”.*



My Friend!

You and I, like most of our contemporaries, were born and grew up during an epoch of legalized godlessness. Instead of prayer, we heard abuses reaped upon God, godlings, Christ, Virgin Mary and all the saints. Crosses were falling from bell towers, painfully striking the ground. Active faithful and clergymen were exiled to Solovki, Siberia, the dreamy taigas, beyond the Polar Circle. I was five when I first witnessed this unusual, frightening mystery.

Easter was coming. Our family then lived in a small village in the Kyiv Region. Kolkhozes (collective farms) were not yet established, people worked in so-called communes. One day “militant atheists” arrived from the regional district, gathered all communists, and ordered the preparation of an atheistic spectacle. Communists put on animal masks and furs, fastening devil’s horns to their heads. Then they moved toward the Church, where services were being held. So dressed, the communists ran around inside the Church shouting: “Down, down with rabbis, monks and priests!”

The priest, bent by old age, grey-haired, surrounded by a handful of old women, in trembling voice, was proclaiming the everlasting truth, which was still unclear to my childish understanding: Christ has risen from the dead, through his sacrifice, he overpowered the forces of darkness, endowing the dead with hope of everlasting life!

Something mysterious, unworldly encompassed my soul. This group of people near the altar, among flickering candlelight, this devil’s circle that shouted, sputtering spit, reviled and threatened the congregation of faithful gathered around the painting of Christ — all that left me with the impression of some mystic profoundness of everything that was happening...

Later, when I was six years old, terrible hunger was destroying Ukraine. I know about this horror not from narratives, books or newspapers. I was a witness and participant in this nationwide disaster.

The dead lay everywhere, on roads, in gardens, in houses. Occasionally a cart appeared, indifferent people piled the corpses in stacks upon the cart and drove them to the cemetery. There the cart was overturned, spilling the bodies into a common grave, where savage dogs threw themselves upon the prey, ferociously bearing their teeth.

I could scarcely drag my feet. My mother and I visited some relative. No one was at home. Complete emptiness. By the stove — a dead woman. Mother began to sob, started calling somebody, doing something. My attention was riveted to a book (Bible — Pub.) on the windowsill, whose pages were being turned by the wind. (...)

Years passed. We all were being brought up as atheists, steadfast materialists (in the worst meaning of this word). I lived not unlike others my age, fascinated by scientific miracles, drawn to space exploration, religious fairy tales appearing truly naive and funny in comparison with the obvious successes of scientific and technological strives.

Suddenly the war erupted. And wonder of wonders. Even Stalin — this personification of satan's soul — realized that without God there could be no victory. Priests were released from prisons, churches were opened, millions of prayers rose to heavens, and who could say whether they were not the decisive factor in overpowering Hitler's devilish hordes?!

Meanwhile, the church, as in tsarist pre-revolutionary times, was dependent upon "those in power". I remember a service in church when the priest was solemnly singing: "Long life to our pious, devout, God-annointed leader Joseph Stalin".

Boredom overwhelmed me. Afterwards, for a long time, I did not go to church.

The war was over. I returned from the front. Studied. Worked. Firmly convinced of the fact that I *have never* strived toward mysticism, toward religion, toward transcendentalism.

And suddenly in 1946 I had a dream . . .

I was climbing and crawling through terrible steepness upwards. I realized that there, on top, my father was standing and I had to take his place in connection with a very important matter. It took me a long time to crawl upwards. I was hindered by rivers, landslides, foul weather, vapours. My arms and legs were scratched and bloody, I was suffocating with sorrow and loneliness. However, I made it, and on top of the mountain I saw . . . Christ. On his shoulders, he was supporting an unbelievably heavy load, not unlike the ancient Atlas. His whole body was exposed, blood streaming down his frame, eyes looking into mine with grief and hope.

The load on his shoulders swayed. I rushed to his feet and woke up . . .

The dream left me with a strong impression. I will remember it always. Christ's reality entered into my heart through some kind of extra-intellectual channel — through the world of mystery.

In 1949, Christ again appeared in my dream.

I was standing underneath a very high mountain. A white cloud was rapidly descending from the top. It disintegrated. Christ was standing beside me. He wore a dark cloak, his head was bloodied by a Crown of Thorns. I looked anxiously into his sorrowful eyes, and it seemed to me that he was my close kin, my brother, my father, my friend.

He said: — See that road?

I looked to where he was pointing. There thundered river rapids, rose impassable mountains, ravines, intertwined chaotic branches of ancient trees, barring the road.

— I see, — I answered.

— Go down this road.

— Why?

— Go! — Christ said gently but firmly.

And I went. He raised his hand in benediction.

. . . Shortly thereafter I was arrested. By the way, an old woman to whom I related my dream, told me: "You will come to grief, you'll wind up in prison!"

Six months after my arrest, I was placed on trial. It was such a false, despicable proceeding that my soul — the soul of an honest, truthful, faithful to the most humane ideals, person — rebelled and, of course, ardently focussed upon itself, in order to find continuous meaning to life.

After the sentencing, I was taken to a cell close to the courtroom, and locked up. In that instance, I felt the presence of Christ.

Can you understand, my friend, — it was not a thought about Christ, not a prayer to Him, although it would have been understandable in my state of outrage and despair, — *He was near me, embraced me, talked with me.*

This happened suddenly, in a flash!

I knelt down, but not as a slave. I clasped the knees of a Father, a Teacher. I realized that I have been restored into myself, that I have returned home. Passionate prayer rose from my lips, I begged Him:

— I will accept anything that my fate might have in store for me! Only one thing I beg of you — do not forsake me in the tempest of the world! Stay close to me, Dearest!

And so it happened.

I lived through prisons, through some fatal situations, through escapes, through penal dungeons, feeling more than once the breath of death on my face. However, always, in whatever circumstances, I felt the presence of the Teacher, seeing his bright blue eyes — approving or reproaching...

Yet another mystical occurrence took place, proving that our Spiritual Father is always with us.

During a critical situation in prison, I announced that I was going on a hunger strike. I was kept for ten days in solitary confinement and then transferred to the hospital. There, in the middle of the day, I fell asleep. He wore a snow-white robe and a garland of white lilies on his head. He smiled joyfully and raised his hand in benediction.

A prison officer woke me up and, after asking my name, handed me a telegram.

It read: "Soviet Supreme Court has released you. We are awaiting you at home. Signed — Father".

Can you understand, my friend, how synonymous is the interconnection between realities of the spirit and those of the physical world!? That is why, for me, the image of Christ has always constituted not a theological abstraction, not a subject for controversy or doubt, but a Living Flame from which the fire of my soul drew its strength.

*Translated from Ukrainian by Zena Matla-Rychtycka*

#### NOTICE

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

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

Please contact him at the following address:

Mr. Yaroslav Shevchuk      3438 Heresford Drive  
Parma, Ohio 44134              USA

## First Samizdat Publication from Byelorussia

*A document entitled Letter to a Russian Friend has recently reached the West and is an impassioned plea against the assimilation of the Byelorussian language by the Russian language.*

*This is the first samizdat publication from Byelorussia to reach the West. It was written in April 1977 and circulated in Byelorussia in typescript form.*

*The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is one of the 15 constituent republics of the Soviet Union. It borders in the West on Poland and is surrounded on other sides by the Ukrainian, Russian, Latvian and Lithuanian Soviet republics. Established in January 1919 with Minsk as its capital, its present-day territory consists of 207,600 sq. kilometers (80,200 sq. miles) and is inhabited by over 9 million people, more than 80 percent of whom are Byelorussians. According to its new constitution which came into force on 14 April 1978, as well as the one that preceded it, the Byelorussian SSR is a 'sovereign socialist state' which 'voluntarily and on the basis of equality' joined other Soviet republics to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Art. 68). It has, however, retained the right of 'free secession from the USSR' (Art. 69) and the power 'to conclude treaties with foreign countries, establish diplomatic and consular relations, and take part in the work of international organisations' (Art. 74).*

*Many of the problems faced by the occupied Byelorussian people with respect to Russification of language and culture are shared by all the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union. Below we reprint excerpts from the Byelorussian document.*

Such is the Byelorussian nation — a nation which, as past and modern times have shown, is no slave and is not dumb. From the viewpoint of the Byelorussian nation the question you have posed simply

does not exist, because it gives no sign of going dumb. The question arose not among Byelorussians, but quite apart from their historical growth and in spite of it.

It has been raised by those who look on Byelorussians more or less as a carpenter looks at an unplanned plank of wood with the aim of planing it down to the kind of smoothness that a woodworker thinks correct.

First the Polish king tried to plane my nation down to a shiny catholicised petty nobleman. Then the Muscovite tsar, a fellow Orthodox, came to correct the efforts of his Polish colleague and 'doctored' the wounded Byelorussian organism by trying to breathe into it the great-power spirit of a 'real' Great Russian. It is paradoxical that these diligent efforts were made by 'Great Russians' with a considerable admixture of Germanic blood. We cannot know whether this Prussian style doctoring would have ended in the extermination of the Byelorussians' living spirit, if history had not been mean with time for the Russian emperor's veterinary experiments by cutting short the life of the double-headed eagle. It is conceivable that, if history had not been in a hurry, there would have been one language less on our planet of 2700 languages and that the 'great and powerful one' would have been one dialect richer. I do not know if the Russian language would have gained by this, since excessive dialect overloading is hardly of benefit even to the most powerful languages, but human culture as a whole would have been the poorer.

The Polish king's efforts lasted for 300-odd years, the Russian tsar's for 150 years. For almost they tried, each in his own fashion, to make my nation into something 'real' after it had been abandoned and betrayed by its upper and middle strata. They did not succeed. The Byelo-

russian nation remained what it was, faithful to its predetermined purpose, but it emerged spiritually broken from its long subjection to inquisitorial experiments, virtually without writers, historians, philosophers, artists, composers of its own.

For 400 years it was allowed to give birth to Kosciuszko, Mickiewiczes and Dostoevskys on behalf of its more powerful neighbours. It was not, however, permitted to pass on to its children its own language and, through language, the spirit and wisdom of the nation. Children grew up oblivious of who their parents were; generations arose that could no longer remember their name and origin. Byelorussians came to have serious doubts about their own identity and thus became an ethnographical oddity virtually in the middle of Europe — a peasant people calling themselves the 'locals'.

The conditions of socialist construction which ensured the national and social revival of the Byelorussian nation have not always been propitious. From the 60 years of Soviet power one must subtract 20 years of territorial division of the Byelorussian organism (the period during which Western Byelorussia was under the heel of bourgeois Poland), 7 years for two wars which ploughed up the whole country, 10 years for post-war normalisation (when the problems of getting bread to eat and a roof over one's head were paramount). This leaves just over 20 years, and even this period was not devoid of extremes and the usual kind of chicanery in national policy.

In this short period a considerable number of factories and towns have been built in Byelorussia, marshes have been drained (although this drainage is said to have been taken too far and to have become the equivalent of complete desiccation), social welfare has been guaranteed. There was no time, indeed there could not have been time, to complete the national revival, the most important factor of

which would have been the achievement of a linguistic and national culture affecting everyone. If this were to be brought about, it would be a time in which Byelorussian literary speech returns, not to the palaces of magnates and chancellors, but to the offices of judges and politicians, to committee rooms, kindergartens, schoolrooms and student lecture halls, theatres and clubs (and not only to be heard on the stage), to the streets and squares of our towns and villages. In short, when it has been transformed from a mere ornament into the living tissue of social life, when it would be as natural to hear Byelorussian in a trolleybus or shop in the Byelorussian capital as it is today to hear mangled Russian which reminds one more of a dialect than the original language. When at last we would have attained the right kind of national and linguistic climate, without which our Byelorussian Romeos and Juliets will be eternally bereft of speech.

It is difficult to say when a Byelorussian generation will grow up completely cured of their linguistic inferiority complex, and unashamed of their national identity. However, the formation of this generation is today no longer an idle dream but a living reality which is pushing up its young shoots towards the sun on the rejuvenated 'Byelorussian cornfield'. Faced with this irreversible process, politicians can either hasten it or slow it down; unfortunately they more often chose the latter course of action. The one thing they cannot do is to alter its inner logic even by introducing laws that frequently lead to lawlessness.

The 'protectors' of the equal rights of both languages in Byelorussia somehow cannot grasp that this 'equality' proceeds from an *unequal* starting point, and that the stronger of the two languages is in fact being offered more privileges.\* They apparently think of themselves as marxist-leninists but do not understand that after many centuries of persecution that have



retarded and deformed the Byelorussian language, the first thing required is to remove an actual inequality — the enormous historical and cultural disproportion in the levels of both languages, to ensure a 'leveling out of levels' in accordance with the principles of socialism as understood by Marx and Lenin. Do not withhold privileges of food and clothing for yesterday's 'ugly duckling'; only when it has gained strength and can use its wings to soar upwards to join its fully-grown fellows can your procuratorial 'impermissibility' have any meaning.

Even if 'demands of the moment' or 'the Devil's due' are capable of obscuring the historical perspective for certain individual politicians, the perspective itself does not disappear.

The 1930s were remarkable for a frontal assault on the young, as yet untried strength of the Byelorussian intelligentsia (Haretski, Ihnatouski, Aleksandrovich, Schakatsikhii, Halavach, Charot and others). The 'legislators' of the period were apparently unable to realize that their ever so revolutionary attack on 'bourgeois nationalism' in socialist Byelorussia was not far removed from the most rabid counter-revolution, hiding its dirty work under the red banner. They could not know that some 25 years later their victims would be rehabilitated, although the real instigators and perpetrators of this 20th century *Neroniad* have not yet been named. It will be some time before Byelorussian culture recovers from the destruction of its first generation of intelligentsia in the coal and gold mines of the far north and eastern Siberia.

As we can see, even a socially just system is powerless when politics become divorced from morality. It is in the interests of a more favourable development for our native language and much else besides to overcome this situation. The Byelorussian intelligentsia could help much

more than it does, but, as you know, they suffer from the ailment of not having a language. Here lie both their guilt and their misfortune. This is perhaps one of the most urgent problems of Byelorussian national life. The indisposition of the intelligentsia can in turn be explained by (to put it mildly) the delicate position of the Byelorussian language which, while not being persecuted, is not exactly encouraged either. Where is the way out of this vicious circle, if indeed there is one at all? I believe there is one. It lies in the creation of truly equal conditions for both languages — if favours to one of them are 'impermissible'.

What happens in practice? After 400 years of persecution our native language has at last been permitted to exist alongside the Russian, but on terms that remind one somehow of the conditions on which a dependant lives (and in his own house!); it has been squeezed out of all areas of education: pre-schooling (in the cities) partly from schools, and from professional, special secondary and higher education. It has not been allowed to gain a hold in the party and government apparatus which controls the official life of the republic.\*\*

In time the Byelorussian intelligentsia will show the world that its ability to communicate with other nations arises from its own national values and not apart from them, and that an internationalism that tries to rise above national identities has as much to do with socialist society as do the innumerable 'nests of gentlefolk' and 'homes of the poor' — the country and city palaces of the "people's servants", who reside on the people's body only until the people say their final 'That's enough!' My faith has been bolstered by those physicists who are touring the country and rescuing the paintings of ancient Palessie from technological barbarism; even they were too late to save the remains of Dostoevsky's estate. In their actions one can

see the future of the Byelorussian intelligentsia in the widest sense of the word.

By placing our principle hopes on the intelligentsia, no one wishes to belittle the importance of other social groups of Byelorussian society in completing the national revival. It may however be supposed that any increase in the role of workers, specialists, civil servants, professional soldiers etc. in this process is dependant on the extent to which they assimilate the higher values of their national culture, above all the literary language. This promising development, which the technological revolution is itself accelerating, is now taking shape before our very eyes. We have only to watch and listen carefully for it. There are many signs pointing to the rise in the near future of a united national front, which will be called upon to complete the work started in Byelorussia by Bahushevich and Kupala, Lenin and Charvykou. Then my nation will have come to recognize and understand its destiny, that 'measure of perfection', it will have become master in its own house and will hardly allow itself to be forced

into alien linguistic clothing. It will more easily fulfil its destiny in its own truly Byelorussian dress.

\*) Of 88 journals published in Byelorussia 53 appear in Russian and 30 in Byelorussian. The corresponding figures for Ukraine are: total 185, 75 in Russian, 108 in Ukrainian. Unlike the Ukrainians, the Byelorussians have no historical journal, no foreign literature publishing house etc., etc., of their own.

\*\* However, the once youthful revolution was on the verge of making the first and, as it turned out, the last steps in this direction by raising the question of the 'further intensification and broadening of Byelorussification in the Party and Soviet apparatus' putting forward the slogan 'May the whole Communist Party of Byelorussia begin to speak in Byelorussian'. (11th congress of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, Minsk, 1928, p. 424. (In Byelorussian.) The Byelorussian party organisation is probably the only one of all the republics that does not use its own language in its meeting and conferences. I do not believe that this 'Internationalist' feature will remain unshaken for long. In private conversation and at times when they really need to express their feelings people are more and more beginning to unburden their souls in their own irreplaceable language.



Young Ukrainians on hunger strike demanding from Russians release of Y. Shukhevych. (The Hague)

## Guilty by Birth

by Andrew Sorokowski — Legal writer, Los Angeles

*All civilized nations today reject the concept of guilt by association, under which a person may be punished for the acts of another, simply by virtue of association with that person. Yet 46-year-old Yuri Shukhevych has spent 27 years in Soviet prisons and labor camps essentially because of his father's activities.*

Yuri Shukhevych was born in 1933 in Lviv, the principal city of the western Ukrainian province of Galicia, then under Polish administration. His father, Roman Shukhevych, was a leading member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), dedicated to the re-establishment of an independent Ukrainian state (the short-lived Ukrainian National Republic had been partitioned by Poland and Soviet Russia in 1921). During World War II, an underground Ukrainian Insurgent Army was formed to resist the Nazis and, from 1944, the Soviet-Russian occupation. For five years after the end of the war Roman Shukhevych, as Commander-in-Chief, continued the struggle in the mountainous south-western borderlands of the USSR.

Yuri Shukhevych was 11 years old when the advancing Red Army made it to Galicia. The Soviet authorities deported his mother and executed his uncle. In August 1948, they arrested Yuri himself and sought to compel him to publicly denounce his father, whose forces were then engaged in guerrilla warfare with Soviet troops in the Carpathian Mountains. Yuri refused. On Aug. 22, 1949, the 16-year-old boy was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by a three-man "special council" of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. These "troikas" were empowered to arrest, investigate, try, convict and sentence persons suspected of political opposition. The summary proceedings were held in secret, without the presence of the accused or counsel, in-

dependent of court or code, with no right of appeal.

On March 5, 1950, Roman Shukhevych was killed when his forces were surrounded by Soviet security troops at Bilohorshcha, a village near Lviv. Yuri was brought to the city to identify the body of his father, then returned to prison.

Stalin's death in March 1953 and Khrushchev's condemnation of past illegalities at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956 offered some hope for Yuri Shukhevych. In April 1956, a court at Vladimir in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) held that inasmuch as the "special councils" had been declared illegal, and in the light of a decree allowing the release of those convicted of crimes committed under the age of 18 (decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of April 24, 1954), Yuri's sentence was invalid. He was duly released.

However, the Procurator-General of the USSR, Roman Rudenko, intervened in the case and appealed the court's decision. Alleging that Shukhevych had tried to contact an OUN center abroad, and pointing out that Shukhevych was the son of a man who had taken up arms against the Soviet state, Rudenko, in his supervisory capacity as guardian of socialist legality, had Yuri rearrested to serve the rest of his 10-year term.

Shortly before his term was to expire, Yuri was approached by Lieutenant Halski of the security police, who was reputed to have participated in the fabrication of cases and the murdering of prisoners in the last years of the war. Halski proposed that Yuri publicly denounce his father and his national liberation movement. Yuri refused.

Halski then provided the prisoner with two new cell-mates. Alexander Fomchenko had been sentenced in 1947 to 25 years

for robbery, and in 1951 to another 25 years for anti-Soviet political activity. Burkov from Voronezh had been sentenced to 10 years for cutting a man's throat with a razor. In return for their cooperation, they were promised the relatively mild conditions of a labor camp.

### **Release and rearrest**

Several days before Yuri was to be released, Burkov signed a grievance to the Procuracy, complaining of Shukhevych's anti-Soviet agitation among the prisoners and protesting his impending release. On Aug. 21, 1958, Yuri was released and was immediately rearrested on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. The police confiscated some copies of works by Olha Ilkiv, a poetess who had been sentenced for membership in the OUN, and added them to his dossier as incriminating evidence.

As is customary in political cases, the pre-trial investigation was carried out by the state security police. Under Halski's supervision, the case was transferred to Lviv and conducted by a Captain Vinogradov, who in Stalinist days had become notorious for beating and torturing prisoners.

The trial was held in secret. Although Soviet law requires that the accused be tried by a court of the region where the crime was committed, Shukhevych's trial was held in Lviv rather than Vladimir, perhaps in order to fully exploit its exemplary value in that hotbed of national independence.

The star witnesses for the prosecution were Burkov and Fomchenko. Unfortunately, their testimonies were confused and inconsistent. Prosecutor Koliashnikov, as well as the court, had to prompt them repeatedly. Even so, the prosecution could offer but scanty evidence. For example, testimony that Shukhevych had been studying foreign languages in his cell was offered to prove his intent to flee the country.

Because the appointed defense counsel, one Smirnova, did not study the case until just before the trial, Shukhevych requested permission to conduct his own defense. The court ignored his request. To refute the testimonies of Burkov and Fomchenko, Shukhevych had obtained 12 witnesses. None was permitted to testify. Nor was the accused allowed to question the witnesses for the prosecution.

On Dec. 1, 1958, Yuri Shukhevych was convicted of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, and sentenced to another 10-year term and five years' exile.

Later that month, he was summoned before Lieutenant Halski, who cynically admitted to the fabrication of evidence, but pointed out candidly that "with your views and convictions, we cannot set you free." He suggested that Shukhevych hold a press conference and prepare a pamphlet or radio broadcast condemning his father's activities. In return, Halski promised a review of the sentence and release from prison. Yuri again refused. He was thereupon dispatched to a labor camp in the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR).

During the next 10 years, Yuri Shukhevych was given several more opportunities to recant. In 1961, he was brought back to Lviv for further discussions with Halski. In 1963, he was transferred from the Mordovian labor camp to the investigative prison of the Committee of State Security (KGB) in Kyiv. Security officials began taking him on trips to museums, theatres, factories and nearby towns. After several months of intermittent exposure to the amenities of civilian life, Yuri Shukhevych was summoned in July 1964 before Colonel Kalash, Captain Lytvyn and Captain Merkatanenko of the Kyiv KGB. He again was offered an opportunity to regain his freedom. He need only make a declaration, to be published in the press, renouncing "nationalist ideas." Shukhevych asked whether it would not

suffice to renounce anti-Soviet activity as such. That, after all, was the legal basis of his conviction. But the officers replied that this would not do. He would have to condemn his father and all that he stood for. Yuri refused. The KGB men then took a conciliatory position, proposing that he merely write an article for the press describing his journey through the country. Colonel Kalash indicated that the KGB could thus secure his pardon. But Shukhevych, perhaps sensing an attempt to make gradual inroads in his integrity, refused to cooperate. He was returned to the Mordovian camps.

In July 1965, Yuri Shukhevych was called in to see Captain Krut of the local KGB. Krut proposed that he send a petition for pardon to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. As Shukhevych later explained, this tactic, based on the premise that an innocent person does not seek pardon, was aimed at supplementing an inconclusive dossier with an admission of guilt. Indeed, Captain Lytvyn had remarked in Kyiv that the Lviv KGB had done a poor job of preparing the case. But Shukhevych declined to help them out.

Instead, on July 28, 1967, he sent the chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet an open letter reciting the facts of his case, and pointing out specific instances of illegality in both his first and second convictions. He continued in these words:

“Of my 34 years I have spent  
19 in prison...

“...I long ago ceased to believe in a proclaimed justice and legality which I have never seen embodied in real life.

“Therefore I turn to you now, when only one year remains before my second term of imprisonment runs out, not because I have any illusions on your account, not because I hope that you are able to intervene and vindicate justice trampled underfoot...

“I turn to you because it may happen that in a few months’ time a new crime will be perpetrated against me. The security police will again fabricate a new case to have me sentenced for the third time.”

In concluding, he explained the purpose of his letter.

“This was the reason that prompted me to address myself to you: so that you should know these things, and that later... you would not be able to say that you had not been properly informed, that all this was done without your knowledge, and that you bear no responsibility for similar actions by the KGB.”

On Aug. 21, 1968, Shukhevych was released from the labor camp and then sent to the Caucasian town of Nal’chik, Kabardin-Balkar ASSR, to serve his five-year term of exile. He found work as an electrician, married, and had two children: a son, Roman, born in 1970 and a daughter, Iryna, born in 1972. He also began work on his memoirs.

In February 1972, Yuri Shukhevych was arrested and charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (corresponding to Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code). Accused of “nationalist activity” (namely, writing his memoirs), he was tried in Kyiv behind closed doors, and in September 1972, convicted. The court handed down the maximum sentence for a recidivist: five years in prison, five years under strict regime in a labor camp, and five years in exile. His prediction had proven correct.

Today, Yuri Shukhevych remains a prisoner. According to underground reports, he is suffering from an untreated duodenal ulcer, no doubt exacerbated by the punitive dietary restrictions of “strict regime” confinement. This is not an unusual condition among prison camp inmates; the poet Yuri Galanskov was deprived by the labor camp administration of a proper diet and

medical attention for his duodenal ulcer for the greater part of a year until the ulcer burst, precipitating his death on Nov. 4, 1972.

### **The illegality of Shukhevych's Imprisonment**

Under international as well as Soviet law, each of Yuri Shukhevych's three convictions was illegal. On Dec. 10, 1948 — while the 16-year-old boy was confined in pre-trial detention — the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (G.A. Res. 217A(III), U.N. Doc. A/811). Article 11(2) states that "No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed."

Whatever may have been the penal offences with which Shukhevych was charged, he was in fact held guilty on account of his "omission" to denounce his father. This obviously does not constitute a penal offence under national or international law.

It follows then, that Yuri's arrests, detentions and exile were all "arbitrary" in violation of Article 9 of the Declaration. Nor did his closed trials conform with Article 10, which requires a "fair and public hearing" by an "independent and impartial tribunal."

Moreover, his first trial, and the attempts to extort a denunciation of his father, violated Article 16(3), which declares that the family is entitled to the protection of the State. His last trial, based principally on the offence of writing his memoirs, violated the right to "seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers" guaranteed by Article 19.

One need not rely solely on international law, however, to demonstrate the illegality of Yuri Shukhevych's convic-

tions. Soviet law itself provides ample guarantees of the rights of the accused, some of which mirror international human rights standards.

True, the 1926 RSFSR Criminal Code, in effect at the time of Yuri's first and second trials (and largely duplicated by the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR), permitted conviction and sentencing of a political suspect who had committed no crime whatsoever. Political considerations took the place of proven guilt. Indeed, under Article 17 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, one could be found guilty as an accomplice without a showing of criminal intent. One could in effect be punished for mere association with politically undesirable elements.

Even under such questionable laws, however, Yuri's first conviction was improper. The "special council" that conducted his trial was later declared an illegal institution. But even a legitimate court could not have proven him guilty by association with a criminal. His father was never convicted of any crime by a Soviet court — in fact, he was not even a Soviet citizen subject to the jurisdiction of ordinary criminal courts, but an enemy combatant. There was thus no proven "guilt" to be imputed to his son. And it is hardly conceivable that a 15-year-old boy could himself have been so "socially dangerous" under the Criminal Code as to merit 10 years' imprisonment.

Yuri's second conviction, handed down 24 days before the criminal law reform embodied in the new Fundamental Principles of Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure (FPCL and FPCP) was inacted, was invalid on several grounds. First, the Procuracy, established pursuant to Article 113-117 of the 1936 Constitution and regulated by the 1955 Statute on Procuratorial Supervision as a guardian of legality, hardly fulfilled its proper role. It attacked the perfectly valid decision of the Vladimir regional court to free Yuri under the

post-Stalinist law reforms, and then indicted him on the basis of fabricated evidence.

Second, holding the trial in Lviv rather than Vladimir clearly violated the rule that the trial is to be held in the court of the region where the crime was committed (CCP RSFSR (1923) art. 29). In fact, under the Code, transfer to another court was permitted only when the defendant would thereby receive a more dispassionate examination of his case (id. art. 30). Here, the opposite was true.

Third, the right to defence counsel, guaranteed by Article 111 of the 1936 Constitution, was effectively denied because Yuri's attorney did not have time to properly study the case. The Supreme Court of the USSR had ruled in the *Romaniuk* case of Nov. 29, 1950, that where the defence attorney had had only half an hour to study the case, the constitutional right to counsel had not been respected. Although Supreme Court decisions do not have precedential value in the USSR, this case set a reasonable standard.

Fourth, Yuri was denied the right to examine witnesses [CCP RSFSR (1923) art. 283].

Fifth, aside from the fact that the evidence was fabricated, it is difficult to see how any activity behind bars could constitute such "counter-revolutionary crimes" (CC RSFSR (1926) ch. I, sec. 1) or "socially dangerous activity" (id. art. 6) as to require punishment through the severe "measures of social defence" (id. art. 10) outlined in the Code.

Sixth, even under the theory of guilt by association, Yuri's possession of some works by an imprisoned poetess could hardly constitute criminal association. While under Article 58(10) the mere possession of literature constituting "agitation or propaganda calling for the weakening of Soviet rule" could be punished as a counter-revolutionary crime, the lyrical

poems of Olha Ilkiv were not of this nature.

Finally, assuming for the sake of argument that Yuri really did openly advocate the most revolutionary of his father's ideas — the national liberation of the Ukrainian people — he would only have been advancing a basic Soviet constitutional principle: the right of each Republic to secede from the Union (1936 Constitution, art 17; 1977 Constitution, art. 72).

If his first two convictions were illegal under the harsh Stalinist statutes, Yuri's 1972 conviction, under the relatively liberal 1958 Fundamental Principles and their statutory progeny, was a travesty of the law.

### **Guilt by Association**

First, since the 1960 RSFSR Criminal Code and its companion republican codes had abolished the category of political offences, Yuri's trial should have been conducted without regard for political factors. This seems not to have been the case. Second, Article 17 of the Fundamental Principles of Criminal Law abolished guilt by association, declaring that one cannot be considered an accomplice to the acts of one's associate without the requisite intent. Yuri thus could no longer be punished for the acts of another without proof that he intended to participate therein. Third, under Article 3 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, one may only be sentenced if one has been tried in a court of law and found guilty of an act specifically designated as a crime at the time of its commission (see also FPCL, art. 3; FPCP, art. 4). Whether writing one's memoirs can be considered an act specifically designated by law as a crime depends on an interpretation of Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

At the first glance Article 70, covering "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," seems nearly as broad as its notorious predecessor, Article 58 of the 1926 Cri-

minal Code. For example, it permits the punishment of one who has merely prepared or kept in his possession literature containing "slandorous fabrications" defaming the Soviet state and social system "for the purpose of subverting or weakening the Soviet regime." As the "purpose" clause implies, however, and as Soviet commentators have noted, this crime requires an element of anti-Soviet intent. Thus, Shukhevych could only have been guilty if he wrote his memoirs with intent to subvert or weaken the Soviet regime. But his apparent willingness, in his July 1964 conversations with the officers of the Kyiv KGB, to publicly renounce all anti-Soviet activity tends to show a lack of anti-Soviet intent on his part. Nor does it seem likely that personal memoirs, which tend to be purely factual and in any case deal with past conditions, would constitute defamation of the Soviet state designed to weaken or subvert it. In any case, it would seem that the writing of memoirs was protected by Article 125 of the 1936 USSR Constitution (Article 50 of the 1977 Constitution), guaranteeing freedom of speech.

Yuri Shukhevych's "crime" lies not in anything he has done, but in who he is. He has been designated a political symbol, and punished as an object lesson for the edification of the Soviet masses.

If a discussion of these legal issues strikes us as irrelevant, perhaps it is because we have resigned ourselves to the idea that in the USSR the rule of law cannot prevail. Yet when we simultaneously seek to broaden our commercial, diplomatic and cultural relations with the Soviet Union government, such resignation takes on a shade of hypocrisy. No lawyer may accept the rule of terror so complacently. None can preserve his rights long while condoning their denial to another. Yuri Shukhevych deserves our rights. If we choose to remain silent, we deserve only his.

### **In the Matter of Yuri Shukhevych**

*I first became aware of the Shukhevych case in the winter of 1973 while living in Munich, Germany. Some students of my acquaintance (also of Ukrainian origin) were organizing a public hunger-strike in support of Soviet prisoners of conscience. One of their posters showed Yuri Shukhevych with his son, under the caption "This Man is Guilty from Birth." It outlined his life story, and quoted from his letter to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR).*

*While I was immediately struck by the injustice of Yuri's predicament, it was only years later that I was able to translate it into legal terms. It seemed a classic case of guilt by association — a concept incompatible with fundamental legality as it is understood in most modern countries. I decided that it merited the attention of the legal community.*

*The principal sources on the Shukhevych case are the Soviet Ukrainian underground known as the "Ukrainian Herald," documents compiled by Ukrainian journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil in The Chornovil Papers, and Yuri's own letter to the chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. Copies of all were smuggled out of the USSR.*

*To reconstruct the events of Yuri Shukhevych's life is not easy. Sources are few (I believe I have exhausted them) and occasionally inconsistent. Official trial records are unavailable, and it is difficult to obtain information about "dissidents" from the USSR. One reason for the scarcity of material on this particular case is that for a prisoner of conscience, Yuri Shukhevych is unusually quiet and apolitical. Dissident sources give him little attention because unlike most prisoners of conscience, he is imprisoned primarily by virtue of his identity rather than for his words or acts. This, of course, only magnifies the illegality of his confinement.*

*Andrew Sorokowski*



## Byelorussia on World situation

*His Excellency Jimmy Carter,  
President of the United States  
White House, Washington, D.C. 20500  
Dear Mr. President:*

The recent shameless military attack on, and occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Russian (USSR) armed forces, as well as a complete unexpectancy expressed by many of the free countries' leaders with respect to this aggression, — presents clear proof of the lack of proper understanding and interpretation by them on short and long term goals and means of Soviet Russian international policies.

We would like to present for your kind attention our understanding about non-published Soviet Russian international political plans and actions, throwing light on present events.

Soviet Russia assumes to attain its proper "security" by organizing a World USSR with the rest of the countries as satellites of varying bondage under Russian domination. This system will allow disarmament according to Russian requirements, for cutting down military expenditures. Only Soviet Russia will keep military forces armed with the most advanced and effective weapons to cope with uprisings of subjugated countries, for only the subjugated nations will be allowed police service.

The realization of the Russian plan for world domination is progressing at varying velocity. Presently, the Soviet Russian Government is acting in the international field from the positions of military and strategic strength and superiority. Their real obstacles to world domination are: the USA, mainland China, Western Germany and Japan. Japan and Western Germany are already neutralized by the Russian long range and short range ballistic missiles.

A combination of ballistic missiles, bio-

logical and chemical weapons, with land, air, and naval forces against mainland China at this time, are not securing the overwhelming winning results for the USSR, against a billion of Chinese people. To secure a winning posture the USSR is trying to encircle China from the south side, moving through Afghanistan to the Indian Ocean. Here also, is another very important possibility in this region, the occupation of Persian Gulf oil by the same USSR campaign. This will allow oil strangulation of Japan and Western Germany by peaceful means.

The USSR Government is considering the present USA as a politically and spiritually decadent country, incapable of deciding operations in the international area. The action for Bolshevization of the USA in the 1960's weakened substantially important governmental institutions; defeat in Vietnam uncovered general weakness of the USA; substantial influence of cosmopolitan and internationalistic circles in the USA denigrated patriotism in this country; sensationalist hysteria around Watergate served to the substantial spreading of national demoralization; rejection of the general national military service, substituted by the paid voluntary condottieres of questional mental and spiritual quality; and many other indicators, collected carefully by Soviet Russian agents, — are giving convincing criteria to the USSR, by their standards, for the evaluation of the USA status.

The impotent treatment by the US Government of the present illegal detention of the US Embassy personnel in Teheran, was the strongest encouragement for the Russian Government for a speedy aggression in Afghanistan. Especially convincing for Russia, was wide public support (pools) for the passive action of the US Government.

The USSR Government is expecting substantial weakening of the US posture by the internal factors of this country. However, Russia is trying at the same time to paralyze the USA by the long and short range missiles, the last to be installed on Cuba and some Middle American country.

The agreements and treaties concluded by the USSR Government with other countries, are followed by Russians only in the parts advantageous to them, and ignored completely in the other parts. By SALT treaties the Russian Government wanted to limit armaments of this country, keeping uncontrolled growth of their own. By the Helsinki agreement the Russian Government wanted to secure peace at the western border of the USSR, fighting a starting war against China in the Far East. At the review Conference in Belgrade, the USSR representatives rejected all demands of the western countries. The same can be expected on the approaching review Con-

ference in Madrid. The threatening demand by Brezhnev, President of the USSR, from NATO in October 1979, and pressure by visiting Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, on the Government of Western Germany in November 1979, are very eloquent. The USSR leaders demanded to stop the installation of medium range missiles in Western Europe; Western Europe shall not be capable of self-defence against Soviet Russian invasion.

The recent spirit of detente with the USSR existed in the imagination of the western statesmen only. Soviet Russia arranged this detente trap for surpassing the western countries in armaments and strategic positions.

Sophistication of western diplomats will not stop Soviet Russian expansionism. Dealing with cannibals it is necessary to use their language.

Very respectfully yours,

*John Kosiak  
President*



*From L.-R. Charles Andreaszky, Chairman of the Festival of Nations  
I.L.A. Pres. Thomas Gleason, recipient of award for boycott of Soviet shipments  
Pres. AF ABN Inc., Peter C. Wytenuis, presenter of awards  
Senator Martin J. Knorr, recipient of award for the sponsor of a legislative resolution requesting the proclamation of Festival of Nations Day for State of New York.*

## Memo on the Russification of Byelorussia

March 11, 1980

*The Honorable*

*(Congressmen of the US Congress)*

*House of Representatives*

*Washington, D.C. 20510*

*Subject: The 62nd anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic.*

*Dear Sir:*

The past history of Byelorussia has the happy periods of the free and independent statehood, interrupted by the dark times of subjugation by the other nations. The modern times are presenting a continuing unconquered spirit of Byelorussian people, striving for liberty and national independence.

At the end of the First World War the Czarist Russian Empire collapsed and many non-Russian captive nations restored their national independence. After 125 years of bondage and oppression by the Russians, the Byelorussian people also restored their own independent state.

The Byelorussian Constituent, the First Byelorussian Congress assembled in Mensk on December 17, 1917, had established an independent Byelorussian State. The Council of this Congress solemnly proclaimed independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic on March 25, 1918 in Mensk, the capital of Byelorussia. The created Byelorussian Government organized an administration to the country, armed forces, schools, and developed diplomatic activities abroad. A new bright and happy future was expected by the people.

However, at this time the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia and started attacks and conquests of all the independent countries recently separating themselves from Russia. They used camouflaging

tactics to mislead internal and international public opinion.

Accordingly, on January 1, 1919, the Moscow Government, in opposition to the independent Byelorussian Democratic Republic, created a fictitious statehood, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR). Subsequently, the Soviet Russian Army attacked and finally conquered Byelorussia in 1921.

Byelorussia was subordinated to the central Moscow Government completely and ruled as a colony. About half of Byelorussia's ethnographic territory is also now annexed to the Russian SFSR. Byelorussian people are deprived of their national and human rights. Using mass terror, the Moscow Government, during 62 years of rule in Byelorussia, annihilated over 6 million of its population. The forcibly superimposed communist system on economy is allowing limitless exploitation of working people and natural resources. On this basis the Russian Government was able to magnify its military potential to the present aggressive capabilities of global proportions.

The Moscow Government is applying a systematic Russianization of the Byelorussian population and the country. Russian language is introduced everywhere and Russians are occupying leading positions in the BSSR. By deportations of Byelorussians to Siberia and colonization of Byelorussia by Russians, the government is attempting to transform the population of Byelorussia into a unified Soviet Russian nation.

The Byelorussian country is Russianized by the destruction of ancient national architectural monuments, and by erection of new buildings in the uniform Russian character, mandatory for the entire USSR. The names of the streets, places, parks,

schools, the erected everywhere monuments, are dedicated to the Russian political, military, and cultural personalities.

The Byelorussian Orthodox Autocephalous Church was destroyed by the Moscow Government and the Russian Orthodox Church was superimposed on the rest of Byelorussian parishes, remaining after atheistic pogroms.

The slightest appearance of Byelorussian national spirit in the public life is stamped as bourgeois nationalism and is eradicated by severe persecutions.

Despite these huge national devastations by the Russian Government, the Byelorussian people are preserving their national character. During the Second World War, the Second Byelorussian Congress assembled in Mensk on June 27, 1944. This Congress annulled all ties with Russia, and approved the proclamation of independence for the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, according to the declaration of March 25, 1918. The Byelorussian Central Council was elected as the only national representation of Byelorussia, and the Byelorussian National Guard fought for the liberation and independence of Byelorussia.

Presently the Byelorussian youth is used in great numbers on the important union building projects of the USSR huge oil pipeline, 3,300 km long from Surgut (Siberia) to the city of Poltzk (Byelorussia), which has to be hastily completed in 1980. (Newspaper the Voice of Fatherland, May 10, 1979). Military importance of this oil supply line for the expansion to Western Europe is self evident.

The completion of building the Baikal-Amur Railroad (BAM) in the very severe Arctic region, is expected in the nearest future. This railroad, 3,200 km long, will connect near Siberia with the East Pacific coast. Byelorussian specialists and youth are forced to work there for the benefit of Russian expansion in the Far East.

(Newspaper the Voice of Fatherland, September 13, 1979.)

The new law on citizenship in the USSR, signed by L. Brezhnev on July 1, 1979, has an importance for the Russian expansionism and subversion abroad. The citizens of the United States, including those of Byelorussian descent, who are former refugees and expatriates from behind the Iron Curtain, are still USSR citizens. The children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and all subsequent descendants of former refugees, are considered to be USSR citizens. This law is a blackmail to be used by the Moscow Government with respect to those people for subversive activities against the United States.

The recent military attack and occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet Russia, and still continuing bloody pacification of its people, is presenting a fresh and convincing proof about the rapidly growing danger to the United States and the other free countries, presented by the USSR expansionism striving for world domination. Today, Soviet Russia is oppressing over 130 various nations, nationalities and ethnic groups, which are forced to feed Soviet Russian power. Liberation of those captive nations, including Byelorussia, from the present Russian bondage, and restoration of their independent states, will discharge the present dynamic Russian expansionism, and will serve to international justice as well.

Very respectfully yours,

*John Kosiak, President*  
*Michael Senko, Secretary*

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# Russian threat to World Peace

## A Letter-Memorandum

*The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,  
Prime Minister and First Lord of the  
Treasury, House of Commons,  
London SW1A 0AA.*

Dear Prime Minister,

Another 'traditional' Russian leap forward, resulting in the occupation of Afghanistan, has finally shaken the conscience of world public opinion and has opened the eyes of many uncommitted or indifferent nations and individuals. The danger to world peace and the threat of another world war have suddenly become all too real. We all realised before that the Russian word 'Myr' (peace) means one thing in the West and quite another in Moscow — but at the same time, we also realised that a global mobilization of that aforementioned world public opinion can shake the foundations of even the strongest and most tyrannical power.

