

# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



ABN demonstrations against the Russian occupation of our subjugated countries in Madrid in November 1980 during the Conference on the Security and Co-operation in Europe.

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# The Neglected Power

*Present Western policy regarding the Russian empire and possibility of change?*

The policy of U.S. and N.A.T.O. with reference to the Russian empire up to the present invariably stemmed from agreements of the Second World War in different tactical variations, but did not change in principle. Generally, it was based on the traditional British concept of balance of power — previously in continental or regional content, and with the defeat of Germany and Japan and the emergence upon the world arena of two military superpowers — U.S. and U.S.S.R. — in global dimension. Neither Western Europe nor Japan have as yet become superpowers, prerogatives of which constitute the strength of thermonuclear and ballistic missile armaments. China is a potential superpower within the technological-thermonuclear meaning, although as far as its population is concerned, it already is a superpower. However, at present, on the scale of current historical reality, there stand two superpowers in technological-military sense — U.S.S.R. and U.S. The external political conception of every American government till now was to keep the appropriate balance of military, particularly thermonuclear and missile, power between U.S. and the U.S.S.R. This is nothing new. It is only the repetition of the conception of Metternich and Bismarck, which so enthused Kissinger. It is only the invariable imperialistic notion, which disregards the year 1848, and which forced the Austro-Hungarian Kaiser to plead for help from the Moscow Tsar, to quench Kossuth's uprising.

*The undisputable fact of the existence of new ideologically-political superpower inside the Russian empire is still disregarded by the U.S. in its official policy.* Nixon was the most earnest representative of this policy, talented, uncaring and decisive statesman, who openly defined his own conception, as the political conception of the U.S. concerning U.S.S.R. — the conception of balance of (military — atomic and missile) power, as guarantee of peace. To put it more succinctly — easing, calming, détente with limitation of U.S.S.R. expansion, or — détente with containment (suppression of Russian conquests). Thus, a combination of Dulles' policy, formulated by Kennan during the Truman administration, expressed in the article in "Foreign Affairs" signed anonymously by Mr. X., with the policy of détente, based upon a variant of Metternich's balance of power, utilized by Kissinger pursuant to Nixon's plans with reference to current situation. All this is happening with repetition of the same mistakes made by Metternich, by ignoring the underground explosions, which later on weakened and finally destroyed the empire. Metternich himself ended his career in . . . England. And Nixon . . . with Watergate and the defeat in Vietnam. The policy of President Carter was full of Quaker illusions, who, in his lack of foreign affairs knowledgeability, admitted that only Afghanistan made him realize the Russian danger. *President Reagan seems to be bringing more consciousness of reality into the office of the presidency, we will have to wait and see.*

During the time of serious world crisis caused by the U.S.S.R., the U.S. falls into a risky extreme, exchanging a statesman, of great decisions, one absolutely necessary for an anti-Bolshevist stand, courageous fighter for a Baptist leader, who, from humanitarian motives of super-perfection, causes the defeat (with many casualties in the desert) of the hostage rescue attempt in Iran and compromises a powerful nation!

President Carter suffered defeat in the desert because the Pentagon under his influence planned the mission in such a way as to save the hostages without American or Iranian casualties, and thereby instead of sending sixteen helicopters, sent only eight, in order that such a large number not be discovered by the Iranians. The smallest risk, the greatest security, a fiasco result!

*However, it would be erroneous not to appreciate American power because of Carter's failures.*

In a comparison of the military power of U.S. and U.S.S.R., even with the current superiority of U.S.S.R. in connection with thermonuclear and missile armaments, land forces and navy, three factors will be decisive:

a) The entire complex of technology and economy of the U.S. in comparison with the continuous backwardness of technology and economy of the U.S.S.R., which even if it does possess excessive armaments, but lacks the wide all-encompassing economic-technological basis, namely, the *top* of the pyramid is seen, without said pyramid having any *fundament*;

b) The initiative, resourcefulness and inventiveness of a *free* individual in comparison to a robot acting under the dictates of governmental and party apparatus;

c) The most important factor, still ignored by official U.S. policy — the *subjugated nations*, headed by Ukraine, which are breaking down the empire from inside. There could be no Western victory, without the West taking this factor into consideration in its strategy.

It is important to note that in a *crisis situation*, the American nation displayed more political national instinct, honor, dignity and patriotism than any nation of Western Europe! The American people have passed the test of mature patriotism better than their leadership.

Vance's resignation constituted a favorable factor for the cause of anti-Bolshevism. He was a person from the school of "Foreign Affairs Council", which graduated for the most part secretaries of state who were inclined toward a policy of accommodation — co-existence, détente, Rooseveltism! Vance's resignation constituted a victory for sensible forces, who better realize the dangers of bolshevism and how to counteract it. *Force versus force!* The two determinative Presidential advisers — Brzezinski and Muskie, both of Polish descent, could have brought about a change in American foreign policy, or at least sharpened its edge against the Russian empire if they had no opposition in the Government.

Negative role with reference to changes in U.S. policy is played by Germany and France, who are trying by every means possible to continue the policy of détente and cooperation on the basis of inexistent military balance of power. They believe that no alternative exists to the policy of détente. They do not want to realize that Russia is utilizing different tactical conceptions of relations with the West only as means of world conquest. Under the shadow of détente, Russia literally occupied Angola, Ethiopia, Yemen, Mozambique and lastly Afghanistan.

Bonn and Paris are currently safeguarding themselves with the brainless formula of divisibility of détente, namely its presumptive continuity in Europe, and toleration of Russian aggression outside Europe, which formula constitutes suicide. Oil of the Near East and raw materials of Africa in Russian hands — is identical with Western European capitulation before Russia!

Washington until now stood steadfastly upon conservation of the positions of Yalta and Potsdam, *confirming said positions inseparably at Helsinki, going even further than Yalta, outdoing the peace agreement, and finally acknow-*

*ledging the inviolability of the Russian empire, including therein the so-called satellite nations.* As a result of respecting the principles of division of spheres of influence, including severing of live bodies of cut up nations — Vietnam, Korea, Germany — the U.S. suffered defeat in Vietnam, itself refusing to and forcefully objecting to Presidents Diem and Thieu marching north to liberate the communist dominated Northern Vietnam. Logically, the U.S. had to lose.

Utilizing its own particular understanding of every formula of relations with the West, Russia has gained dominance in Cuba with unsuccessful attempt by Kennedy to remedy the situation. And thereby has gained a strategic foothold near New York.

The Captive Nations Resolution adopted unanimously in 1959 by U.S. Congress during the Eisenhower (Dulles) administration, encompassing the direction the U.S. should take in its attempt toward liberation and national independence of said captive nations, remains exclusively for internal utilization by various national groups in the U.S., without having any influence on the official policy.

Indissoluble ingredient of U.S. foreign policy with reference to U.S.S.R. — Russian empire — is not the conception of national liberation of captive nations and renewal of their independent and sovereign states, resulting in the collapse of the empire (although such would be in complete accord with United Nations Resolution adopted in 1960, 1970, etc., concerning decolonization), in the same way as it is constantly the primary component of Russian foreign policy, the Leninism-Marxism-Communism and the “national liberation wars” waged outside the Iron Curtain, which wars are obligatory for the government of the U.S.S.R., defined by a separate article of the U.S.S.R. Constitution!

Washington unchangeably respects Yalta, even when Moscow tramples upon it, as exemplified by Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 or Budapest in 1956! Or the Berlin wall in 1961!

Pointing out the fact that, on its face the Resolution of the U.S. Congress of 1959 lacks provisions for counteraction of the U.S. Government, which constitutes complete disregard of the Public Law 86—90 passed by the US Congress in 1959, is quite unnecessary. *The fact that Moscow, having gained military superiority (temporarily), decided upon continuation of its expansion, attacking Afghanistan on its way toward the Persian Gulf and oil fields, finally caused the U.S. to comprehend that it cannot continue hiding its head in the sand!* The situation for the captive nations of the U.S.S.R. is improving!

It is true that the U.S. does not as yet want to play its best winning card — *the captive nations* — due to different reasons. Among them is fear that (a) it might provoke atomic war, (b) the collapse of the Russian empire will open the way for invasion of Europe by Chinese masses, etc., and the belief that (c) capitalist trade is more convenient and easier with one large complex than with numerous national states. Those and similar arguments are unjustified and completely reactionary. No other alternative to atomic war exists than national revolutions of subjugated nations, which will cause the collapse of the empire from inside, since no one will be dropping atomic bombs on revolutions or revolutionaries when such bombs will also fall, as a matter of pure logic, upon the occupational forces and colonists.

Slaves or prisoners will never defend slavery or their prison, even if they had to exchange the devil for Lucifer. Free or liberated nations will always fight harder against new invaders, than one empire against another, or than nations enslaved by an empire to save that empire, their prison of nations.

Trade with African nations after the fall of empires is somehow developing very successfully — but trade is not the essential concern. When forests are burning, it is not the time to grieve for roses!