The Ukrainians in Great Britain (and all over the world) have overwhelmingly condemned this shameless, naked aggression, and there are few nations in the world that can understand the plight of the Afghan people better than Ukraine. Ukraine has suffered from Russian imperialism since the unfortunate Battle of Poltava in 1709, which resulted in the Russian occupation of Eastern and part of Central Ukraine. The method employed by the Russians to occupy Afghanistan is similar — even identical — to that used against Ukraine in 1918. For example: when, at the end of the First World War, the Tsarist Russian Empire collapsed, Ukraine once more became a sovereign and independent state, after more than two centuries of national oppression. This state was even officially recognised by the Bolshevik government in Moscow; Lenin

issued a statement, thus: "The Soviet People's Commissars recognise the Ukrainian National Republic and its right to separate from Russia..."

This, however, was only a new Bolshevik trick. Instead of leaving Ukraine in peace, Lenin created another Ukrainian government in Moscow and then in Khar-kiv, composed mostly of Russian Bolsheviks. The Russian Red Army then invaded Ukraine under the pretence that they were invited by the new Ukrainian government. Lenin said that "the Red Army was extending brotherly aid to the Ukrainian people".

As a result of this aggression, two and a half years of bloody, bitter war followed and Ukraine once again lost her independence. Since 1921, the Red Army has extended "brotherly aid" to many countries of the world. The most recent was Afghanistan. Who will be the next, we wonder?

The Ukrainian people tried to free themselves again during and after the Second World War. From 1943 to 1951 the several hundred thousand-strong Ukrainian Insurgent Army fought a bitter struggle against Bolshevik-Russian imperialism. But, as before, when facing such an overwhelming enemy without aid or even sympathy from outside, Ukraine was unsuccessful in her struggle for freedom. During the sixty years of Bolshevik rule in Ukraine, the Ukrainian nation lost more than twenty million people. Unbelievable — but a fact. In 1933 alone, over six million people died — one in every five of the entire population.

We fully support the initiative and the action taken by both individuals and by the British, United States and other overseas governments in boycotting the Mos-

cow Olympics. Even without the occurrence of the invasion of Afghanistan, for the Olympic Games to be held in the USSR — a country with over three million slaves in concentration camps — would have been a disgrace to international sport. Soviet Russia is well used to employing international sport to further her political and ideological ends. For the purposes of external propaganda, friendship, co-operation and equal rights are preached; however, in the USSR the right of athletes of non-Russian republics such as Ukraine to participate in the world Olympics in their separate national teams is persistently suppressed.

We welcome the idea expressed recently by both distinguished politicians and the press that in addition to the measures already taken, the West should adopt a 'political offensive'. Moscow has been conducting a political war of propaganda, agitation and misinformation against the West since the birth of Bolshevism. Brezhnev once stated that ideological struggle is a part of detente; the West does not therefore have to launch something new. It should simply counteract Moscow's bombardment of lies with truths, and, most of all, by underlining the right of freedom.

Whilst on the subject of propaganda, we beg to be allowed to draw attention to the fact that some very important issues are being ignored by both political circles and by the press:

a) For some reason, the USSR is still very often portrayed as if it were a homogenous structure — one, indivisible Russia, with one people, one language and one culture (one often hears the phrase 'Ukraine is a part of Russia'). In reality, the USSR is nothing more than a continuation of the Russian colonial empire. The Soviet-Russian urge for greatness in the form of expansionism is not a new phenomenon which can be attributed to communism only, as is often mistakenly understood. It is a

centuries-old Russian imperialism interwoven with communist ideology, which is why it is so unpredictable and so dangerous. Communism has given traditional Russian imperialism a new face, a new platform and new opportunities. The original Tsarist idea of a world-wide empire with world-wide hegemony has not changed; it has merely adopted a new form.

b) Such nations as Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic States, Georgia and some of the Moslem nations did not join the Soviet Union voluntarily, but were forcibly incorporated into an empire. These nations are constantly struggling to gain their own independent states, and are, therefore, *the national allies of the West and of all other countries threatened by the Moscow imperialistic adventure.*

c) The idea of fighting Moscow's aggression by mobilizing "anticommunist and anti-regime" force only, while at the same time ignoring the national aspirations of the enslaved nations, is like fighting against one tyranny, only to substitute it with another. The most effective and just way to counter Soviet-Russian global propaganda and expansionism is to understand and take advantage of the nationality problem in the USSR.

d) A debate in the United Nations on Russian colonialism and its subsequent condemnation by the West would be of immense importance. Bearing in mind that Ukraine's ambassador to the United Nations is no more than a Russian puppet, *the Ukrainian representation-in-exile should be accredited Observer status.*

e) BBC broadcasts are held in great esteem behind the Iron Curtain, particularly programmes transmitted in different national languages. Broadcasts in Ukrainian would be of crucial importance, as Ukrainian people in Ukraine are starved of 'undoctored' news and of topics on Ukrainian national problems.

f) Moral support for the captive nations in the USSR, and for the satellite countries, in their struggle for independence would influence and hasten the inevitable breakdown of the Soviet-Russian empire. This in turn would minimise both the danger of a major confrontation between East and West and the threat to freedom to many countries of the world.

g) The eventual disintegration of the Soviet-Russian empire and the creation of independent national states within their own ethnographical borders would not only benefit the captive nations themselves, but the Russian people — for the first time in the history of their country, they would then be able to free themselves from their own Tsarist-imperial strait-jacket. They would be able to introduce democracy and to devote their time and energy to the development of their own nation.

We appeal to the leaders and people of a still-free world to remember, meanwhile, that Bolshevik tactics have always been, and will always be, 'two steps forward, and

then, if necessary, one step back'. They soothe the world with a lullaby, and while nations slumber, repeat their deadly pattern of action.

*The world must not be misled by these lullabies of make-shift detente and of false peace.*

It is true that Soviet-Russia has the largest and probably the best equipped (Red) army in the world. But it is also true that even the most deadly weapon can be rendered harmless if the soldier delegated to pull the trigger hesitates or refuses to do so — or even turns his weapon upon his own oppressive leaders.

It has happened in the past. It will happen in the future.

In the earnest hope that the British Government will be sympathetic to the matters raised in this letter-memorandum,

We remain,

Your obedient servants,

For and on behalf of the Association;	
<i>I. Dmytriw</i>	<i>I. Rawluk</i>
President	Secretary

## Why Russia seeks more space

*By Elena Klepikova  
and Vladimir Solovyov*

When we were schoolchildren in Russia, the teacher would proudly trace a pointer across a map as we learned by rote that the Soviet Union covered one-sixth of the earth's surface, and that its territory could accommodate 2.3 Americas, 40 Frances, or 92 Great Britains. That was supposed to inspire us with patriotic fervor. It was not official propaganda but nationalist feeling.

In the USSR, geography takes the place of history, politics, and ideology. And this applies to the people no less than to the government: the unanimity here is astounding.

For example, with very few exceptions, all of the great Russian writers of the 19th Century were confirmed imperialists in their political (or, more precisely, their geographical) views. Gogol wrote ecstatically about how his country covered almost half of the world. Pushkin wrote a militaristic poem about the suppression of the Polish uprising of 1831 and the taking of Warsaw by Russian troops. Griboyedov drafted several colonialist treaties for the government. (It was while he was putting one of them into effect, as Russian ambassador to Tehran, that he was killed by a violent mob of Moslem fanatics.)

Dostoyevsky yearned passionately for

the capture of Constantinople. And Tyutchev, as he lay dying, asked for details on how the Khanate of Khiwa was captured. Since these were the best minds of Russia, what could one expect of government officials or the people?

Russians have a wanderlust in their blood. Some of Russia's conquests cannot be explained from an economic, political, strategic, or any other reasonable point of view. What we have here is an obsession with space — an obsession arising from constant restlessness and historical nomadism. Russia was given the burdensome, tragic gift of space. It prides itself on its vast distances. But there is only kilometers in it; and the Russians can do nothing more than be frightened by those expanses of fields occupied by nothing and nobody.

Actually, Russia is only Moscow, which with its iron hand keeps countless provinces and colonies on a leash. This defect in their country's structure is taken by the Russians to be its greatest virtue; and they strive to preserve all that space, and increase it.

Aristotle held the opinion that if an object was too tiny or too huge for the eye to take in, it could hardly be said to exist. Russia is too vast to be a reality. It is a geographical and political fiction which must expand and extend its borders as a kind of sublimation. And this is precisely what Russia has been doing successfully for a long time, regardless of whether it was ruled by the czarist autocracy or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In Russia, history has evolved not in depth but in breadth. And in lieu of historical differences, those in Russia *have been geographic*. Petr Chaadayev, a philosopher of the last century, wrote, in connection with his country's "historical nothingness": "If we didn't stretch from the Bering Strait to the Oder, no one would even notice us."

The process was begun under Grand Duke Ivan Kalita (Ivan I), who, in the

14th Century "gathered in" the lands around Moscow. According to the calculations of Fridtjof Nansen, beginning in 1500, every seven years Russia added as much territory to its empire as that occupied by the Kingdom of Norway. Imperialism is a traditional, basic, and integral trait of Russia — its chief trait, in fact, as well as its national stimulus and international style.

From a safe distance, we are now looking at a splotch spreading all too widely over the political map. One can imagine it as a sleeping beast which is stretched out on the cushions of two parts of the world, yet still feels cramped.

Russia would seem to be in the same condition as that in which the Marquis de Custine found it in 1839: "Today the Russian people are incapable of anything except conquering the world." Hence the catastrophic contrast between economic and military development.

It is not the spectre of communism that is haunting Europe, as Karl Marx once wrote: it is Russian history, for which expansion has always been a substitute for inner vigor. And the countries that have been tacked on to Russia — from Poland and Czecho-Slovakia to Georgia and Afghanistan — have been forcibly involved in the malignant development of Russian history — something quite alien to them.

The most astounding thing, however, is how the Russians themselves view this obvious trait of imperialism. *Inter alia*, their attitude can be ascribed to one of the most tragic and distressing factors in Russian history: the recurring invasions of Russia by its enemies. For some 300 years — about one-third of its entire history — Russia was under the Mongol-Tatar yoke. One wonders whether such an experience is even imaginable to an American. For century after century, right up through the last war, Mongols, Swedes, Poles, Lithuanians, French, and Germans made devastating incursions into Russia, even capturing



and burning its capital. And the memories of those national humiliations are preserved in two forms: in an acute xenophobia (anti-Semitism in the USSR is not merely a result of official propaganda but also an expression of the Russians' allergy to aliens); and in the greatpower instinct of the people, to whom their imperialism seems a strictly defensive phenomenon and not an aggressive one. Their aggressiveness is, in fact, a sublimation of their fears.

Today, their fears have taken on a specific form and a new name: China. Moreover, an analogy which is close even in racial terms has been preserved and prompted by the nation's historical memory: the catastrophe of the 300-year occupation by the Mongols.

Simultaneously with this sense of danger, and directly opposed to it, there has been

an increase in Russia's aggressiveness toward China, its potential allies, and the countries bordering it. (Paradoxically, Afghanistan was the first country to fall victim to Russia's fear of China.)

To the foregoing one must add Russia's fear of the people it has subdued: the hangman's fear of his victims, the master's fear of his slaves, the persecution mania of the persecutor.

After the Russian occupation of Czechoslovakia, a story was going round in Moscow about a bad dream that Brezhnev had had. It seems he dreamed that a Czech was squatting in Red Square eating matzo balls with chopsticks. The reader can easily imagine what a man is capable of, after awakening from a nightmare like that!

## Lithuanian political prisoners in psychiatric wards

The Declaration of Human rights as well as the Principles of the Helsinki Agreement and even the Soviet Constitution guarantee freedom for citizens. However, many Lithuanians are being kept in Soviet Union jails, concentration camps, even in psychiatric wards for attempts to use freedom of information, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly or freedom of religion.

We have compiled a list of Lithuanian political prisoners kept in Soviet Union psychiatric wards, where they suffer unbearable tortures and are administered chemicals which destroy their personality. Some of them have already been released, many still are being kept confined illegally. We are herewith supplying their names and request action on your part so that Lithuanians would not be so inhumanely tortured by the occupational Russian forces.

1 *BOGDANAS*, arrested in 1945, kept in various psychiatric hospitals.

2. *BUTKUS, Donatas*, official of the ethnographic museum of Lithuania, sentenced November, 1972, and taken to a psychiatric hospital.

3. *CIDZIKAS, Petras*, born 1944, student of the University of Vilnius, accused of spreading patriotic poetry and leaflets requesting the restoration of democracy. In 1973 locked in a psychiatric hospital. On August 23, 1979, he was freed, took part in demonstrations in Moscow, signed a petition for the annulment of the agreement between the Nazis and the Soviet Union under whose terms the Baltic States were occupied by Moscow.

4. *ČECHANAVIČIUS, Arvydas*, born June 12, 1949, arrested in 1973 for distribution of the underground press, kept in Cherniachovski psychiatric jail, after 2 years transferred to a psychiatric hospital in Naujoji Vilnia. Took part in demonstrations in Moscow, arrested on Sept. 9, 1979,

locked in the psychiatric hospital of Naujoji Vilnia, in 1980 transferred to a special psychiatric hospital in Cherniachovski.

5. *GALECKAITE, Jurate*, arrested in 1972 for draping herself with the tricolor Lithuanian national flag and transported to a psychiatric hospital in Siberia.

6. *GRIGAS, Romas*, born 1958, a student of the University of Vilnius, for throwing a bas-relief of Lenin into the Neris river, on January 23, 1977, was arrested and locked in the psychiatric hospital of Naujoji Vilnia, department six.

7. *JAUGELIS, Braunas*, about 40 years of age, born in the USA, engineer, after World War II deported to Siberia with his family. When he returned he was arrested twice and placed in a psychiatric hospital for petitioning a visa to emigrate to the USA. On September 16, 1978, he was locked in a psychiatric ward of Kaunas hospital.

8. *JONAITIS, Egidijus*, a student, residing in Vilnius, for tearing off the Soviet flag from the Institute of Electrography in Vilnius was in December, 1977, taken to the psychiatric hospital.

9. *KARALIUNAS, Voldemaras*, for distribution of the underground press, for encouraging workers to strike, and for renouncing his Soviet citizenship was taken to the psychiatric hospital. Injections of various chemicals adversely affected his health.

10. *KIRSNAUSKAITE, Zita*, born 1950, resident of Riga, Latvia, member of the adventist religious group, was twice locked in the psychiatric ward in Riga, Latvia, Aptiekas iela 1.

11. *KLIMAŠAUSKAS, Henrikas*, born 1929, deported to Siberia when he was a student in high school where he was forced to work in the mines and to cut lumber in the Siberian woods. When released he was able to finish his studies of engineering.

Because he gave information concerning misuse of power and appropriations by some communist officials, he was arrested on February 13, 1976, and on September 29, 1976, deported to the psychiatric ward of Cherniachowski.

12. *KRIŠČIUNAS, Pranas*, born 1928, in 1972 was locked in the psychiatric hospital in Vilnius.

13. *KVEDERAITE, Emilija*, wife of the very famous Lithuanian writer, Putinas, was caught while attempting to erect a cross on the grave of her husband. The cross was confiscated and she was taken to the psychiatric hospital.

14. *LAŽINSKAS, Vytautas*, arrested on October 10, 1972, and interned in the psychiatric ward in Vilnius.

15. *MAJASKAS, Vladas*, born in 1947, taken to the psychiatric hospital for raising the tricolor flag of independent Lithuania.

16. *NAUDŽIUNAS, Bronius*, deported to Siberia when he was 10 years of age, later taken twice to the psychiatric hospital in Moscow and in Vilnius as punishment for his being unadjusted to the Soviet order. After great efforts by his brother in 1975 he was permitted to emigrate to Canada.

17. *PAŠKAUSKIENE, Angele*, a student, in 1962 was interrogated for leaflets encouraging the restoration of Lithuanian independence. She was also kept in the psychiatric hospital. Released, but after a decade again taken to the psychiatric hospital. Injections of aminezine were very adverse for her heart. Later she took part in demonstrations in Moscow and signed the declaration of 45 citizens of the Baltic States requesting the restoration of independence to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

18. *POŠKIENE, Birute*, mother of three children, janitress at a school, for her religious beliefs dismissed from work and locked in a psychiatric ward, disregard-

ing the fact that the state's attorney proclaimed her as being of sound mind. Since 1979 a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki monitoring group. Arrested again in 1980.

19. *STATKEVICIUS, Algirdas*, born in 1933, doctor of medicine. Sentenced to 25 years in 1951 but released earlier. Arrested in 1970 for writing a book, "The ABC's of society living", and placed in a psychiatric ward. Took part in a demonstration in Moscow on August 23, 1979 and signed the memorandum requesting the return of independence to the Baltic States. A member of the Helsinki monitoring group in Lithuania since the fall of 1979. Arrested in 1980.

20. *ŠUMAUSKAITE*, arrested in 1976, locked in a psychiatric hospital at Naujoji Vilnia.

21. *TAMONIS, Mindaugas*, born in 1940 in Vilnius, chemical technologist, director of a chemical laboratory, lecturer at the university, poet, taken to the psychiatric hospital of Vilnius because he refused to reconstruct a monument to the Red Army, suggesting instead that a monument be erected to the victims of Stalin. His health was very seriously damaged by injections of various chemicals. When released he was found killed by a train under very suspicious circumstances.

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### MASS DEPORTATIONS

To break the people's resistance to the forceful occupation, the Soviet Union, on June 14-15, 1941, executed mass arrests. According to data, collected by the Lithuanian Red Cross, during that period 34,260 persons were deported to Siberia and other distant regions of the Soviet Union. Among those deported, there were at least 1,626 infants, 2,165 children aged 4 to 10, and even 427 old people over 70. Students constituted the largest group.

22. *ZUBAVIČIUS*, deported to the Serbsk psychiatric hospital.

23. *ŽYPRE, Algirdas*, born in 1927 at Pakalniskis county, as a student deported with his mother to Siberia. Later as one of the freedom fighters he was arrested in 1958 and sentenced to 25 years. On October 13, 1973 locked in a psychiatric hospital in Mordovia. His mentality and health were seriously damaged by injections of various chemicals. Disregarding that he was mentally healthy in 1979, he was transferred to a psychiatric hospital at Kazan and by force "medicated" with dangerous drugs.

*Rev. Joseph Prunskis*

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### FESTIVAL OF NATIONS

The American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations Inc., (AFABN) sponsored a "FESTIVAL OF NATIONS" celebration on Sunday, June 1st, 1980 starting at 4pm at the auditorium of the Julia Richman High School located at 317 East 67th Street in Manhattan. Entertainment was presented by performers representing the cultures of a variety of nations. The program included dance groups, choral groups and soloists of Ukrainians, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Estonian, German, Bulgarian, Latvian, Cuban, Byelorussian and Chinese national groups.

In addition to displaying the culture of many nations, the event raised funds for the reconstruction of the Wayside Shrine in Flushing Meadow Park which was destroyed by vandals in April 1979. The AFABN feels that this monument can serve as a symbol of religious freedom — a freedom now denied to the inhabitants of communist-controlled countries.

## Book Reviews

*Strategy for Survival*. Arlington House, 1978, by Brian Crozier 224 p. Reviewer: Marta Sawczuk.

Brian Crozier, who is Director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London, has written an expanded study of his *Security and the Myth of "Peace", Surviving the Third World War* (No. 76 of Conflict Study Series).

The author asserts that World War III has begun in April 1944 (the date of the Communist-led mutiny in the Greek Navy in Alexandria Harbour) and is fought mainly with non-military techniques: subversion, disinformation, terrorism, psychological war and diplomacy. This war, according to the author, is a unilateral war of expansion from the Soviet land mass "with the rest of the world at the receiving end".

The strategy for survival, asserts the author, must rest on the premise that victory is attainable and that weaknesses within the Soviet Union must be exploited.

Mr. Crozier establishes three guiding principles that should be adapted by any country that wishes to defend itself: recognize that the threat from the Soviet Union is not only external but internal; inform the public about the existence of the threat; institute emergency measures reducing traditional liberties of individuals to help combat the threat.

*Revolution and Survival: The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, 1917-1918* by Richard Debo, University of Toronto Press, 1971. 462 p. Reviewer: Marta Sawczuk.

Although this book deals with the diplomatic history of only one year of post-Revolutionary Russia, it touches on many other factors that influence foreign

affairs: military, ideological, economic and personality. The author's main thesis is that foreign policy considerations during 1918 were the main factors in determining and shaping the nature of the Soviet state. Dr. Debo, besides discussing in detail domestic policies, Lenin's personality and tactics in dealing with various crises and his relationship with Trotsky, provides the reader with a thorough analysis of the 7th Party Congress, which ratified the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

The book contains an encompassing bibliography and a thorough index, but the inclusion of maps would have been welcome.

*The Catholic Church and the Soviet Government, 1938—1949*. by Denis J. Dunn, Columbia University Press, 1977. 267 p. Reviewer: Marta Sawczuk.

This monograph deals with the various aspects of the relationship between the Soviet government and the Catholic Church (both Latin and Uniate) in the period immediately before and after World War II. The author primarily bases his research on the recently made available *Actes et Documents du Saint Siege relatifs a la seconde guerre mondiale*, since Soviet sources on this topic are still sparse.

Dr. Dunn analyses distinct phases of Soviet policy toward the Catholic Church: non-violent administrative harassment characterized the period 1941—1944; forcible reunification of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church was the highlight of the period 1944—1946; toleration towards the Latin Churches in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia was practised during 1944—1948 but came to an abrupt end in 1948, with the onset of the Cold War.

The book has extensive footnotes and bibliography and is a useful addition to the literature dealing with religion in the USSR and in the Soviet Bloc.

*The Third World War* by General Sir John Hackett, Macmillan, 1978, 368 p.

The book, which is a best seller in England, is edited by Sir John Hackett, an outstanding soldier-scholar and contains contributions by top-ranking NATO officers and advisors

The work opens with a description of events of August 4, 1985 that precipitated the Third World War and goes on to examine the course of the war, the weapons used and the causes and consequences of the conflict.

The battle, which is waged between the NATO and Warsaw Pact Forces last three weeks, with the Soviet forces having an upper hand in the beginning. Then, by August 13 the tide turns and the NATO Forces, bolstered by the entry of reserves and the arrival of convoys, begin to have some successes. The Soviet Union is also hindered in its war effort by unrest among the Soviet Republics, with the crushing blow coming from an unexpected quarter, the Ukrainian SSR. Ukraine not only secedes from the USSR and declares independence, but encourages all the other republics to do the same.

Because the book is written by authors who are military experts, it has a ring of authenticity and realism, bolstered by American think-tank reports and "captured" Soviet memoranda. It is readable, fascinating and frightening.

*Human Rights and American Foreign Policy.* by Donalds P. Kommers and Gilbert D. Loescher, University of Notre Dame Press, 1979. 333 p.p. Reviewer: Marta Sawczuk.

It appears that the title of this monograph only partially reflects its contents, since only 87 pages out of 325 pages are

devoted to a discussion of human rights "as a significant component of American foreign policy".

The book is divided into seven parts, each dealing with a different aspect of human rights. A general discussion of the state of human rights in the world is presented in Part I, while in Part II Vernon Van Dyke polemizes with the liberals, who defend the human rights of individuals but not the right of nations or ethnic communities to self-determination. Part III of the book "Human Rights: Conflicting Ideologies" discusses the concept of human rights among First and Third World states. Two articles (Peter Reddaway's and A. H. Robertson's) make up Part IV, which is devoted to human rights in the Second World, i.e. the Soviet Union. Peter Reddaway, Professor of Government, University of London, in his article "Theory and Practice in the Soviet Union" deals with the Soviet theory of human rights, the genesis and development of an unofficial rights movement in the Soviet Union as well as with specific areas of conflict between the regime and the dissidents. A. H. Robertson, Professor of Law University of Paris, examines in detail the provisions of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In Part V the monitoring of human right by non-government agencies is explored, while Part VI and Part VII deal with the relationship of human rights and American foreign policy.

Each part is preceded by an encompassing introduction by the editors, while a short bibliography can be found at the end of each part.

*Eurocommunism and Detente.* by Rudolf Tokes, New York University Press, 1979. 578 p. Reviewer: Marta Sawczuk.

Eight internationally known scholars have contributed chapters to this thorough and thoughtful study of Eurocommunism. Pierre Hassner provides the introductory

chapter, in which he discusses the core of the controversy surrounding Eurocommunism: has it contributed to the Europeanization of communism or a communization of Europe? The next four chapters discuss the Communist parties of France, Italy, Spain and Portugal as well as the changes (ideological, social and organizational) which occurred in these parties during the last twenty or thirty years.

The last four chapters discuss Eurocommunism within the context of Western and European politics, focusing on such specific issues as detente, relations with the United States, etc.

This is an extremely interesting and enlightening book, both for specialists and readers not familiar with the subject.

*The Unfinished Revolution: Marxism and Communism in the Modern World.* by Adam B. Ulam Rev. ed. Westview Press, 1979. 287 p. Reviewer: Marta Sawczuk.

Marxism has been one of the most widespread ideological phenomena of our time, but rarely, if ever, can it be found in its pure form. Marxist ideology, as a contender for power, seeks to express the aspirations and dreams of societies entering the period of modernization and industrialization. Having attained power, Marxist ideology tends to pay lip service to its ideological pronouncements. Marxism in practice is very far removed from Marxism in theory.

In this revised edition of his classic treatise on Marxism, Professor Ulman an outstanding scholar of Marxism and the Soviet Union, examines the relationship of Marxism to contemporary socialism and to

other radical and revolutionary theories; he also traces the development of Marxism thought and explains why it has been influential in certain societies, while insignificant in others. Professor Ulam analyses the effects of Marxism and Leninism on Soviet Communism and examines Marxism's role in the future, both in the West and in the Soviet Union.

**History of Ukraine — by Rev.  
Isidore Nahayewsky, Ph. D.**

The Second Edition of this important book, written in English, which is comprised of 368 pages, gives a concise historical account of the Ukrainians from the time of their origin until the present day.

Richly illustrated with pictures of ancient artifacts, architecture and eminent personalities in Ukrainian history, hardbound, this HISTORY OF UKRAINE objectively underscores the facts of the separate ethnic origin and historic position of the Ukrainian people amongst the nations of the world.

Each period of history deals with Church-State relations and the influence of the Church on social and cultural life.

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**FROM LETTERS TO ABN**

*Dear Mrs. Stetsko,*

*I again wish to express my thanks for sending me your magazine, which I find very informative and inspiring.*

*I edit a bi-monthly newsletter for Tibetans, among whom I worked in eastern Tibet. For your interest and information, I shall add your name to the mailing list for the newsletter.*

*Sincerely yours,*

*David Woodward*

**NATION oder KLASSE**

by

**WOLFGANG STRAUSS**

**60 Years of Struggle Against the October Revolution**

**A History of the Resistance Movements in the USSR**

# 1980 Free Olympiad

*Greetings of the Central Committee of ABN to the participants of the 1980 Free Olympiad in Toronto, July 4—6, 1980*

*Dear friends and co-fighters!*

On behalf of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations I greet the "1980 Free Olympiad" which is being held on free Canadian soil. I am pleased that the initiators have taken the great task to demonstrate to the Free World that the USSR is a cruel Russian empire, which in practice ignores the fact that there exist other nations in the USSR besides the Russian one.

The 1980 Free Olympiad demonstrates the absence in the Moscow pseudo-Olympics of dozens of subjugated peoples in the USSR with their thousand year old cultures and state traditions. Their athletes are compelled to participate in "Russian teams" under the Russian flag and to tunes of the Soviet Russian anthem. The 1980 Free Olympiad gives the chance for the athletes of the subjugated nations by Russia to participate in the games under their own banners and strengthens the attention of public opinion in the West to the cruel persecution of other nations by Russia.

The 1980 Free Olympiad shows to the West the path it should take in order to reveal the essence of the USSR as a Russian colonial power which forbids its subjugated nations to participate as separate teams even during the Olympics, while, for example, the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR are members of the UN, yet they still do not have their separate sport commands. The Olympics will also take place in Tallin (Reval) in Estonia, whose occupation "de iure" has not been recognised by most of the democratic states, yet none has protested the fact that the Olympics are to take place in an occupied country!

If the Olympics are to have any sense and to realise their original aim: to strengthen friendship, brotherhood and peace among nations, then out of principle they can never take place in the centre of the most barbaric, cruel, totalitarian, geno- and homicidal empire, an empire containing concentration camps, psychiatric wards and prisons where political and religious prisoners languish due to their freedom-loving convictions or their fight for national and human rights.

In Gulag prisoners, by their own sweat and blood, are preparing souvenirs for the Western tourists. These souvenirs are stained with the blood of martyrs. Consenting to the Moscow Olympics, the Western states have violated "the UN Declaration of Dec. 1960 on de-colonization namely the granting of state sovereignty for all colonial countries and peoples" and "the programme of action for the full realization of the declaration adopted in 1970".. In the "Declaration" of 19 Dec. 1960, the General Assembly of the UN solemnly declares "the necessity for the immediate and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations." How could the West give consent to the Moscow Olympics when not one of the subjugated nations in the USSR is to

participate, neither Ukraine, nor Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, N. Caucasus, Idel-Ural, nor other subjugated nations?! They are all included in the imperial nation of the Russian occupant.

Only the brutal aggression on Afghanistan moved the conscience of some Western nations, in particular USA and Canada, which led to their boycott of the Moscow Olympics. For that reason they deserve their recognition for their expression of solidarity with Afghanistan — an heroic nation. With particular recognition the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations underlines the merits of the initiators of the 1980 Free Olympiad which drew the attention of the Free World to the violation of rights for national sovereignty and independence of the subjugated nations in the USSR by the Russian bolshevik occupants even on the sport field! Thus they contested the false assertion of the western Olympic committees, which decided, to the shame of the freedom-loving Occident, to participate in the Olympics of tyrants in Moscow, separating in their naivety politics from sport. Today the West regrets the participation of the democratic states in the Berlin Olympics in 1936 which raised the prestige of the dictator Hitler in the Free World. But, paying respect to Stalin-style Brezhnev — the killer of nations and mass murderer of freedom-loving people, they forget that the time will come when today's participators will repent the inundation of Russian tanks and bombers into new and yet still free nations of the world. If the fate of our nations and the fate of Afghanistan does not move their minds and hearts, then they will be moved by Russian tanks and bombers. The achievements of the sportsmen of the subjugated nations will be misappropriated by Moscow as the achievements of the Russian colonial nation under the Russian flag and to tunes of the Soviet Russian anthem. But here — on free Canadian soil, the national flags of Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and other subjugated nations will fly high to the tunes of their national anthems and this will provide evidence on the truth about the Russian aggressors. The 1980 Free Olympiad will also render a heavy blow to the psychological war of Moscow. There should be no Olympics in Moscow until the Russian empire is dissolved. It was the ABN who first raised in the Free World the question of the boycott of the Moscow Olympics. The ABN greets the 1980 Free Olympiad wholeheartedly.

*Yaroslav Stetsko*  
*Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations, President*  
*Former Prime Minister of Ukraine*

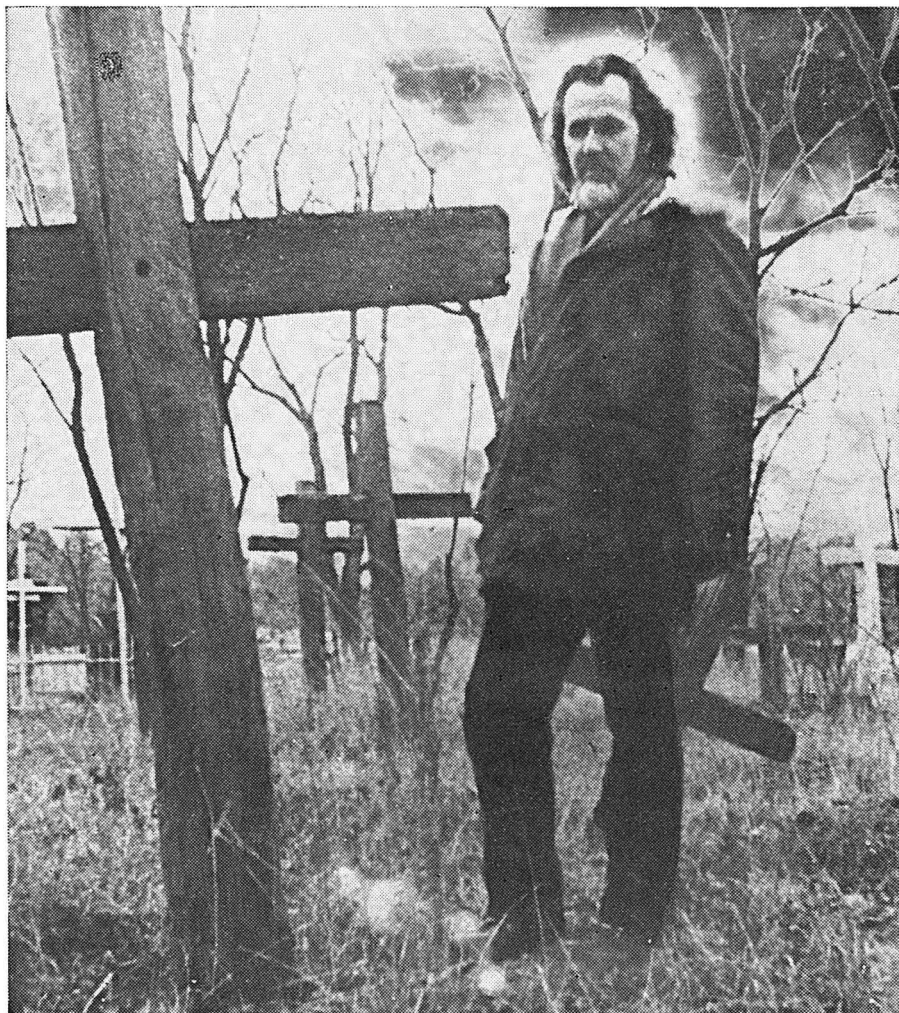


# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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Oles Berdnyk, Ukrainian Christian philosopher, poet and writer, defender of independence and freedom of Ukraine, political prisoner (1949—1956), sentenced to 6 years imprisonment in a strict regime camp and 3 years' deportation to Siberia in 1979.

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**ABN** CORRESPONDENCE  
*Freedom for Nations! Independence for Peoples!*

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## The Afghan Stake

New immigrants from the USSR bring us constantly worsening news about USSR's economic situation. They say that there is nothing available in stores except bread. Now the situation will deteriorate even more by America's grain embargo... So, how, in such a situation, did Russia decide upon a large scale intervention? Answer: Russia did not have any other way out. Today, Russia possesses the factors of the strength of military super-power and the illness of a fatal disease. This disease consists of the following elements, each important by itself:

1. Ever threatening growth of nationalism. Russian policy of assimilation and russification reaches into the heart itself of enslaved nations, each of the cells of whose organisms are being dangerously threatened. This provokes such strong, elemental, irresistible, spontaneous reaction, causing the flame of nationalist hate to, surprisingly, engulf even the most backward and remote nations. Yakutsk — a blazing example. Explosions in the Moscow metro — a formidable warning that resounded in the heart of the empire.

2. Demographic changes that strengthen the nations most alien and hostile to Russia and transform Russians into the ruling minority in the empire itself as well as in the military. The danger this foretells is evidenced by the situation in Lebanon, where the Christians were transformed from a majority into a minority, with catastrophic results.

3. Industrial crisis and inability to develop manufacturing in the existent bureaucratic vice. The system transformed itself into a low-ceilinged cell for the economy. Today it lacks any free open space whatsoever for development and growth.

4. The beginning of exhaustion of "inexhaustible" natural resources, without which the autarchic Russian economy simply cannot continue to exist. Above all this concerns oil.

5. Final collapse of Soviet "collective" agriculture, resulting in very substantial food crisis, heavily felt by the population.

In this decaying situation, Russia took its traditional imperialistic path toward militarism and expansion. All resources of the empire were thrown into argumentation of its military strength, since the time has proven itself to be very limited. In the second half of the eighties, as a result of the exhaustion of its natural resources, the empire inevitably will begin to lag behind the rest of the world also in its *military might*. And this will mean the end. Therefore, before the clock has struck, Russia is hurrying to supplement its internal resources by external ones, that is, by urgently trying to capture the world's richest oil fields in the Near East. Success is everything — oil, gold, food, (everything could be bought for oil!), crucial world political influence, more exactly, world hegemony, an almost limitless domination, also resulting in quenching of internal resistance of captive nations. Namely — the stake is the existence of the empire.

For this reason, the strength of the empire has today been launched against the mountainous Islamic nation, the occupation of whose territory singularly increased the proximity of the USSR to the desirous Persian Gulf. There is no doubt that Iran is next. Then, most likely, Turkey, Syria. Iraq and the rest of the countries of that region. However, as yet, Russia did not gain the oil fields, although suffering heavy losses. With the help of perfidious intrigues and "fifth columns", Russia may physically occupy the Islamic countries, but

subjugation, subdual and taming of said nations (peoples), even temporarily, can only be accomplished by complete destruction of Islam as the ruling power over the souls of those peoples. This is not so easily achieved even with the use of chemical and bacteriological warfare, which Russia is utilizing without the slightest hesitation in Afghanistan.

History tells us that war is a ferment which hastens the inner ripening and decomposition of the regime. The Crimean War abolished serfdom. The Russo-Japanese War gave grounds for enormous increase in political rights. The First World War eliminated a dynasty. That is why the unending, aimless, Vietnam-type war against the whole Islamic world, considering the fatal inner illness of the invader, may hasten fateful changes, sudden and unexpected. The empire is piled up with so many explosive problems, which were and are continuing to be neglected, antiquated and deeply profound, it is no wonder that Russia prefers stagnation to even an implication of transformation or motion. Just like in the mountains, when, under suitable conditions, the fall of a small stone can suddenly transform itself into a thunderous, enormous and catastrophic avalanche. It is worth remembering that in 1916, it was Lenin's belief that a revolution in Russia was impossible . . .

In addition, I would like to call your attention to one terrible problem which, for Russia, can become even worse than atomic war. It is the problem of Russian chauvinism and racism, which have never before reached such widespread span and all-comprehensive universality and have never before, as today, bore such danger for the core itself of the empire. This question has become so acute, precisely as a result of the staunchness of realization of the insane idea of transmixing and assimilation of nations.

Today, in Russia, each second family is intermixed, and this provokes on the part of Russians themselves a reaction of irresistible loathing. In these circumstances, Russian chauvinism and racism envelops everything and everybody, from the dissidents in concentration camps to the ruling party hierarchy. Realizing the criminality and recklessness of Russian mind and consciousness, we can only be horrified at the total ruin toward which this senseless racist hurricane will lead the completely intermixed imperialist giant. The horrors of the Russian Revolution will look like childish games in comparison to this utterly desperate outlook.

And, finally, the Afghan stake of fighters for national liberation — it is not an example of programs (although true and just), but of willingness and readiness to go into battle and risk Afghan lives. Because only this kind of program has a chance of success, behind which stand people ready to fight and die.

*(Translated from Ukrainian by Zena Matla-Rychtycka)*

---

### **Telegram to Y. Stetsko, ABN President**

**Dear Mr. Stetsko:**

**Kindly accept this Gold Medal of the "1980 Free Olympiad" as a token of our appreciation for your outstanding services to the cause of freedom and national independence of all the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia and bolshevism.**

**Having achieved all its goals, the "1980 Free Olympiad" has been a success beyond expectation. In view of this, our committee is already beginning to plan ahead for the "1984 Free Olympiad", but on a much larger, international scale.**

**We thank you for your support, and wish you well in all your endeavours.**

**Respectfully yours,**

**Oleh W. Kachmarsky (Chairman)**

## Poland Struggling against Russian Invader

This already occurred back in 1949 in Vorkuta. Ukrainian nationalists, fighters of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) further extending the nationwide insurrection in Ukraine, stirred up an uprising of political prisoners against Moscow. During the years 1953-1959, strikes, revolts and uprisings by the inmates of the concentration camps shattered the Russian empire and the Communist system.

And outside the concentration camps or in the so-called freedom took place workers' strikes in Novocherkask which turned into armed clashes with the occupationary forces. There was shed the blood of the Ukrainian workers and other strata of the Ukrainian nation, whose support was enlisted by the rioting toilers.

Dnipropetrovsk, Dniprodzerzhynsk, Donbas — all these names are definite symbols of a striking opposition to the Russian colonial prison of nations or symbols of the national and social liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation inside the so-called "workers-peasants paradise"-empire and in the vanguard of this struggle were marching Ukrainian workers.

The flame of the uprisings spread across the frontiers of the USSR. 1953 — workers uprisings in Eastern Berlin, 1956 — uprisings in Hungary, 1968 — in Czechoslovakia. Everywhere finally the outcome was resolved by the Russian occupational armies, armoured tanks and divisions of the "workers-peasants' armies".

December 1979, Afghanistan: Moscow's "workers-peasants'" tanks, armoured helicopters, napalm bombs, chemical, gas and bacteriological means are being employed in order to crush the holy war of the Afghan peasantry and workers, i.e. Mujahideens — the holy warriors.

In 1949 the insurgents of Vorkuta, members of the OUN-UPA, appealed to the

West for aid in arms, food stuffs and medicaments in order that they could spark off the flame of the national and social liberation revolution for the purpose of the breaking-down of the Russian empire and the communist system. However, everything in vain. When Krushchev had no way out and 17 million rioting prisoners threatened to demolish the Russian empire by spreading the revolutionary spirit and upheavals to their motherlands, he made arrangements for the "de-stalinization" process and began the reorganization of the concentration camps.

The Free World was silent when the fighters of the OUN-UPA continued their nationwide struggle until 1953. The Free World was also silent during our uprisings in the concentration camps, during Novocherkask, Dniprodzerzhynsk, Dnipropetrovsk . . . The West betrayed Hungary, Czechia and Slovakia, it left Berlin and Poznan at the mercy of the Russian bear, and today it betrays Afghanistan, our fighters for freedom and independence of the present epoch.

At present Poland rises and the Polish worker stands upright. And strangely enough, not a single socialist party in the world hastens to the Polish workers' defense. On the other hand, American workers have spontaneously refused to unload imported goods from Poland.

The Socialist II International, headed by Willy Brandt, remained silent. Is it possible then that this "International" stands against free trade unions in Poland? Against the freedom of speech, legality of strikes, free access of workers and of the Church to the mass media of communications?

The socialist — liberal government in Bonn supports the Communist regime in Poland by spending milliards of money. Does it prefer the Russian communist suppression of the Polish working people to

the sovereignty and independence of this freedom-loving nation and freedom of its patriotic workers?

A well-conceived strategy by the Polish working people of the struggle against the Russian occupation and Polish yanichartype Giereks could have attained far-reaching importance to the cause of the Soviet Russian empire. Significantly the workforce has abandoned its narrowly limited frame of social demands and in cooperation with the oppositionary Committee for the citizens' self-defence (KOR), broadened the list of their demands embracing other strata of the population and this way formulated clear-cut political issues. The workers do not go to the barricades for 8 hours of daily work but this slogan became a starting point towards the realisation of an ideal of higher rank: i.e. justice.