Germany's repetition of the stereotype phrase that there is no alternative to détente, therefore the West is forced to continue on the same course — only instead of utilizing the Mr. Brandt version it is now necessary to use the Mr. Strauss version — namely that “an aggressive U.S.S.R. policy against the West is impossible, simultaneous with receipt of economic and technical aid from the West” — constitutes a disarmament of the West. Moscow talks about détente, but for years continues its expansion throughout the whole world and at the same time adopts a Constitution containing an article about obligations of the U.S.S.R. to help “national liberation wars and social revolutions” within the understanding of “proletarian internationalism”, in fact it is Russian messianistic imperialism! The impasse in which the West found itself resulted from its disregard of the mightiest force of our time — *national liberation movements of captive nations during the epoch of collapse of empires*. It was said that there was no alternative to the containment of Dulles-Kennan (namely to the policy of restrain), but then came the policy of co-existence and détente and again “there is no alternative thereto”. In fact, this policy is accompanied by the systematic capitulation of the West throughout all continents. There are two definitions of détente:

(a) Static — détente — status quo of the division of spheres of influence on the basis of balance of power (West),

(b) Dynamic, planned offensive action with occupation of always new countries with breakdown of military balance of power (Russia).

In such a situation, the West must possess a permanent, unchanging conception, based upon permanent factors, *constituting strive for freedom and independence of captive nations, which nobody may ever destroy*, and upon such elementary basis build its political conception! Such a path conforms to established law.

### **Afghanistan Created the Turning Point**

The meaning of Afghanistan lies not only in the fact that it is Moscow's roadway to the Persian Gulf and oil fields, but not at all to a lesser degree in the realization of the existence of the enormous undefeatable force of national and religious liberation ideals! It and Iran as well as Pakistan prove the existence of yet another factor — the outlandish artificial state constructions left behind by the Western imperial era. Neither Iran, nor Afghanistan nor Pakistan are homogeneous national states! Particularly Iran and Pakistan are comely objects for Moscow's aggression, in accordance with the realization of the statute of U.S.S.R. Constitution calling for “help to national liberation movements”, for example, the Kurds, the Azerbaidjanis, the Kuzistanis (Arab), the Baluchistanis and others. Even in Afghanistan, there are only sixty percent Afghans, when Iran has fifteen million Persians and eighteen million non-Persians!

It is imperative to remember that where the Russian boot is planted, the nations rise against this barbarian, however, where said boot has not reached yet, as exemplified by Baluchistan and Kurdistan, there is pro-Russian, pro-Soviet orientation and hope for Russian “aid”. Even Yugoslavia, with its multinational composition is a possible object of Moscow's infiltration from inside, since even among its (very small) portion of Croatians there are pro-Soviet feelings.

### **The gravity of national problems is being realized everywhere!**

Moreover, *religious and national liberation war has begun!* The essence is not in the fact that Khomeini revolution evolved into a degenerate form and content, because it was a revolution of an Islamic sect Shiites which has as its foundation the cult of hate and vengeance, but the essence is in the fact that nationalism and religion are becoming the decisive factors in anti-Russian and anti-atheistic crusade — a national and religious crusade that we have been proclaiming for some long time!

Before the U.S. stands a decisive task — *to realize* the sense of the epoch, to stand in the vanguard of *national and religious* crusade against imperialistic and atheistic Russian aggression, or to be a *reactionary* force, which will defend the status quo as it did in the past — and suffer defeat! Vietnam was lost not militarily but politically, because the U.S. stood against the ideals of national *unity* of Presidents Diem and Thieu! The U.S. tried to preserve the *cut up* live body of a nation! The result — unified Vietnam under communism, sea of blood, hundreds of thousands of refugees at the bottom of the sea . . . Instead of marching to liberate Northern Vietnam, Nixon marched into Cambodia in 1970, in order to destroy Viet Cong reserve bases — but found it deserted. He unnecessarily transferred the war upon Cambodia's territory instead of liberating North Vietnam. Cambodia became an additional objective for Hanoi's imperialism, having taken advantage of Nixon's maneuver. Such is the vengeance of ignoring *national unification ideals!*

We are making a statement enormously important to the future development of events and policies of the West — the most reactionary, nation-killing and human-killing, imperialistic and atheistic system of all time — Russian-Bolshevik, has pushed the most *freedom-loving*, from historical retrospective the *refuge of persecuted* (similar to Ukrainian Zaporozhska Sich), country — the U.S., to the role of a defender of *reactionary* order, from the point of view of nations fighting for their independence and freedom! This concerns particularly nations enslaved in Russian prison of nations, but also to a lesser degree Croats, Kurds, Azerbaidjanis of Northern Iran, Baluchistanis, and others, who are placed by the U.S. in a terrible position, especially the Kurds and Baluchistanis, of accepting the gift of the Trojan Horse from the greatest criminals of all time — Russian-Bolsheviks!