From the strategical point of view of the revolutionally liberation struggle, the Polish workers applied the correct gradation of demands — from the raising at the beginning of the narrow demands and expanding in succession to the broader ones. Finally, a whole range of national, social and political demands was stipulated.

The placing of the wreath on the 60th anniversary of the victory at Vistula against the Moscow bolshevik armies\* — this is unmistakably a courageous and unequivocal defiance of Moscow's aggression. The celebrated placing of the wreath took place during Holy Mass in an overcrowded university church of St. Anne in Warsaw. In his sermon the priest compared the victory at Vistula in 1920 with the rescue of the West from the invasion of the Turks who were halted and defeated at Vienna in 1683.

The nationally-political purposefulness of the actions of social and other nature attaches to these substantial importance. It is the hated occupationary Russian yoke, including its state, social and political to-

talitarian Communist system which has to be thrown off.

The commemoration of the victims of Katyn, murdered by Moscow's NKVD, attended by a thousand-strong mass of people at the cemetery in Warsaw on August 1, with the silent participation of the militia and UB (Secret policee who, without using any arms, reacted only then when the demonstrators wanted to erect a wooden cross with the inscription "Katyn", — speaks for itself.

The decorating of the striking points in a demonstrative way, with white and red flags and the lighting of candles at the monument erected at the cemetery in memory of those murdered in Katyn, the placing of flowers in Polish national colours, the nationwide commemoration of the victory over Moscow in 1920, the halting of trains which export food to the USSR and the distribution of these food goods to the striking railmen and bus conductors in Lublin — all this draws quite a clear picture of an anti-Russian demonstration.

The strength of the opposition also lies in the successful cohesion of national and religious ideas. At the striking points the icons of the Virgin Mary and portraits of Pope John Paul II were displayed. Churches were overcrowded with believers. The previous visit of the Polish-born Pope elevated the patriotic-religious feelings among the Polish population which also contributed to the unyielding opposition against the alien occupation.

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\* In reality the said victory was achieved by the Polish, together with the Ukrainian armies of Simon Petlura, the fact which, regrettably, is silenced, and only the plans of Gen. Veygand, realised by Marshall Pilsudsky, are being mentioned. The victorious Ukrainian divisions of Gen. Bezrutchko, which destroyed the cavalry of Budjonnyj, are also "forgotten". The Russian armies stood then under the command of Tuhachevsky, Budjonnyj and Stalin.

The leader of the Polish rioting workers in Gdansk, L. Walensa, came to establish offices for a new independent from the Communist party trade union holding a cross in his hand, the same cross which hung on the wall of the factory where workers negotiated with the Communist party's and government's delegation. L. Walensa hung this cross on the front wall of the new building taken over by the free trade union members. The workers completed their negotiations with the official delegation by singing the Polish national hymn. When the church priest dignitary arrived to serve Holy Mass in the factory, the workers formed cordons in order to greet the churchman who stood so steadfastly with the people. The workers took part in Holy Communion. They raised demands to the authorities of the "workers and peasantry". They struck against the employer — which is the "State of the workers and peasantry". Thus according to the Lenin-Marxist doctrine they did strike against "themselves", thereby at the same time they represented both the employer and employee. What a "qui pro quo"?! The worker triumphed over Lenin throwing on the refuse of history the theory of the Communist state, as the State of "workers and peasantry", which could never be on strike since the workers, as it were, cannot strike against themselves. What happened in Poland is not accidental. The workers went to the barricades in Eastern Berlin in 1953, in Budapest in 1956, Poznan 1956, and again in Poland in 1970 and 1976. Similar workers' unrests took place previously in Donbas, where the Ukrainian worker, W. Klibanow, started a free trade union (for the first time under the Russian yoke), daring strikes in Dniprodzerzhynsk, Dnipropetrowsk and particularly in Novocherkask, where the blood of the Ukrainian workers was shed in the struggle against the occupant armies and for the rights of the Ukrainian workers and the entire Ukrainian nation.

In 1980, before the eyes of the Free World, the Polish workers struck a terrible blow to the Russian occupationary system, which is the Communism in all the subjugated nations. The Communist system is imposed on the subjugated nations and it is a Russian collective way of life. Bolshevism, according to N. Berdayev, is the outgrowth of the Russian system of ideas. It is a typical expression of Russian collectivism ("Mir", "Obschyna"). The Bolshevik system — of Leninism-Marxism — is a means to Russian ruling over other nations. Whoever destroys this system simultaneously destroys foreign occupation which is imposed by Russian bayonets and Communist party yanichars. At the Lenin shipyard, nearby his bust, workers administered a decisive blow to the Russian Communist system. Lenin was overcome in the Lenin shipyard. The national emblem and cross took the place of the hammer and sickle. The red flag was replaced by the national red and white flag! Independent trade unions, the protection of the Church and fight for its rights, democratic rights demanded by the workers from the "Workers-Peasantry government" and the capitulation of these authorities to the demands of the workers — all this constitutes a grave blow to the whole system, a blow to the occupant! The Communist party — Moscow's lackey — did surrender ideologically and politically, and thus documented its final and irreversible bankruptcy. The assumed defender of socialism — the workers, openly and by deed stood up against the Communist system and achieved great victory. The sole fact that the workers started the strikes regardless of the possible outcome, and placed such and other demands against the enforced, by means of Moscow's weapons, communist system — is in itself a victory! Ideas do not come on tanks! Ideas are nourished in the souls, hearts and brains of the people. Ideas do not pay duties. They cannot be halted by the Berlin Wall

nor the Iron Curtain. Ideas, like the thoughts of God, spread among people, among nations, they penetrate to prisons and concentration camps. They cannot be halted by dungeons nor isolators in the Vladimir prison. We have neither tanks nor anti-helicopter weapons, but we shall be victorious, say the Mujahideens — the holy warriors of Afghanistan, — as we have faith in Allah, faith in our fatherland, in victory of our truth! We wrote that Afghanistan will be the beginning of the end of the empire which will slope towards its downfall. Poland is rising, national liberation processes of the subjugated nations in the USSR are growing, the people are standing upright. The economic crisis is strangling the prison of nations. It is being rescued as until now by the Western governments by giving it economic injections. They are the unalterable wardens of the empire. Some fear military intervention of the Russians, who accuse assumed infiltrators among the workers, at which even the bourgeois horses of Secretary General Leonid laugh. Tomorrow they will accuse these “infiltrators“ of the next workers’ uprising somewhere else, e.g. in Georgia, Lithuania, or in Ukraine.

It is the political unprincipledness of some Western so-called political statesmen who come to the rescue of bolshevism and who are deeply dissatisfied since the workers themselves are destroying the system. As a proof — the silence of the West, the absence of any kind of solidarity on behalf of the socialists (be it only due to their name)...

We declare our solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Polish people against Russian occupation for national sovereignty and destruction of the Communist system. Free nations should not extend their help to the alien regimes and systems which were imposed by force upon the nations but in accordance with

our demands to the peoples which struggle against the imperial colonial Russian yoke.

What is revolutionary in the workers’ actions, which was supported by the intelligentsia and the entire nation, is the blow with the help of the strike against the backbone itself of the Russian occupational system even taking into account the possible risk of an attack by Russian tanks. Under the pressure of the workers’ readiness to go onto the barricades in order to win or die for their national and social ideas, for freedom, independence and justice in the name of God — the Communist party — subservient to Moscow — felt compelled to give in. A ‘take-over’ strike which turned into a general strike threatened to bring about the collapse of the entire system; on the other hand a possible attempt of suppressing this strike with arms could have provoked a chain reaction within the other subjugated nations and resulted in uncalculable consequences to the empire. Moscow, therefore, refrained from such an action, postponing its plans for the future. It will demand a guaranty from the West similar to those terrible guaranties regarding Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia. But it is questionable, whether they will suffice since the subjugated nations do not count on the Western governments but they are determined without the help of capitulants and detantes in a united front to bring about the downfall of the empire and the Communist system. The USSR is a colossus on clay feet which for the time being is being rescued by Washington, Bonn, Paris, London, the Vatican... The rotten bolshevist system is preserved only by terror and murders, and manifolded aids from the West. But it will not last for too long. The 80’s will bring about its downfall.

*Z. Karbowych*



## XIIIth WACL Conference in Geneva, Switzerland

### ABN Report on the Situation behind the Iron Curtain and on its Activities in the Free World

#### About the situation behind the Iron Curtain

*The new constitution of the USSR* is a constitution of an empire which is a prison of nations and people — not a constitution of a multi-national society. It guarantees only the rights of the imperial, ruling people (the Russians); the rights of the totalitarian communist party; the rights of the General Prosecutor of the USSR.

The Politburo in Moscow has absolute control over all the communist party branches in the so-called “republics”.

The USSR is not even constitutionally a multi-national state but a state of a “supernation” — the Russians, under the name of the “Soviet people”. Not a single “republic” has even a paper right to secede from the USSR because the fictional article about “voluntary secession” is neutralized by the unlimited sovereign rights given to the “Soviet people” (i.e. the Russians), the communist party centralized in the Politburo, the centralized KGB, the office of the General Prosecutor, the centralized Soviet armed forces commanded by the Politburo, the totally centralized state bureaucracy by the all-Union government.

The “Worker’s Newspaper” published under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CC CPU) dated May 23, 1979, brings us news from Tashkent about an all-Union Scholarly-Theoretical Conference on the subject of “*The Russian Language — the Language of Friendship and Cooperation of Nations in the USSR.*”) M. O. Prokofiev, the all-Union Minister of Education in the USSR in his speech insisted that the learning of the Russian language should start in the pre-school years and continuously develop on the different levels of scholarship. His presentation is characteristic of the planned and systematic total russifica-

tion of schools and pre-schools, including kindergartens, where the children of all the enslaved nations are to speak in Russian.

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

In *Georgia* and *Armenia* Moscow tried to eliminate from the “republican” constitutions the native tongue as the official language of the “republic”, but the people surged to the streets and Moscow had to retreat.

The offensive on *Byelorussia* has been extremely strengthened where russification is already celebrating its pogroms. Because of Russian colonialism in *Kazakhstan*, *Latvia*, *Lithuania* and *Estonia*, ethnocide and genocide continue.

The forced deportation of *North Caucasians*, *Crimean Tartars*, *Volga Germans*, *Kalmyks* and *Don Cossacks*, and the simultaneous mass importation of Russians into those territories to replace the native populations, is a contemptible form of russification. *The mass importation of Russians* into the *Ukrainian regions of Donbas*, *Kharkiv*, etc. — that is russification! The mixing of peoples is also a road towards russification.

The persecution of national churches and faiths of the subjugated nations (the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Protestant Churches, the Lithuanian Catholic Church, the Georgian and Armenian Orthodox Churches, and the Islamic faith in Turkestan and North Caucasus) continues.

The struggle for the mother tongue is an elementary factor in the struggle for the soul of a nation!

The struggle for national (by contents and language) cultures, and the battle against the policies of total russification, became an issue of prime concern in the countries occupied by the Russian imperialism.

The encouraging fact is that everlasting persecutions and new and yet new arrests cannot break this struggle which at different times assumes different dimensions.

Here are a few facts as examples:

*Armenia* — based on allegations that they had organized a bombing in the Moscow subway, three Armenians were sentenced to death on Jan. 26, 1979. They were executed immediately after the trial.

Stepan Sadikyan, born 1947. Active member of the Armenian resistance movement. Spent 5 years (1967—1972) in prison for his activities. At the time of the bombing in the Moscow subway, he was not even present in Moscow. Executed along with him were Saven Bagdazaryan and Akop Stepanyan.

Recently a court in Soviet Armenia convicted dissident leader Robert Nazaryan on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and sentenced him to 5 years in a forced labour camp and 2 years of internal exile.

*Georgia* — Avtandil Imnadze, film producer. Arrested April 1978 after he publicly demanded that the Georgian language be recognized in the new Georgian Constitution as the official language of the Republic. Sentenced Dec. 1978 to 5 years imprisonment and 4 years exile for preparing and distributing Georgian samizdat materials.

*Ukraine* — Mykola Baduliak-Sharyhin, 52, a Ukrainian-born former employee of a British company, arrested in the Soviet Union in 1968 and released in 1979, said that many of the prisoners in the camps are not only members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) who

were arrested and sentenced in the post-World War II years but many persons who were arrested in the 1970's for their affiliation with the OUN. He said that some 60% of the political prisoners are Ukrainian and that among them he did not come across one person who was a Marxist. All of them supported the idea of Ukraine's secession from the Soviet Union and the creation of an independent Ukrainian state. Sharyhin said that all of the Ukrainian political prisoners believe that human rights can only be guaranteed in an independent Ukrainian state! As long as Ukraine is occupied there will be new arrests because the Ukrainian nation will continue its struggle for its sovereign, independent rights.

#### **Persecutions and new arrests in spite of Helsinki Accords**

*Ukraine.* — Vasyl Stryltsiv, for participating in a strike. He had already spent 10 years in prison (1944—1954) for his political convictions.

— Yosyp Zisels. Arrested at the end of Dec. 1978 in the city of Chernivtsi. During the search which preceded his arrest the KGB confiscated from Zisels a file on dissidents who are in psychiatric prisons.

— Vasyl Ovsienko, sentenced Feb. 8, 1979 in the city of Radomyshl, Zhytomyrska oblast, to 3 years imprisonment on the accusation of resistance to police.

From the second Information Bulletin of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords which has just made its way to the West, we learn that the artist Rostyslav Paletskyi was murdered in his own home in the village of Trotskyi, Odessa oblast, on March 10, 1978.

An appeal by Mykhajlo Melnyk, a historian from the Kyiv oblast, in which the author cites Russian chauvinism, Russification and the suppression of Ukrainian cultural expression was also published. He writes: "The prohibition against observing May 22 as the day of the burial of the

national poet — Taras Shevchenko — is not the only instance in the system of restrictions to which Ukrainian culture and the Ukrainian nation are subject". M. Melnyk was found dead in his home near Kyiv March 6, 1979.

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

*KGB tortured Sedletsy*, a Ukrainian Baptist to death for his refusal to renounce his Christian faith.

Myroslav (Myron) Symchych, a former soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was sentenced in 1940 to 25 years imprisonment and 5 years curtailment of rights. After Symchych was sent to Maga-

dansk oblast to serve his sentence, the Khabarovsk court sentenced him to an additional 10 years imprisonment. The military tribunal had sentenced Symchych to 25 years imprisonment under the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for being a member of the OUN and a leader of its "bandit groups" which conducted armed warfare against Soviet Russians after World War II.

The prisoners write that the Soviet Secret police is waging a campaign of inciting hatred toward Vasyl Stus, a Ukrainian poet who was arrested and sentenced in the aftermath of the 1972 KGB crackdown in Ukraine to 5 years incarceration and 3 years exile.

80 year-old former prisoner, Dr. Volodymyr Horbovy, fears starvation "My



*From left to right: Mr. Pierre Schifferli, newly-elected WACL chairman (Switzerland), Mr. O. Kowal (Ukraine), Dr. Th. Oberländer (Germany), Col. D. Kosmowich & Mrs. T. Kosmowich (Byelorussia), Dr. M. Ausala (Latvia), Mr. Y. Stetsko & Mrs. S. Stetsko (Ukraine), Dr. K. Drenikoff (Bulgaria), Mr. W. Chopiowsky (Ukraine), Dr. J. Kaskelis (Lithuania), Mr. B. Mailat (Rumania). Seated above: Dr. Jae-Seung Woo, (Korea) Secretary-General of WACL with two WACL participants.*

letters disappear, but so do packages, although Article 56 of the Soviet Constitution guarantees the secrecy of mail”.

The body of popular Ukrainian composer, Volodymyr Ivasiuk, was found hanging and mutilated in a forest 10 km. outside Lviv on May 18, 1979. Ivasiuk, a physician by training, was best known for his compositions “Chervona Ruta” and “Vodohray”.

*Arrests of father-son Petro and Vasyl Sichko* — each have been sentenced to 3 years imprisonment. The trial was held in spring 1980 but no details about the proceedings have yet reached the West. Petro Sichko, a former member of the OUN-UPA underground has already served a 10-year sentence; his son Vasyl was expelled from the Kyiv University where he studied journalism. Both were arrested on July 5, 1979 and charged under Article 187 of the Criminal Code for “slandering the Soviet system.”

*Berdnyk, Lytvyn sentenced* — Oles Berdnyk, a poet and science fiction writer has been sentenced to 6 years imprisonment and 3 years exile for his membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. Berdnyk was a founding member of the group and served as its head following the imprisonment of fellow poet Mykola Rudenko in 1977.

Another member of the group, Yuriy Lytvyn, was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment for “resisting authorities”. The sentences brought the number of imprisoned members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to 12. Of the ten founding members of the group, only two are still free.

Ukrainian inmates who have disappeared from Russian psychiatric asylums include the following: Volodymyr Kolomyets of Bila Tserkva, Leonid Yefymov of Ivano-Frankivske, Victor A. Kolyshenko, Oleksa T. Bondarenko, Mykola Kulish, Petro M. Myravyov, Ivan Osadchuk, Vitaliy H. Onyshchenko, Petro M. Pochynok,

Ivan Prybyda, Vasyl H. Trysh, Anatoliy Yavorsky.

*Crimean Tartars* — Mustafa Dzhemilev, fighter for the right of the deported Tartars to return to the Crimea, was rearrested on February 7, 1979 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. Spent 8 years in prison between 1966 and 1977. He was freed in November 1977. During the time of his imprisonment, he participated in a ten month hunger strike.

On June 6, 1978, two Estonians, Swedish citizen, Laimonis Niedre, and a Latvian, Zanis Skudra, were arrested in Tallin, capital of *Estonia*, and accused of “spying and defamation of the Soviet State”.

*Latvia* — Leymonis Niyedres, a Swedish citizen of Latvian heritage, sentenced to 12 years imprisonment. Accused of ties with the “Latvian Front”.

*Bohemia* — Yaroslav Shabata, one of three official representatives of Czechoslovakian movement for the defence of human rights “Charter 77”. Sentenced in Trutinov in January 1979 to nine months strict regime imprisonment.

Jiri Chmel, 24 year-old geophysicist. Sentenced October 26, 1978 to 18 months imprisonment.

Frantisek Hrabal and Jiri Volf, both 26, sentenced October 26, 1978 to 3 years imprisonment.

Petr Cibulka, 28 year-old worker, Libor Chloupek, 23 year-old librarian, Petr Pospichal, 19 year-old printer's apprentice .....sentenced to 2 years, 20 months and 11 months respectively for organizing private performances of musical or other non-conformist groups and of duplicating and disseminating typewritten and tape recorded samizdat writings.

*Poland* — Henryk Yagello, lieutenant in the Polish Navy. Sentenced November 30, 1978 to one year's imprisonment for distributing the Polish samizdat magazines “Opinia” and “Bratnyak” which is issued by the Students' Committee for Solidarity.

*Lithuania* — Cistopol Viktoras Petkus — member of Lithuanian Helsinki Group Ulyanovsk — January 20, 1979.

Potma, Petras Paulaitis, “national martyr”, writes from the prison camp. He has completed 32 years of imprisonment and has three and a half years left.

#### *Religious persecutions in Bulgaria*

In October 1979, 6 members of the Pentecostal Church in Bulgaria were sentenced to prison. The defendants were repeatedly accused of having had clandestine contacts with representatives of religious groups abroad. One of the strongest arguments of the prosecution was that they helped distribute thousands of smuggled Bibles and other religious books, acts described by “Anteni” as “provocations

against our social system, against our laws, against our national feelings”.

#### **Increase of Christian prisoners**

Since May 1979 at least 22 Baptists, 10 Orthodox, 6 Catholics and 6 Pentecostals have been arrested, as well as one Armenian Christian and one Seventh Day Adventist. The pace of the arrests intensified in the latter part of 1979 and is continuing at a high rate in 1980.

#### **Resistance is growing**

15 political prisoners of various nationalities incarcerated in the Soviet Union signed a document against Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism. The 1979 statement was addressed to the UN Secretary Gen. Kurt Waldheim, the 35th session of the UN General Assembly, governments



*Part of the Ukrainian Delegation at the XIIIth WACL Conference.*

which signed the Helsinki Accords, and all citizens of the Free World.

The document was written and signed by inmates of Chystopol special prison: Razmik Zahrobian (Armenian), Anatoly Scharansky (Jew), Vasyf Fedorenko and Juriy Shukhevych (Ukrainians), Vladimir Balakhanov and Michail Kazachko (Russian), and others. It was co-signed by nine prisoners of the concentration camp near Sosnovka in Mordovia: Balys Gajauskas, Aleksander Ginzburg, Nikolai Yevrafov, Svyatoslav Karavansky, Lev Lukianenko, Bohdan Rebryk, Oleksa Tykhyj, Danylo Shumuk and Edward Kuznetsov.

In protesting against the deportations to the eastern-most regions of Siberia, the prisoners demanded to be returned to their original native lands. The political prisoners declared *a day of silence on July 26 in protest against national discrimination*. August 3 was designated by the political prisoners as the day to commemorate a nation's right to decide its own future. Their motto was "For the Freedom of each of our nations" and "For your and our freedom".

Writing that their reality is in constant threat of becoming a statistic, denationalized and unified into one entity called the "new historical community of people — the Soviet nation", the political prisoners warned the countries of the world that "our today would become your tomorrow" and that "civilization could be trampled under the boots of the Kremlin's global hegemony".

Among the many documents which were recently smuggled to the West is an appeal of Ivan Hel to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, dated July 1979. He states that the Russian empire is "a prison of nations": "The Russian empire is a murderer of Nations". "This short and mathematically precise formula, which condenses robbery of foreign natural resources and the oppression of intellectual and spiritual potential of enslaved nations

brazen and unprecedented in its immensity, is presently in need of semantical definition. Today the Russian empire is a murderer of nations."

### **National-United Party of Armenia**

In 1965, in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the mass murder of Armenians, 50,000 people demonstrated in Erevan, capital of Armenia.

In 1968, artist Ajkazun Khachatrian and others with similar beliefs organized the National-United Party of Armenia. From 1967 to 1975, fifty members of this Party were tried in 18 different judicial proceedings. Very often, during these judicial proceedings, hundreds of persons awaited the appearance of the defendants, near court-houses, greeting them with flowers and glorifying them as national heroes. So honoured were colonel Asatur Babayanov and his son, Paruir Airikian current Secretary of National-United Party of Armenia, imprisoned twice, Bahratov Shakhverdian and others.

The Armenian members of the National United Party published a statement of solidarity with Ukrainian prisoners. Signed by Airikian, Arshakjan, Shacherdjan, Navarsagjan, Markosjan, Zahrabjan, and others.

Secretary of the NUP (Paruir Airikian) writes: "I again assure the solidarity of our party with the true sons and daughters of Ukraine in times of need, not only by means of protest hunger, strikes and declarations..." The following Ukrainians became member-sympathisers of the National United Party: Vyacheslav Chornovil, Stefania Shabatura, M. Buduljak-Sharyhin, Ivan Hel, Wasyf Ovsienko, Zoryan Popadiuk. They all took part in the actions executed by the NUP on August 11, 1975—77, December 5, 1976, April 24, 1975—77, and February 12, 1977. It emphasises the depth of mutual understanding and spiritual community among the representatives of many different nations.

### *Underground Catholic Seminary in Lithuania*

According to the Lithuanian underground journal "Perspektyvos" the existence of an underground Catholic seminary was hinted at during the press conference organized by Lithuanian dissidents for foreign journalists in Vilnius on February 10.

The believers hoped that the underground theological courses would force the government to increase the number of students at the Kaunas seminary but fear was also expressed that the KGB would prefer to infiltrate or discredit the "unofficial" courses and secretly ordained priests.

### *Lithuanian students distribute an appeal*

The appeal circulating the University of Vilnius points out that Stalin's terror cost Lithuania about a third of a million people. Suslov's goal was "Lithuania without Lithuanians". The authors of the appeal urge students and all Lithuanians to fight against Russification.

### *Young Estonians demonstrate in Tartu*

According to information from occupied Estonia, school students in Tartu demonstrated on St. Mary's cemetery on Christmas Eve. The grave of Julius Kuperjanov, a hero of the Estonian war of independence (1919—1920), was full of burning candles. Several hundred youngsters assembled around the grave shouting: "Long live Estonia!", "Free Estonia from foreign occupation!" and singing patriotic songs that are officially banned. Candles were also burning on other graves of soldiers killed in the war of independence.

After the demonstration on the cemetery which lasted about one hour, the students marched to the downtown square in front of the city hall where they again called for the liberation of Estonia. The young demonstrators were dispersed and some were arrested and interrogated but dismissed later.

*Turkestan* — At present there are more than 50 million Moslems living in the Soviet Union under the domination of the godless regime. The Moslem population is increasing continuously. This situation is a cause for alarm to the Communist leadership in the Soviet Union.

Moslem have recognized that the defence of Islam must be taken up in conjunction with the movement for national liberation. The fact is, that unlike the case with Communism, Moslems are convinced that Islam is eternal. In this respect, Moslems take the following view: As long as a single copy of the Holy Koran is available, Islam will endure even the regime of godlessness.

*Poland* — There is now a proliferation in Poland of resistance groups with, at least, 20 illegal papers published regularly with a total monthly circulation of no less than 100,000.

1. KOR (now KSS—KOR — Committee for Social Defence) mostly student activists.
2. ROPCIO (Movement for the Defence of Human and Civil Rights).
3. SKS (Students Solidarity Committee.)
4. PPS (Polish Socialist Party).
5. Polish Chapter of Amnesty International.
6. Polish Committee for the Defence of Life and Family.
7. Samoobrona Polska (The Polish Self-Defence).
8. Polska Walczonca (Fighting Poland).
9. PPN — Polish Coalition for Independence.
10. Polish Democratic Movement for the struggle for Poland's democracy and sovereignty.
11. NOWA (Independent Publishing House) publishes literary periodicals "Zapis" and "Puls".
12. UL (Flying University) with "flying" libraries of books banned from regular collections, supplements education at regular universities. Constant strikes in

Poland threaten the existence of Polish Communist regimes.

*Rumania* — In February 1979 the Free Labour Union of the Working People in Rumania (in Rumanian: Sindicatul Liber al Oamenilor Muncii din Romania — or SLOMR) came into being in Bucharest, Rumania. Its founders, a group of 20 have succeeded in sending to the West a programmatic manifesto in which they announce the establishment of SLOMR and call for help from all labour organizations in the world. The founders of SLOMR deemed it necessary to form such an organization because of the Economic Social and Cultural situations in Rumania.

Similar trade unions were organised in Ukraine but after a few weeks they were liquidated.

#### *The Murder of Croats in Germany*

It is a known fact that Yugoslav agents are carrying out a series of assassinations of Croatian nationalists in Germany. The German daily "Die Welt" published an article about this, entitled "Does the Murderous Weapon come from the Belgrade Arsenal?" In this article it is stated that among Croatian circles in Germany there is a great deal of trepidation, especially among 50 more prominent Croats, who are constantly under the surveillance of the Yugoslav intelligence agency. On January 13, 1980, Mr. Milevich was murdered in a parking lot in Frankfurt. This murder was carried out nearby Mr. Milevich's home. This is already the 38th Croat murdered on the territory of Germany since 1967.

Our action against the Olympics in Moscow was joined by sportsmen behind the Iron Curtain. Sportsmen in Czecho-Slovakia asked to boycott the Olympics in Moscow. On January 23, 1980, the "Sportsmen under the Communist regime in the CSSR" issued an appeal to the Free World, asking the West to boycott the summer Olympic games in Moscow. The appeal in part states as follows:

"We appeal to the responsible statesmen and politicians of the West not to be misled by the so-called argument that sport cannot be mixed with politics. There are no politics involved in Afghanistan, but a military aggression; it is brutal violence against a peace-loving nation on behalf of Soviet Russian imperialistic ambitions."

#### **ABN Ideals are most alive in Russian concentration camps**

*An Appeal to the Community of the Free World published behind the Iron Curtain*

Here we are quoting some excerpts:

We, political prisoners of different nationalities, strictly isolated one from another and from the outside world in the Soviet-Russian harsh regime prison of Chystopolk, desiring to be heard in the matter of... (illegible)... release... (illegible), who are suffering under the yoke of the Kremlin's despicable despotism, will take part — from July 23 to August 1 — in the Decade of solidarity of nations struggling against Soviet-Russian colonialism and imperialism. In the framework of the Decade, continuing the tradition established by the prisoners of the Ural concentration camps of different nationalities:

On the day of demands of return to one's homeland (July 23), we will rise in opposition to... (illegible), practiced to date, which is used for the purpose of stifling the national liberation struggles, and until recently, physical destruction... (illegible) genocide of non-Russian nations, practice of mass and individual deportations to remote regions of Russia, Ural, Siberia (in the same manner, to territories of other subjugated nations), to severe climates; we will demand cessation of this criminal (illegible) practice, which also constitutes an outrage against the institution of citizenship of "union republics" — "sovereign countries" — we will demand that we be returned to our native countries.

On the day of solidarity with Tatar-Bashkir and Mordovian nations (July 30) — we will submit a declaration of our



solidarity with them, and express our protest against forceful transformation of their territories into places of deportation and exile of political prisoners — members of other nationalities, including active participants of national liberation movements.

*On the day of rights of nations to self-determination (August 3), we will traditionally commemorate the anniversary of the signing of Helsinki agreement by protesting against the brutal violation by the USSR government of Principle VII of the Declaration of Principles of said conclusive act and demanding immediate implementation of this most important international lawful covenant regarding all prisoners of Soviet Russian colonialism and imperialism on the territory of present-day USSR and beyond its borders. We will express our solidarity under the banner — “For the freedom of each of our nations”, using an old sacred slogan — “For your and our freedom!”*

However, we realise that solidarity of enslaved nations alone is not enough, and

we are also counting upon the sympathy and support of our endeavours by all freedom-loving countries of the world, especially by those, who gained their independence not long ago, by all countries of the Third World and by democratic countries of the West.

Further, we are calling all countries and governments, political, national and religious parties and organizations, all international societies, public and social activists, private individuals — to everywhere firmly and consistently insist upon the complete and final liquidation of national and colonial enslavement by the ever-present practitioners of history’s last Russian-Soviet empire — the “prison of nations”, which, today, at the end of the Twentieth Century, constitutes the main hindrance to world development. Only this can guarantee world peace, stability and... (illegible).

Signed by political prisoners of Soviet-Russian harsh regime prison in Chystopolk, Tataria: Razmik Zahrobian — Armenian,



*View of the plenary session of the XIIIth WACL Conference.*

Anatoly Shcharansky — Jew, Vladimir Balakhanov, Mikhailiv Kazachkov — Russians, Vasyl Fedorenko, Jurij Shukhevych-Berezynskyj — Ukrainians.

We, the undersigned prisoners of concentration camp Sosnovka in Mordovia, and joined by others, after becoming familiar with the contents of appeal of the political prisoners of Soviet harsh regime prison in Chystopolk, completely and wholeheartedly underwrite this text and will take active part in the second Decade of solidarity of captive nations.

Borys Gayauskas, Alexander Ginzburg, Nikolay Yevrhafov, Svyatoslav Karavanskyj, Lev Lukianenko, Bohdan Rebyrk, Oleksa Tykhyj, Danylo Shumuk, Edward Kuznetsov.

April 10 1979.

### **ABN Actions against Moscow Olympics**

In all our publications we repeatedly explained to the Free World that the Olympics cannot take place in the centre of genocide. This was stressed at press conferences and public statements.

The ABN President, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, appealed in an address to the Free World to boycott the Moscow Olympics and spoke of applying other measures to be taken with Moscow in October 1979 at a press conference on the occasion of the 20th anniversary since the death of Stepan Bandera. (The Chairman of the Presidium of the OUN assassinated by the KGB on October 15, 1959 in Munich.)

Mr. Stetsko repeated these propositions at several other press conferences in the United States throughout 1979 in telegrams to the US President and to the US National Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, at the time of Moscow's encroachment of Afghanistan.

A counter Olympics — the "Free Olympiad 1980" was organized by groups of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and Armenians in Canada, Toronto on 4-5

July 1980. The Estonians from the Free World countries assembled in Stockholm on July 12—13 to perform by approx. 25,000 participants a unique festival. It echoed on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Manyfolded informative actions were carried out in particular during the Winter Olympics in the USA. Leaflets distributed there were published in the ABN Correspondence magazine March-April issue 1980.

### **Actions in support of the heroic Afghan nation**

Text of the telegram sent by the ABN Central Committee to the Islamic Conference held in Islamabad, Pakistan.

"On behalf of the national liberation organizations of the subjugated nations in the Russian empire, we express our full solidarity, political and moral support for the heroic freedom struggle of the Afghan people against Russian barbaric aggression and subjugation.

The guarantee of independence and freedom lies in the dissolution of the Russian empire into national independent states by the national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations in the USSR and satellite countries."

In connection with the brutal Russian aggression against and with the occupation of Afghanistan, the Central Committee of the ABN has launched a worldwide campaign in defence of the Afghan heroic people. It demanded an immediate boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games. The boycott at that time was already supported by the American government. In their memorandums, ABN demanded from the Free World to take necessary measures to expedite the dissolution of the Soviet Russian empire which can be the only guarantee for the restoration of peace and freedom in the world. Under ABN auspices, a number of press conferences and demonstrations have been held throughout the world, especially in New York and

London, at which representatives of the Afghan Liberation Movement were present. We joined in the demonstrations in Paris, Hamburg and Copenhagen. In New York we held two press conferences urging the Free World to render the Afghan nation military help.

On three occasions we sent leaflets in Ukrainian and Russian languages to be distributed among the soldiers of the Soviet Army calling them to desert the Soviet Army and join the freedom-fighters. To make this action successful, separate diplomatic actions were made and contacts with the insurgents established.

*Dr. Baymirza Hayit* — ABN — Turkestanian representative—toured the Moslem countries lecturing on Islam in the Soviet Union. He participated in the IVth Conference of World Assembly of Muslim youth in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, held on 21. 3. 1979. Dr. Hayit is the Chairman of the Turkestan Research Institute in Cologne, West Germany. He was in Islamabad and gave lectures on the struggle of the Subjugated Nations in the Russian Empire.

### **Actions on Decolonialization**

We are continuously active in mobilizing public opinion in the West for the decolonialization of the Russian empire. In connection with the Ukrainian World Congress a mass demonstration was organized in New York. Despite frigid temperatures, participants numbering over 6,000 including Ukrainians from the US, Canada, Europe, South America and Australia, youth organizations and representatives of the Byelorussian, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian communities marched in a parade column which at one point stretched for at least ten city blocks.

Four former political prisoners in the Soviet Union were at hand to personally substantiate the protester's accusations of gross human, national and religious rights violations behind the Iron Curtain perpetrated by the Kremlin. A well-prepared

documentation (book) was handed over to the members delegation in the UN by Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians.

### **50th Anniversary of Ukrainian Underground Movement**

In 1979 patriotic Ukrainians in Ukraine and all over the world were marking the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which has carried the brunt of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their national freedom and independence in the most recent historical period.

September 28—30, a symposium on the history of OUN was held at Montreal's Concordia University. The symposium held on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the OUN was sponsored by the university's Dept. of Political Science. It was the first of its kind to have taken place at a major N. American academic institution.

Its leader and national hero, Stepan Bandera, was killed on the order of Moscow in 1959. Ukrainian diaspora commemorated his death with press conferences, publications, tributes and mass demonstrations in front of Russian embassies in London, Washington, Canberra, Bonn, Brussels, Paris, Buenos Aires, and in front of the Soviet Mission in New York. Bandera's assassination received mass press coverage in Great Britain, Germany, and other countries. The British Broadcasting Corporation issued a film which was shown in Great Britain and Belgium and a book titled "Spy", about Bandera's killer, was published.

### **Moscow yields under pressure**

During 1979 some Ukrainian political prisoners (known to WACL members from WACL resolutions and actions in their defence) were released and reached the West. They are Valentin Moroz, Raisa Moroz, Svyatoslav Karavanskyj, his wife Nina

Strokata-Karavanska, and Giorgi Vins. Throughout the world press conferences, public meetings, youth rallies, lectures, hundreds of interviews, meetings with distinguished politicians and church leaders were organized for them. (Meetings with Pope John Paul II, President Carter, Mr. Z. Brzezinski, meetings in the British Parliament, US House of Representatives and Senate, with Bavarian Prime Minister F. J. Strauss, etc.) They joined the actions of the Ukrainians and their sympathisers throughout the world for the release of Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of Gen. Roman Shukhevych, commander-in-chief of Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Y. Shukhevych refused to renounce his father and his ideas and therefore is incarcerated for the third decade. American and British parliamentarians support this action as well as others for the release of political, religious prisoners and freedom-fighters.

#### **ABN Memorandums**

ABN has sent out memorandums to the governments of the nations of the Free World in which the Central Committee of the ABN analyzes the current global political crisis and submits several suggestions of how the world crisis can be resolved. ABN stresses that the support for national liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Moscow will lead to the dissolution of the Russian empire and, thus, the threat to the rest of the Free World can be removed.

#### **From AF ABN Activities**

The branch of the American Friends of ABN in Los Angeles was formed on January 25, 1979. The activity programme for 1979 include the honoring of the 30th anniversary of the ABN Correspondence and increasing actions to honour the 35th anniversary of the establishment of the ABN in November 1943 in the Ukrainian province Zhytomyrshchyna. The established branch of AF ABN is the central branch for California.

AF ABN Inc. held its Annual Meeting on August 29, 1979. Suggestions for the future activities of the ABN and a short identification of the AF ABN and what it stands for.

The AF of the ABN is an American organization created almost 30 years ago by Americans of Eastern and Central European descent, whose national representations belong to the ABN.

From their plans of actions which in the meantime have been carried out:

In order to help our fellow Americans to better recognize the continuous danger coming from the Bolshevik imperialistic conquest and to expose the outright annihilation of our subjugated peoples by the Russian communists through periodic mass deportations and Russification, on November 7 of this year we must bring out our people into the streets of New York City and picket the Soviet Union Mission to the United Nations at 67 Street to expose to the American public today's greatest source of evil in the world.

Our next event should be a scholarly panel discussion of a high level with the participation of our college professors with the following proposed topics:

1. Contradictions and Weaknesses of the Soviet Russian Colonial System.
2. The Peking-Moscow conflict and its Effect on the Subjugated Nations.
3. Russification as a Means of Moscow's Colonial Expansion.
4. The participation of the AF ABN Nationality Groups in American politics.

The next event should be a folklore evening of subjugated peoples to encourage a free culture exchange and to use the possible net income from the event for some noble cause, like for instance, the aiding of the Baltic peoples to rebuild their vandalized Shrine in Flushing (on the grounds of the former 1964 World's Fair) dedicated to the victims of Communism and to the freedom fighters of the Baltic Nations.

And the fourth event, we should extend our attention and become responsible for the observance of the Captive Nations Week in 1980.

The AF ABN sponsored a "Festival of Nations" celebration on Sunday, June 1, 1980, starting at 4pm at the auditorium of the Julia Richman High School located at 317 East 67th Street in Manhattan. Entertainment was presented by performers representing the cultures of a variety of nations.

### **Visits of the Central Committee Members Abroad**

During 1979 the President of the Central Committee, Yaroslav Stetsko, and its members visited North and Latin America, the Middle East and European countries. There were press conferences organized for the ABN President in New York, Miami, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Los Angeles and Phoenix. The ABN President spoke on different radio stations in these cities, made public speeches and met different representatives of anti-communist American organizations. He also visited England, France, Spain and Italy.

The ABN President was accompanied by Mrs. Slava Stetsko who was responsible, in particular, for meetings of the national groups of the ABN Branches. She informed the ABN Branches about the WACL Conference in Paraguay and WACL and ABN activities in general and spoke on the situation behind the Iron Curtain.

The representative of the Turkestanian Unity Committee, Dr. B. Hayit, gave lectures in the Middle East countries on the Moslem problems inside the Soviet Union.

Dr. B. Mailat visited the Latin American countries mainly to meet the Rumanian compatriots.

The ABN office in Munich is in constant contact not only with its national members and the ABN Branches in the United States, Canada, Argentina, Australia, Great

Britain, Spain, Belgium, Germany and others, but also with the organization members of WACL and other anti-communist organizations which exist throughout the world and are not yet members of WACL. The ABN Headquarters publish "ABN Correspondence" regularly which mainly prints publications on the situation inside the subjugated countries in the Soviet Union and the so-called satellites. The documents smuggled from behind the Iron Curtain are being translated into Western languages and distributed.

### **The Latest Events**

While these reports are being written, the Free World learns the news of the Polish workers striking in Gdansk. The strike was only interrupted when the Polish Communist government promised to fulfill their demands and threatened them with new Soviet Russian divisions.

Another instance of people fighting for their national and human rights is the first Byelorussian samizdat which we have only recently received, translations of which are in circulation in the Free World. The document which has recently reached the West is an impassioned plea against the assimilation of the Byelorussian language by the Russian language.

Also just recently a document was smuggled out of underground Ukraine called "Hrani Kultury" (Frontiers of Culture) which is a scientific book written by an underground Ukrainian author. This book analyses the most basic elements of Ukrainian culture in the struggle against the forceful imposition of Russian culture. The book documents a high level of Ukrainian culture and its age-old authenticity, how much Ukrainian culture contributed to world culture and how important is its further development for world culture. Ukrainian culture and all cultures of the subjugated nations can only again flourish in a free and national Ukraine after the dissolution of the Russian empire.

We would like to express our solidarity with the Peoples of Cuba, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Angola, Mainland China, Afghanistan, of North Korea (for unification with South Korea) struggling for independence and freedom.

I would like to add to General Robert Close's speech that the best NATO

weapons are the souls of the subjugated peoples who are fighting for their independence.

To our fellow delegates, we bring our convictions and determination that victory will finally belong to us.

*Slava Stetsko*

## **Ukraine is a Russian colony, say Ukrainian dissidents**

**Below is a translation of a petition to the United Nations written by 18 Ukrainian political prisoners in the summer of 1979.**

A characteristic of contemporary reality is the division into two systems opposed in principle — the open world of free enterprise and democratic freedoms, and the barbed-wire-surrounded world of integrated, centralized regulation of economic, political and all spiritual life. The conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, which epitomize the first and second systems, respectively, determines the image of the contemporary political map of the globe. The Third World and the non-aligned nations decrease the power of the opposing blocs, but they do not decrease the conflicts of contemporary civilizations, because they do not stand (and cannot stand) aside from the historical process. The global factor of confrontation in conditions of today's extraordinarily high technological development and progress in nuclear weapons has resulted in the evolution of several powerful centers of international politics (the United States, the USSR, Western Europe and China) and it seems that, out of fear of a universal catastrophe, the nations of democratic states are content to close their eyes to the colossal tragedy of the Ukrainian nation and many other nations who, at a time of celebration of cosmic achievements, are being subjected to nowhere and never foreseen national destruction.

The pre-history of our national calamity began long ago, but with the seizure of

power by the Communists — this vanguard of Russian chauvinists — our real tragedy began. The establishment in 1918 of the Ukrainian National Republic was seen by the Communists as a brazen attempt on our part on their national life and well-being, on their national goal — then with their army they defeated the weak army of the newly established republic and once again transformed Ukraine into a Russian colony.

After three centuries of colonial propaganda, Russia was able to thrust upon the world many false ideas that have come to be regarded as the indisputable truth. One of these ideas is the notion that the nationality question has been justly resolved. We could not oppose this with our own national word, because we are mute before the world. We have been mute since long ago. Ukrainians are mute for the third century. The occupiers have taken from us our school. They locked our living word in prison, and the works of our spiritual fathers in the censors' safes; they themselves speak in the name of the Ukrainians, and the world hears only their voice.