In view of such development of events, does not the war on two fronts against the Germans and Russians of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), who did not accept anyone's gift of a Trojan Horse, take on a *historical* meaning?

The way out for U.S. — clearly and openly *proclaim Magna Charta of independence of all nations enslaved in the Russian empire and the imperative collapse of this last and most cruel empire in the world*, and to proceed on the road not of a policy of *détente* and balance of power, but to bring forth a new conception — of liberation. Thus, to seriously begin the policy of liberation. Then Moscow will be pushed into the position of the most reactionary power in the world and all the other problems of Kurds, Baluchistanis, Croats and others will descend to a secondary position, when the *principal enemy* will be attacked! Enslaved nations in mini-empires will realize that the West stands for integral freedom and independence, and not for the status quo of slavery!

The tragedy of the present world situation is the fact that the U.S. and N.A.T.O. defend and guarantee, inclusive of Helsinki, the inviolability of the current status of enslavement by Russian imperialism of dozens of nations and

hundreds of millions of individuals, as well as the integrity of other forceably created, as a consequence of Second World War and afterwards, artificial state constructions resulting from the collapse of Western empires. N.A.T.O. and the U.S. discard everything new, revolutionary, in fact taking a stand contrary to the great traditions of American anti-colonial liberation Revolution, in which took part many freedom-loving warriors of various European nations. Today, the U.S. is defending the security of slavery and national bondage throughout an enormous part of the world's space ruled by Russia!

Not even attempting to expose the U.S.S.R. as the greatest tyrannical colonial empire of all time, but fostering an illusion of homogeneousness within some kind of one "Soviet nation", as a "new historical formation", the U.S. thereby justifies the most worthless and hypocritical political strategy of Russia, as the protector of ones suffering national and social enslavement and bondage throughout the world, the same Russia which in reality is the greatest enslaver of nations and peoples in history! The U.S. gave away, in the sense of universal dimension, the political key of national-liberation ideals and social deliverance to Moscow! In this manner, Russia wound up having in its hands a lever in Iran (Kurds and others), in Pakistan (Baluchistanis and others), it "united" Vietnam, it already stirred up a small portion of Croatians (the events in Australia, with slogans — "better Soviet Croatia than American Yugoslavia"), it has a lever in a number of African countries, etc., including a lever within a portion of Basques in Iberian Peninsula, as well as within a portion of Northern Ireland.

The U.S., once a revolutionary country and vanguard of liberty, transformed itself into a conservator of old reactionary policies of Metternich's Europe, an epoch with tsars and kaisers of empires going against Kossuth and Kosciushko, who were helping Americans to gain freedom! Is not the conscious and planned abandonment by President Eisenhower and Dulles of Malter to Russian invasion, by their written statement through Tito to Bulganin, to the effect that the U.S. is not interested in the fate of Hungary, reminiscent of the epoch of Kossuth's uprising quenched by Russians?

The Russian empire trembles on top of a volcano of national and social revolutions and due to its fear of such revolutions, takes the offensive in delusory smoke of falsehood and deception, as a pseudo-protector of national and social liberation movements, in order to screen its colonialism and imperialism, its colonial empire with phrases about the *union* of republics, which fact is also represented with approval by the U.S. to the world, without any attempt being made on the part of the U.S. to at least discover the truth about the imperialistic colonial character of the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

New international law is being created before the eyes of the U.S., for example, acknowledgement of the same rights for insurgent armies as are enjoyed by soldiers of regular armies, or the United Nations resolutions with reference to the legality, ethical- and lawful justification and necessity of aid, including military aid, against colonial enslavement of an invader, to a country which is enslaved (for instance Namibia), or United Nations resolutions in connection with world decolonization, thus also the collapse of the Russian empire — the U.S.S.R.! All of the above mentioned revolutionary elements of international law as yet do not exist for the U.S.! It doesn't want to know about them or take them into its consideration.

*(to be continued)*



## The Frontiers of Culture

(Continuation)

### The organisation of the opposition movement

The establishment of the Ukrainian Group to Monitor the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords by the Ukrainian Opposition Movement was an important precedent. Now another, even more significant step has been taken which involves "the activation of all forces, the unification of individual groups and greater co-ordination of activities taking place outside Ukraine and which thus represents an efficient internal opposition to the ruling nation". Although analogous attempts have already been seen, this question demands the utmost attention and is extremely urgent and of great significance. From the perspective of a realistic possibility of the new revival of the movement it represents the mutual reinforcement of its progressive aims and techniques, and thus the achievement of the most significant gains in the struggle for the life and freedom of the nation.

The combination of these factors represents an exceptionally complex set of problems that demand solution through the efforts of many people, detailed preparations, a sound analysis and a precise evaluation of the existing situation — impossible to achieve in the conditions of a prison. Thus, while not departing from the framework of these observations (whose aim is local) it is the intention of these questions — not always precisely formulated for tactical reasons — and this brief discussion to present an objective (if not always complete) account of the true state of Ukrainian national-social life and the present position of Ukrainian culture. Rest assured that these pressing problems are already being dealt with in Ukraine, or are at least being discussed and are partially embodied. The questions are presented as actual tasks to be accomplished,

but in a superficial manner. We intend to present them as batons in a relay race which are to be passed to the new generation that will infuse the movement. The new generation which will join the progressive movement has already inherited that which we have already achieved and placed on a firm foundation and given new methods and structures. It should now continually progress, and not begin again at the starting point — which fate befell our generation as a consequence of historical circumstances.

The present situation of the empire, scientific-technical progress, economic factors, internal and external political circumstances are conducive to the development of the activities of the opposition and to the success of the liberation struggle, despite the fact of the totalitarian regime's furious retaliation which could easily escalate into a total attack with repressions, pogroms, provocations. The regime — fully aware of the "danger" of the existing situation, of the "dangers" presented by the active opposition forces and of the possibility of the growth of this movement — on the one hand is conducting an active external policy, which deflects attention from its internal problems. And on the other hand it continues to force the mass resettlements of the captive nationalities beyond the boundaries of their ethnic territories. The disciples of Moscow's imperial policies colonise non-Russian lands with Russians and foreign populations, and conduct a concomitant policy of enforced Russification of the new settlers, and hasten their ethnocide.

In order to distract the attention of both their own and the world's communities from the internal situation of the empire, the regime is forced to conduct dynamic external policies — in "hot spots" (a well tested imperial practice) regardless

of their location. And the empire is continually developing its military potential, militarising every branch of the economy and using the "screen" of space to threaten nuclear destruction. This has become a means of intimidation threatening occupation of the nations — first and foremost of the European nations — which could destroy the world's balance and bring it to cataclysm. This represents the tested, active and precisely formulated strategy of the imperial state machine which has also acted more than once to prevent the disintegration of the empire by providing the means of dealing with a potentially dangerous threat internally. Thus, it is understandable that as the activities of the opposition increase, so the repressions of the regime increase. Thus today as the strength of the opposition grows, so it is confronted with the new expansion of the repressive apparatus, with its growing system of informants, surveillance, control of social thought, psychiatric methods of controlling behaviour, the expansion of the network of concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals for political prisoners. These are those circles of Dante's hell that the new generation of community activists infusing the opposition movement shall be forced to pass through.

However, the regime is no longer strong enough to eliminate tens of millions of people — to repeat the "genocide" of the 1930's and 1940's. This is not because its character has changed, or that totalitarian communism has become "civilised", "more humanitarian" or less blood thirsty. No, its nature has not altered but the nature of the scientific-technical revolution, urbanisation have dictated their own demands on the regime, which have involved creating a more open society. Further, the regime now understands that if it were to destroy tens of millions of lives, it would also destroy itself. Also high inflation, economic depression, the stagnation and

deterioration of science, the progressively worsening living conditions of the population demand greater contact with the outside world. These are the reasons why the beginning of the 1980's shall see large numbers of the intelligentsia joining the opposition movement and shall see the development of co-ordinated activities of democratic forces.

The task that lies ahead shall be protracted, intense and difficult. It shall be without illusion and shall not devalue the Opposition Movement. It shall be a spiritual task which shall restore the nations to their rightful place in the world community. The components of these forces, their strength, sources of replenishment — open and manifest (although working clandestinely for the moment) are still fermenting and growing internally, with the intelligentsia — whose structure and opinions are still not exactly formulated — forming social thought and harmoniously developing.

I shall attempt to give a brief characterisation of the different groups. They are not organised nor do they have a co-ordinating centre but the different elements (and they are still simply elements) of the opposition are united in their conscious and openly declared opposition activities. Their primary task — for which they would sacrifice their lives — is a determined and decisive counter-reaction (non-violent) to imperial policies that are intent on engulfing the nation. The Opposition is determined to achieve the democratisation of society, to preserve the national spirit, to mobilise the growing — although scattered — national forces and to co-ordinate those activities striving to attain sovereignty and freedom for the nation.