There are 40 million of us, but we are the most unfortunate nation. We ourselves tried to break away from the grasping clutches of the invaders, but other members of the universal family of nations looked upon our calamity with indifference. And

so many of us died in the fight for national freedom, but there is no freedom . . .

And now we, children of a weak and populous nation, appeal to the United Nations, as the universal political forum of nations with their own states which is charged with leading colonized countries and nations out of political non-existence. Do not let us die with this desire! Register Ukraine as a Russian colony, and help us free ourselves from forcible occupation.

Ukraine found itself within the composition of Russia not as a result of the good will of the Ukrainian nation, but as a result of the military victory of Russia over Ukraine, that is, the offensive physical destruction of the nationally conscious intelligentsia, all Ukrainian political parties and the more prosperous strata of the population . . .

All Ukrainian state organs were gradually destroyed and in their place an occupation administration was organized, with the help of which all national life in Ukraine was subjugated to Russia. In order to subdue the great nation and to prevent an organized opposition, Russia stationed its military garrisons in all more or less notable cities, organized in Ukraine its sole political party and police with a huge network of party functionaries and state agents.

All creative organizations of Ukrainian writers, artists, theater and film activists were liquidated, and some persons themselves were destroyed as well. In their place they created their own organizations, which under the direction of the party, conduct ideological stupefaction, numbing the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the entire nation. The national clergy was destroyed and supplanted by their own.

All trade unions of workers and employees were liquidated, and in their place they brought their own from Russia, subjugating them to the sole Russian party.

The general raising of the level of national consciousness at the end of the 1920s

and the increasing discontent with the colonial status could have been transformed into a general explosion; then the occupants sanctioned the mass famine and in this manner decreased the nation by one-fifth. During the period of this famine the intelligentsia did not die out. The peasants died. And then, in 1934, Stalin announced the formula: "The Ukrainian intelligentsia does not deserve to be trusted." This formula served as the basis for the physical punishment of the intelligentsia, as a result of which nearly 600,000 persons were repressed. The nation was quartered.

Luckily the Russian occupation did not spread over the entire national territory of the Ukrainians. A fifth (the western part) of the nation lived under freer conditions. This portion organized an underground national liberation movement, which during World War II acted against one occupant, and for 10 years after the war against a new one. This movement showed that hot blood, not water, flows in the veins of Ukrainians. However, the movement could not change the fate of its nation — the occupant defeated us this time as well.

A large Ukrainian political emigration appeared abroad at the conclusion of the war and afterwards. The emigration implored the entire free world to take note of the brutality of the occupants and genocide, but the world did not believe it — Russian demagoguery lied about the glorious knights, accusing them of cooperation with Hitlerites. Long, sad years followed. The situation began to change for the better in the 1960s when a new generation of fighters for national independence appeared. Not having access to any communications media as a result of... the occupants' censorship, they started to search for means to inform their brothers abroad, and with their help, the entire free world; and by means of radio broadcasts to inform their countrymen as well about the current predicament of Ukraine and its main problems.

We do not claim that this is an all-encompassing characterization of our homeland as a Russian colony; we only provide a brief document with a summary of the basic facts generally known to anyone with an interest in the history of the Russian empire and its relations with Ukraine. Nevertheless we use these facts as a foundation for a formal petition to the United Nations, asking for assistance in the struggle for independence through the registration of Ukraine as a colony in the Special Committee of 24 on decolonization, inclusion of the Ukrainian question on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly session and other actions that the United Nations usually employs in similar matters.

The Ukrainian national ideal, in regard to internal political status, is based on a firm commitment to democratic principles in all spheres of life with safeguards for true opportunities for the free interplay of various political parties and powers; economic, professional and cultural freedom; freedom to conduct policies of peace, economic cooperation and external political, scholarly and literary and other exchanges with all countries; increasing the influence of Ukraine in the progressive movement of the world community toward an always fuller guarantee of spiritual and material needs, and faith in man as the highest value on earth.

As a result of armed intervention Moscow forced upon Ukraine the agreement of December 30, 1922, concerning the creation of the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and established a harsh, brutal dictatorial regime under which any expression of freedom by the people became impossible and the basic principle of international law — the right to conduct oneself according to one's own will — had no validity for Ukrainians throughout the entire period of Russian rule. Norms of international law: the United Nations Charter (articles 1, 13, 55, 76), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to

Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference (Chapter VIII), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 1) and others sound fine. Nevertheless, up to now there is only... the real status of Ukraine, the colonial status of which is evident from the following facts: the Ukrainian nation does not have its own organs of authority; it is deprived of political sovereignty, and the so-called Supreme Soviet of Ukraine has as its source of power not its own will, but the will of the Central Committee of Russia, which is beyond the borders of Ukraine and is not subject to the will of the Ukrainian nation. Ukraine's organs of authority are an occupational administration which, on the territory of Ukraine, epitomizes the colonization policies of Moscow.

As a stateless nation, Ukraine does not determine its own political development and does not conduct any independent internal or foreign policy. Contrary to its national interests, Ukraine is included in the Russian political system that has an imperialistic yearning for world domination, and through its natural and human resources Ukraine unwillingly increases the industrial and military power of the empire, at the same time increasing international stress and the threat of a new world war which can inflict on the unfortunate nation even more disaster than the famine in 1933.

Ukraine does not have its own army. The metropolis mobilizes our youth in the imperial army and sends the majority to areas far from the native land in order to facilitate their assimilation and ideological adaptation in the spirit of its ideology.

Ukraine does not have its own foreign policy. No country in the free world considers it an independent state, and therefore no country feels a need to establish diplomatic relations on the level of embassies. And the member-states of the United Nations indulge the Moscow imperialists, admitting to the United Nations a dele-



gation from Ukraine which represents the occupational administration — not the Ukrainian nation.

Ukraine does not choose its representatives who, contrary to the Ukrainians' dedication to the ideal of freedom of economic activity, etc., were appointed by Moscow, which thrust upon Ukraine brutal forms in the areas of industrial and agricultural production and itself conducts detailed planning and direction.

The Ukrainian nation is deprived of the right to dispose of its own natural resources.

Ukraine does not have its own financial system or national currency.

Ukraine is deprived of the opportunity to conduct its own foreign trade.

Ukraine does not determine its own social development, because Ukraine does not dispose of its own national wealth and does not direct the economy on its own territory; the standard of living of the Ukrainian nation corresponds neither to the size of its national-natural resources, nor to its labor efforts, nor to today's conceptions of the normal standard of living.

Ukraine does not determine its own cultural development. All cultural matters are under the immediate direction of the party, under the vigilant supervision of its censors who, during the entire period of their domination on our land, stubbornly and importunately conduct a policy of assimilation and replacement of Ukrainian culture with their own culture. All higher and special secondary school institutions are being Russified, and now they are to change to the Russian language in teaching at elementary and secondary schools. The Ukrainian language was forced out of economic and scholarly life, out of medicine, transport, trade, sports, films and other spheres of cultural and community life.

In order to completely destroy national consciousness and to destroy sources of the thought itself about a separate national life under the sun, the occupants concealed the history of our grandfathers and great-

grandfathers from contemporary living generations, and forcibly attempted to misrepresent their own ideals and historical goals to the Ukrainian nation as its own.

To make unrestricted genocide possible, the Russian colonizers surrounded the external borders of Ukraine with barbed wire and the bayonets of border guards; they keep the Ukrainians in complete isolation from the external world. In today's period of great development of modes of transportation and mass tourism, individual tourism in Ukraine and travel of families from and to Ukraine are forbidden, and group tourism is reduced to an extreme minimum. Ukrainians have been deprived of the right to emigrate for the purpose of permanent residency in other countries.

The goal of the movement — the secession of Ukraine from the composition of the so-called USSR and the creation of an independent democratic Ukrainian state.

As heirs and pursuers of the greatest historical striving of a nation — the yearning for an independent state life — we submit this petition to the General Secretariat of the United Nations and ask that it be registered as an official document of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement for review by the committee of the current status of the Ukrainian nation from the viewpoint of our petition's argumentation. We ask the secretary-general to do all that is necessary for the registration of Ukraine as a colony of the Russian empire which exists as the so-called USSR.

In light of the anti-colonial direction of the United Nations and taking into consideration the 1960 UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we persistently ask that you include the Ukrainian question as an urgent problem on the 1979 agenda of the General Assembly.

We appeal to the General Secretariat of the United Nations and to the govern-

→

## Byelorussians Oppose Aggression

Byelorussia was an independent country in the past and had an important influence on the cultural, political and economic life in Eastern Europe.

In 1795, Byelorussia was, by force of arms, conquered and annexed to Russia. The Rada (Council) of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, authorized by the First All-Byelorussian Congress, on March 25, 1918 proclaimed the Independent Byelorussian Democratic Republic.

This historical proclamation was the supreme act in the fight of the Byelorussian people for its freedom and independence. Moscow, who, till then, hostilely disposed to Byelorussian independence, realized and understood the force of the Byelorussian rise and suddenly changed her tactics regarding the Byelorussian people. And on January 1st 1918 for her part proclaimed an "independent" Byelorussian Socialist Soviet Republic (BSSR) in her ethnographic boundaries. The aim of this proclamation was a new form of Moscow's government over Byelorussia. Shortly afterwards Moscow took away almost the whole Byelorussian territory and annexed it to the RSFR. In 1920 Moscow left the BSSR only 6 districts with a population of 1.500.000 people.

Nevertheless the Byelorussian National Resistance forced Moscow, step by step, to return to the BSSR a part of the seized territory. Unfortunately, even to this day, almost half of the Byelorussian ethnographic territory are in the possession of the RSSFR and other Soviet Republics.

The aim of Moscow was and still is the formation of a mighty Russian state called the Soviet Union with Russia herself as the dominating nation participating some janizaries from enslaved people.

The Byelorussian nation has already fought for 62 years for the restoration of its free and independent republic. In 1944 the Second All-Byelorussian Congress reaffirmed the will of the Byelorussian people to live in liberty. But soon our people were once again enslaved by Russian Communism.

Even many years after the Second World War the Byelorussian partisans, under difficult conditions and with the help of the population, still fought against the communist occupant for freedom in Byelorussia.

Under the pressure of the patriotic forces of the Byelorussian people and in order to deceive the free world about the real colonialist nature of the system in the USSR, Moscow re-established the BSSR as an "independent" Republic, which then entered the UNO as a founding member. The Moscow regime takes advantage of the Byelorussian representatives in the UNO for her aims. These so-called representatives of the BSSR talk about human rights in Africa, South America, in the Far East and even in Afghanistan, but they do not waste a word about Moscow's violation of human and national right in their own Byelorussian Country. During the whole time of her occupation

←

ments of sovereign states — members of the United Nations, with a call to include the Ukrainian question on the agenda of the next session of the UN General Assembly and to use all means to hasten the freeing of Ukraine from Russian occupation.

Signed by: Serhiy Babych, Apoloniy Berniychuk, Ivan Hel, Ivan Ilchuk, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Levko Lukianenko, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Vasyl Ovsienko, Zorian Popadiuk, Vasyl Romaniuk, Petro Ruban, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Andriy Turyk, Bohdan Chuiko, Yuriy Shukhevych, Oles Berdnyk.

of Byelorussia the Moscow regime exerts brutal violence:

1. Destroys the Byelorussian language. This linguicide is condemned by the International Convention, which was also signed by the Moscow government.

2. Because of the defense of the individual, national and religious rights, the Kremlin imprisons Byelorussians, deports them to concentration camps and psychiatric asylums.

Moscow is exploiting the Byelorussian people and its economic and material resources. Because of this exploitation our people live in difficult conditions. Moscow, in the meantime is strengthening her military force, the Chinese border, paying Cuban soldiers in Angola and other parts of Africa, in the Far East and in Afghanistan, she is strengthening her Navy in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. She is supporting the Vietnamese in their fight against Cambodia and organizing disturbances in all parts of the World.

The fight of the Byelorussian people for freedom and independence continues. The Moscow terror only strengthens the national feeling of the Byelorussian people and forces the freedom-loving Byelorussians to gain their rights, to demand Moscow to abide to the Helsinki Agreement.

Mainly, within the scope of culture and education, a long-lasting, heavy and intensive fight is being conducted.

Not only that a new generation of Byelorussian poets, writers and scientists absconded inferior auxiliary services imposed by the Communist Party, moreover they were engaged in the protection of the basic interests of their enslaved people.

But not only the intellectuals with all their might oppose the aggression. More and more young Byelorussian workers, such as Michael Kukabaka, Eugen Buzinikau, Iwan Karejscha and others, in spite of arrests and maltreatments by the KGB, call on their people, and the Free World to morally support the Byelorussian people in their fight for its national and human rights, which are guaranteed by the Helsinki Agreement. The people need this moral support. Our people need large protests of the free governments, cultural institutions, trade-unions, national and international organisations — against the violation of human and national rights in Byelorussia. Such free voices are the conferences of leading international organisations, in which the Byelorussian Liberation Front also takes part.

Our people learn from the radio, confident men, tourists and from the Soviet Press about our activity and participation in conferences in all parts of the world. In these activities moral support is realized which gives the people force to resist the enemy.

The people ask to continue with these activities despite difficulties. That is the reason why Moscow is heavily attacking us in the Soviet and foreign press.

In co-operation with all freedom-loving forces of the enslaved peoples and the Free World, the Communist Imperialism and Colonialism can be destroyed. Under this condition only Freedom, Justice and Peace can prevail in the world.

June, 21st 1980

*Byelorussian Liberation Front*  
*D. Kosmowicz, President*

**Dr. Baymirza Hayit**

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## **Night attack with Engineer Mahmoud**

The Mujahideen commander squeezed the trigger of his rocket launcher. A split-second later a Russian troop carrier passing us just ten yards away exploded as the missile tore into its side, filling the darkness with cries of wounded and dying Russians.

This hit-and-run mission into Russian-held Jalalabad city, was typical of the rebel attacks that occur nightly in Afghanistan. Militarily the targets are small, but the rebels believe that the harassment has a great psychological effect.

I was invited to accompany the raid by Moslem fundamentalist Engineer Mahmoud, 21-year-old Mujahideen leader in the Sukhrut area of Afghanistan who commands 500 guerrillas. At 5 pm eight of us left base, a deserted village several miles from Jalalabad, after a day spent cleaning and checking the Lee Enfield rifles and captured Kalashnikov machine-guns that form the mainstay of the Mujahideen's arsenals everywhere. Engineer Mahmoud carried a captured Soviet anti-tank rocket launcher.

We had to take a circuitous route because the Russians recently blew up three river bridges. We crossed fields, keeping in the cover of trees and bushes. Overhead in the sunset Russian helicopters chopped back to Jalalabad.

Because it was the Moslem holy month of Ramadan, when the taking of food is forbidden during daylight, we ate after dark at a farmer's home. A further 15 guerrillas joined us and we walked to a narrow iron bridge over a canal. Engineer Mahmoud detached 10 men, one with a landmine, to guard the bridge and warn us on our return should the Russians try to cut us off. Then we pressed on into the suburbs of Jalalabad, where we rested and ate again at a safe house. The guerrillas prayed.

At 11 pm we moved on and came to a walled garden. Mahmoud placed his eight men at the entrance, the rest of us entered and squatted by a bomb-damaged wall bordering a main road, where Russian lorries rumbled past. Mahmoud did not want to waste a rocket on a lorry, so we waited 30 minutes for a tank or armoured car.

From the other side of the road I could hear snatches of conversation between two Russian soldiers which I could just comprehend with my tourist level knowledge of the Russian language: "It's hot... are you thirsty?... I'm tired." I was afraid we should be spotted, and I had to fight the urge to run away. I sweated half a gallon of fear in those 30 minutes.

Then we heard the squeaking of a tracked vehicle. Mahmoud stood up, me beside him, and poked the launcher through a hole in the wall. He pulled the trigger at point-blank range. The explosion stunned me and I was deafened for several seconds before I heard the screams of the victims and others shouting in panic.

As we retreated through the garden, figures appeared at the wall and shot at us until the Mujahideen returned the fire. We joined the other guerrillas and dashed through a little street out into an open field. The Russians put up flares and opened up with machine-guns. The Mujahideen, without stopping, fired back. One man was hit in the leg, but we all reached cover safely. Back at the safe house we rested until 3 am. Strangely, the Russians did not search for us. Dawn found us at a river near the base, and the guerrillas knelt to recite a prayer. Suddenly four helicopters flew over. Everyone froze until the helicopters passed, then they continued praying.

*The attack in Jalalabad was the most dramatic event on my tour, which began*

*after six days of negotiating for guides and accreditation with Mujahideen leaders in the insurgent stronghold of Peshawar, on the Pakistan side of the border...*

*August 1:* We are camped tonight a mile or so inside Afghanistan. The day has been long and gruelling. I and my three guides, Malang, Naim and Jafar, set off at three this morning to reach the Pakistani border town of Parachenar, about 200 miles south-west of Peshawar. Malang, 35, had been a bus driver in Kabul before joining the insurgents. Jafar, 28, was a clerk, also from Kabul, and Naim, 19, was a student. The Pakistani authorities have declared the area out of bounds to foreigners, but I was dressed in Afghan clothes - turban, waistcoat and what looked like an outsize pair of green pyjamas — so there were no difficulties when our bus was stopped at army check-points.

The border between Afghanistan and Pakistan is formed by the mountain peaks. We started ascending the Pakistani side on foot at 11 am and the mists were already beginning to shroud the peaks when we reached it at 6 pm.

Throughout the day we met refugees, belongings strapped to their backs, moving slowly towards Pakistan.

An hour's clamber down the Afghanistan side of the mountain brought us to an area where travellers have built stone wind-breaks and about 15 camp fires were dotted over the mountainside. I spoke to Kagol, a 28-year-old science teacher from Jalalabad City, who had run into trouble for his anti-Communist views and now wanted to study in Pakistan. He said there was considerable guerrilla activity around Jalalabad and the Russians controlled only the city, not venturing a mile beyond.

*August 2:* We set off down the mountain again at 5 am, after a freezing night when I hardly slept. Breakfast is merely Afghan tea, which is reminiscent of Lapsong Sou-chong. For lunch we buy a piece of freshly-

killed goat at a hamlet. The sky is cloudless, the temperature in the 90s.

The Russians do not venture this far, and life has not been affected, except that the value of Afghan money has fallen to less than half its previous value. Villagers tell me they go on expeditions deeper into Afghanistan to take pot shots at the Russians.

We pass more and more armed men on their way to join guerrilla groups, their Kalashnikov machine-guns and ancient British Lee Enfields slung across their backs. At the village of Alapril I come across two unexploded Russian bombs embedded in a neat, green, unripened field of corn. The village was bombed two months ago, but the only casualties were cattle and goats. Three more unexploded bombs at the Mujahideen strongholds of Toorabora testify to the state of the Soviet manufacturing industry.

All the men of Toorabora are armed. They regularly raid Jalalabad and claim that each time they kill *Shouravi* or *Dushman*, their names for Russians and Communists. One of the guerrillas gave an impressive demonstration with his Lee Enfield. He pointed out a mansized rock across a gully about 500 yards away. I thought it was an impossibly long distance, but he aimed, fired and splintered it.

*August 3:* The Russians must be celebrating the end of the Olympics because the sounds of bombing punctuate the entire day.

We stayed the night in the village of Agam, sleeping in the courtyard of a house with the stars shining through pomegranate trees. The nights are too warm to sleep indoors. None of the people I have met behave as if the country is occupied; they go about their business normally. They are angry the Russians are in Afghanistan. Although the Mujahideen do not have the weapons to drive them out, psychologically they are not a defeated people. When they hear bombs exploding in the neighbouring

villages, they purse their lips and stare with grim anger. I have not seen despair in their eyes; they seem to draw strength from one another and the Islamic religion.

Agam is almost in the plains, and the scenery is markedly more brown. Mountain streams have shrunk to a trickle and water is channelled through irrigation ditches. The people are mostly farmers growing tall green corn in neatly kept fields. The houses are of wattle, as elsewhere, and very little seems to have changed since Biblical times.

*August 4:* We trudge off again. These people do not hang about. Yesterday we walked for 15 hours, and I am beginning to develop blisters. I used to think cycling non-stop for an hour was an achievement.

We head in a north-easterly direction, leaving the mountains behind. The roads are carpets of grey-brown dust and the heat has an uncomfortable closeness about it. I sweat profusely, and the water I drink is tepid and bitter.

Each village we pass now has been scarred by a plane or helicopter attack. Most of the casualties have been women and children; the men hide in the mountains because it is their duty to survive in order to fight. The Afghans do not have facilities to deal with blown-off limbs or ripped-open stomachs, so you are either completely unharmed by the raid or you die.

I meet a teacher called Mohurmadin returning from a Pakistan refugee camp to fight in his own town of Berbeha. Like so many other Afghans he keeps asking why the British and Americans were not helping the Afghans.

We carry on towards Jalalabad. We pass a group of Mujahideen, one with an anti-tank rocket launcher, returning from a raid on the city where they claim to have destroyed two tanks and killed 10 Russians.

The whole of this province, called Ningahar, seems to be completely in the control of the Mujahideen. They have their own councils which coordinate on a regional

basis to run every aspect of the inhabitants' lives. They run a regular bus service between some villages, and have organised schools.

*August 5:* Everywhere we hear about the military prowess of Engineer Mahmoud, so we head towards his base, a deserted village in the Sukhrut area.

I was sceptical in Peshawar when the Mujahideen leaders said they controlled the countryside but, as far as I can tell, liberated zones do exist. The guerrillas' greatest bane is the Russian helicopter gunship, to which they have no reply.

*August 6:* We reach the guerrilla base, and Engineer Mahmoud turns out to be a slight 21-year-old former engineering student from Kabul University. He has led his Mujahideen force in Sukhrut for 16 months, ever since the Communists came to power. A devout Moslem, he says he is striving for a fundamentalist Islamic State.

About 25 men live in the wall-enclosed, tree-shaded garden. Their weapons hang from the branches of the trees, and in one corner stands a large cooking bowl for the communal meals. We rest up during the day and at night go on the raid to Jalalabad described earlier.

*August 7:* Engineer Mahmoud has decided not to go to war tonight. I am glad, because I am exhausted from the previous night's activity and the constant walking is beginning to take its toll.

We rest and discuss tactics. I thought attacks would be disorderly affairs, but Mahmoud, whose military knowledge is gleaned from two Iranian guerrilla manuals, plans his raids meticulously. He says that in the nine months he has been operating he has suffered only 20 dead or wounded. Several Mujahideen field hospitals exist, but his group make do with a cardboard box stuffed with bandages, cotton wool and iodine.

At present a stalemate exists between the Mujahideen and the Russians. Mahmoud is

very apprehensive about how the Russians will try to break the deadlock. Mahmoud believes that without Western help the war will be a prolonged one, and he points to the defiant attitude of the population to support his argument.

*August 8:* The most terrible day of my life. We set off back to Pakistan because I am feeling ill. We cross a desert called Rary and my companions have misjudged the amount of water I need for the 10-mile journey. Thirst mounts in degrees of agony until I do not want to go on. I just want to lie down in the burning sun and sleep. Russian planes keep flying low over the desert and we have to scramble for the sparse cover available, a rock or a prickly bush.

Two of my guides, Malang and Jafar, swear and shout to push me on. The other, Naim, cajoles, promising me the water I so desperately long for at the next village so long as I can keep going. Eventually we reach the village of Shuzlavi. There I

stumble into the first house and gulp down great jugs of water.

Shuzlavi is another Mujahideen stronghold, the people are mainly herdsmen. Here I meet five Afghan soldiers who recently deserted from the Government army. They were conscripted in Jalalabad in May and said most soldiers from the dwindling army are trying to find ways of joining the Mujahideen.

*August 9:* The land becomes greener and the water more plentiful as we approach the border mountains again. We stay the night at Toorabora.

*August 10:* We reach the coolness of the mountain peaks. Although I am exhausted, from somewhere I muster energy to bound down the mountain towards safety.

*(The author of this article is coeditor of the Ukrainian Review, a well-known Ukrainian youth activist in Great Britain, and a participant of ABN and WACL conferences).*



*Demonstration during Captive Nations Week in New York, July 20, 1980. From left to right: Dr. B. Zikria (Afghanistan), Dr. V. Kalynyk (Ukraine), Mr. Ch. Andreanskyj (Hungary), Dr. P. Wytenus, chairman of the AF ABN in N.Y. (Lithuania).*

## The Current Liberation Struggle in Ukraine

Continuity and purpose characterize the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation, vanguarded during the past fifty years by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Today's liberation processes in Ukraine constitute the established chainlinks of historical extension of Ukrainian national liberation struggles for independence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian nation, its right to be the master of its own land and destiny, whose roots reach deeply into our historical past.

History notes that each and every phase of the liberation struggle of an enslaved nation was never an isolated phenomenon in itself, but only one of historical stage, most often a direct extension of the previous struggle, upon which it is formulated, by which it is nourished, and upon which it is lawfully based. The same established historical process can be noted in the present stage of the liberation struggle in Ukraine, which Yevhen Sverstiuk in his work "Cathedral In Scaffolds" (1970) corroborates by this confirmation: "Heroically spilled blood does not disappear. It transforms itself into a new form of spiritual energy, bringing forth a human being, whose purpose is to glorify it. The past is resurrected and flourishes in the genius" of the present. Similar statements are made by other authors, who either exist in unpenetrable underground, or participate in open resistance movement.

As we know, a liberation struggle can have diverse manifestations — armed, politically-ideological, nationally-cultural, religious, socially-economic, and others, depending upon different circumstances and expediency in a particular situation.

At the present time in Ukraine, the national liberation processes involve virtually almost all spheres of social life, inclusive of various forms of sabotage, destruction, mass demonstration, refusal of

young people to serve in the Red Army, and even armed opposition.

The contemporary liberation struggle in Ukraine is described by different persons or groups in different ways, as the fighting Ukraine, liberation processes, resistance movement, national liberation movement, human rights defense movement, etc., and its participants as heroic freedom fighters, the unconquered, national patriots, the uncompromising, and even, although inaccurately, dissidents, etc.

Fundamental basis of the ideologically-moral national resistance movement against Russian aggressors was and is Ukrainian nationalism, encompassing the ideal of an independent and sovereign nation which was and is its principal initial position. With support of wide spheres of population, the most effective and uncompromising liberation struggle in Ukraine was and is conducted by the nationalist underground, in formats and using the methods which the particular situation may necessitate and which has the greatest chance of succeeding and the greatest guarantee of accomplishment of specific aims.

It should also be noted that the leading role in the formation of national consciousness of the whole Ukrainian nation and in the spreading of ideals of nationalism throughout the whole Ukraine, as well as the range of USSR, inclusive of countries of the free world wherever Ukrainians reside, resulted from the liberation warfare waged on two fronts by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-Ukrainian Insurgent Army — Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (OUN-UPA-UHVR), and including systematically and purposefully conducted underground activities of OUN up to this date.

The renewal of the Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State by the Act of June 30, 1941, which was headed by Prime-Minister,



Yaroslav Stetsko, resulted in enormous psychological optimism of the whole Ukrainian population and even the imprisonment of the entire government by the Germans and Germany's attempt to liquidate this independence did not deaden, but on the contrary, sharpened the storming thrust of Ukrainians toward an uncompromising struggle for the renewal of the Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State.

As a result of the above, a massive heroic liberation struggle developed, led by OUN-UPA-UHVR, which S. Karavansky calls the "nationwide uprising", and Y. Sverstiuk states that into this battle "went the very best that were at that time in Ukraine". ("Memoirs Of Rosnyanska About Her Meeting With Sverstiuk", "Sučasnist", 1975).

Thus, the organized, controlled and directed armed warfare of liberation of OUN-UPA-UHVR, generally taking place between 1942—1953, encompassed central cadres of fifty thousand (50,000) soldiers and in addition more than two hundred thousand (200,000) reserve and auxiliary troops. This is really a powerful, modern army of liberation in the latter-day epoch of our history. However, as a matter of fact, this army was much larger, if we consider all those who in different ways were helpful participants in this struggle.

It is impossible to be completely accurate with reference to the correct number of participants in this period of our liberation struggle, it will necessitate separate research, however, based on different sources of information, the approximation runs into millions. It is a certified fact that in 1945—1948 only, the Russians arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment two hundred forty thousand (240,000) persons for membership in and association with OUN-UPA. "Ukrainian Herald", No. 7—8, 1974, writes that from 1947 to 1951, Russian occupational forces exiled from Western Ukraine only to Siberia and the Far East additional two mil-

lion Ukrainians, accusing them of cooperation and fellowship with members of UPA, called "Banderists". At least a similar number of persons due to the same accusation were exiled from other sections of Ukraine.

With reference to the nationwide mass involvement in the Banderist movement, we find many confirmations from the enemy — Russia. For instance, the occupational press noted that on March 17, 1973, during the appearance of the then Secretary of Lviv Regional Committee Kucelov, he warned the Russian occupational forces against the present and future underground activities of the Banderists, saying: "From places of isolation (namely from concentration camps and exile) fifty-five thousand (55,000) members of the OUN have returned to the Lviv Region from 1956 to date, not all of them repented and most of them are continuing their undermining activities".

USSR Marshall V. I. Chujkov, in his memoirs entitled "The End Of The Third Reich", Kiev, 1975 Edition, writes that, during the time of the transfer of his army from the estuary of the river Dnipro toward the northern section of Korostec-Sarny, which progressed through Vinnytsya, Berdychiv and Zhytomyr, this pathway was considered as highly dangerous territory, due to the underground activities thereon. Further, Chujkov writes that, in order to secure the rear of the Red Army against "Banderists, we, in the first place, painstakingly cut down and searched the forests and interrogated the people" in Zhytomyr and River Regions, utilizing against the UPA vast numbers of choice army personnel and KGB units. He states further that throughout the above mentioned territories, danger was eminent at each step of the way, especially for KGB political instructors and high rank officers faithful to Moscow...

Marshall Chujkov's fear will become more understandable when we take into consideration the fact that the nationwide

warfare was shattering the foundation itself of the Russian empire, as evidenced by the agreement between Russia, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia entered into for purposes of destroying the OUN-UPA.

From the hands of the nation's avengers fell not only such executioners as Chief of Nazi SA (Sturm-Abteilung) General Lutze, Russian Marshall Vatutin and Polish Vice-Minister of War General Svierchewski, but also the international criminals Khrushchev and his teacher Stalin narrowly escaped UPA bullets.

Recently confirmation was received from infallible sources that in July, 1945, when Stalin, as the head of the Russian delegation, was to travel by train to attend the Potsdam Conference with the Allies, UPA intelligence discovered the exact information concerning the time and route of travel. UPA combat company and fighters of the OUN, in ambush, placed mines on the rails. At the exactly determined time, the train appeared, the freedom fighters activated the mines, and the whole echelon, filled with Stalin's KGB troops, exploded — all died, but Stalin was saved only because, at the last minute, he decided to transfer to another train, which followed the first one. The commander of the OUN-UPA group is being incarcerated to this date by the KGB in the hope that he will reveal from whom OUN intelligence received such accurate information about the time and route of the train carrying Stalin...

Based on various Ukrainian, foreign and even enemy sources, it was learned that Russia, for the purpose of repressing the liberation movement of OUN-UPA in the years 1943—1953, used over a million and a half of its exceptional military and police troops in addition to other supportive personnel, completely discounting its enormous human losses, in order to retain Ukraine in its claws, without which it would cease to exist as an empire.

Experts confirm that, during the most heated period of the liberation warfare, for one killed OUN member or UPA soldier, between fifteen (15) and eighteen (18) members of the MVD, party functionaries, or Russian servants paid with their lives. Later, this ratio of losses changed to our disadvantage. In order to compensate for its own losses, Russia ordered its occupational troops to systematically exterminate the peaceful Ukrainian population. As a result, hundreds of thousands of defenseless Ukrainian women, children and elderly were murdered. The terrorist KGB knows only too well where the community graves of those innocent Ukrainian victims are located. Periodically through this date, some of those graves are opened by the KGB, who consciously and with infinite planning attribute the victims therein to acts by members of OUN-UPA, even going so far as to placing them on trial for said acts. For example, in 1961, Bohdan Chuyko, a UPA soldier, was discovered in Chernivci and sentenced to fifteen years of concentration camps for the killing of Soviet citizen H. Chubenko, who supposedly was buried by the Banderists in one of the mass graves in Chernivci Region. Ten years later at one of the concentration camps, Chuyko met the same Chubenko, for whose murder he was serving his sentence. Thereafter, numerous eyewitnesses and B. Chuyko himself unequivocally proved that in the above mentioned mass grave were buried prisoners of war shot by the KGB, and not any Soviet citizens. However, this fact was not taken under consideration by the Russian Court. (See B. Chuyko's "Deposition" from 1978).

Similarly, the KGB, to this day, keeps on opening the mass graves of its own victims, which are marked on its secret maps, even going so far as to erect monuments to the so-called victims of OUN-UPA, although the bodies buried there are the innocent victims of Russian monstrosity.

In the years 1942—1953, OUN-UPA was waging a truly heroic war on two fronts, which is almost impossible to describe in everyday terms. Such outstanding bravery and nationwide involvement in the struggle is unheard of in any history books up to the present time. However, this war is still not completely documented, awaiting its researchers, writers and poets to do it justice.

An ideological front was waged simultaneously with armed warfare. This is evidenced by the numerous underground publications, appeals, leaflets, bulletins and statements explicating the position of OUN, UPA, UHVR with reference to different actual problems in Ukraine and outside its borders.

News of this struggle and its aims of liberation were disseminated by raiding UPA troops, workers returning from Germany to the USSR, prisoners of war, even Red partisans, families of MVD personnel and other occupational forces fallen in battles with OUN-UPA, and the masses of Ukrainians resettled, exiled and arrested for their cooperation with and participation in the Banderist movement, where they met with members of other enslaved nations and prisoners of war from the west, spreading the truth by word of mouth, etc.

Change in the form of OUN-UPA struggle was initiated by the strategic genius of its Commander-in-Chief General Taras Chuprynska-Roman Shukhevych in 1947—1948, by consecutive transference from widespread armed warfare to a struggle in deep underground, which was distinguished by ideological attack upon enemy positions and is continuing to this date. Therefore, disregarding the discontinuance of mass armed warfare, the conception of the struggle for Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State did not decrease, but, to the contrary, has spread throughout the whole Ukrainian territory and throughout the world where there are Ukrainians.

In modified form, a decentralization of armed warfare also took place, which, in many instances, was being conducted beyond 1960 and in some cases, we were advised of armed conflicts during the seventies.

In such modified forms of struggle, large portions of UPA cadres, using counterfeit documents, legalized their positions and allocated themselves throughout different regions of Ukraine, where they continued their politically-ideological activities. Another portion of UPA membership went into deep underground, in which some still remain, as evidenced by the facts mentioned below. Still others are continuing in their armed resistance to the occupational forces.

The continuity of the liberation struggle is evidenced by testimonies of eye-witnesses and documents, as follows:

Occupational newspaper "Lenin's Youth", published in Lviv, Western Ukraine, Nos. 114—118, of September-October, 1978, in a series of articles entitled "Heroes In Masks And — Without Them", widely describes armed battles of OUN-UPA, particularly noting UPA officer *Vasyl Pidborodeckyy*, who, using counterfeit documents, resided in Moldavia near Kyshyniev, and there, through many years, conducted his politically-ideological activities among the workers, finally resulting in his arrest. At present, he is imprisoned in Perm concentration camp.

Further, the same newspaper tells about another OUN-UPA soldier from "Khrin" Company, one of its battles resulted in the death of Polish Vice-Minister of War General Svierchewski, — by the name of Dmytro Basarab, who fought with weapons in his hands beyond 1953, then having been imprisoned in Russian concentration camps for twenty-five years, and, after having been released continues to think in nationalistic categories...

"Chronology of Current Events", No 33, 1974, states that during one battle of

the UPA with soldiers of the MVD "in 1955, medical student, UPA para-medical Dmytro Verkholyak was taken prisoner and sentenced to twenty-five years of imprisonment in Siberian concentration camps".

Recent Jewish emigrant from USSR, Y. Emesman, in his memoirs entitled "In The Ternopil Region" describes in detail the armed battles of the underground in 1954 near Buchach and in Pidhayec forests of the Ternopil Region in 1955, the latter resulting in the death of two freedom-fighters and wounding of one female OUN member. She was taken prisoner by MVD troops, admitted to a hospital under MVD guard, and rescued by the freedom-fighters. In the same memoirs, Emesman writes about the present day nationwide resistance to Russian occupational forces. ("Victory Path", Nos. 9 and 10, 1980).

During the Hungarian uprising in 1956, renewed armed activities of OUN-UPA in the Carpathian Mountains necessitated the transference of Russian troops from Hungary through Poland and Rumania, in order to quash said activities. In this and following years (1956—1958), mass arrests took place in Ukraine, followed by closed trial proceedings, involving discovered members of OUN-UPA, such as Stepaniuk, Mamchur, Levytskyj, Demchuk, Lishchuk, Turyk, Strotsyn, and many others. Some of them were interrogated for two whole years, many of them were sentenced to death and shot. None of them were ever broken.

We all know that in 1953—1959 strikes and uprisings of political prisoners, flared up with great strength in Russian concentration camps, were joined by vast numbers of exiles and free workers in Siberia, resulting in the development of a most dangerous situation, namely that said uprisings will spread throughout the whole Russian empire. In order to prevent the potential explosion of this dynamic situation, Russia retreated by releasing many concentration camp prisoners.

The vanguard role in these uprisings was played by members of OUN-UPA. Especially gloriously heroic pages of history were written by political prisoners in concentration camps in Kingir in June, 1954, against whom were sent special military troops of MVD and KGB, supported by aviation, artillery and tanks, said confrontation resulting in an uneven battle where more than one thousand male prisoners were killed and more than five hundred female prisoners were crushed to death by tanks.

After a long, intensive search and hunt, in 1960 in Vorkuta, the KGB uncovered an excellently organized underground network entitled "OUN-North", whose activities continued from 1950 and whose members were instrumental in leading, directing and organizing the strikes and uprisings in the concentration camps. For their participation in said strikes and uprisings, the leaders of "OUN-North" Hasiuk, Leoniuk, Khrystynych and others were sentenced to twelve additional years of concentration camps, and Mykhaylo Soroka was accused of being the principal leader of the entire OUN network in these territories of USSR, and finally tortured to death. (See "Ukrainian Herald", No. 3, 1970, memoirs and other materials).

In addition, OUN members in concentration camps played another very important role. They spread nationalist understanding and prepared for further action and struggle for liberation of Ukraine, among the younger generation, whose members due to different reasons were incarcerated. This was exhaustively described by M. Osadchyj in his work "Cataract". V. Moroz writes with deep reverence about M. Soroka, who is considered a hero to freedom fighters of the younger generation.

In Ukraine, the struggle goes on. Thus, in 1960, near the village of Poplavnyky in the Ivano-Frankivsk Region, a fierce battle took place between underground of the OUN and KGB troops, as a result of

which a wounded OUN member Mykola Hladkivskyj was taken prisoner, and after regaining consciousness, committed suicide.

"Ukrainian Herald", No. 3, 1970, states that in 1961, in the Ternopil Region, underground members of OUN stationed in a secret bunker were discovered by the KGB. Their armed defense was heroic and, after using up all of their ammunition, they shot each other, in order to prevent themselves being captured by the KGB. Only *Maria Palchak's* wounds proved not to be fatal and, after receiving treatment, she was sentenced to death, which sentence was subsequently commuted to fifteen years imprisonment. Courier of this OUN group, Stepan Palchak, was also later arrested and sentenced to a long term of incarceration.

Antin Oliynyk, OUN Regional Secretary of Information, was active in armed resistance struggle with a group of OUN members from 1955 through 1965 in the Rivne Region, inflicting severe losses upon Russian occupational forces. One day, when he was on vacation, he was seized and shot by the KGB. Later, in lieu of an obituary, a large work of memoirs dedicated to A. Oliynyk, hero of Ukraine, written by his friends — OUN members, was smuggled to the West.

At that time, under the influence of the heroic armed struggle and ideologically-political underground activities of OUN-UPA, the national liberation processes in Ukraine took the form of polyhedral manifestations. The younger generation of all regions of Ukraine joined massively in these processes.

Numerous underground and semi-legal groups and organizations were formed all over Ukraine, established on the basis of Ukrainian national liberation ideal. "Ukrainian Herald" describes them as having "Banderist direction", and the enemy accuses them of being OUN oriented, created by OUN members who recruited new members for the OUN ranks. The following groups should be noted: In 1958 in

Ivano-Frankivsk the "United Party Of Liberation Of Ukraine" was organized; in 1961 in Lviv the "Ukrainian Workers-Peasants Union" and in 1967 also in Lviv the "Ukrainian National Committee" were organized; in 1967 in Ivano-Frankivsk the "Ukrainian National Front" was formed; in 1973 in Ivano-Frankivsk young men organized the "League Of The Ukrainian Youth Of Halychyna", and in Lviv the students organized a group called "Progress"; in 1974 in Donbas a student group was formed entitled "Democratic Student Organization", and in 1975 in Ivano-Frankivsk a group called "Echo". The above mentioned groups are only the ones uncovered by the KGB, whose members were arrested, sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and some executed. Total arrested amounted to more than sixty individuals.

Simultaneously, those years (1957-1962) are considered the great turning period of the rebirth of Ukrainian national poetry, the poets known throughout under the name of "Sixtievites" (*shestydesyatnyky*), whose pioneer is considered to be Vasyl Symonenko.

Later, a similar path to national rebirth was taken up by prose-writers, artists, scientists and other intellectual and cultural Ukrainian activists, who were shortly thereafter accused by Moscow of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and subjected to cruel repressions.

During this whole era, a separate and most important role in the new national rebirth was played by Ukrainian clergy.

However, the principal motor of the liberation struggle was and is the Ukrainian nationalist underground (OUN).

Lviv newspaper "Lenin's Youth", May, 1974, maliciously accused OUN member, Vasyl Malozhenskyj, of broadening and spreading underground nationalist activities on territories of Vinnytsya, Ternopil and Rivne Regions up to 1967, namely the time that he was arrested. He is presently des-

siminating protests from the concentration camp.

In 1970 in Dniprodzherzhynsk, the KGB discovered one of the leading members of OUN, Yuriy Boychuk, originally from Ternopil Region, who, using the name of Hranickyj, lived in Dniprodzherzhynsk, took correspondence courses at the local institute and simultaneously conducted nationalist activities among students and workers. (See Ternopil newspaper "Free Life", February 19, 20 and 21, 1970). When we consider the fact that in Dniprodzherzhynsk workers' strikes and youth protests against russification take place constantly, it serves as proof that members of OUN living there did a truly great job in national enlightenment among the population.

In 1971, engineer Volodymyr Dyak was arrested and accused of printing in a secret print shop in Lviv bulletins, pamphlets, etc., proclaiming therein the ideals of Ukrainian independence and transporting them to Kyiv and other cities for dissemination. (Letter from "T", dated November 27, 1972, "Victory Path", No. 31, 1972, and other materials).

At the time of mass repressions in Ukraine in 1971—1972, victims of which consisted of hundreds of activists of Ukrainian culture, science, clergy and representatives of other spheres of the population, more than twenty members of OUN were arrested, among them Kovalchuk, Chayka, Melnychuk, some others were sentenced to death and executed, the remainder were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

In 1972, in the Trans-Carpathian Region, the KGB discovered the brothers Yarema, who remained in the underground until that time, their latter fate being unknown.

In the Ternopil Region, during the months at the end of 1972 and the beginning of 1973, a long time active underground OUN member, Stepan Panasyk, was arrested and sentenced to death. At the

same time, Mykola Kulyk was arrested in Crimea and accused of armed resistance and nationalist activities.

In 1974, in the Odessa Region, KGB arrested senior OUN member, V. Vorozhko, born in Volhyn, and in the Rivne Region another OUN member Mykola Potapchuk was uncovered, who, until his arrest, remained in the underground. Potapchuk had a lot of connections, in his free time he studied, painted and wrote texts of leaflets disseminated by other OUN underground members. He even married in the underground and became a father. (See Kiev "Workers' Newspaper", No. 183, August 7, 1974).

"Soviet Ukraine" of March 29, 1977, wrote that in 1976, in Chernivtsi Region, the KGB discovered a group of OUN members, whose activities continued since the years immediately after World War II. This group was headed by *Ivan Novak*, a university graduate, who was sentenced to death. Other members of the group Havdun, Kushnyryk and the youthful Kretskyj were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The communist occupational newspaper "Youth Of Ukraine" of April 28, 1977, extensively described the fact that on February 2, 1977, in a forest near the village of Buhaiivka, in the Rivne Region, MVD Inspector Yuriy Syzov was killed in an armed battle with a member of the underground. The same newspaper states that, prior thereto three persons were killed and one seriously wounded in armed conflicts with underground members. To date, the names of the underground members have not been discovered by the KGB.

Various occupational periodicals, published in Ukrainian, including the "News From Ukraine", No. 40, September 28, 1978, with slanderous amplitude commented about a trial then taking place in Volhyn Region of a long time OUN member M. H. Shelepiuk, who was accused of armed resistance lasting from the end of World

War II and nationalist activities. He was sentenced to death.

Vast numbers of similar examples based on documentation could be noted, however, the above suffices to prove the accuracy of our statements that the OUN continues to be the principal element of the struggle for the renewal of a Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State. It is essential to add that during the last ten years, facts are known about at least sixty uncovered and arrested members of OUN and UPA, who in one form or another were continuously active.

However, Russian occupational courts and the media most often accuse those OUN and UPA members of activities conducted only during and immediately following World War II, but actually the arrests are being made for their present day activities, some of their past activities having been discovered only during the trial proceedings. The Russian occupational forces constantly accuse all arrested OUN members of fabricated "crimes", such as terrorism, murder, cooperation or membership in foreign espionage establishments, etc., as exemplified by the trial proceedings of B. Chuyko. Similar stereotypes are used with reference to the whole OUN membership, and with time influence is beginning to be felt on some portion of the population of such constant repetition of these falsehoods. In addition, it is essential to note that most of the self-published (samvydav) materials from concentration camps are transmitted to the West through Moscow, where the dissemination is controlled and the contents censored by Russian dissidents. This results in the well known fact that said Russian dissidents either withhold or destroy all important documents, written by members of OUN and UPA and other patriots, in which the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA for renewal of a Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State is accurately portrayed. Such was done with memoirs of N.N. and various other ma-

terials. Therefore, as the above undisputably indicates, the official Moscow establishment is being greatly helped by the unofficial Moscow, through its Russian dissidents, who, being at least facsimilies of dissidents, wield either conscious or unconscious influence on our foes in the Western world. Also, it is a fact that a great number of self-published (samvydav) materials which is transmitted to the West is censored by the KGB itself. Therefore, if the sources of the origin and the route of transmission to the West of the self-published materials are not precisely validated and checked thoroughly, the accuracy of such self-published materials should be considered with grave reservations.

The following additional facts could serve as testimony of the existence, activity and struggle of the national underground:

Each year, throughout different regions of Ukraine, during the night, appear leaflets commemorating various national anniversaries, dates of deaths of Ukrainian heroes, appeals, proclamations, etc.

For example, in July 1973, there appeared an appeal of one underground group entitled "Ukraine Demands Help". ("Victory Path", No. 36, 1973).

In March, 1975, in Ukraine a leaflet was disseminated commemorating the heroic death of General Roman Shukhevych, Commander-in-Chief of UPA. ("Ukrainian Thought", No. 29, 1975).

In summer of 1975, another leaflet was being disseminated containing information about the Fifth Great Assembly of OUN having taken place in the West.

In 1976, an underground pamphlet was being distributed with an appeal for struggle for "Independent Ukraine". (Ukrainian Central Information Service, No. 3/40, June 1, 1976).

As we know from the press, during 1979 in Ukraine there was mass dissemination of two leaflets, the first containing an appeal to the Ukrainian youth, and the other referring to the murdered composer Ivasiuk.

("Ukrainian Thought", No. 45, 1979; "Liberation Path", No. 2, 1979, p. 185).

In addition to the above, each year, during the night, Ukrainian national flags are hoisted, tridents are engraved in prominent places, holidays and celebrations arranged by Russian occupational forces are disrupted and sabotaged. There are incidents of physical liquidation of particularly cruel representatives of Russian occupational forces and numerous beatings of others.

Also, in addition to strikes and disruptions of production, there often occur mass demonstrations, due to different reasons, such as the commemoration of the birthday of Ukraine's greatest poet Taras Shevchenko, during funerals of Ukrainian patriots killed by the KGB, and even during the unveiling of various monuments, such as the unveiling in Lviv of monument to Stefanyk, etc.

Lately, more and more workers are massively joining this liberation struggle, attempting to establish their independent trade unions. The same is true in connection with scientific intelligentsia and other spheres of the population.

In addition to the above mentioned, the underground in Ukraine is conducting yet another kind of far-reaching political activity, which also manifests itself on another plane of open resistance movement and professes the following universal positions: It condemns Russian colonialism for its destructive assimilation policy with reference to the Baltic and other enslaved nations; it defends Jews and other minorities; it censures russification, transmixing and deportation of nations and transferring unto their national territories of Russians; it condemns and fights racism, chauvinism and colonialism of the reigning Russian nation; it demands freedom and independence for all enslaved nations, re-examination of their territorial spheres of influence, and the establishment of exact nationally-ethnographic borders of each nation, etc.

These and other similar ideals and matters were taken up back in 1943, at a conference of representatives of enslaved nations in Ukraine, which was organized by OUN leadership and UPA command, creating the universal slogan "Freedom for nations, freedom for the individual", which was the beginning of the formation of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). As we see, these ideals still exist and grow today in Ukraine, and continue to find their embodiment in proclamations of Fighting Ukraine and, of course, in ABN cadres.

The righteousness of the ideological positions of ABN is also confirmed by political prisoners, for example:

In a proclamation entitled "Second Decade Of Solidarity Of Political Prisoners In The Struggle Against Soviet-Russian Colonialism", April 4, 1979, which was signed by Ukrainians, Armenians, Jews and others, they clearly underline their solidarity with the yearly commemoration of "Captive Nations Week", organized in the West by the ABN, and simultaneously they demand the dissolution of the Russian empire and the re-establishment of national independence for all presently enslaved nations.

Previously, a similar proclamation entitled "Message Of Political Prisoners" was signed by representatives of Ukraine, the Baltic nations, and the Caucasian nations. Signatories on behalf of Ukraine were such famous freedom fighters as Y. Shukhevych, L. Lukianenko, O. Tykhyj and others. There are many, many more similar documents. ("Liberation Path", No. 2, 1980, and other sources).

Freedom fighters in Ukraine are convinced that ABN has enormous prospects in the near future with its conception, taking place during the downfall of the Russian empire, of re-establishment and security of independent national states and guarantee of just peace on these geo-political territories.

The underground Ukraine also clearly



states its position with reference, to, and aids as much as possible, the repressed national Churches and their faithful, clearly asserting the right of an individual's religious belief according to his conscience.

The Ukrainian underground not only defends and helps our national Churches in Ukraine, but at the same time supports the establishment of the Patriarchate. For example, in one of the "Documents Of Liberation Struggle In Ukraine", these patriots state: "We wholeheartedly support the efforts in pursuit of the establishment of the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church under the leadership of Patriarch Yosyf (Slipyj) and wish you the greatest success in this endeavor". (Bulletin of OUN Leadership, No. 18, 1977, p. 59).

In the above mentioned document, the underground also appraises Russian dissidents and at the same time warns Ukrainians that said Russian dissidents, although undermining the present regime, fight for and emphatically uphold the following position: "The politics of (Russian) dissidents are the continuation of the policy of tsars and present Kremlin leadership to insure the status quo borders of the empire and to continue its further expansion under the hegemony of the ruling Russian nation..."

These and numerous other documents clearly prove that the views of Petro Hryhorenko, Leonid Plyushch and other similar individuals or groupings regarding the Russian nation are strictly subjective, have nothing in common with the views of Ukrainian national patriots and do not give those individuals any bases to represent the present Ukrainian resistance movement in these or any other matters.

From the above text, which is based exclusively on documented sources, in many instances obtained from enemy materials, it is as clear as day that the chief motive power of the liberation processes in Ukraine through this date is the deeply secreted underground and its members.

Periodically, miniscule parts of said underground, its membership, activities and struggle become known through their discovery by the enemy, or in the event it becomes necessary to disseminate such information for strategically political propaganda purposes.

Therefore, it seems most strange, even suspicious, when some Ukrainians, consciously or subconsciously, remain mute about or belittle the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA-UHVR in Ukraine, who for more than fifty years stood and stand as vanguards and creators of the most glorious pages of our current history. This could also be said of some of the dissidents. If in fact they, due to different reasons, did not have a chance to personally encounter participants of the liberation struggle, they assuredly had and have every opportunity to learn about said liberation struggle from Russian enemy sources.

Every single year, Russians publish between two hundred and two hundred and fifty different pseudo-intellectual defamatory articles, pamphlets, analyses, and even thick volumes, against the Banderist movement, using even involuntary scientists as authors. The facts speak for themselves, namely who is the motive power of the liberation struggle in Ukraine, who causes Russian sleepless nights etc.

#### *Summary of Current Activities in Ukraine*

Last year, the events in Ukraine progressed on two principal planes, yet with numerous ramifications.

On the one hand, seemingly undefeatable Russian occupational apparatus is continuing to operate with strengthening onslaught, attempting to destroy the roots of everything Ukrainian.

On the other hand, as from underneath the earth, the unstoppable sun's rays of the resistance movement break through, against which the KGB uses cruel retribution.

Even foreign commentators confirm that Russia uses the harshest repressive strikes against Ukraine.

It is well known that recently Russia is pursuing a completely open policy of full russification of all categories of education in enslaved nations.

All phases of art, literature, science, etc. become not only Party extensions, but simultaneously are constantly being purged of any sort of Ukrainian national or traditional identity and systematically russified.

Recently, the intermixing of different nationalities has been strengthened to an extreme degree in an attempt to create one great Russian nation, said intermixing being interpreted as "the creation of a new historical society — Soviet nation", speaking only the Russian language and being formulated upon Russian culture and Russian traditions.

In 1979, as well as during previous years, tens of thousands of young men and women, under strong pressure from Komсомol and other governmental agencies, were exiled to different parts of the USSR, their place in Ukraine being taken by Russian nationals and russified members of other republics.

At the same time, artists, different specialists and other highly qualified personnel were transferred out of Ukraine for the fictitious reason of "helping brotherly republics", their places also being taken by Russian nationals, in order to accelerate the process of russification of enslaved nations.

Ukrainian patriots clearly realize the danger to Ukraine in intermixing of nationalities and intensified russification. For this reason, they are activating widespread resistance movement to these governmental policies.

Those patriots are strengthened by the fact that the inherent resistance of Ukrainians has proven itself so strong, all Russian pressures only provoking even stronger

reaction by nationally activating all spheres of the population to struggle for their rights and independence. In these instances, as in all others, the leading role is played by the nationalist underground.

Insofar as the KGB organs are unable to accomplish a cessation of the struggle of the liberation movement, particularly the underground, through its methods of arrest, terror and repression, they fall back upon "secret" furtive murders. From the known facts, which, of course, are far from complete, we learned that during 1979 only KGB agents secretly murdered four Ukrainian patriots, two of whom were OUN members Konchakivskyj and Zhurakivskyj, and later Melnyk and Ivasiuk.

Last year, thirty Ukrainian patriots were arrested, their sentences ranging from three to fifteen years of incarceration. Among those arrested, we know of three persons, who were previously tried for cooperation and or direct participation in the liberation movement of OUN-UPA, V. Sichko, V. Strilciv and Y. Lytvyn.

Before the departure of Soviet sportsmen for the Winter Olympics in USA this year, the KGB ran a most exhaustive check on all nationally conscious Ukrainian sportsmen, the questionable ones were then deleted from the list of the ones going and substituted by "loyal" individuals, even going so far as to arrest sportsmen brothers Mykola and Valentyn Paperiv.

In connection with the preparation for the Moscow Olympics and the aggressive invasion of Afghanistan, the repressions were greatly strengthened. Political prisoners were transferred from the infamous Volodymyr prison in Moscow to Chystopolk prison in the Tartar ASSR, and the prison regime was increased in severity and strictness, the more active patriots in concentration camps like Osadchyj, Chornovil and others having been threatened with additional terms of imprisonment.

In Ukraine many national patriots are

being threatened by the KGB with imprisonment if they do not cease their activities. Some of them are under house arrest, many were physically beaten up on the streets by KGB agents. Cruel repressions are being applied to clergy and the faithful.

Also, the Kiev Helsinki Group is being systematically devastated. True that new members are constantly joining the Group, however, they are unable to conduct any activities for any length of time, due to the fact that after their first public appearance, the KGB easily eliminates them from the scene. Sometimes it seems that the purpose for the existence of the Helsinki Group is to expose Ukrainian patriots. These same persons might have conducted much longer lasting and more useful activities in the underground, like those conducted by the Baltic groups, since secret underground activities greatly hamper governmental organs in finding members of said underground and uncovering their movements, in contrast to the complete ease of KGB operations relative to members of open Helsinki Groups.

In addition, until the time of emergence of the Helsinki Group in 1976, complete national unity reigned in the national resistance movement, whose members conducted their activities openly or semi-openly under the name of "Ukrainian public", and this movement spontaneously supplemented the activities of the wholly nationalist underground. However, from the time of the emergence of the Helsinki Group, the open and semi-open resistance movement actually split into two factions, and this dangerous ferment simultaneously transferred itself to the West in persons of P. Hryhorenko, L. Plyushch and their followers, taking on destructive forms.

Attack of Russia upon the independence of the Ukrainian nation at the same time inflates, activates and increases the strength of the national resistance to the invaders. This is confirmed by facts of the massive

boycott of Russian commemorative celebration of the 325th anniversary of their invasion of Ukraine, which they cynically call "unification of Ukraine with Russia", the mass demands for re-opening of Churches and return to ancestral beliefs and national traditions, the refusal of youth to "voluntarily" be transferred to various governmental projects from Ukraine to inner USSR territories, the appearance of vast numbers of underground leaflets and appeals, the mass demonstration during the funeral of composer Ivasiuk murdered by the KGB, the attempt to organize a union of political prisoners, work stoppages in industry and agriculture, and many, many more.

All of the above clearly indicate that the liberation struggle is not weakening, on the contrary, it is growing stronger. Cultural, scientific and other intellectuals from the open resistance movement, under the influence of activities of the nationalist underground, are constantly shifting their positions to an ideological platform with a clear, uncompromising demand for decolonization, namely disintegration, of Russian empire and the renewal of Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State, which is evidenced by their numerous appeals and proclamations, regardless of the fact whether they are "free" or incarcerated.

Based on the above, we see that in Ukraine, on all levels, a persistent, stubborn and unrelenting liberation struggle is continuing, which demands from us not only that we should learn everything possible about it, but also join, widen and strengthen it. The above facts also show us the tremendous tasks before our OUN cadres in the West, who conscientiously and honestly should fulfill their historic mission so that our liberation struggle will be crowned in final victory over Russia and the renewal and security of a Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State!

*(Translated from Ukrainian by  
Zena Matla-Rychtycka)*

## The Frontiers of Culture

*(Continuation)*

*(Part 2)*

These inherited ambitions, and to some extent the methods, leave no room for any doubts. On the basis of the ruling ideology, new economic factors and the machievellian exploitation of the favourable world political situation, the empire became a super-nation with global interests and has fully utilised the disorganisation of Europe and its traitorous indifference — leading to the desertion, fear and retreat of nations whose duty it was at least to guarantee the relative freedom and life of small and stateless nations, on which the captive nations placed and place so many hopes and expectations. The empire used this capitulation of the West to the maximum and, granted full freedom of action, the unleashed hands of the agents of the Bolshevik administration of Moscow, developed new faster more efficient methods for the practice of ethnocide, means which were the catalysts of Russification and the unification of cultures. These occupy chronological periods (for example the years of the establishment and consolidation of the regime, the realisation of economic, agricultural and cultural plans, the error of the war years when it was intended to stabilise the reformist intentions of the regime, the economy of the post-war years and the assault of the last 15-20 years) when it was attempted to envelop the different social strata of society. The different periods were not equal in their results or intentions, but were the same in principle and had the same totalitarian nature, that has controlled the empire for almost half a century.

The cynical formulation of these concepts and the so-called “reawakening” is that which constitutes the so-called “internationalism”, “socialist realism” that exists in the so-called “single national economic complex”, and the “methods of socialist realism” in literature and art within the

so-called “single Soviet nation”. Even the simplest of theoretical postulates are highly discriminating and are far from being democratic. Also the dictates of the party caste and the ruling nation are strengthened through state laws which legalise the usurpation of the regime. The closed and clandestine means of government result in the total prohibition of elementary political freedoms — both individual and national. The formulated legal-state norms — excessively evasive and prevaricating — are calculated to totally deceive the population, with the help of propagandistic slogans and the repressive apparatus. The existence of nations in these conditions and “norms” is without precedence in the history of mankind. This is the boundless despotism of the ruling nation over all its captives with an incomprehensible insanity, over — bureaucratisation and voluntaristic centralisation which first embraces the party-administrative apparatus, the economy and academic, cultural and enlightening institutions. The brutal chauvinism of the ruling nation and its intolerance towards the national-social life of the suppressed nations has resulted in the compulsory influx of a Russian population to the ethnic territories of our nation, the russification of our people’s in Ukraine, their migration into the lands of the metropolis, the introduction of huge numbers of non-Russian populations in the new economic region of the metropolis, the enforcement of the Russian way of life and mass ethnocide. It should be noted that we are not speaking of natural objective processes that are noticed in the lives of many nations, small ethnic groups or international diasporas. We are, rather, speaking of the single minded, conscious and well planned internal politics of an imperial nation — politics that have been raised to the level of the one of the most important strategic aims that are intended to guarantee, safeguard and streng-

then the expansion of the empire. It is also important to emphasise that the term culture is not understood as being some separate component but is interpreted as being an aggregate product of the community (communities) — the primordial historical legacy of a nation.

### **Ethnocide — the Main Aim of Moscow's Strategists**

The destructive elimination of this legacy as a whole — including natural and economic resources and human resources — is thus an encroachment on the genetic origins of a nation, on its spiritual legacy. This is the main aim of Moscow's strategists, the aim of their long-sighted and singleminded activities. In the sphere of economics — under the slogan of a "single national economic complex" — the exploitation and exhaustion of all existing resources has already had a total character for several decades and has been allowed to pass without reprisal (the world community merely observes these crimes in silence, obediently signing agreements on "non-interference" in "internal matters" and thus sanctions these crimes and the complete defencelessness and weakness of the colonies). The relatively ineffective acts of self-defence, produce inappropriate results in relation to the loss of strength and thus to some extent explains the weakness of the opposition of the captive nations. The reasons for this are manifold, but it originates in the epoch of the czarist colonial exploitation of nations and the assimilation of national elites. The basic reason for the weakness of the liberation process lies in the devastation and liquidation of organised national powers following the October Revolution of 1917 and the unquenchable protracted Bolshevik Russian terror that drained the nation of its lifeblood and completely demoralised any remaining opposition strengths by "proving" the futility of the struggle to the outside world.

This problem is complicated and tragic and for several small nations (the Baltics,

Zakavkazya, Central Asia) the question is not only one of statehood but primarily of elementary physical survival. Small nations cannot afford an active opposition and the loss of millions of sacrifices, as Ukraine had heroically lost in the fight for her freedom. Because of this and also because of the lingual, religious and cultural proximity of Ukraine with her occupier, the size of the nation, her territories, historical fate and geopolitical position made Ukraine until, very recently, the object of political genocide and now the object of political ethnocide. The alternative between battle and self-preservation, the advantages of one over the other, the conscious union of both — despite their lack of results in the last half century — have had some results but depend on many factors, primarily on the existence of an organised or at least of an elemental opposition, the stability and the power of the imperial regime, the external political situation. However, each of the questions raised here demands deep research. We shall merely mention that the small nations of the empire undergo and experience a substantially smaller pressure than can be said for Ukraine. But having said this, we must also say that they are more defenceless. The vast majority of them are deprived of even their ethno-culture and their national territories only bear formal administrative titles. This is why the criminal indifference of the governments of Europe and the USA and the whole world community is simply unforgiveable. It is true that they have prevented the treacherous frontiers of the ensuing communist expansion of a totalitarian super power encroaching on their own freedom and that recently they have begun to show a more active interest in the internal situation of the empire, in the position and fate of its captive nations. And although the results of this interest are still barely perceptible, the solidarity that they show gives moral support in the captive nations' fight for their right to life.

## WACL Conference in Geneva

### Joint Communiqué of the 13th General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League, Geneva, July 27, 1980.

The 13th General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League was held in Geneva, Switzerland on July 14-27, 1980 with the participation of 250 delegates from the League's 101 member units in 89 countries and territories throughout the world. The WACL cause of anti-Communism for freedom, democracy, national independence and human rights was further promoted. The Conference fully demonstrated a spirit of unity.

The Conference has reviewed the current international situation:

— The Communist ideology, political system and ways of life have met with increasing dissensions and rejection everywhere. On the other hand, there is universal aspiration for freedom, democracy and national independence.

— Certain attempts to play off one Communist regime against another only serve the purpose of encouraging Communist competition for world domination, thus further endangering the security of the Free World.

— Awakening to the growing Communist aggressions, free nations are consolidating their efforts at strengthening their common security.

WACL, therefore, appeals to all freedom-loving peoples within and outside the Iron Curtain to strive for liberty and solidarity against Communist domination and expansion. The participants have unanimously agreed to appeal to:

1. Free nations to take a firm stand to distinguish between friends and foes in order to protect the interest of the Free World as against Communism.

2. Free nations to refrain from aligning with one Red regime against another, as both Moscow and Peking are ultimately aiming at "burying the West" and at

world Communization. Vigilance must be heightened against their possible reunion and joint drive against free nations.

3. Free nations to strongly condemn Moscow for its invasion of Afghanistan and its atrocities against the Afghan people. It is urged that effective support, including military aid, be given to the Afghan people in their struggle for sovereignty and decisive steps be taken to check Moscow's further advances to the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

4. Free nations to safeguard oil supplies and to develop substitutes for energy resources as well as moderate oil price policy for the Free World's common benefit. Joint defense must be enhanced against Moscow's drive to seize control of oil fields and all transport routes.

5. Free nations to realize that Eurocommunism is part of the Communist united front tactics against the Free World. Free Europeans are urged to strengthen the unity of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization against Russian design of division.

6. Free nations to provide support to the heroic peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador and others in their fight against Communist domination and aggression and to commend Paraguay as a leading nation of anti-Communism in Latin America, as well as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and now Bolivia, which have defeated their Communist guerrillas by their own efforts. It is urged that strong joint defense measures be adopted and implemented by free Latin American countries.

7. Free Africans to counteract the Moscow-Peking race for hegemony on their continent. Other free nations of the world should attach due importance to the rights, interests and wishes of the African peoples

and extend to them economic, technological and other support in order to assist them in maintaining their freedom and security.

8. Free nations to promote free Asian stability. The members of ASEAN, ANZUS, Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Republic of China and other nations concerned should set up a regional anti-Communist defense system for the common security of Southeast and Northeast Asia. In the case of Korea, North Korea has attempted to stir up unrest and chaos in South Korea after the death of the late President Park Chung-hee in order to bring the entire Korean peninsula under Communist control. The participants hail the emergency measures of national security taken by the Government of the Republic of Korea in restoring the stability and order in the country, which deserve the support of all free nations.

9. Free nations to seek effective solutions to the refugee problem, such as to prevent Communist countries from expelling their people to harass free nations. Whereas the refugee problem is deeply rooted in Communist tyranny, it is urged to accord forthwith all possible humanitarian assistances to the Vietnamese, Cambodian and other freedom seekers.

10. Free nations to lend aid to the struggle for freedom and national independence by the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Bulgarians, Romanians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Turkestani, Cubans, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians and other captive peoples. It is also proposed to support the campaign for freedom and democracy by the oppressed people on the Chinese mainland, North Korea and East Germany. Unification of divided nations should be facilitated under the principles of freedom, democracy and happiness for all. It is to the interest of the United States to persist on her stand for captive peoples' regaining their freedom and national independence as the core of America's foreign policy.

11. Free nations to economically, politically and culturally isolate the Communist countries until such time as they cease infiltration and subversion throughout the world and until such time as the objectives in items 1 to 10 are achieved.

12. The General Assembly of the WACL decided to address the Organization of American States (OAS) and the United Nations, asking for their intervention with the Cuban Government to allow anti-communist Cuban journalist, Ernesto de la Fe, to leave Cuba and be reunited with his family in Miami (USA) after unjustly being Fidel Castro's prisoner for 21 years.

13. The WACL Conference expresses an energetic protest to the government of Nicaragua for not giving safe conduct to anti-communist fighter, Chester Escobar, Chairman of the World Youth Anti-Communist League, who took refuge in the Guatemalan Embassy in Managua one year ago, because he was condemned to death. The Conference also exhorts all members to encourage their countries' governments to put pressure on the Sandinista authorities to allow him to leave the country. This fact will also be made known to the Human Rights Commissions of the United Nations and the Organization of the American States to take action in the same regard.

14. The WACL will put pressure on the communist regimes in order to liquidate the concentration camps and psychiatric prisons, and to release all national, political and religious prisoners, such as Yuriy Shukhevych, Ukrainian patriot (30 years in prison) and all other freedom fighters from the subjugated nations.

15. The WACL Conference reaffirms the provisions of the League Charter calling for the unity of freedom-loving peoples, the younger generation in particular — irrespective of race, nationality and religion in their common struggle against Communism.

The Conference resolved that the 14th WACL Conference shall be held in Africa in 1981. It also wishes to express its profound appreciation for the warm hospitality extended by the Swiss Charter and the Swiss people.

### **Resolution on the liberation of the subjugated nations**

— Whereas the Soviet-Russian imperio-colonialism — following the footsteps of tsarist Russia, conquered the whole range of countries — in Europe, Asia, Africa, and even in Latin America, and recently invaded Afghanistan — after Angola, Ethiopia, Southern Yemen, Mozambique, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, provokes disturbances in South Korea, — unchangeably strives for the World domination;

— Whereas the policy of containment, co-existence, detente, at the NATO's efforts of keeping the balance of power in the world, in actuality was detrimental to the military balance and beneficial to the bolshevist Russian empire and her further conquests in the Free World;

— Whereas the continuation of detente policy will soon lead to the conquest of the oil-producing countries of the Near and Middle East and to the seizure of natural resources of Africa and to the closure of the oil fields and natural resources as well as the routes to the countries of the West and the Far East, and thus without even a military invasion on Western Europe and the Far East, will bring about the capitulation at the hands of the Bolshevik aggressors;

— Whereas the military superiority of the Communist Russian empire over NATO and the Free World creates a threat of the thermonuclear annihilation;

— Whereas the Russian aggressors, taking advantage from this superiority and new conquests and present geo-strategical position directed against the West, do destroy by Stalinist methods the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations in the USSR by mass arrests and

sentences to the highest terms of imprisonment — in concentration camps, prisons, psychiatric wards, by cruel russification, murders of national liberation fighters, cultural and religious activists (composer Volodymir Ivasiuk, priests Luchkiv and Lutsky, and others) and even giving draconic punishments to the members of the Helsinki groups, which strive under the cover of the Helsinki Accords for the realisation of national and human rights (in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, etc.).

The XIIIth WACL Conference resolves:

1. to appeal to the USA and NATO members to replace the policy of detente and balance of power which brought unwarranted results for the interests of the West as well as in view of the policy for the liberation of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism;

2. to appeal emphatically to the USA and all the countries of the Free World, in particular to the Islamic countries, to hasten with military and all other aid to the heroic Afghanistan in order to bring about the expulsion of Russian occupational armies from Afghanistan and to strengthen the national liberation holy struggle of not only Islamic nations subjugated in the USSR but of all the subjugated by Bolshevism nations in the USSR and the so-called satellite countries, ie. Christian, Moslem, Buddhist, for the dissolution of the Bolshevist atheist empire into national independent democratic sovereign states!

3. The XIIIth WACL Conference appeals to the president of the USA and to the governments of the free nations to include as an integral part of their policy towards the last remaining empire of the world — the USSR, the national liberation of the peoples subjugated in the Russian colonial empire and the restoration of their national independence and sovereignty;



4. The XIIIth WACL Conference reminds that the new USSR Constitution includes as a constitutional obligation the aggressive wars of the empire under the name of active all-round support to the so-called national liberation revolutionary movements and social revolts ("proletarian internationalism").

5. WACL condemns the new USSR Constitution as the constitution of the colonial empire — prison of nations and people, which guarantees to the so-called Soviet people (the artificial creation), and in reality to the Russian supernation — the holder of the empire — all unlimited rights, and degrades the subjugated nations to the role of slaves;

6. WACL condemns the enforced russification which is composed of linguicide, culture-, and geno-cide and finally natio-cide, which is being performed through the mixing of peoples, forceful deportations from the native countries, colonization by Russians of the subjugated nations;

7. Russification is the crime against the universal culture of mankind, its barbarization, because it aims at the destruction of the mosaic of national cultures which guarantee the progress and development of world culture.

8. WACL calls for the all-round support for national liberation, revolutionary, heroic struggle for national independence and human rights of Ukraine, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Croatia, Slovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, East Germany, Poland, Czech, Azerbaijan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Albania, Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Angola, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Mozambique, North Korea, and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism.

9. WACL calls the nations of the world to implement the UN resolution from 1960/1970 on decolonization of empires including the remaining last empire of the

world — the Russian Empire — the USSR, and the US Congress resolution 86-90 from 1959 on the restoration of national independence to the peoples subjugated in the USSR and the so-called satellite countries and to all peoples under the Communist yoke.

10. WACL appeals to all free nations starting with the USA to develop a wide psychological and political war against the Russian empire and against Communist tyranny, to stop economical and technological help, to stop the policy of detente, and instead, to support the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations which are disintegrating the empire and Communism from within, and represent the possible alternative to the nuclear war.

11. WACL appeals to the Free World to carry out the pressure action on Communist regimes for the liquidation of concentration camps and psychiatric prisons, and the release of national, political and religious prisoners of the subjugated nations, and in particular to cease the murders of political, cultural and religious activists and fighters for national and human rights.

12. WACL appeals to the US Congress and the parliaments of other nations in the world to accredit the rights of citizenship to the requesting political and religious prisoners of the subjugated nations, changing if necessary, their own constitution for this purpose, or other, such as the possibility to carry out a psychological or other type of political liberation war, similarly as Moscow did in the last constitution.

13. The XIIIth WACL Conference states that without the realisation of national rights — namely national independence of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism — there is no possibility to realise human rights and social justice in the subjugated countries.

## Congressman Henry J. Hyde in defense of Yuriy Shukhevych

*Chicago, Ill. (ZMR)* — Ukrainian Liberation Front Organizations in Chicago and vicinity, at the initiative of *Ulana Celewycz-Steciuk*, President of the Executive Board of Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. and Chairperson of the Chicago Branch of American Friends of ABN, held a Reception on May 18, 1980 for Congressman Henry J. Hyde, staunch defender of Yuriy Shukhevych. At the said Reception, which was attended by more than two hundred persons, the participants appealed to Congressman Hyde for his aid in the defense and release of Yuriy Shukhevych, by transmitting to him a Resolution for presentation to the U.S. House of Representatives.

True to his promise, Congressman Hyde, on May 22, 1980, presented to the U.S. House of Representatives two separate Resolutions dealing with Yuriy Shukhevych, preceded by his very moving remarks. Below follows an excerpt from the Congressional Record of Proceedings and Debates of the 96th Congress, Second Session, dated Thursday, May 22, 1980, Vol. 126, No. 84, pp. E2580 and E2581:

### **Yuriy Shukhevych: Ukrainian Freedom Fighter**

*Hon. Henry J. Hyde of Illinois  
In the House of Representatives  
Thursday, May 22, 1980*

*Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, on May 18, 1980, I had the honor to speak at a gathering of Ukrainian Americans in Chicago, Ill., honoring Yuriy Shukhevych, who will soon have completed 30 years in Soviet prisons. His crime? Refusal to denounce his late father Roman Shukhevych, who led the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. This heroic army fought the Nazis in World War II and continued to fight Soviet forces occupying Ukraine.*

*In the civilized world, love and respect are due one's parents. While opposition to*

*Soviet occupation may not endear General Shukhevych or his son Yuriy to the Communist government, the loyalty and honor displayed by Yuriy Shukhevych are heroism of the highest order.*

*May all freedom-loving people in the world learn of and acknowledge the greatness of his sacrifice, and be encouraged to resist Communist tyranny by his brave example.*

*A resolution was adopted and presented to me and I take this opportunity to share it with my colleagues:*

### **RESOLUTION**

*Whereas basic human rights and fundamental freedoms have long been recognized as having valid universal significance and are currently a subject of pressing international concern, and*

*Whereas these basic rights are spelled out in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and*

*Whereas the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has given a new dimension to the humanitarian principles these covenants embody by reaffirming each state-signatory's right to be concerned with the manner in which human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected and implemented by all other signatories, and*

*Whereas the President of the United States has expressed his deep concern and commitment to human rights in the world, and*

*Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych has been incarcerated in Soviet prisons for almost thirty years merely for his refusal to denounce his father who, as Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, fought the occupation of Ukraine, and*

*Whereas the harsh treatment and severe sentence of Yuriy Shukhevych reaffirms that a system of repression exists in the*

*Soviet Union and this fact greatly concerns the people of the United States; Now, therefore, be and it is hereby.*

*Resolved, That we, Ukrainian Americans of Illinois, gathered at this meeting on May 18, 1980 to express our concern for the inhumane treatment and long sentence in Soviet prisons of Yuriy Shukhevych, respectfully petition members of the United States Congress, the Department of State and the President of the United States to use every means available to obtain the release of Yuriy Shukhevych from imprisonment and request that an exit visa for him and his family be granted; and be it further*

*Resolved, That a copy of this Resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State and Illinois members of the United States Congress.*

*Mr. Speaker, in addition, another resolution was adopted urging President Carter to actively seek the release of Yuriy Shukhevych. This resolution, which I have sent to the President, is as follows:*

#### RESOLUTION

*Memorializing President Jimmy Carter to open negotiations with the Soviet Union for the release of Yuriy Shukhevych from imprisonment and granting him and his family political asylum within the United States*

*Whereas when our forefathers put themselves to the task of devising a fundamental law for the brand new nation they were creating, they displayed unity of purpose and large breadth of vision; and*

*Whereas the words freedom and liberty signified for them and mankind one of the most precious and desirable commodities; and*

*Whereas freedom and liberty always refer to interhuman relations and a man is free as far as he can live, create and get on without being at the mercy of an arbitrary government; and*

*Whereas the President of the United States has espoused the concepts of our founding fathers, has expressed his deep*

*concern and commitment to human rights in the world, and has recently successfully negotiated the release of five political prisoners from the Soviet Union; and*

*Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych who has been incarcerated in Soviet prisons for almost thirty years is a clear example of a prisoner of conscience; and*

*Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych, who, as a thirteen year old lad, has not buckled under severe pressure to renounce his Ukrainian nationality and stood steadfast in his resolve not to denounce his heroic father who, as Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, fought the occupation of Ukraine; and*

*Whereas the harsh treatment of individuals, such as Yuriy Shukhevych, once again reaffirms that a system of repression exists in the Soviet Union and this fact greatly concerns the people of the United States of America; and*

*Whereas the alleged "crimes" of Yuriy Shukhevych cannot be considered as crimes in civilized society and free people must call upon world opinion to halt these flagrant abuses against political dissidents; and*

*Whereas experience teaches that cooperative action is more efficient and productive than isolated actions and free people must unite against Russian aggressive forces now attempting to encircle the globe reaching for the jugular vein of the free world: Now, therefore, be and it is hereby*

*Resolved, That the Ukrainian Americans of Illinois respectfully memorialize President Jimmy Carter to immediately open negotiations with the Soviet Union to seek the release of Yuriy Shukhevych from imprisonment by requesting that an exit visa for him and his family be granted and to extend to them political asylum in the United States; and be it further*

*Resolved, that a copy of this Resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, and to the Secretary of State of the United States.*

# POLITIKEN

KØBENHAVN, ONSDAG 23. JULI 1980 •  
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## Protest fra Sovjet-kvinder

Lise Østergaard: Ingen logik i politiets holdning

**Af Gretelise Holm**  
En 10-12 persons demonstration mod Sovjetunionen i Bella Center i går for at støtte Bella Center i København, hvor der holdes international kvindekonference.

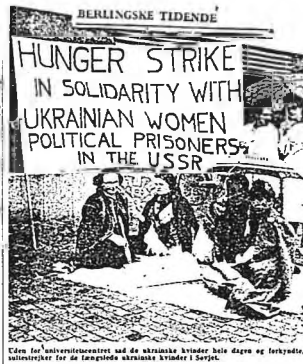
Den sovjetiske delegation protesterede til kvindekonferencens præsentation, kulturminister Lise Østergaard. Russerne finder demonstrationen foran

demonstrationen mod Sovjetunionen ikke et valg, sagde den tidligere venstre chef for vikertheden, og yngre demonstranter i alle tilfælde. Men ville ikke være på om alle de øvrige demonstrationer i forbindelse herud ville have været til gene.

Der var afstivet alle sovjetiske demonstrationer fra Bella Center indgang. En lille halv vindsk demonstration med det fællestykke på i Belgia blev

den politiets opstand holdt ud der kongressen. Skarp kritik af politi-opbud ved konference. Kvinder på flugt - har det værste. Penges til Belgia 1. sektion side 4

**Knivdrab i Grønland**  
Med adskillige kvindelige ofre er 24 år gammel mand fra Skudov (Hobart) på vej til fængsel for at have dræbt sin hustru. Manden havde med kvinden dræbt færdigt. Efter drabet kom han ikke tilbage, hverken for han dræbte kvinden.



En af demonstrationerne på de ukrainske kvinder blev dagen og fortæller, velkommer for de fængslede ukrainske kvinder i Sovjet.

## Sultestrejker for at fortælle om sovjetisk undertrykkelse

**Af Nina Leth Larsen**  
Aggressivitet, brutalitet og demagogik. Det er ordene, som Nina Stronka anvender, når hun taler om det sovjetiske styre.

Nina Stronka er ukrainer og deltager ved den alternative kvindekonference i København sammen med en gruppe øst-ukrainerne startede hun i går en sultestrejke for at gøre opmærksom på, hvordan Sovjetunionens undertrykkelse af kvinder og mænd.

der og én mand. I dag vil de fortsætte strejken foran Bella Center, der er hovedsæde for de officielle kvindekonferencer. Vi vil ikke være borte fra kvindekonferencen i København sammen med en gruppe øst-ukrainerne startede hun i går en sultestrejke for at gøre opmærksom på, hvordan Sovjetunionens undertrykkelse af kvinder og mænd.



Olga Zaverusha og Mary Sakombora har begge levet mange år som flygtning i Canada.

## Protesterer mod behandlingen af ukrainske kvinder

**Al Eise Cornelius**  
En lille flok kvinder i ukrainerne protesterer mod den måde, som de er behandlet i Sovjetunionen. De har været fængslet i mange måneder og er nu på vej til fængsel igen.

**Kvinde går i sultestrejke**  
En gruppe kvinder i København har startet en sultestrejke for at gøre opmærksom på den måde, som de er behandlet i Sovjetunionen. De har været fængslet i mange måneder og er nu på vej til fængsel igen.

## Ukraine-kvinder i sultestrejke

**Protest mod Politiske fanger i Sovjet**  
Afs Ann Marjager  
Medlemmer af Ukrainske Kvindes Værdedokumentation i København har startet en sultestrejke for at gøre opmærksom på den måde, som de er behandlet i Sovjetunionen.

BAGSIDEN

# WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

COPENHAGEN, JULY 25, 1980

## Sovjet demand



Stefania Sabatara

## Møde om politiske fanger afbrudt kaotiske demonstrationer

— Sovjetunionen, Sovjetunionen - Taktiske rib, afbrudt af hyl, stengen og banken i bordene gik ned i går fra et rum i Amager universitetshuset. Derfor foretog en ukrainsk kvindekonference blev holdt møde om kvindere for politiske fangers familier.

## FRYGTES DRUKNET

En 58-årig mand anses for druknet, efter at en flers timer lang eftermiddag i Bella Center i København blev afbrudt af kaotiske demonstrationer.



**10 Aktuelt Onsdag 23. juli 1980**  
**Sovjets delegation vil have demonstranter væk**  
Den sovjetiske delegation mod kvindekonferencen i Bella Center i København har protesteret mod demonstrationerne.

Allegation has filed a suit with the US District Court in New York City to force the removal of new protesters who have been demonstrating in front of the Bella Center since July 21. The suit is filed in the US District Court in New York City.

World press on Ukrainian women's hunger strike in protest of Russian occupation of Ukraine, during the World Women's Congress in Copenhagen, July 1980.

# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

**Diario 16** EDICION DE TARDE **PUEBLO** ABC

MADRID MIÉRCOLES 12 NOVIEMBRE 1980

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## LA VANGUARDIA

## CONFEREN



**GA CONDENA ESPAÑOLA**

El tema de la liberación soviética de Afganistán...

BARCELONA-1  
Miércoles, 12 noviembre de 1980  
Número 35 588

### Madrid, plaza universal de la libertad



**CONTRA LA DEPECACION SOVIETICA**  
**Huelga de hambre de neerlandeses**

Los neerlandeses se han declarado en huelga de hambre...



**EL PAIS**

reginados de divers...  
manifestaron ante...  
ferencia sobre...

### INDEPENDENCIA HA SIDO PERDIDA POR UN GRUPO DE IDENTENTES CON MOTIVO DE LA CONFERENCIA DE MADRID

## UCRANIA LA CALIFORNIA SOVIETICA



Con seis cincuenta y un millones de habitantes y sus enormes riquezas naturales se ha convertido en uno de los más prósperos territorios de la URSS.

Hasta el final de los años cincuenta no se superaron las consecuencias de la trágica invasión nazi.

**E**l anticomunista Bloque Antibolchevique de Naciones, organizado en la que participan ciertos grupos de disidentes, ha publicado un comunicado, coincidiendo con el inicio de la celebración de la Conferencia de Madrid, que denuncia la falta de independencia de los medios de comunicación de masas de la URSS, y en particular de los periódicos de Leningrado, uno de los principales medios programados de la URSS, cuya redacción se encuentra en la ciudad de California bajo el nombre de "The Heritage Foundation".