The work of this section of the national intelligentsia — independently of their spheres of activity in social thought, humanitarian studies, literature, clandestine activities, etc. — without a doubt constitutes the most important contribution to

the treasury of the culture of the captive nation by prolonging its life, while simultaneously broadening the sphere of the opposition by the inclusion of other loyal groups. Mention should also be made of the contributions of the emigree groups and the diaspora living in the countries of the free world. The size and quality of that level of national culture, in the readiness of a nation to defend its own national existence, its level of consciousness, its vitality and future. The dynamism and the development of the liberation processes is dependent on these qualities. The work of this large group is both noble and honourable. It is precisely for this reason that the Russian imperial administration has developed the "most perfect system of physical and moral terror, which is without precedent in the history of mankind and which is directed against all the opposition forces of all the captive nations, but first and foremost against the Ukrainian nation — a developed, viable nation that is one of the largest in Europe. This is why Moscow is attempting to drain the life-blood of each of our national cells. It seems that they have been placed under a stream of "penetrating X-rays" and that Moscow is trying to implement an all-embracing control of our national-social life beginning in the village, homes, community and school and ending in our industrial centres, city complexes and economic institutions. It is in the face of these difficult conditions that the opposition and a section of the intelligentsia experience the most repressions and losses, and during pogroms — that last for decades — their achievements are either gradually or brutally destroyed, and thus the number of truly dedicated participants is diminished.

But even with the minimal favourable conditions this indestructible force erupts again and again. It is reborn and revitalised, and brings the nation closer to achieving its aims. Let us recall the classically organised activities — the mature perfection

of party organisation in a European style when national harmony and consolidation of national forces acted as the powerful flow of a single river in its desire to achieve its aim at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries, which period also saw the development of our classical literature, social thought and culture in general: the Great National Revolution and its principles of statehood were formulated on the highest principles of world democracy — was this not a unitary phenomenon?

Let us take the example of the development of Ukrainian literature in the 1920's which took place in conditions of minimal freedom for creativity and which was prevented from any further development because of the genocide of the 1930's. Let us look at the liberation struggle and the protracted partisan warfare and the national solidarity that it achieved — support for the underground in Halychyna lasted until the beginning of the 1950's. Finally let us recall the renaissance of the 1960's that flowered in impossible conditions. This phenomenon is natural and is in conformity with natural laws, and for us — Ukrainians — it is completely comprehensible, unique, of immense significance and even mystic, because even after centuries of captivity, brutal repressions, pogroms, prohibitions, national strangulation, the policies of destroying and assimilating the elite of each generation the phenomenon has revived. This, after the implementation of such policies for over three centuries, and in particular after the unprecedented genocide of the last 50 years which destroyed tens of millions of Ukrainians — that criminal destruction of the nation that took the life of every third and fourth Ukrainian. The explosion of the national struggle had such strength and courage that it proves that Ukrainian culture is eternal and indestructible.

This phenomenon is natural, unique and also mystic because it represents the eternal

state of our national spirit, our internal strength and the essence of the nation, its deepest faith, which along with its language, spiritual imperatives, religion, genetics and geographic factors that constitute a nation, its history, traditions, culture.

This phenomenon testifies to the maturity of the community, its civilising role in the immense regions of Eastern Europe. It is proof of the historical age of the nation — whose history stems back over two thousand years, of its high level of social thought and to the level of its culture. It is the guarantee of its life, its greatest strength in its struggle for sovereignty and statehood. For the highly developed — but captive — nations in their most critical stage of development but facing the danger of their own destruction — which faces the Ukrainian nation — the consolidation of the opposition forces, their qualitative and quantitative membership, the activation and growth of the liberation processes and the co-ordination of activities, are demanded and the inherent essence of the national character and the objective needs of the struggle for life are the prerequisites for the preservation of the nation for its cultural progress and for the attainment of freedom.

The representatives of national culture and as a rule the realistic instigators and potential source of the opposition are the creators and bearers of culture, and shall remain as these creators and bearers until such time arrives that culture is no longer persecuted, or until their lives end. Without entering into direct conflict with the imperial state machine and the official ideology they are united in their national aspirations and in the national traditions of the captive nation, and thus create a complied culture through these eclectic means. This culture is not at its highest level of development but the creativity of this group is a process accomplished in a masterly and often artistic manner. Brilliantly talented people join this community

and today their work is noticeably reflected in poetry, partially in prose and in particular in the works of young authors, in works with historical themes and in translation of foreign literature. But the regime does not allow even the last of these categories to escape its notice and censure, and it ensures that the literature from the countries of the socialist camp with themes identical to those of Soviet apologists for communism or the pro-Soviet literature of Western countries is given first priority for translation purposes. It is thus under the direct or indirect control of Moscow and such imperial literature cannot always be included with artistic achievements. Simultaneously the translation of the national literatures of the empire are severely restricted as is the publication of foreign classics — one of the prerequisites for the normal functioning and development of each culture.