Este comunicado acusa a los medios de comunicación de masas de la URSS de ser instrumentos de propaganda y de haberse convertido en una gran industria que genera ganancias para la élite soviética.

El comunicado también menciona que los medios de comunicación de masas de la URSS han sido utilizados para promover la ideología del Partido Comunista y para ocultar la realidad de la vida en la URSS.

El comunicado concluye afirmando que los medios de comunicación de masas de la URSS no son independientes y que su única función es servir a los intereses del Partido Comunista.

**EL FACTOR UCRANIANO**

En un comunicado emitido el día 11 de noviembre, el Bloque Antibolchevique de Naciones denuncia la falta de independencia de los medios de comunicación de masas de la URSS, y en particular de los periódicos de Leningrado, uno de los principales medios programados de la URSS, cuya redacción se encuentra en la ciudad de California bajo el nombre de "The Heritage Foundation".

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Los manifestantes ante...  
con la...  
de los...  
y...

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## **ABN** *CORRESPONDENCE*

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

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# Ivan Kandyba reveals the truth about Russian unlawfulness in Ukraine

## STATEMENT

by

IVAN OLEKSIYOVYCH KANDYBA, attorney, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group from its inception (Lviv Oblast, village of Pustomyty, 28 Shevchenko Street)

to

CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE UNION OF THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS,

Copies to:

1. Leaders of nations-members of the Helsinki Conference;
2. United Nations Commission on Human Rights;
3. The international organization "Amnesty International";
4. International Association of Jurists-Democrats;
5. Committee of French Attorneys to Promote the Implementation of Helsinki Accords;
6. World Federation on Human Rights;
7. Leaders of Socialist, Labor and Communist Parties.

\*

### **Arrested for intent to present the question concerning the secession of Ukraine from the Soviet Union**

Together with six others, on January 20, 1961, I was arrested by the KGB of Lviv Oblast, for our intent to present the question concerning the secession of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, pursuant to the guarantee of Article 72 of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (paragraph 17 of the Constitution of 1936), which states, in part, that "Each Soviet Republic has a right of free secession from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics".

KGB investigative organs and Lviv Oblast prosecuting magistracy conducted the inquest in our cases completely unobjectively, with prejudice, interjection and falsification of evidential materials. In this manner, the inquest was aimed at conscious rendering of our actions as the most horrendous crimes and by the same token portraying us as dangerous political criminals. As a result, our actions were determined under Article 56, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian SSR, which provides for responsibility for treason to our country, although actually we were innocent of this or any other crime. Lack of any crime whatsoever on our part is proven by Article 56, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian SSR, which states:

"Treason to our country, namely deliberate acts by a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics harmful to our country's independence, territorial inviolability or military might of the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics, going over to the enemy side, espionage, revelation of state or military secrets to other countries, escape from or refusal to return to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, aid to another country in its conduct of enemy action against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as conspiracy with aim of seizure of power, —(penalty attached to it is imprisonment of between ten and fifteen years, confiscation of property and five years exile, or without the latter; or by death penalty and confiscation of property).”

Therefore, not only did we not violate by our actions but even by our intentions any clause of the above Article and, consequently, should not have been tried in accordance therewith. Accordingly, our accusation under said Article is completely groundless and unlawful.

**KGB: “Soviet constitution for the outside world and for idiots”**

Our appeals and protests, based on the Constitution of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, concerning the groundlessness of the accusations against us, were answered by KGB prosecutors that said Constitution was enacted for the outside world and for idiots, certainly not to be taken realistically. At first, we were skeptical as to the seriousness of such statements of the KGB prosecutors, but further course of events during the inquest proceedings proved to us that they were telling us the truth. We paid very dearly for our faith in the genuineness of the Soviet Constitution.

Simultaneously, the KGB prosecutors acknowledged the fact that life in such a Ukraine as we were envisioning would be much better than in the Ukraine presently existing. However, according to their statements, such Ukraine would be contrary to international solidarity. By this declaration of solidarity, they understood that Ukraine, as the richest republic in the composition of the Soviet Union, was obligated to give away the unused remainder of its productivity to other republics, of course, without any reimbursement whatsoever.

In such manner, a most formidable case has been fabricated against us by KGB investigative organs and Lviv Oblast prosecuting magistracy and transferred to the jurisdiction of Lviv Oblast Court.

Lviv Oblast Criminal Court conducted the trial proceedings in our case similarly to the way the KGB prosecutors did beforehand, with clear disregard of any lawful conduct, completely unobjectively, with grave prejudice, and with undisguised intent to make short work of us. Instead of the trial proceedings taking place in a courtroom, the Court conducted our trial in the KGB isolation ward, the same cell where we were held under guard and where the previous inquest took place, neglecting to mention this circumstance in the trial transcript in accordance with Article 250 of the Code of Criminal Proceedings of the Ukrainian SSR. In addition, the trial was conducted in secret, which fact constituted unlawful conduct of the proceedings pursuant to Article 20 of the Code of Criminal Proceedings of the Ukrainian SSR, which states, in part:

“All trial proceedings in all courts are to be conducted open to the public, with the exception of the ones which might affect national security”.

As far as national security is concerned, our case had absolutely nothing to do with it. Therefore, the trial proceedings of our case should have been conducted open to the public. Further, the above mentioned Article 20 states:

“All judicial verdicts in all court cases are to be made in public”.



### Unlawful verdict

Even this portion of Article 20 was violated by the Court, since during the announcement of the verdict, no one was allowed in the courtroom, not even members of our families, who demanded admittance. It should be noted that the general public was kept completely in the dark by the KGB not only concerning the progress of our case, but also as to the existence of such a case itself.

The secrecy with which the KGB conducted our case can be exemplified by the fact that even four or five years later, the general public was completely ignorant about this matter. Only, in an article entitled "Concerning the Trial of Pohruzhalskyj" was there a very general mentioning of our trial, however false, stating that a group of attorneys (names were not given) was tried and shot.

The end result of the trial proceedings conducted by the Lviv Oblast Criminal Court was that it unanimously upheld, "rubber stamped", the findings of the KGB investigative organs and Lviv Oblast prosecuting magistracy inquest, and on May 20, 1961, reached a clearly unjust, therefore completely unlawful, verdict, finding all of us guilty of treason to our fatherland and sentencing us to between ten and fifteen years of imprisonment and condemning Lev Lukyanenko to death, with confiscation of all of our property.

The objectivity of the trial proceedings could easily be judged on the basis of a section of our verdict, quoted below:

"Lukyanenko, Kandyba and others organized a nationalistic, anti-Soviet 'Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union', aiming toward a struggle against the Soviet state and social order of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Marxist-Leninist ideology, and struggle for the break-off of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and creation of so-called Independent Ukraine" (Verdict, page 3).

From the above passage, it is evident that our criticism of existent order of the Soviet Union, its policies in economy, culture and national issues, was substituted by the words "struggle against", and our formulation of questions concerning the secession of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, through peaceful means of a national referendum, in accordance with the Constitution of the Soviet Union, was also substituted by the word "break-off", the purpose of which was to indicate the violent intent of our future actions. For such hypothetical future violent intent we were given the severest sentences.

There are numerous examples to be found of such "objectivity" or "impartiality" throughout our trial proceedings. These trial proceedings could only be considered a farce, the purpose of which was vengeance upon us for the "uncomfortable" questions we were voicing.

Reviewing our case in the normal course of appeals, the Criminal Section of the Supreme Court of Ukrainian SSR saw the evident unlawfulness of the verdict of the Lviv Oblast Criminal Court, headed by S. Rudyk, pertaining to the qualifications of our actions. Therefore, it decided to amend our indictment with reference to qualification of our actions only, namely reverse the finding of treason to our fatherland. By said action, it decided to reject the accusations under Article 56, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian SSR, and proceed instead with accusations under Article 62, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian SSR, namely "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

Discovering the intent of the Supreme Court of Ukrainian SSR, the leadership of Lviv KGB did everything to prevent said intent from materializing. It delivered to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukrainian SSR some kind of recording tape, whereupon the Central Committee "recommended" to the Supreme Court of Ukrainian SSR not to amend the verdict in reference to qualifications of our actions.

About the above occurrence I found out from Lviv KGB employee, Marusenko, upon my arrival in concentration camp No. 11 (Yavas) in 1965. He said that the KGB was against the amendment or modification of the qualification of our actions, because it would have caused our sentences to be reduced by more than one-half — in my case from fifteen to seven years.

And so, as a result of gross interference, the Supreme Court of Ukrainian SSR also gravely violated the law and, by its verdict of July 26, 1961, modified Lukyanenko's sentence from death to fifteen years imprisonment, and added some other immaterial, cosmetic amendments, thereby, in fact, upholding the case fabricated against us and the resulting verdict.

However, the law was on our side. Article 367 of the Code of Criminal Proceedings of Ukrainian SSR states:

"The bases for rejection or modification of a verdict in review on appeal are: Unilateralness or incompleteness... of previous or court proceedings; when facts of the case do not correspond to conclusions of the court presented in its verdict; substantive violation of the law of criminal proceedings; improper use of criminal law...".

Article 371 of this Code states:

"Improper use of criminal law, resulting in revocation or modification of the verdict, consists of:

- 1) Neglect of the relevant statutes of the criminal law by the court in its conclusion;
- 2) Use of irrelevant statutes of the criminal law by the court in its conclusion."

In accordance with Paragraph 9, Article 370 of this Code:

"In any event the verdict should be revoked... if the court violated the requisites of the Articles of this Code that declare: All phases of trial proceedings are to be open to the public...".

Therefore, it is evident from the above, that the Supreme Court of Ukrainian SSR had all lawful bases to not only modify the verdict of the Lviv Oblast Criminal Court in our case, but to revoke it. However, as we already know, this did not happen. Power conquered law. In this way, our case was decided not on the basis of the power of the law, but on the basis of the law of power, outside interference.

Our numerous complaints to the highest judicial, prosecuting, state and party organs of the Soviet Union did not aid the law in conquering power. Our complaints were answered by uniform, stereotype, prepared in advance statements, namely, "everything was correct — everything was lawful". One time I received from the Prosecutor of the Soviet Union this answer: "Classification of the crime was proper and the punishment contained considerations of all mitigating circumstances". It seems, that I should have been grateful for the fact that I was not sentenced to death and shot, but imprisoned for only "miserly" fifteen years, which, as a matter of fact, is the maximum penalty, with the exception of the death penalty.

And so, I had to serve in full this unlawful sentence in the harsh conditions of Mordovian and Ural concentration camps and the Volodymyr prison.

If all of this took place during the period of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, then one could manage to reconcile oneself, there would have been somebody to blame. But, how can one reconcile oneself, when such took place (and continues to occur with reference to me) in a period following the time when the cult of Stalin, with its practice of lawlessness and high-handedness, was severely condemned from the highest tribunal? It is impossible to reconcile oneself with such situation or to remain silent about it.

Considering how slowly and how hard my years of imprisonment passed, even then time did not stand still, the remainder of my sentence was diminishing and getting closer to its completion. It seemed that soon I will be free and my life would improve. However, it only seemed that way, or I was wishing it so, because this did not materialize. As a matter of fact, while, still interned behind barbed wire, I understood that even after release, I would not be able to enjoy life in freedom.

During the last months of my imprisonment, a representative of Kyiv KGB, Captain Utyra, informed me that during the first six months after my release, I will be under administrative surveillance. However, in practice, it is much worse — I remain under administrative surveillance for already the fifth six-month period, and no end to it seems in sight.

#### **Not permitted to reside in the homeland**

Approximately during the time of my conversation with Captain Utyra, I was called out by a representative of the concentration camp administration and asked to prepare a declaration as to where I would like to live after my release. I prepared such a declaration, stating that I would like to reside in Lviv, in my old residence at 57 Decembrist Street, Apartment 37, together with my seventy-four year old father who was living there.

A month later, I was informed by the concentration camp administration that I was not permitted to reside in Lviv after my release and suggested that I supply it with a different desired locality. My answer to this prohibition was that, since I was not allowed to live in my homeland with my seventy-four year old ill father, I was requesting permission to leave the Soviet Union for the West where, I was sure, I would be allowed to live any place I chose. I was told that such a request was unrealistic and again advised to choose a place of residence, with the exception of Lviv or the West, and, if I did not cooperate, they would choose for me. Ignoring this threat, I refused to supply them with another desired place of residence and stood by my previous choices.

Day before my release, a representative of concentration camp administration informed me that I was assigned as my permanent place of residence after release a village called Pustomvty, Lviv Oblast, approximately 20 kilometers from Lviv; all my documents having been already prepared for said village. I did not have any family or acquaintance in the village of Pustomvty, and have never even visited there. So, without any judicial or administrative proceedings, powers that be have assigned me to a place of exile, of course, under administrative surveillance. Here was the long-awaited freedom!

Finally, the day of January 20, 1976 arrived — the day of completion of my fifteen year sentence. On that day, all my belongings were carefully searched, including my books and manuscripts. My chess set and board, a precious gift

from political prisoner, Victor Orlovych, who carved them, were confiscated. All my manuscripts were confiscated. In reality, they were transcripts from different books by Soviet and other writers. Those same transcripts were many times before reviewed by KGB Captain, Utyra, and returned to me as containing nothing anti-Soviet. It seems that said transcripts were allowed in concentration camps, but not so in "freedom". All post cards with greetings from my friends — political prisoners, and the text of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 10, 1948 were confiscated. (The Declaration of Human Rights was constantly confiscated in all places of internment, whenever it was found. From me personally, it was taken twice, once on December 6, 1966 in Mordovian concentration camp No. 11 at Yavas, and the second time on November 2, 1973 in Ural concentration camp No. 35.)

After this careful search, I was led outside the concentration camp gates to an automobile which took me to Chusov railway station, from where the same day I took a train for Moscow.

In Moscow I remained for eight days. There I realized that even after completion of my term of imprisonment, I was still considered highly dangerous by the Soviet authorities. Everywhere I went or travelled, I was constantly followed. Twice I was stopped by militiamen. The first time, they stopped me in the metro, checked my papers, telephoned some place, and let me go. The second time, they took me to the 65th Militia Precinct, checked my documents, interrogated me, and took my statement about leaving Moscow.

From Moscow, I went to Kyiv, where I stayed for nine days, under constant surveillance. From Kyiv, I went to Chernihiv, where I visited for two days with Lev Lukyanenko.

En route to Lviv, I stopped in Rivne, where the surveillance was very strict, particularly at a nearby village of Kvasyliv (9 kilometers from Rivne), where I went to visit my aunt. There, her house was surrounded by automobiles, as were other homes where I stopped by. In addition, after my departure, militiamen and "civilian" individuals visited some of the people upon whom I have called, reproached them for welcoming me, and warned them not to receive my visits ever again... Similar occurrences took place in the village of Ostrozhec, Mlyniv Region, Rivne Oblast, where I went to see my family.

In addition, I visited the town of Luck. There, February 13, 1976, at the main post office, I was stopped by militiamen, taken to Militia Headquarters, where I was searched. Thereafter, I was interrogated for two hours, and at the end, ordered to sign a statement about my departure from Luck.

#### **Under constant surveillance**

On February 14, 1976, I arrived in Lviv, at my father's residence. Here also I was constantly under surveillance. Twice I was stopped by militiamen (February 28 and March 8). Each time I was ordered to sign a statement regarding my departure from Lviv. In addition, informational material about me was transmitted to Soviet authorities of Shevchenko and Zaliznychny District Executive Committees of Lviv. Several times I was directed to appear at meetings of so-called surveillance commissions of the two District Executive Committees, at which, my immediate departure from Lviv was demanded, such demands strengthened by threats of punishment through judicial proceedings.

It seems, I was in real danger of being tried under Article 196 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian SSR, covering passport laws, violation of which is punishable by up to two years of imprisonment, if I were caught in Lviv for

the third time. Therefore, on March 11, 1976, I departed from Lviv for my assigned permanent place of residence — the village of Pustomyty.

But even in the village of Pustomyty, regardless of my official assignment there, I was treated with animosity and even hostility. The village authorities tried to get rid of me as soon as possible, by refusing to supply me with, and attempting to interfere with my obtaining, a residence visa. Director of the Passport Bureau, Captain Pavluk, was particularly hostile to me. He publicly insulted me, using his position of devotion to Soviet power, and my Ukrainian nationality. In addition, he tried to frighten and convince my prospective landlords into not renting to me, which resulted in the fact that Catherine Bulohan, who had rooms to rent, refused me the rental. He also tried to frighten my actual landlord, Maria Shafrayev, but to no avail. This lasted until March 31, until everything became untangled with my living quarters and residence visa. Finally, I obtained lodging in an old house, monthly rent being 25 rubles a month.

Simultaneously with receiving my passport and residence visa, Pustomyty District Militia, by its decision of April 1, 1976, placed me under administrative surveillance for a period of six months, in accordance with the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance", by the militia of persons freed from internments, ratified by Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of July 26, 1966.

The administrative surveillance was based on the allegations that I, during my period of imprisonment, showed myself from a negative point of view, systematically violated prison regime, took part in organized anti-regime acts and demands, and possessed a hostile outlook toward state and social order of the Soviet Union.

Even during the instance when said allegations were correct, the concentration camp or prison administration always punished me for such acts. During the term of my imprisonment, numerous times I was placed in strict regime isolation wards; in October of 1962, I was placed in a strict regime isolation ward in the concentration camp for six months, and immediately thereafter, on April 22, 1963, without allowing my return to the regular zone of the concentration camp, I was taken before a tribunal which sentenced me to a one year strict regime internment. On March 27, 1967, the tribunal sentenced me for the second time to a three year period of strict regime internment. Both periods of these strict regime internments, I served at the infamous Volodymyr prison. In addition, I was deprived of the right to receive any parcels (said right consisted of an allowance to receive, after the completion of one-half of the term of internment, one 5 kilogram parcel per year) or visits from my family.

Therefore, not only did I serve my full fifteen year sentence, pursuant to an unlawful verdict, but, in addition, I paid up all my debts to the concentration camp administration for my so-called "violations" of the prison regime, clearing up my slate as far as any claims against me of prosecuting authorities were concerned. However, pursuant to statements of the militia, as far as my hostile outlook toward state and social order of the Soviet Union is concerned, even if true, then I had an absolute right to my beliefs and views as a human being and as a citizen. Such right to his or her own beliefs and views possesses every human being and citizen, I included, pursuant to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 10, 1948, which was signed by the Soviet Union, the Pact covering the socio-political rights of 1966, and the Helsinki Accords of August 1, 1975, which the Soviet Union even co-authored... Therefore, any and all prosecution and surveillance for my views and beliefs are groundless and unlawful.

Also, punishing me for my actions in the concentration camp, for which I have already paid my debts, is groundless and unlawful.

In addition, placing me, who served his sentence due to political motives, under administrative surveillance meant for criminals, is inappropriate and constitutes a violation of all international, judicial documents concerning human rights.

To prove that the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance" was meant for the criminal element exclusively, I quote from Article 1 of said Statute:

"Administrative surveillance is to be established for the purpose of overseeing the actions of persons, freed from imprisonments, preventing crimes on their part, and *directing the necessary instructional influence upon them*".

Namely, establishing an inspection process over actions of persons for the purpose of preventing further crimes on their part is clearly necessary in regard to persons inclined toward violations against social order, harmful to society in rowdiness, hooliganism, violence, theft, etc. It is right and lawful to direct the necessary preventive instructional influence upon them.

However, establishing a surveillance over a person based only upon the fact that said person has individual views and beliefs and directing "necessary instructional influence upon them", constitutes nothing less than forcing said person to renounce his or her views and beliefs, which are "uncomfortable" to the authorities. This proves grave violation and complete contradiction of such international judicial documents guaranteeing human rights as the above mentioned UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Pact covering the socio-political rights, and the Helsinki Accords.

This is also evident from Article 2 of said Statute, which talks about the individuals upon whom such administrative surveillance should be established, namely persons:

"... sentenced to imprisonment for serious crimes or imprisoned more than twice for whatever intentional crimes, if their conduct in their places of internment evidences their *stubborn unwillingness to reform* and rejoin the ranks of honest, hardworking society."

It is absolutely proper to demand reformation or to take appropriate steps to accomplish such aim in connection with violators of social order or persons who have proven to be inclined toward serious crimes.

However, as far as I am concerned, the militia formally, and KGB actually, having established administrative surveillance over me, considered my "... unwillingness to reform..." as nothing more than my refusal to change my ideological and political views and beliefs, which did not parrot the official ideology and politics of the USSR. In order to force me to change them, with the aid of administrative surveillance, they were directing upon me their reforming "instructional influence", which in practice consisted of deprivation of such or other rights, persecution, discrimination, blackmail, humiliation of my human dignity, etc.

The above again proves the complete disregard and violation of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Pact covering the socio-political rights, and the Helsinki Accords. Therefore, the establishment of administrative surveillance over me is unlawful.

The establishment of administrative surveillance deprives one of various rights. In my case, said deprivation consisted of the following:

1) I was forbidden to travel outside of the boundaries of the village of Pustomyty. In practice, this meant that I was forbidden to visit my seventy-five year old ill father, who lived only 20 kilometers (approximately 15 miles) away, as well as any of my family and friends. In fact, I was deprived of the right to visit all cultural, artistic or theatrical establishments located in Lviv, none existing in Pustomyty, as well as the right to enjoy nature (forests, mountains, rivers), or the right to obtain health- resort medical treatment, etc.;

2) I was forbidden to leave my residence from 9:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m., namely being under house arrest for ten out of every twenty-four hours;

3) I was forbidden to visit any establishments serving hard liquor. As a matter of fact, I use liquor very seldom and in minimal quantities, which fact was known to my "protectors" and "teachers" from the militia and the KGB;

4) Each Wednesday at 6:00 p.m., I was obligated to register at the militia in person. I consider that the aim of such obligation was nothing less than mockery and humiliation of my human dignity.

The militia has broad powers in connection with the imposing of administrative surveillance, which it can use for "instructional influence" on the one being the subject of the surveillance. Article 12 of the Statute states:

"Officer of the militia should systematically oversee the conduct of the persons under administrative surveillance, using all necessary means for their inclusion into socially useful workforce, to distract and divert them from violating the social order and rules of the socialist community life."

During the performance of their duties of administrative surveillance, militia officers have the right to:

a) obtain information about the conduct of the person under surveillance from administrative enterprises, institutions, social organizations, said person's employer, as well as from the friends and acquaintances of said person;

b) summon the person under surveillance for militia interrogations, said interrogations necessarily taking place in the presence of representatives of administrative enterprises, institutions, social organizations, said person's employer, as well as said person's friends and family;

c) demand from the person under surveillance verbal and written explanatory statements in connection with fulfillment of the rules of administrative surveillance;

d) visit at any time the residence of the person under surveillance.

Once again, the above quoted proves that the "instructional influence" by the militia is to be directed only against criminals and those persons inclined toward anti- social conduct, and not against heterodox or dissidents.

Considering the establishment of administrative surveillance over me unlawful and groundless, I appealed to Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor for revocation of the same. Below is the Prosecutor's answer:

"Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor, Lviv Oblast. 292080 village of Pustomyty, 112 Shevchenko Street, October 8, 1976, No. 968:

Citizen Kandyba, Ivan Oleksiyovych, village of Pustomyty, 176 Shevchenko Street.

The Office of Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor reviewed your appeal with reference to revocation of the administrative surveillance over you. The review of your individual case did not reveal any bases for revocation of said administrative surveillance.

*The Office of Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor  
signature — O. F. Bedzyk."*

This is the way my appeal for revocation of the unlawful administrative surveillance over me was “reviewed” — with few empty phrases. No judicial citations were quoted as the basis of “lawfulness” of the established administrative surveillance over me. These are the actions of authorities when they realize their illegality, which is absolutely necessary for power to conquer law.

I did not appeal to higher authorities, anticipating the answers I would receive. There was no way out, nobody to appeal to, and so I reconciled myself with my fate of life in “freedom” under so-called public surveillance. Then, as now, my life was not easy and not without adventures in connection with the conduct of “instructional influence” upon me by the militia and the KGB.

Here are some of the main points of this kind of life:

Above I have already briefly stated my hardships in obtaining a residence visa and quarters. Obtaining work was not any easier. On the date of establishment over me of administrative surveillance, April 1, 1976, I was placed under obligation to find work as soon as possible, said written obligation I was forced to sign. Due to these circumstances, I applied to various judicial organs for a position in my profession. My application was refused, regardless of the provisions of the Labor Code, Article 116, which states:

“Persons, released from punitive institutions, should be provided with employment, if possible, in accordance with their professions . . .”

I was forced to apply at each and every one of the enterprises and organizations of Pustomyty, being refused every time. It seems, the KGB was not tardy in influencing any possible employers. Wherever I went, I was rejected; however, on the other hand, the militia periodically interrogated me in connection with my not obtaining employment, designating for me the time period in which I was to obtain employment and threatening me. This lasted for a month and a half before finally I was employed as an apprentice to a locksmith-repairman of intricate technology, and three months thereafter, became a locksmith-repairman, with a monthly salary of only 70 rubles.

Formally, in the USSR there is no prohibition against anybody being employed in his or her profession, but as a matter of fact, I am being persecuted with such prohibition against dissidents for the last three years.

Here are some facts of the “instructional influence” wielded over me by the militia.

In addition to the above mentioned “instructional influence” of the militia in connection with my obtaining employment, periodically I am visited by the militia in my living quarters. Usually, I am visited by two militiamen or one militiaman with one or two helpers. On November 29, 1977, the militiaman was accompanied by a recently released criminal prisoner, who served as one of the militia helpers. As can be seen, even a criminal has a right to “instructionally influence” me. Militia “instructional influence” in my case manifested itself in the following forms.

On May 24, 1976, I decided to stealthily travel to Lviv to visit my ill father. It seemed to me that I did everything necessary to leave Pustomyty unobserved. However, I was mistaken. After thirty minutes following my leaving of Pustomyty, members of the Pustomyty Detective Service caught up to the bus I was on, stopped it, and ordered me to transfer to their automobile, which returned me to Pustomyty. At the Militia Headquarters, a charge sheet was prepared in connection with my violation of surveillance regime, I was ordered to write a report about my reasons for wishing to visit Lviv, and after a thorough search and confiscation of my notebook, released.



In addition, records of my "violation" of surveillance regime were transmitted to the court and after a few days, Peoples Judge Levchenko fined me in the sum of 10 rubles.

On June 19, 1976, I was stopped on the street and my wallet searched by the Chief of the Detective Service of Pustomyty Militia First Lieutenant Machura, Bohdan Petrowych.

On July 29, 1976, I was visited by Member-Correspondent of Armenian Academy of Science, Yuriy Orlov, with his wife Irena. They were leaving Pustomyty that evening, and I walked them to the main road which runs near my home, about 60 or 70 meters away. When I was returning and was approximately half-way back home, the above mentioned First Lieutenant, Machurad, caught up to me and said: "Kandyba, why are you strolling through Postumyty at night and violating the surveillance regime?" At that time, it was about 9:30 p.m. (I was allowed to remain outdoors only until 9:00 p.m.). He ordered me to accompany him to his automobile, which was parked on the main road, in the exact place where I bid farewell to my friends. I was told to get into the automobile. My guests, Yuriy Orlov and his wife did not have a chance to depart far and heard every word. They returned and informed First Lieutenant Machurad that, if he was taking me away, he should also take them. It seems, that was exactly what he wanted, because he agreed immediately to their proposition. We were taken to the Militia Headquarters. There, firstly, a charge was prepared in connection with my violation of the surveillance regime. Thereafter, all three of us were searched thoroughly, confiscating everything that was handwritten and copying same, including my notations appearing on photographs — my gifts to Yuriy Orlov and his wife Irena. In addition, all three of us separately were required to write a report of explanation. We were allowed to leave about 1:00 a.m. the next day.

This is another example of how thoroughly I am watched and all those who visit me.

As in the prior instance of my "violation" (my attempt to visit my father in Lviv), records of this new "violation" on my part of militia surveillance regime were transmitted to the court, based upon which Peoples Judge Bokova fined me 25 rubles.

The six month period of administrative surveillance over me was to end on October 1, 1976, but on the eve of its completion, namely on September 30, 1976, the militia extended said administrative surveillance for another six months on the basis that I twice "violated" the surveillance regime (my attempt to visit my father in Lviv on May 24th and the time that I was walking my friends Yuriy and Irena Orlov on July 24, 1976), and, therefore, did not "take the road toward improvement", as was written in the Militia Decree of September 30, 1976, in connection with the extension of administrative surveillance over me.

*(to be continued)*

**„Russia — I stand before you, Ancient Dragon, with a naked chest, but unafraid... You cannot overpower me, because I am the Immortal Spirit of Ukraine...!”**

**Oles' Bardnyk, 1979**

# MEMORANDUM

## **To: The non-Communist Signatories of the Helsinki Accords**

In our memorandum to the non-communist participants at the Belgrade Conference we indicated essential contradictions embodied in the FINAL ACT of the Helsinki Accords of August 1, 1975, and their shortcomings. We would appreciate your consideration on some of our present ideas and suggestions.

### **Our principle points of view**

1. The destiny of the SUBJUGATED NATIONS should not be considered either as the INTERNAL MATTER of an empire or any other kind of multi-national state structure created under enforced and false pretences.

2. THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (including its neo-colonial satellite states) is a colonial Russian empire built upon a totalitarian, communist system of socio-economic, — state and —political violence, an order imposed upon the peoples by the use of arms and terror.

3. Neither human nor national rights can ever be realised in a COMMUNIST TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM. Its variant — bolshevism — which is a combination of Marxism and Leninism, unites unnatural Marxism with Russian historical imperialism with its collectivist conception of social order inherent in Russian social fabric and mentality (“Myr” — “Obshchyna”).

4. Not a single empire in the world — even with the existence of parliamentary democracy in the metropolis of that empire — namely in a ruling nation, can guarantee the subjugated nations either human or national rights, as this would bring about the dissolution of the empire.

Not taking into consideration in the FINAL ACT of these four truths has created chaos, as detailed in enclosure no. 1.

## **Factual Confirmation**

The Helsinki Accords neither alleviated the situation of the subjugated nations and people inside the Russian empire — i.e. the USSR, with the presence of Russian occupational armies, nor did they check Russian communist aggression upon ever new countries, although Article V of the Final Act requires “international peace and security”. Even the public monitoring groups such as Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Armenian, Georgian, and others, which cropped up in connection with the initiative of Western circles in order “to promote the implementation of the Helsinki Accords” based on the juridical principles of the Final Act signed by the USSR and its satellite countries, were destroyed by the terrorist bolshevist system, or more precisely by Russian imperialism and communism. In reality the Helsinki Accords became harmful to the national liberation efforts and human rights endeavours of the nations subjugated by bolshevism since they engendered an illusion of a possibility of a common front with the Western signatories of the Final Act who unfortunately displayed their powerlessness in facing the Russian occupants of the subjugated nations and their communist governments which were imposed by the force of Russian overlords.

Despite their signing of the Helsinki Accords the Russian aggressors have occupied Afghanistan and continue their genocidal war against the freedom-loving Afghan nation. Condemnation of the Russian aggression by 104 members of the UN General Assembly, created a further international legal act with which the Free World should link up its actions and not with the outdated so-called inviolability of the empire and its borders. The Russians continue their aggression against the African countries and genocide in S.E. Asia with the aid of their red Vietnamese hench-

men, etc. National and human rights are not, were not and cannot be guaranteed inside the boundaries of the Russian communist empire, nor anywhere where the Russian occupational army has a chance to enter or wherever a communist system could be imposed.

### **Bolshevism benefited from the Helsinki Accords**

In Belgrade, the Western signatories of the Final Act did not succeed in defending any national or human rights of the subjugated nations out of fear that the USSR and its satellites would leave the Conference. Exactly at the same time as demands were being made to respect Articles VII & VIII, and the entire Basket Three, Russia passed sentence on Ukrainian freedom-fighters for national and human rights — lawyer Levko Lukianenko, Oleksa Tykhyj, and others to 15 years imprisonment. Now before the Madrid Conference exactly the same has repeated itself. Completely disregarding the Final Act, Russians sentence and even murder priests, cultural activists e.g. composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk, not mentioning the murders of nationalists (OUN) — fighters for national and human rights.

Without concluding a peace treaty the Russian totalitarian empire by Articles I, II, III, IV, VI of the Final Act achieved legal, and in fact recognition by Western governments of the inviolability of the empire, its up to date conquests, sanctity of its borders, including its satellite countries, non-interference in the “internal matters” which means that the West illegally enlisted the SUBJUGATED NATIONS — the most revolutionary force of the present freedom-loving world, into the internal order of the empire.

Articles VII, VIII and Basket Three turned out to be ineffective as confronted with Articles III, IV, VI, since the West proved to be unable to enforce the realisation of these, although a whole range of

possibilities is available to achieve that end. Starting with an economic blockade which would include the withdrawal of every kind of technology, electronics and grain supply, up to the political isolation of the Russian empire, especially combined with the support granted to the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations which disrupt the empire from within as is evidenced in Poland, Afghanistan, and by the growth of the revolutionary potential in Ukraine, Turkestan, Lithuania, Byelorussia, the Caucasian nations — Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, N. Caucasus, Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Latvia, Estonia, East Germany, and other nations.

Therefore, while there is a lack of counteraction on the part of the Western signatories of the Final Act, the Russian empire — the USSR — reaps all the benefits from the factual concessions made by the West in Belgrade, at present in Afghanistan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Latin America, Africa and even Iran.

### **The illegality of some of the Helsinki Accords in view of the international law**

Today the signatories of the Final Act are bound by some legal acts that by their nature constitute a new international law which contradict some accords of the Helsinki Final Act such as recognition of the inviolability of the Russian colonial empire. These acts are the Declaration of the UN General Assembly of Dec. 14, 1960 in regard to the decolonization and granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, of the General Assembly of Dec. 6, 1971, the Resolution of Dec. 13, 1976 and the Resolution of Dec. 20, 1976 in reference to Namibia, all of the above should be applied to the complex of the Russian colonial empire.

Also the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and International Covenants on Human Rights are being violated by

Articles III, IV & VI of the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords. When the UN applies anti-imperial and anti-colonial decrees, passed by a majority or all the UN members, to nations without previous state traditions, then the ascribing of neo-colonial status to numerous nations in Europe and Asia with thousand year-old traditions and huge contributions to world culture is not only a contradiction to international legal acts of new world order to be built on the ruins of empires, but also to natural law and God's law with which every nation and each human being has been endowed, namely the right to a free and national state independence. Yet to Ukraine, Poland, Georgia, Armenia, East Germany, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechia, Slovakia, Afghanistan, and other nations of Europe and Asia was assigned in Helsinki the neo-colonial status while discarding the grand cultural and national traditions of the Occident.

The well-known articles of the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords also contradict Public Law no. 86—90 of the US Congress of July 17, 1959, in regard to the SUBJUGATED NATIONS by which the US parliament unanimously declared its obligation to support the liberation fight of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, stating the necessity of the re-establishment of national independence and freedom to Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Latvia, Byelorussia, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, East Germany, and to other subjugated nations.

#### **Against the will of the wardens of the prison of nations**

However, irrespective of all the existing acts that are legal under international law confirming our aims and struggle, in the last analysis the decisive factor is our very

own will to fight and live freely under our own independent statehood, the will to destroy the Russian empire — the USSR and the communist system, having established on its ruins our own independent, national democratic states within their ethnographic boundaries, regardless of whether or not the West shall continue to preserve the Russian empire and the bankrupt communist system or will take measures to meet our aspirations for freedom.

Afghanistan and Poland have once again confirmed that our political conception is correct: unity of national liberation and religious ideas, unity of national and social revolutions. A common front of the subjugated nations and simultaneously coordinated national revolutionary upheavals of the subjugated nations will dissolve the empire from within and liquidate the dilapidated communist system, in which no one now believes, including the bearers in the Kremlin. The communist system marches ahead with its brutal Russian imperialism, hand in hand with chauvinism and racism towards the conquests of the entire world. The USSR — a prison of nations and people, is a colossus on clay feet! It is being rescued by the West by means of economic, technological and electronic aid, the supply of grain and by arming it, to its own disadvantage and doom! The strength of bolshevism lies in the ideological, moral and political weaknesses of the West, in the lack of the political will to fight against the degenerated dilapidating yet aggressive bolshevism, which mobilises the Russian through messianism, chauvinism and racism, and with the idea of conquest by perpetual new wars.

#### **Our suggestions**

In view of the dismal acts committed by the Russian government, the communist party of the USSR, the KGB, of nation-, geno-, ethno-, culture-, and linguicide, the

ruthless russification of the subjugated nations, the killing of priests and believers of the Christian, Islam, Jewish and other religions, cultural workers, especially fighters for national independence and human rights, the throwing of fighters for freedom and independence into concentration camps, prisons and psychiatric wards, among whom are members of the Helsinki Groups in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, and other countries, the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its banishment to the catacombs, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Baptist and Evangelical Churches, and other crimes against the idea of national independence and human rights, for the violation of the Basket Three resolutions, in particular Articles VII and VIII, the UN Charter, the Declaration on Decolonisation of 1960, and all other international legal acts including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and International Covenants on Human Rights: —

— In view of the latest aggression in Afghanistan and due to the genocide practised there, we propose the following to the non-communist signatories of the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords:

a. to state that the accords are null and void regarding the recognition of the status quo of the Russian conquests, the nonviolability of the Russian empire, its borders and the obligations by the West not to interfere in the so-called “internal matters” of the Russian empire, (for the subjugated nations in the empire, whose population constitutes a majority, are not the “internal matter” of the empire) and in consequence to the above-mentioned UN Declarations to:

b. “Reaffirm the inalienable right of the peoples subjugated in the USSR to self-determination, freedom and national independence as laid down by 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.

c. Support the armed struggle of the nations subjugated in the USSR to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence.

d. Appeal to all Member States of the United Nations to grant all necessary support and assistance to Ukraine, Latvia, Georgia, North Caucasus, Bulgaria, Poland, Turkestan, Lithuania, Armenia, Estonia, Byelorussia, and other nations colonized by Russia in the USSR and satellite countries in their struggle to achieve national independence and freedom”.

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, then Ukraine, a nation of 53 million with a 1000 year-old tradition of statehood and civilization and Turkestan, Georgia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Slovakia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Hungary, Czechia, having been fighting for its independence for centuries are claiming the same right for them.

Therefore, we urge the Western powers, in view of the UN Charter signed by them, in view of the above-mentioned Declarations regarding the decolonization and in the light of Articles VII & VIII and Basket Three of the Helsinki Act, to take legal, political, economic and, if necessary, all other steps (similarly to that what 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, the release of national, political and religious prisoners, in particular to cease the murders of political, cultural and religious activists and fighters for national and human rights, 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 all enslaved nations in the USSR and satellite countries and thus enable them to restore their national independence and democratic order.*

We appeal to the free nations that they replace their policy of detente and balance of power which brought unwarranted results for the interests of the West, and was detrimental to the struggle for the liberation of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism by the policy of liberation.

We appeal to all countries of the Free World, to hasten with military and all other aid to the heroic Afghanistan in order to bring about the expulsion of Russian occupational armies from Afghanistan and to strengthen the national liberation holy struggle of not only Islamic nations subjugated in the USSR but of all the nations subjugated by Bolshevism in the USSR and the so-called satellite countries, i.e. Christian, Moslem, Buddhist, Jews, for the dissolution of the Bolshevik atheist empire into national independent democratic sovereign states!

We appeal to the governments of the free nations to include as an integral part of their policy towards the last remaining empire in the world — the USSR, the national liberation of the peoples subjugated in the Russian colonial empire and the restoration of their national independence and sovereignty.

We remind that the new USSR Constitution includes as a constitutional obligation the aggressive wars of the empire under

the name of active all-round support to the so-called national liberation movements and social revolts (“proletarian internationalism”).)

We ask for steps to be taken to halt the enforced russification which is composed of linguicide, culture-, ethno-, geno-, and finally natio-cide, which is being performed through the mixing of peoples, forceful deportations from the native countries, colonization by Russians of the subjugated nations.

Russification is the crime against the universal culture of mankind, its barbarization, because it aims at the destruction of the mosaic of national cultures which guarantee the progress and development of world culture.

We appeal to the parliaments of free nations in the world to accredit the citizenship to the political and religious prisoners of the subjugated nations seeking it, changing if necessary their own constitution for this purpose, or other, such as the possibility to carry out a psychological or other type of political liberation war, similarly as Moscow did in the last constitution.

The ABN states that without the realisation of national rights — namely national independence of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism — it will be impossible to realise human rights, fundamental freedoms and social justice in the subjugated countries.

To place the government of the USSR on trial before the International Tribunal in Hague for their crimes of genocide, aggressive wars and oppression of more and more new countries.

We appeal to all free nations to develop a wide psychological and political war against the Russian empire and against Communist tyranny, to stop economical and technological help, to stop the policy of detente and instead to support the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations which are disintegrating the empire and Communism from within, and

thus represent the possible alternative to nuclear war.

Respectfully yours,

For the Central Committee:

*Yaroslav Stetsko, President  
(Ukraine)*

*Veli Kojum-Khan, President  
Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan)  
National Turkestanian Unity Committee*

*Dr. Ante Bonifacic (Croatia)  
Croatian National Liberation Committee*

*Dr. D. Waltscheff (Bulgaria)  
Political Committee of the ABN  
Former Secretary of State  
Bulgarian National Front*

*H. Kassajep (N. Caucasus)  
North Caucasian National Committee*

*Col. D. Kosmowicz (Byelorussia)  
President, Byelorussian Liberation Front  
Representative of the Byelorussian  
Central Council*

*Basil Mailat (Rumania)  
Secretary-General of the ABN  
Former Mayor of Bucharest*

*Dr. M. Ausala (Latvia)  
Latvian National Council*

*L. M. Pokorny (Slovakia)  
Slovak Liberation Committee*

*Adelaida Lemberg (Estonia)  
Estonian Information Centre*

*Josef Kairis (Lithuania)  
Lithuanian Christian Democratic Union  
Lithuanian Christian Federation of  
Workers*

## **The Situation in Ukraine and Ukrainian Helsinki Group in Kyiv**

Once again, five years after the signing of the Helsinki Accords, the problem of Ukraine and the subjugated nations in the USSR confronts the free-world signatories of the Final Act. Once again the Western nations must decide on a policy concerning the legitimate rights of millions of people to live freely and safely within their own national boundaries and to have their rights of national independence restored to them. To this end, there have been established in the USSR several Helsinki watch-groups in individual non-Russian nations to inform the signatory nations and the world at large about the violation of human and national rights in the USSR. One such watch-group is the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

### **Ukraine and the Helsinki Accords**

The Kyiv Helsinki Group was formed in late 1976 for two immediate reasons:

1. *The absence of independent Ukraine, represented by Ukrainian National-Liberation Movement (similarly as PLO in the UN) at the Helsinki Conference.* The Kyiv Group considered the absence of Ukraine, a nation of 50 million people, twice ravaged by the bloodiest wars in history, to be illegal and tending to undermine the moral and practical force of the accords.

2. *The linking of universal ideas of national and human rights to the situation in Ukraine.* Implementation of the Final Act must be guaranteed by the participation of Ukraine and by bringing to world attention violation of human and national rights in Ukraine and the present status of the Ukrainian nation.

In subsequent statements and declarations the Kyiv Helsinki Group noted that the question of national rights was at the heart of the problem confronting the Ukrainian people and that the formation of the Group was one more event in the

Ukrainian liberation movement at the present time.

**National Rights and the Right  
of Peoples to Self-Determination i.e.  
National Independence**

In linking the question of Ukrainian national rights to the Helsinki Accord implementations, the Kyiv Helsinki Group acted in the best tradition of Western liberal thought, as embodied in the governing principles of such organizations as the UN and as reflected in world-wide ideals of political democracy in the 20th century.

**National Independence**

These ideals recognise the nation-state as the basis of world just order and the nation as the context within which the individual enjoys political, economic and civil rights. In accord with the ideal of self-determination people assert their claim to a distinctive nationality, entitling them to live their own life in their own fashion. Thus self-determination leads to the demand for a sovereign state whose purpose is to promote and protect the identity and interests of the nation in whose name it was called into being. This principle is clearly enunciated by the Kyiv Helsinki Group which, in the fourth issue of its *Information Bulletin*, states that the defence of human rights without the defence of national rights is "without any foundation". "The Ukrainian group in defence of rights should defend the right of the nation to its unique development, a right without which it is not possible to struggle successfully for individual and social freedom."

**Colonialism**

In the 20th century self-determination has led to the decline of colonial empires and the rise of democratic ideals, but the benefits of self-determination have not been extended to all peoples. Specifically and most flagrantly, they have not been extended to the subjugated nations in the USSR. The UN defines a colony as a

"non-self-governing territory," that is, any territory in which the general conditions of life are fixed for the whole population by a people different from the local one in culture, history, beliefs or racial origin. Such a definition properly applies to Moscow and the Russian exercise of power over Ukraine and other nations within the multi-national Soviet state.

The UN, on whose Universal Declaration of Human Rights some articles of the Final Act are based, unequivocally supports the rights of peoples to complete freedom and the exercise of their sovereignty and integrity of their national territories. This right has been confirmed in a series of UN acts and documents, including the Declaration of December 14, 1960, the General Assembly Resolution of December 6, 1971, and the Resolution of December 30, 1976. These positions are also upheld by Principle 8, Basket I of the Helsinki Final Act, which states: —

By virtue of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, all peoples always have the right, in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wish their internal and external interference, and to pursue as they wish their political, economic, social and cultural development.

In light of this principle, the colonial status of Ukraine and the resulting violations of human rights there cannot be overlooked at the Madrid Conference.

**The Basis of Ukraine's Right  
to National Self-Determination i.e.  
Independence**

Ukraine's right to self-determination rests on the reality of two historical facts: its *de facto* existence as a separate national entity and its traditional aspiration for national sovereignty and independence.

The first has subjected Ukraine to denationalization and russification policies of Moscow, who sees its distinctive nationality as a bar to the creation of an ideologically and socially homogenous state



bent on world expansionism. The second has resulted in continuous Ukrainian resistance to all forms of coercion and has led to the physical destruction of millions of Ukrainians on a scale unprecedented even in the 20th century. The right of Ukraine's demands for self-determination has been amply underlined by its modern-day struggle for national independence, of which the salient points are the following:

— The formation of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1918 and its subsequent defeat by the Russian Red Army, leading to its incorporation in the USSR.

— The proclamation of independence on June 30, 1941 against Germany and Russia.

— The struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) against the Russian and German occupation forces from 1941 to 1945, and its continuance against the Russians well into the 1950's.

— The continuous revolutionary struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) for freedom and independence until the present day.

— The uprisings of Ukrainians in Russian concentration camps in the 1950's, the resistance to russification in the 60's and 70's and the formation of various rights groups to alert the free world to Ukraine's plight and promote its independence.

#### **What are National Rights?**

Kyiv Helsinki Group members and many other Ukrainian rights activists have de-

lined Ukraine's colonial status in their appeals to the free world and the UN. This status, arising from Ukraine's subjection to Russian colonial rule and its attendant violations of human rights, results from the following: —

1. Ukraine does not direct its political affairs or conduct an independent national or foreign policy.

2. Ukraine has no national army, no national financial or monetary system, and no foreign representatives or diplomatic corps.

3. Ukraine is deprived of the right to develop its national resources; it has no possibility of developing foreign trade or of controlling its own economy for the benefit of its people.

4. Ukraine has no voice in its cultural life. All aspects of culture are under strict control by Moscow, which has instituted a policy of cultural genocide with the eventual goal of russifying the Ukrainian population in order to more easily exploit it and further Russian global power.

Such violation of the fundamental rights of the Ukrainian people cannot be ignored by the Madrid Conference, but must be addressed openly and firmly.

#### **The Madrid Conference and Western Policy**

The Free World can continue to ignore the national and human rights violations in Ukraine and the other subjugated nations within the USSR and confine itself

**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**

merely to the ritualistic evasions of the past. Two aspects of the European and world situation, however, suggest a change.

First, the Russian invasion of Afghanistan has changed the significance of the Helsinki Accords. The Western world is again confronted with an upsurge of Russian expansionism which threatens USA and European interests and world stability. To counteract this threat, the Western powers must put pressure on Moscow and expose its internal pitfalls in order to weaken its propagandistic pretensions abroad and sustain non-Russian forces of dissent internally. So long as the situation in Ukraine is ignored by Western policy, Moscow is given that much more freedom to channel its energies outward and exploit the weaknesses of the West rather than face those of its own.

Second, experience has shown that the demands of the Ukrainian people for national independence will not disappear or be silenced, either by Russian colonial repression or by the indifference of the West. History shows that Ukrainians will use every opportunity provided them — from internal situations in the USSR to international pacts and agencies such as Helsinki and the UN — to claim their right to an independent membership in the world community of nations. This process will intensify and will always be a source of instability to the existence of an artificially created and sustained "Soviet state". Thus Moscow's foreign policy of expansionism is organically linked to its attempt to control a multinational population and to secure the borders of its empire against the "threat" of foreign influence and "contamination". The exposure of the nature of the Soviet Union as a Russian colonial empire is thus necessary to check Moscow's aggressiveness and its claims as a defender of national liberation in the third world.

### **Recommended Action at the Madrid Conference**

The Helsinki Accords did not originate in a vacuum but were the result of Russian hegemony in Eastern Europe and Russian domination over a multi-national empire in the USSR. As long as this domination continues, there will be more Afghanistans and more threats to the well-being and stability of the world. The Helsinki Accords must, therefore, serve as a reminder to the world of the nature of the USSR and of the Russian threat to world peace. The Madrid conference should, therefore, take the following steps in an effort to focus on the root causes of violations of the Accords in the USSR;

1. In response to the request of the Kyiv Helsinki Group members and other prominent human rights activists in Ukraine, Western delegates should bring up the question of Ukraine's colonial status and its desire for national independence in accordance with the equal rights and self-determination principle on Basket 1 of the Helsinki Final Act.

2. The delegates to Madrid should highlight violations of human rights in Ukraine, and in the USSR as a whole, *from a national perspective*. The murder of Volodymyr Ivasiuk or the incarceration of Lew Lukianenko should be seen as a concerted and planned attack on the Ukrainian nation and not just as individual instances of human rights violations in the context of a monolithic, nationally homogenous state.

3. The delegates to Madrid must give equal time to instances of human rights violations in the several subjugated nations in the USSR. They must avoid mentioning only the usual well-publicised cases in Western news media which ignore the equally tragic and important cases in the non-Russian nations. Thus, various sources in the USSR indicate that Ukrainians make up the majority of the political prisoner population in Soviet concentration camps, yet Ukrainian political prisoners receive

# THE FRONTIERS OF CULTURE

(CONTINUATION)

## The Realisation of the Politics of Ethnocide

The politics of ethnocide were actively put into practice by the Bolshevik regime at the end of the 1920's, and in the 1930's and 1948's ethnocide was introduced a permanent process by hegemonist politics, and was then transformed into an unprecedented and brutal mass genocide. The only analogous situation of this is the destruction of Jews by the Germans during the Second World War. Both the Russian and German regimes have to account for tens of millions of deaths. In both their practice and nature, the two regimes are as alike as "two drops of water", with Bolshevism being the "inventor" of planned forced famines that killed millions of people in a vast territory. It deserves a "patent" for its constantly active dense network of concentration camps with their exhausting and dystrophic deaths — all in the name of "socialism". The Nazis borrowed the idea of the concentration camp system from "a good neighbour" and added their own "discovery" — the gas chambers. Is this

not a striking example showing the identical nature of the two regimes?

In the 1950's and 1960's the strategists of imperial politics, taking account of the international situation, the military might of the empire and the mercentile needs of the economy drew the conclusion that the internal ambitions set for the 1930's and 1940's had been achieved and that mass assimilation in the existing conditions was the optimal variant available to enable them to perpetuate the established policies. They set themselves the aims of eliminating the existing nations within the ensuing ten years. And as this cynical exploitation brought its results, it served as a demonstration to the world of the might of the regime and showed that it did not fear reprisals, and for more than ten years the black hand of death swept our nation intoning the requiem "one united Soviet nation" Even more tragedies could await us in the future, but let us turn our attention now to the present reality — a reality that ensued after more than two decades of ethnocide and the significance of this for

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→ little attention in the West and no attention in Helsinki review conferences.

4. The delegates to Madrid must take the opportunity of linking the invasion of Afghanistan to the situation in Ukraine and, in this way, show the continuity and progressive danger of Russian imperialist expansion to world peace. The invasion of Afghanistan began with the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 1917—1920. If Afghan resistance is crushed, then Afghanistan will become a *de facto* Soviet republic whose destiny will be intertwined with that of Ukraine, the Baltic States, and other subjugated nations in the USSR. The realization of the colonial nature of the USSR will do much to educate governments and peoples of the West and put

Western powers in position of initiative vis-a-vis the Russian expansionist drive.

5. The delegates to Madrid must link Moscow's compliance with the provisions of the Helsinki Accords to any normalization of their governments' trade, cultural, or political relations with the USSR. Moscow must be made aware that it will be held accountable as a signatory of a politically binding agreement.

6. The delegates to Madrid should work closely with the representatives of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement i.e. the OUN, in order to formulate and coordinate a just and meaningful conference in terms of policy statements and future reviews by Western governments and representatives.

the empire. The destruction of the nation, the resettlement of huge sections of non-Russian populations from their ethnic lands to the territories of the metropolis and to other regions of the empire, their enforced merger and the enforced concomitant Russification of the settler in difficult conditions, the enforced assimilation of ethnic populations on their ethnic territories through educational establishments, the press, publishing houses, Russian control of industry, the army, the organised influx of a Russian population and their privileged positions on the territories of the captive nations, the predominance and penetration of great-nation chauvinism in every branch of national life and its huge army of informers, spies, the KGB state apparatus with its absolute control, limitless powers, insane repressions and provocations — this all forms the complex of methods available in the arsenal of the political strategists implementing the policies of ethnocide — and this list is by no means complete. The means of ethnocide are total in nature and are used by propagandistic demagogy to deceive the masses, and provides the ideology for export in the guise of “internationalism”. The mechanism of these policies is extremely complex. Their technology and implementation have many levels. In the instituted industry of deceiving the nations, two vectors can be distinguished. The primary objective of the traditional and historic interests inherited from czarism, was the assimilation of the elites and intelligentsias of the suppressed nations, of their most talented creators and the bearers of culture that exist in each branch of human activity. It was and is intended to deceive, assimilate and absorb the gifted, the youth, great scholars and philosophers, political and social activists and organisers, talented writers and artists, prominent cultural representatives, academics and economists into the culture of the ruling nation, and thus make them serve the occupier. Should they not willingly do this, but

instead declare their patriotism, the ruling nation tried and tries to neutralise them, deprive them of the opportunity of manifesting themselves, silencing their talents and crippling man’s and man’s family’s fate. Should this not succeed and should there be any opposition or resistance then they are discredited, deformed, repressed or physically destroyed. These are some of the methods that Moscow uses against each successive generation of the elites of the captive nations, methods which were inherited from czarism.

In order to consider the effect (identical for all the nations within the boundaries of the empire) on the behavioural patterns of the elites one has to consider the effect of the complex conditions of a protracted colonial occupation with a single minded programme of ethnocide conducted against a background of constant pogroms, suppression, brutal mass repressions that result in a peculiar national memory of the psychological terror experienced by successive generations, and which first affects the enlightened and socially active strata of the population. This has the result of one group of people terrorising another and stimulating fear and deception, in which process the elite is either totally or least partially ridiculed and assimilated. Living with the permanent possibility of repressions collaboration, the loss of the national “ego”, virtual unemployment, total neglect, results in the loss of many talents, intellectuals, creators and bearers of national cultures that flow into the ruling culture and resettling in the metropolis. In order to avoid potential terrorisation and in order to realise oneself as an individual (although in the final account — despite their predominance, talents or professionalism, the majority of international activists, and in particular politicians, administrators, militarists and ideologists — due to Moscow’s mistrust towards “national minorities” and because of the ruling Russian ethnocentrism, are relegated to secondary posi-

tions and the backyards of history) one has to serve the imperial state machinery and the culture of the hegemonist. Thus numerous, highly talented representatives or potential representatives of all branches of human activity consciously transfer their allegiance to the hegemonist. The practice of physical or cultural genocide is dependent on the internal and external political position of the empire at any given time. The strength of the opposition of the captive nations thus demands "optimal" methods be used to repress them, and demonstrate the stability and certainty of the hegemonist of avoiding any external reprisals and also proves its need for the economic and human resources provided by the captive nations, and is proof of the absolute chauvinism and sadism of the fractionist clique that usurped the regime and subordinated the general imperial party bureaucratic oligarchy while depending on genocide or ethnocide or both to maintain their power. Despite the means of physical destruction or mass elimination, they undoubtedly produce the desired results for the occupier. Firstly, they actively strengthen its position in the occupied territories and also introduces some degree of its own culture. Secondly, they greatly increase their genetic arsenal by assimilating future generations and the general population. Thirdly, they cause the captive nation to be drained of its life blood and it is thus unable to deviate and it loses its ability to oppose and fight for its freedom, and is deprived of its cultural development. Also the actual population of such a nation declines rapidly. Does not the following speak for itself: at the beginning of the twentieth century there were 35 million Ukrainians. Today there is the same number while in the same period of time the Russian population has almost doubled and there are almost 120 million of them, with 15 million of them constituting the Fifth Column that tramples Ukraine's culture underfoot, that almost completely occupies

our towns, Russifies them. And with the majority of them belonging to the party administrative apparatus they are able to usurp each sphere of human activity. However millions of Ukrainians fulfill an analogous function beyond the frontiers of Ukraine. They are assimilated themselves and realise the policies of the occupier by assimilating other nations. Divide et impera — (divide and rule) as the Romans used to say.

### **The Sapping of Ukraine's Creative Potential**

The creative potential of our nation is drained of its life-blood to such an extent, that to take literature as an example, no literary phenomenon have arisen for a long period, while the Union of Writers of Ukraine does not fill its ranks with truly talented authors and the creative individuals that are demanded by elementary progress. Instead many of its members are Russian cultural workers while many talented Ukrainians, undesired by the regime, try to survive outside the Union, which virtually means that they are deprived of the right to have their works published. The Union of Writers is an organisation totally subordinated to the party bureaucracy as a branch of the state machine that controls the arts, ideology and propaganda, and which without a doubt functions efficiently. It does have some talented people in its ranks — people who, although are sincerely interested in the development of national culture, have their hands tied. Thus the basic membership of the Union — as a result of the loss of talents and for propagandistic and political reasons — primarily consists of artisan "literateurs", people from the so-called literary circles and the propagandistic apparatus of "literature" but who are people very distant from true literature, and indeed have nothing in common with it. But because of the established "regulations" governing the Union anyone who is "ideologically

sound”, is not recognised as a “dissident” by the KGB, who has the right recommendations from the party organs and who has published one or two books can become a member. Although the literary value of publications is taken into account when membership is being considered, it is by no means the essential criterion. Unconditional apologetics of the ruling ideology is the first criterion demanded of an author and then this is followed by the “value” of his publication. Often membership is directly supervised by the orders of the party apparatus, the KGB and its literary agents in the regional and central branches of the Union, by publishers, protegy “pupils” and such members are accepted after the “publication of one or two literary ‘mayflies’”. The vast majority of the Union’s members do not produce anything worthwhile and as a rule do not rise above average while they are in the confines of their professed ideology. Further the perpetrators of imperial politics entrust administrative posts within the Union to party-literary functionaries who faithfully serve the propagandistic requirements of the imperial regime. Indeed they are entrusted with the function of realising and controlling the literary-artistic process and are responsible for its external and internal development, and for the stimulation and mood of the creative intelligentsia. In these very technical methods used by the totalitarian regime, these functionaries play a vital role. Firstly they provide support for the regime, and as they are an organic part of it, they provide necessary new ideas and methods or controlling culture, ideology, propaganda and the administrative apparatus. Secondly the members that are formally accepted by the Union are of such a level that they create a vacuum of talents in the culture of the captive nation, which further crushes the nation and drains it of its life forces. Also the work of the Union, the work of the “literateurs” and their “production” acts as good camouflage for the

official thesis of the “blossoming and development” of national literature (including culture and art). An analogous situation exists within the technical cadres, which serves to emphasise the leading role played by the regime in all artistic unions and all cultural institutions. But such organisation and its effect are not limited to the spheres of art and culture — they are used as an effective narcotic means for deceiving the masses and are intended to produce conformity and weakness within the captive nations, and thus to induce their decay. Thirdly the Union of Writers as an organisation of cultural workers is permeated with people of a similar calibre and level, and thus it becomes the foremost conformist by virtue of its composition. In as far as the Union is completely dependent on the bureaucratic apparatus and in as much as each “member” is conscious and well aware of his low creative ability, he is also aware of the favours he owes to his “literary patrons” and thus fulfills his wishes, and who on the orders of the party or Moscow’s “leaders” baits active patriots, talented literateurs and artists with an original style, with a Ukrainian patriotic soul or with avant-garde tendencies. Talented and recalcitrant creators are psychologically broken, their creative work is slandered at secret or semi-open meetings. Their books are not reviewed, nothing is mentioned about them themselves although the press and periodicals maliciously mutilate the essence of their creativity. The most holy of values are profaned and the talents and lives of true artists are ruined. The subject of these assaults either breaks, “recants” and although he has not committed any crime, he pleads for forgiveness. In this way outstanding national activists with great talents are transformed into frightened, ingratiating and insignificant figures. They become psychological and creative chameleons who assimilate and merge with the grey uniformity of the general masses, and produce analogical “li-

terature", that shows no trace of their former talent. If such individuals withstand and do not break under this pressure, then they completely vanish from the literary and artistic scenes. Their works are not published, they are not read and their talents are lost for whole decades (often forever). They are frozen out of literary or artistic processes, decay and are lost from our culture completely. When an artist opposes (this is particularly in reference to the role played by the samvydav in the last decade), he remains a true son of his nation. However he is accused of anti-state activity and the KGB prepares a case against him and confines him to concentration camps for long years. This is just one method which causes Ukrainian culture to suffer irreplaceable losses, with the creations and creators dying or ridiculed as were the works of Opanas Zalyvakha, Vasyly Stus, Stefania Shabatura and many others. This merely serves as a brief description of the true picture of the existing state of life and the conditions within the spheres of human activity. The full effect on the lives and works on the creative intelligentsia presents an impenetrable wall. The repressive, single minded totalitarian nature of the regime controls everything — mutual relations, administrative organs, schools, industry and production, academic establishments and the creative unions. This oppressive nature and destructive mechanism is felt by the teacher and bookkeeper, engineer and student, scholar and philosopher. Further the strategists of Moscow's policies fully understand the mobilising power of art and in particular of the written word, the authority and the social weight carried by literateurs and they have thus been placed under special surveillance, total control and systematic pressure — which affects each creative individual — the writer, artist, academic, journalist, social scientist.

It is important to note that the process of draining the life force of great and

living nations — despite the total and constant existence of various means of repression, manipulation, assimilation, resettlement — can only be enforced for a given length of time. If the coefficient of the creative potential of the creative nation is high, its culture, even if on a lower level, shall continue to function through the contribution of its creators. As a rule, the majority of these save the nation from national annihilation. They are the source that renews the culture of each nation — including ours. The heirs of the national elites, the intelligentsia and their descendants could raise the level of Ukrainian culture to a higher plane through their genetic inheritance and through knowledge of world culture gained from national activists, diplomats, scholars and cultural workers, economists and traders, the work of specialised institutions, translated world literature and the organically assimilated world culture by our own, through mutual exchanges and friendships with other nations, and thus lead to the true development and blossoming of Ukrainian culture. However, we do not have such an intelligentsia: it has either been destroyed or assimilated by the occupier. This is why today our culture merely functions and is preserved by one source — the national lower classes, and in particular, by the peasantry (in perspective, the elites — historically assimilated by czarism — are the main source of the regeneration of Ukrainian culture, its decisive strength, gives the high coefficient of the creative potential of the nation, raises above the uniformity of the national masses. And a significant number of the national elite has been able to withstand the repressions and assimilation and are the representatives of the spirit of Ukraine. In essence this is not the culture of the national state because the nation is not a super-nation nor an imperial chauvinist, nor, given the existing historical conditions, is it elitist. Given the level of development of Ukrainian culture,

it is a culture on a European level, but it is also a national culture permeated with the spirit of pure and holy nationalism — the alpha and omega of a nation — and the essence of each nation, its balwark and strength, its invincible power in its struggle for independence and sovereignty).

Thus given that the process of draining the life forces of great and viable nations can only be implemented for a given period of time, each successive generation produces a substantial number of national cultural workers despite repressions, pressure, assimilation. But in the extremely complicated and difficult conditions presented by the fact of colonial repression, the conditions for the life and work of each individual, his talent and courage are dependent on the conditions in which he is formed and his personal ambitions. The creators and bearers of national culture — in each of its component branches — language, literature, enlightenment, art, history, science, production and religion — in creating or safeguarding, are members of different communities, social groups and thus have different ambitions and methods. The division into strata, social groups, parties, tendencies, professional and international organisations is an inherent fact for each sovereign nation, or these strata can even be dependent on them, i.e. such divisions are subordinate to a nation with democratic forms of government. Our Ukrainian nation, and all the nations of the empire save the Russian nation, are faced with particularly difficult conditions of existence. Total centralisation — taken to an extreme — leads to the total control of social life and the liquidation of the most elementary rights of man by the totalitarian regime means that the creative intelligentsia can only be united through official bureaucratic organisations, unions, institutions and societies. However (and often with great solidarity) they are often clandestine members of different groups and make important contributions to the

national culture (even though some are negative).

Externally and in relation to the national idea, they appear to have many different concepts. They do not have rigidly defined organisations with precisely formulated programmes, or principles and disciplined rules of behaviour. The transfer of individuals from one group to another internal “migration” — is common, and often despairing cosmopolitans join them openly declaring their opposition, while former patriots, suffocated by the repressions, join the ranks of renegades and collaborators. Despite all these fluctuations, when one considers the constructive (or destructive) effects on national culture, each of these groups does have its own specific directions. It is obvious that each has its own approach, intentions and most importantly each has its own methods (an important recent development). This provides the basis for the development of a more active and larger opposition movement or it at least provides a source and hope for the regeneration of national devotion, and the potential of retaining and developing our true national traditions, the spirit of the nation and the forms of its ethnocultural activity. And although the present situation in Ukraine is difficult, and although the Ukrainian nation is being pushed towards the position of a “nation on the frontiers of culture”, these new developments provide the means of rescuing it from this fate. The establishment of the Groups to Monitor the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords by the Ukrainian opposition is a vital step in this direction and an important step forward. Now it is hoped to “activise the endeavours, to unify the various groups and to implement wider co-operation than exists at present in Ukraine and to organise an opposition against the ruling nation”. Although analogous attempts have been made before, this new development demands our utmost attention and cannot be ignored. It is



extremely important and with its perspectives of establishing a new uprising, its progressive intentions and methods of work, it represents a real achievement for the struggle for life and the freedom of the nation. It presents an exceptionally complex problem that demands the efforts of many people, many preparations, many developments and it demands a precise assessment of the existing situation — which is impossible to make in the conditions of a prison. Thus these observations are intended to raise a series of questions (not always clearly formulated for tactical reasons) and their brief discussion, and to present an incomplete, but objective picture of the true state of our present national social life and the position of Ukrainian culture. In the certainty that these ques-

tions are being dealt with in Ukraine or at least are being discussed and partly resolved, we have only presented the actual questions very superficially — that are actually tasks to be fulfilled, and present them to the generation that is infusing the movement as the start of a “relay race”. Let us hope that they have inherited all that we have achieved, that we have prepared a firm foundation, firm methods and structures for them to work with, and that they shall thus be able to rise higher than we are able, and not begin from the beginning, which as a result of unfavourable historical conditions, our generation was forced to do.

(To be continued)

*Translated from Ukrainian  
by Lessia Dyakivska*



*ABN demonstration in Madrid, Nov. 12, 1980, due to the opening of the CSCE Conference. In the forefront, L-R: Mr. W. Pastuschuk, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko (ABN President).*

## L E T T E R

### To the Delegations of the Western Nations to the Madrid Conference on the Review of the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act on Security and Co-operation in Europe of August 1, 1975, starting November 11, 1980.

I am honoured to address you on behalf of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, active in the underground in Ukraine. When you will review together with all the other Delegations the implementation of the Final Act of August 1, 1975, I would like to propose to consider the following facts:

Ukraine is a country colonially enslaved by the Communist Russia since 1920 as the result of aggression and military conquest. Eighty per cent of Ukrainian territory was forcefully incorporated into the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922. All the time since then the Ukrainian people were manifesting their resolution to throw away Russian colonial domination and to regain its lost national independence. Hundreds of thousands have died in the national liberation war.

The Final Act of August 1, 1975, concluded at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe at Helsinki, Finland, was a significant achievement of Russian diplomacy; Western signatory states recognized de facto Russian imperialistic and colonialist conquests, outlined in the "Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States" (Final Act of the Helsinki Conference). In support of our contention we are bringing to your attention the following documents:

1) The Ukrainian underground movement (OUN) expressed its protest against the Final Act agreed upon in Helsinki through its spokesmen in co-operation with similar liberation movements of Lithuania, Byelorussia, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, and other nations united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations at an in-

ternational conference held in Munich, the Federal Republic of Germany, November 14—16, 1975. In the resolution of the Conference we read the following: "The status quo agreed upon at the Helsinki Conference confirms formally by the signatories all the Russian-Bolshevik practices of colonial rule over other countries of our continent, including the ill-famed doctrine of Brezhnev." ("LiberationPath", monthly, London, February 1976, p. 141.)

2) At the beginning of 1976, a document was brought out from the Soviet Union by clandestine methods, addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, signed by thirteen Ukrainian political prisoners incarcerated in the Russian prison at Vladimir. The signatories explain that "Moscow is doing everything in its power in order to cover up the imperialistic nature of its nationality policy and to hide the widespread dissatisfaction with Russian occupation of Ukraine, of the Baltic countries and of the Caucasus." Helsinki's Final Act serves this purpose excellently. ("LiberationPath", London, December 1976, p. 1402.)

3) The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations held another conference in Manchester, Great Britain, October 15—17, 1976, at which it was resolved as follows: "The Helsinki agreement acknowledges a status quo to the Soviet Union and by having done so — it gave a free hand to the Russian imperialist expansionist policies, thus formally approving Moscow's inviolable right to its domination in Europe and beyond." ("ABN Correspondence", Munich, November 1976, p. 7.)

4) A Ukrainian Orthodox priest, Rev. Vasył Romaniuk, imprisoned by the

Soviet-Russian occupation forces, sent in 1976 a letter to the Heads of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, who reside in exile in the Western countries. Rev. Romaniuk stated: "I consider my duty as a priest — faithful to God and Christianity — to bring to your attention, the Most Reverend Archepriests, that the principle resolution of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference is being trampled, although it is considered a basis of any friendship and co-operation among nations." ("Liberation Path", London, January 1977, p. 33.)

5) A group of patriots in Ukraine formed in November 1976 in Kyiv "The Civic Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords" in order to expose the colonial status of Ukraine in the light of Helsinki's Final Act. The Group is chaired by Mykola Rudenko, a noted Ukrainian writer and intellectual. It issued on November 9, 1976, its Declaration, in which the Group protested that Ukraine, member of the United Nations, was not invited to take part in the conference. The Group requested the participants of the Helsinki Conference to invite Ukraine (not the Ukrainian SSR!) to any international meeting related to the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. ("Liberation Path", May 1977, pp. 550—551.)

6) The Ukrainian Helsinki Group issued in December 1976 its Memorandum no. 1. In section 2 we read the following: "Since the early years of Stalin's dictatorship Ukraine became an arena of genocide and ethnocide..." The authors quote from an encyclopedia: "Genocide — one of the greatest crimes against humanity, which consists of the destruction of national, ethnic, racial or religious groups of population..." (URE, v. 3, p. 186.)

"The Ukrainian people did not know what is famine for many centuries. But in 1933 it lost over 6 million people, who

died from a hunger death. It was a famine on the territory of Ukraine, artificially organized by the Government... We should add to the above number of victims those wealthy peasants who were deported with their entire families to Siberia. Thus within three years (1930—1933), we lost not fewer than ten million Ukrainians, who were exterminated as a matter of policy decision. It is a fourth of the entire nation! And then came the year 1937 when Ukrainians were executed by the hundreds of thousands. Then came World War II, during which seven to eight million Ukrainians lost their lives. After the war came another war: the extermination of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which took up arms against Hitler and did not put them down on Stalin's orders. Hundreds of thousands of children, women and old people went into the concentration camps... The term of the sentence was always the same: 25 years. Very few of these true martyrs returned to their homeland." ("Liberation Path", May 1977, pp. 554—555.) The 17-page long document contains a long list of facts about persecution and oppression in Ukraine by the Russian colonial regime.

7) A large group of political prisoners of various nationalities, incarcerated in the concentration camp no. 36 at Perm, issued a proclamation dated August 1, 1978, under the title: "Ten days of Solidarity of Peoples in Their Struggle Against Russian Colonialism". The authors of this document disclosed that fact that they became political prisoners, because they were actively working for the restoration of national independence to each of their peoples: "In conditions of brutal terror and growing oppression, prone to evoke despair, the spirit of our peoples is unbroken. Our resistance is increasing, the struggle continues against colonial yoke, imposed upon our peoples by force of arms of the totalitarian regime of Soviet Russia and

## WE APPEAL AGAIN re: RAOUL WALLENBERG

In view of the general strike in Sweden at the beginning of May last, the RAOUL WALLENBERG HEARING, which should have taken place on May 2—3 had to be postponed. In accordance with the decision of the Swedish Raoul Wallenberg Committee this Hearing will now take place on January 15—16, 1981 in Stockholm.

The aim of the Raoul Wallenberg Hearing is to clarify, what has occurred with the Swedish diplomat and fighter for the human rights in the prisons and camps in the USSR since July 1947 — the time when in accordance with the information from the Soviet Government he died in the Lubianka prison.

A great number of witnesses from Soviet prisons and camps have given information about RAOUL WALLENBERG after 1947 — some having had direct contact with him, others having seen him and

again others, who had heard about him from other prisoners.

*WE APPEAL:* To all emigrees from the USSR and satellite countries to make known everywhere and to contact us or The Swedish Raoul Wallenberg Association, Box 16076, 103 22 Stockholm, Sweden, if they have any helpful information about RAOUL WALLENBERG.

We are also interested in any news about VILMOS LANGFELDER, Wallenberg's helper, a Hungarian Jew, who disappeared together with RAOUL WALLENBERG.

We thank you in advance for making the above known to as many as possible and hope for some results, especially as new information about RAOUL WALLENBERG has turned up during the latest months.

*Ojvind Feldsted Andresen,  
Postal Address: P.O. Box 1035,  
DK - 1007 Copenhagen K., Denmark*

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against the fictional forms of national statehood, created in order to conceal the banditry, the so-called 'union republics' and 'autonomous republics'... We, the prisoners, continue this struggle and we accept completely its ideals. We take part in 'the Ten days of solidarity of peoples in their struggle against Russian Soviet colonialism and imperialism', which is being organized for the first time in the USSR... we express our strong resolve and will to mutually co-operate in the struggle for freedom of nations and rights of men." ("Liberation Path", June 1979, pp. 722—724.)

8) There are documents written by individuals and groups of Ukrainian patriots who evaluate very highly the "Captive Nations Week", Law of the US Congress (PL 86—90) and signed by President D.

D. Eisenhower. In one such document we read: "The most prominent group of people (in the United States) given its expression of support to and solidarity with the peoples, who fight for their national and social liberation. Because the Ukrainian people, to which I am honoured to belong, lingers in colonial conditions, it is my duty to participate in this international humane action." (Volodymyr Marmus, Statement to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of July 17, 1978, "Liberation Path", November 1979, p. 1316.)

9) Oles Berdnyk, a noted writer, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group of Kyiv, wrote in 1977 a philosophical-political treatise, entitled "Knyha Buttya Svyatoyi Ukrayiny" (A Book of Existence of Holy Ukraine). Berdnyk devoted his work to the main problem of Ukraine —

## ABN-PROTEST RALLY IN NEW YORK

Ukrainian Americans and nationality groups, members of AF-ABN — Hungarians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Latvians, Estonians, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Turkestanians, Chinese, Rumanians, Afghans, and Americans of other East European descent staged a

### PROTEST RALLY

on Nov. 7th, 1980 — beginning of the Russian Bolshevik seizure of power — at 6:00 P.M. on 67th Street and Lexington Avenue, New York.

AGAINST GENOCIDE POLICY en-

forced by the Russian Soviet colonial henchmen against the subjugated peoples of the non-Russian lands in the USSR and in the satellite countries.

Representatives of about 800 participants exposed Russian Communist terror regime and its puppets' cultural, national, and economic Russification and Sovietization of non-Russian nations leading toward the Russian super state — the most brutal and dangerous colonial empire that history has ever known.

The Protest Rally was covered by the news media.

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its regaining of national independence. Whereas Soviet Russia is realizing the goal of creating a so-called Soviet people by means of fusion of the enslaved peoples with the Russian master nation, Oles Berdnyk advanced an entirely opposite thesis that "the idea of a fusion of nations is criminal." Therefore, "the most important task is to transform and to liberate the national life from the dictatorial states and imperialistic formations." ("Liberation Path", December 1979, pp. 1450-1453.)

10) Four well-known Ukrainians, active in the national liberation movement in Kyiv, namely O. Berdnyk, V. Striltsiv, P. Sichko and V. Sichko, sent to many Governments, members of the United Nations, "The Friendly Message" dated April 30, 1978. The authors argue that "the Earth is a cradle common to all of us, and it is criminal to destroy some peoples for the glorification and well-being of other peoples, because such a policy will inevitably evoke a crushing boomerang of the Cosmic Unity to the violators of Nature. Let the historical precedents of the demise of even the strongest empires and despotism be a forewarn-

ing to whomever it may be addressed!" ("Liberation Path", December 1979, pp. 1454—1457.)

11) The Ukrainian Helsinki Group of Kyiv distributed in the spring of 1979 the fourth issue of its "Information Bulletin". In the editorial article signed by ten persons we learn about a strong connection of the Group with the whole Ukrainian national liberation movement of the past and recent years. The main aim of the Group is to fight against the Russian imperialist policy, according to which "we are included together with our national interests into the system of the interests of the stronger and the ruling nation." ("Liberation Path", December 1979, pp. 1458-1461.)

12) On April 10, 1979, fifteen political prisoners in the USSR proclaimed "The Second Ten Days of Solidarity of Peoples in Their Struggle Against the Russian Soviet Colonialism." The undersigned revealed that up to the present day suppression of the national liberation struggle is being waged against all non Russian peoples..." in the USSR. The group "expresses its appreciation of all the acts of solidarity in the annual honouring of the

Captive Nations Week practised in the American State of New York... Our ten days of solidarity may influence a further expansion and strengthening of the Captive Nations Week." The group "calls upon all peoples and governments, political parties, religious associations, all international organizations and individual persons everywhere to advance resolutely and systematically the demand of a complete and final liquidation of all forms of national and colonial enslavement — inseparable elements of the last empire in the history of mankind — the Russian-Soviet 'prison of peoples', which today, close to the end of the twentieth century is the main barrier to world progress." ("Liberation Path", February 1980, pp. 186—189.)

13) In the early months of 1980, a 70-page long treatise has been carried over by clandestine means from Ukraine to the West. We know the real name of the author, but temporarily he must remain anonymous. The work is entitled "Hrani Kultury" — (Facets of Culture). Its author maintains that "the idea sacred to each nation is the idea of a sovereign statehood." Therefore, "the enslaved peoples have the right to defend their life as social entities and to fight for independence with sovereignty by all available and optimal means at their disposal..." ("Liberation Path", April 1980, pp. 425, 430.) In the Soviet Union there are various peoples, like the Ukrainian and the Russian — "two completely different and mutually incompatible nations... relations between them were in the past and are presently hostile. Those relations can be transformed into friendly and normal relations only after Ukraine will be able to leave the empire, will be able to conclude diplomatic relations on the basis of equality between sovereign nations, after Russia returns to the Ukrainian State all the Ukrainian ethnic territories (Kuban, Kursk region, Voronizh region, Bilhorod region, etc.), illegally annexed to Russia, after repatria-

tion of the Ukrainian population, reparation and return of Ukrainian national treasures robbed and shipped out to Russia in the last three centuries." (Ibidem, p. 432.) Therefore, "the Ukrainian society lives, struggles and has a goal of its strivings, namely the sovereignty, statehood and freedom." (Ibidem, p. 433.)

The author reveals an enormous extent of ethnocide being executed in Ukraine by the Russian racist occupation regime. He confirms the existence of a strong resistance of the Ukrainian population to this racist russification. He describes the Soviet Union as a national Russian empire over many conquered peoples. Ukrainians are combating "the zoological chauvinism of the ruling nation and its intolerance of the national and social life of the subordinated nations. Ukrainians are opposing the forced influx of the Russian population into ethnic territories of other peoples..." (Ibidem, p. 435.) The author verifies the existence "of an active Ukrainian underground movement". ("Liberation Path", May 1980, p. 556.)

He believes the Ukrainian national question should be placed on an international forum in the same way as it was done in the past in respect to many peoples of Africa and Asia, which were colonially enslaved. Russian racist colonialism will constantly expand unless it is checked and repulsed by freedom-loving peoples. In Ukraine, a people of 50 million, there are many Russian colonists who are "the fifth column" and a strategic base of the occupation regime. ("Liberation Path", April 1980, p. 440.) This document concludes with the summary: "The situation in Ukraine is very tragic. However, there is optimism on the basis of the great effort of the whole people to resist the colonialists. The heroic self-negation and the sacrificial self-dedicated work of hundreds of thousands of the best sons of Ukraine in the struggle for the right of the nation to life, sovereignty and statehood. With

the feeling of national dignity, honour and national pride we accept the work of preceding generations, the work and the achievements embodied in the names of Mykhajlo Hrushevskyj and Symon Petliura, Yevhen Konovalets and Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko and Roman Shukhevych, Mykhajlo Soroka and Zenon Tereshakivets, who became the most valuable in our national treasury." ("Liberation Path", June 1980, p. 707.)

14) A prominent freedom-fighter in Ukraine, Ivan Andriyovych Hel, kept presently in the Russian Sosnovka prison (Mordovian ASSR), sent a letter to the Committee on Human Rights of the United Nations, dated July 25, 1979. Mr. Hel stated: "The Russian empire is a prison of nations... Comparing human losses, Russian Bolshevism immeasurably surpassed German Nazism. The artificially created famine in Ukraine, 1932—1933, alone reaped close to ten million people. Genocide has been transformed into ethnocide together with the transfer of enormous masses of (Ukrainian) population (beyond the borders of Ukraine), who are under a tremendous pressure to assimilate themselves with the Russian nationality... The so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a state which occupied Ukraine and which is realizing on Ukraine's territory Russian jurisdiction... For the purpose of an uninterrupted functioning of the imperialistic institutions and also for the unsparing smothering of the national liberation movement in Ukraine, Russia has formed an occupational regime, which together with collaborators and traitors to the Ukrainian people, is robbing national treasures of Ukraine..." ("ABN Correspondence", July 1980, pp. 9—12.)

15) At the end of 1979 a document was sent from the Soviet Union, signed by 18 Ukrainians who addressed themselves to the United Nations. They reveal the colonial position of Ukraine under Russian occupation, existing since the 1920's. In

the 1930's "around 600,000 persons of Ukrainian intelligentsia were persecuted..." On about 20 per cent of Ukrainian ethnic territory (which was not under Russian occupation) an underground national liberation movement arose, which was active in the period of World War II against one invader, and after the war for decades against the new invader". The group requests the United Nations for assistance in a struggle for independence. "We petition the United Nations to register Ukraine as a colony and to include the Ukrainian question into the agenda of the next Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations." ("Liberation Path", June 1980, pp. 717—720.)

In view of the presented evidence, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists truly requests the Government you are honoured to represent, to review its policy toward the Final Act on Security and Co-operation in Europe of August 1, 1975, in such a light that Russian Communist colonialism would be censured, all its conquests of other nations — exposed and condemned, and the national anti-colonial struggle of the peoples subjugated by Russia — recognized. We would appreciate the position of your Government in respect to Ukraine, according to the resolutions of the United Nations on the liquidation of colonialism and the policy of Your Government on colonialism.

Very truly yours,

*Yaroslav Stetsko*

*Chairman of the Organization of  
Ukrainian Nationalists*

*Prime Minister of the 1941 Independent  
Ukrainian Government*

October 1980.

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## **RUSSIA IS NOT INVINCIBLE**

*Reprinted from the edition by Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1951.*

Are not we of the West somewhat blindly assuming that the next war is going to be like the last — a war of unconditional surrender enforced by the threat of annihilation?

It would seem that we are, for we are pouring out our pounds, dollars, francs and florins on the production of lethal things as if we were a golden Niagara. We seek in force alone the solution of the Russian problem. We have placed guns before the whole cow and the roar of our engines reverberates round the world. We are its modern Titans, for soon in one brief battle the Americans alone will be able to unleash the destructive energy of the whole of the last war. Nevertheless, let us not forget that, in spite of their might, our classical prototypes ultimately landed themselves in Tartarus.

In assuming that the next war, now in process of gestation, will primarily be a physical struggle, and that, therefore, physical force will be the "Open Sesame" of victory, are we not taking too much for granted? Out of our frantic volcanic lives cannot we set aside a bare half-hour in which to ask ourselves the first of all military questions — "What is the problem?"

Apparently not, for we gaze into the Russian shop-window, in which everything is decorated with the tinsel of propaganda, and for some inexplicable reason we shy off from boldly walking into the shop itself.

Among other things in the window is displayed a map of the Bolshevik Ideological Empire. It is greater than Genghis Khan's for it covers a quarter of the land surface of the globe, stretching from the Arctic Ocean to the Himalayas and the China Seas and from the river Elbe to the Pacific. It includes about a third of the inhabitations of the world. It also is titanic.

But were we to go into the shop itself, we would find that everything displayed in the window is a fake or a lie, for in 1917, Lenin introduced a new philosophy. He took the basic maxim of Western civilization — "The truth shall make you free" — and inverted it. Thus in the Bolshevik vocabulary every word is perverted: a lie is called the truth, and truth is denounced as a lie, police terror is called democracy, serfdom is called freedom, conquest is called liberation, subjection is called self-determination, and the Political Bureau of the Bolshevik Party is called the proletariat, in the interest of which all individual freedom and natural rights are suppressed.