The captive nations are forced to read foreign literature in Russian translation — a process conducive to Russification, the devaluation of the nation which reinforces the notion of the superiority of Russian culture in the minds of youth. Avant-garde art — only printed in small numbers and reflecting only a few of the recent developments — is becoming more popular, but as a rule, it can only be found in the capitals of the metropolis and in several large cities. It “rarely reaches the wider national territories, where the people might be informed about it in small doses” through English sources (periodicals, the cinema, television, the theatre).

### **The Reality of Socialist Realism**

The majority of the members of the opposition are nationally conscious and sincerely wish to contribute to the culture of our nation. However, due to the circumstances which they find themselves in, their contributions cannot reflect the true spirit of the nation, its ambitions and tasks. It merely reflects a superficial cultural cha-

racter that is only expressed in language, life-style, in individual characteristics of the national stereotype or in geographic or historic features. And in as much as a large number of truly talented artists and their creativity bears elements of nationalism (true, external ones) which do not enter into conflict with the official ideology and politics (but on the contrary support them) then the imperial administration will use the names of those individual artists as a propaganda screen to prove the "development and blossoming" of national cultures, and proclaims them to be the achievements (although these claims are not always sufficiently realistic) of the whole empire both within the empire and abroad. Further it organises favourable responses in the communist or pro-communist press, publishes works in foreign languages under its own label, and using this thick propaganda screen continues to perpetrate its own black deeds.

Writers are aware of this, but fear and the illusion of success have their own consequences. As national patriots and also involuntary participants of the process of the devaluation of national values and the captivity of their own nation, a majority of the activists continually feel "schizophrenic". While having inherited patriotism and a deep calling to create true artistic values for their nation within the limits of their abilities and to donate these talents and achievements to the nation, each of them is simultaneously forced into a conflict and is forced to pay his dues to the ide-

ology of the ruling nation and the politics of the occupier through their own creativity. Thus that which is alien, and which often prevents creative development, which is unnatural and often loathed is used for propaganda purposes, and is praised and glorified. It authorises the labelling of the colonial status of nations and the downfall of national cultures as "democratic and free" whereas it is in fact pure animal chauvinism and the oppression by the ruling nation, which justifies Russification by labelling it "international education", and which serves to confirm the myth of a "single Soviet nation".

Thus to again take the illustration offered by literature and in particular creative literature (a traditional measurement) which should be aesthetically perfect in form and which should thus depict reality, describe the objective, the spirit and task of the nation, which should be the history of the nation — and which should oppose the ideology enforced by the ruling nation. Apart from this, which should be a right for each artist, the artist should also have the right to develop freely in any direction he chooses — including the search and development of his own individuality (as the world famous Archipenko and "archipenkism"). This is not in principle opposed by the "theoretical formulae" and cannons of orthodox Soviet doctrine (as in literature), but which in practice acts to create a myth, a legend — and where there is no room to speak of freedom and creativity.

*(To be continued)*

#### NEW PUBLICATIONS

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## **A. Solzhenitsyn defends Russian colonialism and imperialism**

*(Continuation)*

### II

#### **On origins of the Russian people**

Alexander Solzhenitsyn founded his political conclusions on a falsified, doctrinaire and unscientific presentation of the Russian people. He starts from the premise that the Russian people already existed in the ninth or tenth century. The period of the Rus state and civilization is considered without any scientific foundation as the beginnings of the Russian national history. Therefore the whole territory of the Rus state is incorporated into the area of the Russian people. But the Rus state was the state of the Ukrainian people. It was centered and based in Ukraine. From the various opinions of Solzhenitsyn we can deduce that the Ukrainian-Rus period and territory is considered by him as the integral, organic, natural and historical Russia. Solzhenitsyn attempts to cross out the work of many generations of historians and the whole Ukrainian history.<sup>1</sup>

Hundreds of scholars and scientists conclusively proved that the Ukrainian and the Russian peoples are quite distinct and different and both have their own original historical beginnings. The Ukrainian culture and ethno-racial composition are rooted in a Neolithic Indo-Iranian agri-culture around the Black Sea, which flourished since the third millenium B.C. popularly known as the Trypillia culture. The roots of the Russian people are in the Finno-Ugrian mesolithic population of the forest-cultures, first known as the Fatyanovo culture.<sup>2</sup> This culture passed into the metallic Annanyino culture. While Kyiv, the capital of the Ukrainian people, traces a 1500-old history, Moscow was founded only eight centuries ago. Another recent historian concluded: "On the basis

of the present-day state of archeology we are in a position to affirm that the Ukrainian people is a native on its land beginning from the Neolithic epoch. We can consider a large group of Neolithic tribes of the 4th-3rd millenia B.C. as ancestors of the Ukrainians".<sup>3</sup>