Why has this policy of confounding the meaning of words been adopted? The answer is, that the nations "may not understand one another's speech". It is the story of the Tower of Babel bolshevized.

The very name the Russian Empire now bears — namely, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — is a lie; for the USSR is not a union of republics as it is proclaimed to be; instead it is the compulsory serfdom of nearly two hundred subjugated peoples, speaking different languages and stemming from different cultures, each one trampled upon and held in leash by terror. Yet in this there is nothing new, for as the Pan-Slavism of Tzarist Russia was but a catchword for Russian Imperialism, so to-day Communism is but the catchword for Bolshevik Imperialism — the most ruthless the world has ever known.

Therefore Communism is also a lie; it is but Marxian grease paint superimposed on a fundamentally unchanged historic Russian physiognomy. Though it is true that, in 1917, Lenin attempted to impose Marxist Communism on Russia, by 1921 it had produced such confusion that to save



himself he introduced his New Economic Policy. It was out of his failure and not out of his success that, under Stalin, there emerged a mixture of state capitalism and Asiatic despotism which, depending as it did on slave labour, was so inefficient that it could not compete with the so-called "Capitalist" world — that is, with free enterprise. Therefore, in order that Bolshevism may survive, free enterprise must be destroyed. To-day Marxist Communism is solely for export, because it is the solvent of free enterprise, and its precipitate is chaos, the prerequisite for the establishment of a pistol-ruled (Bolshevik) world.

Except in the concentration camps, there are now no Communists in the USSR. Of its 193,000,000 inhabitants, some five per cent are state bureaucrats — a highly privileged class — and the remaining ninety-five per cent are state serfs who, unless free enterprise throughout the world is destroyed, may one day wake up to the fact that they are living under a lie, and in consequence liquidate their oppressors.

The crucial fact is, that the Soviet Union cannot indefinitely continue to exist side by side with a system of vastly greater productivity, and how unproductive that union is may be seen in its low participation in world trade even before the upheaval of the last war. Though in 1938 the foreign trade of Finland and the Baltic States, with a combined population of under ten millions, amounted to 586 million dollars, with its then 170,000,000 inhabitants, the foreign trade of the Soviet Union was 74 million dollars less. Another pointer is to be found in the Berlin blockade. Why did the Kremlin impose it? The main reason was, in order to prevent the Eastern Germans seeing that Western Berlin was more prosperous than their own territory. It is its lies which so constantly dictate Soviet policy, and in consequence render it difficult for Western peoples of a totally different morality to understand it.

The contents of the shop reveal that

there is no unity within the USSR. Instead, there is discord both latent and active. Like the Turkish Empire of the nineteenth century, the USSR is a mosaic of subjugated peoples. According to the 1939 Russian census, out of a total population of 170,467,186, fifty-eight per cent was Russian and forty-two per cent non-Russian. Also, as in the old Turkish Empire, the Kremlin is attempting to solve its problem of national assimilation by *genocide* — that is, by massacring and deporting the indigenous peoples of the subjugated countries as well as gradually diluting them with those of Russian stock. The consequence is that, though discontent is normally inarticulate, it is nevertheless universal.

All refugees tell the same story: that the USSR is seething with unrest and that behind the Iron Curtain everything is in ferment. Even were they not to do so, their constant influx would prove it, for between August 1945 and August 1950, no less than 15,000 Russian officers and men deserted to Western Germany, and monthly twenty to twenty-five thousand Eastern Germans and others cross the Western German border. Another proof is the steady increase in the number of Soviet prisons. Not long ago, one of the refugees, a former director of Soviet prisons, stated that, whereas in 1930 there were 3,450 prisons in the Soviet Union, in 1950 the number had risen to 11,760, and that between ten and fifteen million people annually pass through them.

Nor is the Russian army unaffected. Since 1939, not only has its structure been shaken by contact with the West, but many of its solidiers have become disillusioned. A typical case is that of Lieutenant Bystrov, who, in December, 1950, deserted. Though before his desertion his impressions of Western standards were based on nothing better than prevailing conditions in Eastern Germany, they "produced on him", we read, "an enormous psychological

shock," which was followed by a second when on his return on leave to his home in the Urals — a subjugated area — he compared what he had seen in Germany with the utter poverty and misery in which his relatives lived. Further, it should not be overlooked that forty-two per cent of Soviet army recruits come from the subjugated peoples, and, therefore, inherit their discontents.

Though the Soviet army is immensely powerful, it is no coincidence that, whenever the Kremlin has been faced resolutely, it has drawn in its horns. There are two reasons for this. The first is that its inmates have realized that, under present-day conditions, military occupation decides nothing; that, in fact, physical conquest is no longer a profitable aim — a question to which I will return later on. The second is, that they fear actual war like the plague. Not because the USSR can easily be subdued by external force, but because war leads to internal disruption. This is a point of vital importance.

In the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, it was not Japanese naval and military power which compelled Russia to accept the Peace of Portsmouth; it was the eruption of the revolutionary forces within her. Again, in World War I, it was not her defeat in the field which brought her to sign the ignominious treaty of Brest-Litovsk, it was the astuteness of Lenin who, cashing-in on the ruthless treatment of the subjugated peoples by the Tsarist regime, offered them liberation, fully intending, however, to re-subjugate them once he had created a Bolshevik army. The result was that Tsarist Russia disintegrated, sixteen subjugated nations declaring themselves free and independent national states.

In World War II, as verified by captured German archives, no sooner did the German armies enter the Baltic States, Byelorussia (White Russia) and Ukraine than they were acclaimed as liberators, and vast numbers of Russian soldiers deserted to

them. At the time, so encouraging was the German reception that Count Schulenberg, former German Ambassador in Moscow, proposed that the invasion should be turned into a civil war in which the Russians themselves would help in overthrowing the Bolsheviks. He suggested that Germany should announce that she had no territorial claims, that she would agree to each conquered territory setting up its own local government, and that she would recognize these governments as her allies.

But Hitler's suicidal policy of "*der vollkommenen Vernichtung des ukrainischen und der anderen osteuropäischen Völker*" ("the complete extermination of the Ukrainian and the other East European peoples") prevailed. Instead of liberation, the destruction, of the Ukrainian and other underground movements was ordered, with the result for self-preservation the subjugated peoples, both in their countries and in the ranks of the Russian armies, turned against the Germans.

This was the beginning of the collapse of the Third Reich, which was hastened by Stalin's astuteness in adopting non-Bolshevik tactics, though, like Lenin, his intention was to discard them once the war was won. Had Hitler but offered the subjugated peoples freedom and self-determination, the high probability is that the USSR would have collapsed before the end of 1941.

Besides not being able in war-time to rely on the loyalty of its subjugated peoples, the Kremlin is fearful of invading Western countries, because should it do so its soldiers will discover that the USSR, instead of being, as they have been brought up to believe, the most advanced country in the world, it is one of the most backward, and that they are victims of a gigantic lie. For this reason alone — though there are others — Stalin has been compelled to substitute what is called "cold" war for "hot". Its aims are: 1) To confuse the thought of Russia's adversaries by

turning every argument upside down, and reap a propaganda value out of the confusion. 2) To rot her opponents internally, by means of fifth columns, and discount their democratic principles should they resort to repressive measures. 3) To compel them by constant military threat to expend such large sums on armaments that they will cripple their finances and undermine their economies. 4) To distract their military forces by drawing them into distant regions, such as Malaya, Indo-China and Korea, in which only Satellite troops are engaged.

For the Kremlin, cold war is the only type of aggressive warfare which fits Russian psychology. Its strategy is that of dissolution and not of destruction: the attack on the mind of the enemy in order to gain control over his body and not on his body in order to influence his mind. It is not, as with the Western Powers when they talk of psychological or political war, an auxiliary of actual war, but instead it is the real war — the decisive conflict.

In its outlook upon war, the Kremlin is far more up to date than its antagonists. It realizes, as Engels did over eighty years ago, that in modern industrial and scientific conditions, physical warfare is increasingly becoming mutually too destructive to be a profitable instrument of policy. As the last two world wars have clearly shown, the victor comes off almost as badly as the vanquished and this, politically, does not make sense.

We simply cannot ignore the fact that to-day cold war is increasingly ousting hot war as an instrument of policy — it is the new diplomacy — and that unless we learn how to wage it in all its forms, political, ideological, economic and military, so that in wartime we win over the allegiance of the enemy's masses instead of destroying them, the very means of destruction we employ will end in defeating us.

Now that we have inspected the con-

tents of the Bolshevik shop, the answer to the question "What is the problem," becomes clear. It is to frustrate the Kremlin's two-front strategy by adopting a two-front strategy of our own. 1) To be strong enough physically either to prevent the outbreak of war, or should war come, to be in a position to contain Russian military operations, and 2) under cover of our physical forces, to be astute enough to wage a war of disintegration within the USSR and its satellite countries, not only after the outbreak of war, but from this very moment. Should its aim, successful counter-revolution within the USSR, be attained without actual war, so much the better; but, war or no war, it will remain unattainable, unless the war of disintegration is ultraoffensive.

Our existing solution of the problem — if solution it can be called — is ultra-defensive because it is based on the conception of containing Communism; 1) by military action on fire brigade lines wherever an aggression may take place; 2) by economic betterment in the Western countries in order to prevent Communism from spreading; and 3) by building-up what is called the Atlantic Alliance as the progenitor of a defensive Atlantic or European Army.

Because military action on fire brigade lines is a purely defensive policy, it leaves the initiative in the hands of the Kremlin. Worse still, it does not face up to realities. What is the use of a fire brigade system as long as the fire-raiser is left at large? Further, this dispersion of force emasculates the Atlantic Alliance which is equally unrealistic, for it is based on regional planning, involving over fifty committees, and includes France and Italy, countries with large Communist elements. As regards economic betterment in the West, this is excellent so far as it goes, yet it is frequently overlooked that economic betterment in itself can no more remove an

ideology than filling an empty stomach can cure a deranged brain.

This confusion of defensive measures has strengthened the political position of the knock-out school who say that the simplest way out of the tangle is to cut the Gordian Knot, in other words, to rely on physical force alone. After all, have not we got the atomic bomb, and should the worst come to the worst, cannot we blow Russia to hell?

This, however, is a somewhat crude solution, for instead of curing the patient (the world crisis) it knocks him on the head.

Though a sufficiency of force is the first half of the solution, the amount needed will depend as much on the moral state of the Russian people as on the strength of the Russian army. The lower the first is, the weaker will the second be, and the weaker it is, the less will be the physical force required to vanquish it.

The second half of the solution centres in the unbearable Bolshevik rule, which has established a ready-made second front in every country behind the Iron Curtain. Wherever Bolshevism is sown anti-Bolshevism can be reaped, for though by terror a people can be compelled to obey their masters, they cannot be compelled to cease hating them.

Hatred is the Uranium 235 of second half, and without it its physical prototype remains purely a weapon of material destruction. And of all explosives, psychological fission is the one the Kremlin dreads most, because it blows the bottom out of its ideology. Therefore to turn the USSR into a gigantic psychological bomb is the second half of the solution.

Thus far, this half has been almost entirely neglected by the Western Powers, yet it is by far the easier to arrive at, because the USSR, being ethnographically divided into Russians and non-Russians is, in consequence, packed with psychological Uranium.

In 1943, the representatives of the Re-

sistance Movements, then springing up among the conquered and subjugated peoples, banded themselves together into an Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — the ABN. To-day it includes the following twenty-five countries — fourteen in the USSR and eleven in Europe:

*In the USSR:* Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Estonia, Georgia, Idel-Ural (between the Volga and the Urals), Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasia, Siberia (east and west), Turkestan and Ukraine.

*In Europe:* Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Finland, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia and Slovenia.

The aim of the ABN is the complete dissolution of the Soviet Empire into its ethnographical parts and the establishment of each part as a sovereign nation. The ABN is, therefore, opposed to any form of Russian Imperialism, whether Tsarist, Socialist, Democratic, Republican or Bolshevik. Nor will it tolerate any form of Russian federation, because it fears that whatever form it may take, it will inevitably lead to the re-establishment of a Russian hegemony.

Because in the Atlantic Pact — however defective it may be — is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the ABN — however lacking in organization it still is — is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western Powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim, not the containment of Communism, but the complete elimination of Bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world.

From the value of the ABN as a disruptive instrument, I will next turn to its ability economically and strategically to strangle the USSR in another war.

Ukraine, with a population stated to be 42,000,000 is the economic hub of the

Soviet Union. This is why Hitler's aim was to wrench it from Russia. It supplies over fifty per cent of the whole of Russian production, and there is no possibility of destroying the Bolshevik Empire without severing Ukraine from it. Still to-day a Ukrainian insurgent army, known as the UPA, is engaged in guerrilla war against the Kremlin.

The following percentages show the importance of Ukraine and other subjugated countries to the over-all Soviet economy: coal sixty per cent from Ukraine and nine per cent from Turkestan; iron ore, sixty per cent from Ukraine, and thirty per cent from Idel-Ural; manganese, one hundred per cent from Georgia and Ukraine; copper, forty per cent from Turkestan and Caucasia; lead, eighty per cent from Turkestan; zinc, eighty per cent from Caucasia and Ukraine; mercury, one hundred per cent from Turkestan and Ukraine; and sulphur, eighty per cent from Ukraine, Caucasia and Turkestan.

Almost the entire production of oil in the USSR comes from non-Russian soil: Baku in Azerbaijan, Grosny and Maikop in N. Caucasia, on the Emba in Turkestan, in Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Idel-Ural and in Ukraine. Finally, as regards agricultural products, thirty-three per cent of Russian wheat comes from Ukraine and N. Caucasia, seventy per cent of sugar is produced in Ukraine, and one hundred per cent of cotton is grown in Turkestan and Caucasia.

Therefore the conclusion is, should in wartime organized guerrilla war be fostered in the subjugated countries and adequately supplied by the Western Powers, the high probability is that the whole economy of the USSR would collapse.

Historically Russia's strength has been based on two factors, the vast expanse of her territory and her vast man power, and this held good as long as weapon power remained simple and movements were governed by horse traction. But this is no

longer the case, for weapon power has been industrialized and air power has reduced her expanse.

Communications in Russia have always been indifferent because expanse and movement are incompatible. Even today, after more than a century of railroad construction, there are no more than 58,000 miles of railroads in the USSR, whereas in the United States there are 227,000. Further, many of the Russian railroads are still single track, and because those linking the Pacific to the frontiers of Poland and Rumania pass through the subjugated Baltic States, Byelorussia and Ukraine, they are open to sabotage both in peace and war.

In order to secure her industries — her arsenals — against air attack, Russia has adopted a policy of dispersion; but, seemingly, has overlooked that the remoteness of many of them from the more probable theatres of war permits present-day aircraft to cut them off from the latter by destroying the inter-linking communications. Actually, there would be no need to destroy the industrial centres themselves, for if the few main rail junctions in the USSR are put out of action, the fewness of the railroads in most cases will render the deflection of traffic impossible.

Further still, the greater the dispersion the more difficult does it become for the Russian air force to prevent either the systematic destruction of the industrial centres or the railroads leading to and from them. Relative to this, it should not be overlooked that, on account of climatic conditions as well as the great distances to be travelled, the replacement of railroad traction by motor transport will generally be out of the question. Also, that, unlike the United States, the USSR possesses no extensive system of pipe lines for the distribution of oil and petrol.

The conclusions to be drawn from this strategical survey are: 1) that the technical equipment of Russia's fighting forces will

be at its best at the opening of war, and that, should her railroads be paralysed, it will rapidly deteriorate; and 2) that, because of this, it may be expected that, as in the past, Russia will rely on mass manpower attacks in order to make good her technical deficiencies.

Clearly, then, adding to the demands of the Russian army within the USSR will lead to its numerical reduction in the areas of operations, and this can be effected by the assistance of the subjugated peoples. For them, the expanse of the USSR, when coupled with outside air supply and assistance, facilitates revolt, which simultaneously will be difficult to suppress should rail communications be paralysed. Also it should not be overlooked that a vast belt of labour and concentration camps, in which millions of slave workers are imprisoned, stretches across Northern Siberia and Manchuria, and that the first of these areas is within transpolar air range of the United States, and the second at no great distance from Korea and Japan. All these camps are potential centres of revolt. Therefore the more the Kremlin can be compelled to garrison them, the less numerous will be its troops in the areas of military operations.

When all these factors are considered, it will be seen that Russia's fighting manpower, great though it is, can as a whole no more be concentrated than can that of her opponents. Though the latter are an association of autonomous nations tending to diverge rather than to unite, the USSR is a despotism of subjugated nations, forcibly united by terror, and inhibited by disruption. In fact, Russia is a giant with feet of clay, and the more her fighting forces are dissipated on internal security, the more formidable do those of her opponents become.

From what I have now written, I hope I have made it clear that, in order to overthrow the fire-raising Colossus, the technical superiority of the Western na-

tions is not in itself enough. What they are lacking is not power to wage war, for though power may still be insufficient, there is no insuperable difficulty in rendering it sufficient. Instead, it is lack of faith in their way of life, and lack of courage in proclaiming it.

They must understand that the sword of liberty is but dead metal as long as it is sheathed. It is because they fear to unsheath it that they lack a positive policy towards the nations forcibly and fraudulently incorporated in the Soviet Union. Yet without a positive policy they can never hope to exploit the seething discontent behind the Iron Curtain, and be it remembered that, without counting the subjugated peoples of the USSR, ten independent states of old Europe, inhabited by some 100,000,000 people are now under Soviet dominance. Of these millions and the millions more in the USSR, the vast majority are potential allies, but until the Western nations openly proclaim them to be such, the sword of liberty will remain sheathed.

If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved peoples, it must inspire them. To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic; to think in terms of liberation is democratic, and though the atomic bomb has its uses, they must be weighed against the psychological effects they are likely to produce. To use this weapon indiscriminately is to repeat Hitler's blunder, and the way in which it is used will determine whether the millions of enslaved peoples in Europe and the USSR are to be the allies of the West or the unwilling defenders of Moscow.

Because from past history there is no reason to suppose that a change of regime in Moscow will call a halt to the age-old Russian expansion, the aim of the Western Powers should coincide with the aim of the ABN. This means that the Soviet Empire must be dealt with as was the Turkish — that is, split up into its com-

## **A. Solzhenitsyn defends Russian colonialism and imperialism**

### **I**

#### **Introduction**

During the 1970's the Soviet-Russian regime released to the West dozens of Russian so-called dissidents. Western democratic nations greeted these Russian exiles with joy and satisfaction in the belief that Moscow is expelling them as the result of pressures by the West, which created for the Brezhnev regime progressively more inconveniences. However the analysis of the activities of these "dissidents" shows that these Russians are performing in the West quite a useful ideological-propagandistic work for the preservation and expansion of the Russian empire. The objectives of the Russian exiles in the West can be summarized as follows: — to cultivate among the Western societies friend-

ship towards Russia; — to try to weaken any considerations in the West to activate a dynamic policy directed against the Russian expansionism; — to eliminate any thoughts that the USSR is a Russian colonial state, in which national liberation forces of the enslaved peoples are active and that support should be given to those movements; — to weaken any attempt by Western nations to bring about a conflict between China and the Soviet-Russian empire; and last but not least, to convince Western ruling elites that any changes in the USSR must be activated only by the Russians, and not by other nations.

Undoubtedly, the most prominent Russian "dissident" in the Western exile is Alexander Solzhenitsyn. He has published more of his writings than any other of his

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ponent parts, each part becoming an independent country.

The first step towards achieving this end is the formation of all freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain into a common Anti-Bolshevik Front. The second is the creation of a Psychological Warfare General Staff which will give teeth to this union, and it should comprise three main branches — Operations, Intelligence and Supply.

The duties of the first should be to plan and organize partisan activities within all subjugated countries, and train refugees and form them into the nuclei of national armies, around which the enslaved peoples can build up their fighting forces on or after the outbreak of war.

The duties of the second should be to collect and co-ordinate information gathered by the underground movements; train intelligence agents for work not only behind the Iron Curtain, but also in all countries

which in war time may be overrun by the Russians, so that guerrilla war may be organized in their rear, and by intensive propaganda keep the spirit of counter-revolution alive.

The duties of the Supply Branch should be to make ready on a vast scale all the requirements of guerrilla warfare: the provision of arms, ammunition, explosives, medical stores, rations, radios, etc., etc., as well as earmark the aircraft needed to carry them and also personnel to prearranged dropping points, so that when the flag falls, the psychological bomb may be detonated from the Arctic shores to the Mediterranean and from the Pacific to the Elbe.

If these things are done, the Western nations need have no fears. But, if they are not done, though the West may win the next war, in its winning it will reap its own destruction and may well end in Bolshevizing the world.

colleagues. He is perhaps most widely known because of the Nobel Prize he received. He is given the opportunity to dissipate his views in many major Western publications.

The most outspoken essay of A. Solzhenitsyn on international politics was probably the 38-page article published in the prestigious American quarterly "Foreign Affairs" of New York, Spring issue, 1980. Shorter versions of this exposition on Solzhenitsyn's views appeared in the West-German periodical "Die Welt" (July 12, 1980) and the American weekly "Time" magazine (February 18, 1980). In the article in the "Foreign Affairs", entitled "Misconceptions about Russia are a threat to America", Solzhenitsyn deals with two main problems, first — what is Russia and what is communism, and second — to point out the policy Western nations should follow toward communism and Russia.

#### **Solzhenitsyn on communism**

Alexander Solzhenitsyn suggests a fantastic theory that communism is a movement without any basis and support in Russia. This "communism" somehow managed to come to such a power that it established a powerful state called the USSR, conquered and oppressed many peoples and is threatening to conquer the rest of the Free World. Being himself a writer of fiction, for which he received a Nobel Prize in literature, Mr. Solzhenitsyn argues that "the prevalent mistake is to assume an indissoluble link between the universal disease of communism and the country where it first seized control — Russia." (p. 797) "Russia is to the Soviet Union as a man is to the disease afflicting him... A Brezhnev who has connived at the ruin of his own people in the interests of foreign adventures has no Russian heart," (p. 798).

If "communism" is a non-national force, which is enslaving various nations, then it seems logical that Russia is also enslaved. On such a doctrinaire and unrealistic pre-

mise Mr. Solzhenitsyn draws a false conclusion that the Russian people has been conquered and oppressed by those abstract "communists": "All that his (Brezhnev's — A.W.B.) ilk have done — to destroy the national way of life and to pollute nature, to desecrate national shrines and monuments, and to keep the people in hunger and poverty for the last 60 years — shows that the communist leaders are alien to the people and indifferent to its suffering." (798)

In the early days of Bolshevism Lenin devised a devious propaganda doctrine of deceit of freedom-loving people with the aim to conquer them. This propaganda was to a large extent taken over from tsarist Russian propagandists, who invented the stratagem of so-called "Potyomkin villages" — showing to foreigners staged "free", "progressive" and "prosperous" communities, although the reality looked to be quite the opposite: there existed slavery, colonial exploitation and brutal barbarism. Alexander Solzhenitsyn tries in exactly the same spirit to fool the West today. The dominant and ruling people are presented as oppressed and enslaved by some fictional communists. ("For present-day purposes the word 'Russia' can serve only to designate an oppressed people." 799) Every average Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Turkestanian, Latvian, Estonian, Georgian and others can testify to the dominating and ruling position of millions of Russian people in the non-Russian countries of the USSR. Hundreds of documents written by Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Georgian and other political prisoners in the USSR are the best testimony to the fact that the USSR is a prison of nations in which the Russian people are masters and colonial rulers, while the non-Russian people are exposed to nationcide, genocide, ethnocide and linguicide.

#### **A. Solzhenitsyn on Russia**

Solzhenitsyn maintains that Stalin "broke the back of the Russian peasantry,



and thereby of Russia herself..." (804) The master deception continues: "And what of the far-reaching process which is scheduled for completion in 10 to 15 years, a process threatening the very survival of the Russian people?.. In the first revolution (1917—20) Lenin's curved dagger slashed at the throat of Russia... In the second revolution (1929—31) Stalin's sledge-hammer strove to pound Russia to dust... The third and final revolution is irrevocably underway, with Brezhnev's bulldozer bent on scraping Russia from the face of the earth." (811)

To mislead Western strategists about the increasing power of Russia, accumulated throughout ages of imperialistic conquests, might have only one objective in mind: to lull to sleep Western defenses, to turn Western countermeasures from any attempt to liquidate the Russian empire and to give Moscow more time to prepare fresh conquests. Solzhenitsyn is presenting a false historical reality. While during 1918-1922 all the nations, previously enslaved by tsarist Russia, fought fiercely for their national independence, he insists on the contrary "the mighty outbreaks of spontaneous popular resistance to communism in our country between 1918 and 1922..." (800) "In 1918—22 throughout Russia, throngs of peasants with pitchforks marched in their thousands against the machine guns of the Red Army; in bolshevism they saw a force inimical to their very existence as a nation." (816) In fact only three tsarist generals mounted with Western support from the exile anti-bolshevik campaigns (Denikin, Kaledin and Wrangel). However the majority of the Russian people gave immediate support to the Russian-bolshevik forces under Vladimir Illich Lenin to wage renewed colonialist-imperialist wars against the newly re-established national states of Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Siberia, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelo-

russia and Don Cossacks. They also crushed the Ukrainian Kuban Cossack state.

Solzhenitsyn speaks about Russia "as a country which has been in existence for a thousand years..." with "thousand years of Eastern Christianity in Russia." (801) However in the tenth and even in the eleventh century Russia did not yet exist. Thus Solzhenitsyn's argumentation reveals his typically Russian imperialistic attitude of stealing Ukraine's history and presenting it as Russian. Christianity was formerly introduced in the Ukrainian-Rus state by Grand Prince Volodymyr the Great in 988. It could not have been introduced sooner to the Russian territories than in the eleventh century, because Russia lies beyond Ukraine from Byzantium, or Bulgaria or Central Europe, from where Christianity came into Eastern Europe.

Solzhenitsyn speaks of the extermination of "15 million of the best Russian peasants" by Stalin (803—804). It is pure fiction, because in 1932—33 up to ten million Ukrainians and several more millions Cossacks, Caucasians, Turkestanians and other people were exterminated by means of an artificial famine. Those were areas with a small percentage of Russian peasantry. Evidently Solzhenitsyn considers all these subjugated peoples as Russians. Only some truly Russian regions along the Volga River were effected by this terrible man-made famine.

With a naivety bordering on complete historical ignorance, Mr. Solzhenitsyn advances the question: "Just what 'model' could Stalin have seen in the former, tsarist Russia as (Robert C.) Tucker has it?" (804) The absurdity of this question will be exposed later. Covering two pages, the Nobel Prize winner for fiction writing, tries to present tsarist Russia as an ideal peace-loving, freedom-loving, flourishing paradise on earth, where "camps there were none", where political prisoners "were well fed and cared for at the expense of the State, where no one forced them to work",

where "all criminal investigations were conducted in strict compliance with established law", when "Russia could boast of a flourishing manufacturing industry, rapid growth and a flexible, decentralized economy", where there was complete cultural freedom, the intelligentsia was not restricted in its activity", it "knew no deportations of entire peoples and no armed separatist movements", when Russia "did not annex an inch of European soil", when "bad' Russia of old never loomed ominously over Europe" etc. etc. (804—805) All these fables remind one strongly of communist-Russian fables about their "paradise" on earth. They have as much truth as the constitution of the USSR about the real situation in the USSR, where the terror of the KGB is the supreme law.

### **Solzhenitsyn on the Russian (imperial) state**

Alexander Solzhenitsyn uses such a terminology, which equates the area of the USSR with the area of a Russian national state as if it were the area of the ethnic Russian homeland. He argues: "the Kremlin leadership is immeasurably indifferent to and remote from the Russian people", (806) thereby equating the USSR with Russian people's territory. In such a way he is covering up the nature of the USSR as a colonialist and imperialist system over many conquered non-Russian peoples. He uses the phrase "Soviet people" to mean the soviet regime over the Russian people. (808) When he mentions the 1962-Novocherkask uprising (810), he gives the impression that it happened in Russia, while in reality Novocherkask is on the territory of the Don Cossacks. He categorically rejects the historical reality that "the Russians are the 'ruling nationality' of the USSR. They are no such thing and never have been at any time since 1917... In the USSR there simply was no 'ruling nationality': the communist internationalists never had need of one." (812) This ar-

gumentation of Solzhenitsyn has evidently three objectives in mind: to transfer from the Russians all the guilt for war crimes, genocide and imperialist expansion to some fictional "communist internationalists", to gain sympathy in the West for the Russian people as allegedly enslaved and oppressed, and to convince Western nations that the USSR is actually Russia only with a bad regime. What's more, Solzhenitsyn cleverly attempts to transfer some guilt of "communism" to the Ukrainian people who are colonially enslaved by the Russian people: "from the end of the 1930s the communist leadership came to be increasingly composed of men of Russian and Ukrainian origin..." (812—813)

Another absurdity is to maintain that "the RSFSR has borne the main brunt of economic oppression." (813) Every available statistical data on the USSR shows clearly that of all the so-called soviet republics the biggest economic progress occurred in the RSFSR, but primarily in the truly Russian ethnic territories of the RSFSR.

Whoever sees the reality and speaks about it, like the hundreds of Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR, who exposed Russian chauvinism and racism, are being called by Solzhenitsyn as stooges of the KGB, who are of "the greatest value and comfort to Soviet communism..." (815)

He argues that in June 1941, "Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia gave the Germans a jubilant welcome. Byelorussia, the Western Ukraine and the first occupied Russian territories followed suit." (817) This means that east of "Western Ukraine" "Russian territory" begins. Are Kyiv, Odessa and Kharkiv Russian territories? If so, this is a typical Russian racist point of view. Of course, Solzhenitsyn is silent about the Ukrainian national liberation struggle which took place from the beginning of the Communist Russian occupation of Ukraine, especially during the 1920's and 1940's. It is false to maintain that people

wanted only "liberation from communism". (817) The Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Turkistanians and others wanted not only liberation from communism but also liberation from any dependence upon the Russian colonialists and the establishment of their own sovereign national states. In order to erase the Ukrainian people from the face of the earth, Solzhenitsyn permits his translator to give a defamating footnote that "Western Ukraine" and "western Byelorussia" were "carved out of Poland in 1939". (817)

According to the ancient Russian imperialistic concept of a "one indivisible" Russia as far as all the currently conquered peoples are concerned, Solzhenitsyn treats the USSR as one entity and sees the future of it only as such: "For the multinational human mass confined today within the boundaries of the Soviet Union, there are only two possibilities: either a brutally imperialistic development of communism, with the subjugation of countries in many parts of the globe, or else a renunciation of communist ideology and a shift to a path of reconciliation, recovery, love of one's country, and care for one's people." (824—825) He squarely and unequivocally presents himself as a foe of the national liberation movements of the peoples within the USSR, whose primary goal is to reestablish their own national states, which however can only come as a result of liquidating the Russian empire.

He bluffs and shows a chauvinistic face when he says: "The Russian people have a 1,100-year-long history — longer than that of many of Russia's impatient teachers." (828) In fact the Russian people as a nation appeared only in the 13th and 14th centuries, and such peoples as Ukrainian, Georgian and Armenian existed many hundreds of years if not a millenium sooner. Speaking in the imperialistic mood about the law of the medieval Ukrain-

ian-Rus state, Solzhenitsyn shamelessly writes: "The traditional medieval Russian concept of justice (*pravda*) was understood as justice in the ultimate sense." (828) (Translator's note is added: "The first Russian code of laws (eleventh century) was called *Pravda Russkaya*.")

### Solzhenitsyn on Western policy toward Russia

Alexander Solzhenitsyn expresses clearly and bluntly his proposals for a Western policy toward Russia. First of all, he demands not to connect the communist regime in the USSR with any responsibilities for its crimes of the Russian people. Whoever connects these two, is called "a racist" by Solzhenitsyn. (800) He asks the West to give assistance to the "true" Russians on the grounds that "the 'bad' Russia of old never loomed ominously over Europe..." (805) Solzhenitsyn condemns one of the noblest acts of the US Government, the "notorious resolution on the 'captive nations' (PL 86—90), passed by the US Congress on July 17, 1959." (805) His anger is caused by the fact that PL 86—90 recognizes the USSR as a Russian colonial empire, demanding the liberation of the enslaved nations and the reestablishment of their national states. Solzhenitsyn asks the West to oppose the communist regime of the USSR but not the Russian empire. He urges to forget the existence of Russian messianism and racism which he calls "bizarre fabrication". (809) "As for 'historical Russian messianism', this is contrived nonsense..." (814) He propagates "Russian nationalism", which the West should not fear. In unison with the official Kremlin propaganda, he argues that the Russians only want peace. (814)

Mr. Solzhenitsyn, an expert propagandist, asks the West to treat "the oppressed" Russian people as its "natural ally". (815) He demands not to "abuse us in advance as chauvinists and fascists." (816) He proclaims: "no reconciliation with communist

doctrine is possible. The alternatives are either its complete triumph throughout the world or else its total collapse everywhere. The only salvation for Russia, for China and for the entire world lies in a renunciation of this doctrine.” (820) Forget about the liberation of nations enslaved by Russia! Forget about combating Russian colonialism and racism! The world must have trust in Russian’s messianic message in saving it from communism: ”The world has now come to the point where without the rebirth of a healthy, nationally minded Russia, America itself will not survive...” (821) Solzhenitsyn threatens: “It would be disastrous to fight ‘the Russians’ instead of communism...” (ibidem) Solzhenitsyn opposes giving any support to the nationalists of Ukraine, Turkestan, Lithuania, etc. for their liberation struggle against and from Russian colonial domination. He calls the allying of the Western nations with China against Russia “a mad policy”. (822) He is angry at Zionists, who raise the question of Russian chauvinism and colonialism: “Hardly more felicitous is the policy of broadcasting by recent Jewish immigrants to the United States...” because it will allegedly arouse even more anti-Semitism among the Russians. (823) He calls for an alliance between the American and Russian peoples. (824) It is clear that such an alliance will be directed against the national liberation movements within the USSR and all other forces aiming at combating Russian racism and imperialism as well as against China. In regard to the non-Russian peoples within the USSR Solzhenitsyn’s position is a paraphrase of Lenin’s “right to secession” or “right to claim independence”, but without any real struggle for their national liberation. Solzhenitsyn says: “no peripheral nation should be forcibly kept within the bounds of our country... those peoples who so

wished should be free to secede... (826) Many of Solzhenitsyn’s views reveal a typically Russian “big-brother” mentality, whereby the big brother is giving favors to the younger brothers always with the attitude of being superior to them. Like Lenin, he would prefer that other peoples remain under Russian “guidance” and tutelage: “the only path down from the icy cliff of totalitarianism that I could propose was the slow and smooth descent via an authoritarian system. If an unprepared people were to jump off that cliff directly into democracy, it would be crushed to an anarchical pulp.” (827) His guiding “authoritarian system” is in essence very similar to Lenin’s concept of “proletarian vanguard and “dictatorship of proletariat”. Solzhenitsyn requests the West a hands-off policy from the Russian empire: “The answer can only emerge through an organic development of accumulated national experience, and it must be free of any external coercion. (828)

Alexander Solzhenitsyn clearly appears as a messianistic propagandist: “I can envision no salvation for mankind other than through the universal exercise of self-limitation by individuals and peoples alike. That is the spirit which imbues the religious and national renaissance currently underway in Russia.” (832) We would suggest that this “spirit” in Russia should rather work for the liquidation of Russian colonialism and racism, which anyway will disappear sooner or later from the face of the Earth!

Interestingly, the last paragraph in his essay contains a warning and a threat to the United States not to cooperate with China but with Russia: “It would be disastrous for the world if America were to look upon the Peiping leadership as an ally while regarding the Russian people as no less a foe than communism.” (834)

## The USSR – the Soviet-Russian colonial empire – must be dismantled!

Twenty one years ago, the US Congress established the third week of July as Captive Nations Week. The annual C.N.W. is provided for in Public Law 86—90 which requests the President to “issue each year on the third week of July a Captive Nations Week Proclamation until such a time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the Captive Nations of the World”.

Since then, every year, the peoples from the Captive Nations, together with their American Friends, observing the Captive Nations Week, have spoken on behalf of the oppressed and subjugated peoples within and outside the USSR. They have stated that the USSR — the cradle of international communism — became the vast Soviet-Russian imperialist colonial empire. Although all the people in the USSR are enslaved by the Moscow communist regime, the Russian nation holds the privileged position over the non-Russian nations. There are 14 non-Russian republics in the USSR, each with its homeland and history, traditions, culture, customs, language and religion. However, those who attempt to preserve their own ethnicity, language and culture in their homeland are branded as “bourgeois nationalists” and severely persecuted by the Moscow Russian chauvinists. Mass deportations and uprootings of families of the Captive Nations from their homelands have been followed by the establishing of so-called “micro-districts” — ethnic Russian colonies — in the Captive Nation cities. They have been designated to increase the Russian population brought from Russia to the Captive Nation countries in the USSR.

However, the Free World chose to ignore the warnings that Moscow’s imperialism is a threat to the Free World. Co-existence, cultural exchange, detente, all have been

used by the Kremlin as a means to build up its power. In time of detente, some governments of the Free World even ignored the Soviet espionage rather than risk *offending* the Kremlin with a crack-down. The Soviet Russian colonial empire is gaining military and strategic advantage over the countries of the Free World. The number of the Captive Nations has increased since 1959. They include the following: — Cuba, South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia. The last victim of Soviet Russian barbarism is Afghanistan, the proud freedom-loving people. There is an active war in this country between the Afghan Freedom Fighters and the Soviet-Russian army.

The representatives of the Captive Nations and their American Friends gathered today at the Statue of Liberty to state their protest against Soviet-Russian imperialism. Colonialism, genocide and russification, mass deportations, political, religious and cultural persecution; to remind the Free World that it is not only their moral duty to stand up to Moscow’s aggression but it is an indispensable policy for survival; to appeal to the Free World to render its support to the Captive Nations struggling to regain their freedom and national independence; to express their condemnation of Soviet-Russian aggression in Afghanistan and to demand the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet-Russian troops from that country and the restoration of its national independence and sovereignty.

The Soviet-Russian empire which enslaved hundreds of millions of people and threatens to destroy the Free World must be dissolved and independent countries re-established.

The Captive Nations organizations should work harder to bring about their goal by uniting their forces among themselves as well as with the American patriots who stand guard that this country

will continue to remain the LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD!

Demand Freedom for Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Ukraine, Byelorussia, North Caucasus, Idel-Ural, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Turkestan, Cossackia, Georgia, Bulgaria, China, Croatia, Cuba, Czechia, East Germany, Hungary, Mongolia, N. Korea, Poland, Vietnam, Ro-

mania, Serbia, Slovakia, Tibet, Laos, Cambodia, and others!

Support the Freedom Fighters for Liberty, Justice and National Independence!

July 20, 1980, New York

*Executive Committee  
Americans to Free Captive Nations, Inc.  
Dr. Valentyna Kalynyck*

## J U R I L I N A S P E A K S

**JURI LINA is an Estonian dissident who escaped from occupied Estonia and now he resides in Sweden. He was able to escape from Estonia because he married a Finnish girl, and his wife "set all wheels into motion to get her husband out to the Free World".**

JURI does not enjoy a happy family-life, but has dedicated all his activities to the purpose of freeing his beloved Estonia from Soviet Russian clutches.

He travels in the free world, speaks, writes and acts as witness against Soviet Russia wherever there is the chance. He gave his statements against the Kremlin's government at US Congressional Committee hearings and at the Canadian Parliament's Committee to demonstrate how the Soviet Russian Government violates the Helsinki agreements.

Lina is also critical about those countrymen who live in the free world and do little to help those fighting men and women behind the Iron Curtain. First of all Lina says that nobody outside the Soviet Union is able to understand what is going on inside the Slave Empire. It takes many years for a foreigner to grasp the situation in the Soviet Union. In the Forties and in the beginnings of the Fifties, Soviet Russians extensively used physical terror. Physical terror is easily recognised: homes from the people are deported, the place becomes empty and very soon one hears that such and such people have been shot and killed by the KGB. Now the **PHYSICAL TERROR HAS BEEN REPLACED WITH SPIRITUAL TERROR**

and that is very dangerous. The Spiritual Terror is invisible and therefore many Estonians who live in the free world when visiting Estonia come to the conclusion that life has turned for the better.

There is also the impression that outside the Soviet Union visiting artists and dancers are greatly welcomed. All those artists and dancers, as well as writers, have been sent outside the USSR by the KGB and they work for the Soviet Russian system. No other artist or dancer has the chance to visit a foreign country.

The Soviet Union System now uses Spiritual Terror which manifests spiritual violence and spiritual pressure. Using highly skilled tricks and methods they kill the soul of Man. A French philosopher says, that murderers who use spiritual tools are the most dangerous. The day to day killing of souls is so covered that almost nobody notices it. Lina demonstrates this with an example: a young friend of mine who was religious, had saved his belief in God. When he went to the Commission to join compulsory military service he stated that he had not lost his religious feelings. The official of the recruiting team told him that would be attended to very soon. The young man was put under electrical current. He succeeded to resist

the tests. At the third test however, he was ready to confess that he had lost his belief in God. Later the young man bitterly accused himself, but his will-power had been broken.

Another dangerous sign is that so many people drink in Estonia. Old and young people steal to get alcohol to forget for even a short time the very boring situation they live in now. Lina also asks why does the Voice of America or other senders in the free world not say to the Estonian people: "Do not drink, do not ruin yourselves"!

Lina continues to say that the people in the West are afraid and they do not write protest letters to the Soviet Union officials. Especially important is not to forget those men and women who are in prison for

political reasons. Write to them, and write protest letters to the Soviet Union officials — that is of very important help in the Soviet greyness. Soviet Russian officials are very sensitive about their actions and they react positively when the protests are manyfold and strong. There is an understanding in the West that if we write we put that person into danger. No, said Lina "the more letters a prisoner gets, the more respected he is". In one article Lina says the following: "Do not be afraid outside the Soviet Union orbit. Act more, demonstrate more and attack your free country governments because they deal with the Soviet Union. This would be a great help for those who can do nothing themselves. Wake up, FREEMAN"!

*Elmar Lipping*

#### N E W P U B L I C A T I O N S

The First Guidebook to the USSR — to prisons and concentration camps of the Soviet Union — by Avraham Shifrin. Including 170 maps, photographs, drawings. Price \$ 11.00 (£ 5.00, 20.00 DM).

Russian Unlawfulness in Ukraine. The Life of a Martyr — by Ivan Kandyba. Price \$ 3.00 (£ 1.25, 5.00 DM).

Ucrania en la lucha por la soberania national — by Yaroslav Stetsko. Price \$ 3.00 (£1.25, 5.00 DM).

#### N O T I C E

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

Mr. Ya. Shevchuk is authorized to collect debts owed to ABN. W, therefore, kindly request your cooperation in this respect. Please contact him at the following address:

Mr. Yaroslav Shevchuk 3438 Heresford Drive  
Parma, Ohio 44134 USA

Spanish national press of November 12, 1980, provides front page coverage of the successful demonstration held in Madrid. This demonstration was organised by the ABN due to the opening of the Conference on the Security and Co-operation in Europe. Nationalities taking part in the demonstration were Ukrainians from Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Spain, the US , Canada, representatives from Bulgaria, Slovakia, and even Poland. There was also coverage of the press conference which was held on Monday evening, Nov. 11, at which Yaroslav Stetsko, the ABN President, made a statement. Both ABN actions also resulted in worldwide TV and radio coverage.