One example of the differences between the Ukrainian culture and the Russian is the Easter Egg, origins of which are traced in Ukraine to the Trypillia culture (two millenia before Christ), while it is unknown in Russia. Also philologists found in the Russian language a Finno-Ugrian basis, which in turn cannot be traced in the Ukrainian language, because the Finno-Ugrian population never lived on Ukrainian territory.<sup>4</sup>

The medieval state called Rus with the capital at Kyiv, arose exclusively on the Ukrainian ethnic territory around the Dnipro River bordering on the Desna and Prypyat rivers in the north, Carpathian Mountains in the west, the Donetsk River in the east and the Caucasian Mountains in the south-east. It evolved slowly on the foundations of the previous Ukrainian state in the 5th-6th centuries called the Anty.<sup>5</sup> In the mid-ninth century the Ukrainian-Rus state became internationally known, when its military forces led by princes Askold and Dyr attacked Byzantium, 860. The northward expansion of the Rus state began only a century later but it went into the Novgorod and Pskov regions first. The Rus conquest of central and eastern Russia came only in the eleventh century. When the Rus-Ukrainians came to Novgorod on the Volkhov River, they found there a principality, established by Slavic colonizers called Slovenians, who composed a ruling minority among the native Finno-Ugrians (Chud,

Ves, Merya, Yam and Byarma). Although Novgorod was brought under Kyiv's rule, its population and the ruling elite was constantly striving to throw off Ukrainian domination.

The Russian archeologist A. Spitsyn found out that the Finno-Ugrian tribes were slavonized by the tribes of Kryvych and by Slavs from Novgorod, both of which did not compose the Rus-Ukrainian people and state.<sup>6</sup> V. Shcherbakivskiy maintains that the slavonization of Finno-Ugrians by non-Ukrainian tribes caused the widening of differences and enmities between Ukraine and "Russia" because the "northern" Slavs introduced to the natives agricultural methods and tools from Northern Europe, while the Ukrainians continued to use methods and tools, which were introduced in the past from the Near Eastern agriculturists. These differences still remain in the agricultural terminology of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples.

According to one Russian historian, native non-slavonized Russian Finno-Ugrians were still to be found in the Russian heartland at the end of the 18th century. Tsarina Catherina II issued an order prohibiting to mention publicly the fact that the majority of the Russian people originated from the Finno-Ugrian population. When the Russian government adopted in the 19th century a Slavophile and later a pan-Slavistic messianic policy toward Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Poles, Bulgarians, Serbs and Czechs, it was hurriedly covering up every trace of Finno-Ugrian origins of the Russian people.

In the mid-twelfth century the principalities of Rostov-Suzdal and Vladimir came to prominence. Their princes, Yuriy Dolgorukiy (1120—1157) and Andriy Bogolubskiy (1157—1174) conducted active and dynamic anti-Rus, anti-Ukrainian policies. In 1169 Bogolubskiy attacked, conquered and terribly pillaged Kyiv. The destruction was much more severe than the one

perpetrated in 1240 by the Mongols. Rostov developed into an important power center, which later became one of the pillars of Russian statehood. It grew in the midst of the ancient native Fatyanovo culture. A new, later known as Russian, nationality was arising in this north-eastern corner of Europe out of the struggle of native although slavonized people against the Ukrainian nation and culture. The principalities which gave the foundation for the Russian national state were: Rostov, Suzdal, Vladimir, Tver, Yaroslavl, Murom and Ryazan. Before his death Dolgorukiy constructed around a small village in 1156 a fort, called Kremlin, the village was called Moscow. During that time (second half of the twelfth century) it came to the actual breakdown and separation between relations of Rus-Ukraine and the "Russian" principalities. This early founding period of the Russian people and state was consolidated before the coming of the Mongols under Prince Vsevolod III the Big Nest (1176—1212). During the period of the reign of the three mentioned princes (roughly 90 years) a different from the Rus-Kyiv political system evolved there: despotic, tyrannical, militaristic, absolutist and totalitarian. The Rus-Ukrainian system was federalistic, with a large measure of true democracy ("viche"), tolerant and pluralistic. Russian historian V. Klyuchevskiy gave to the Rostov-Suzdal-Vladimir state and people the following description: "It was a country, stretching beyond the old, original Rus, and it was in the 11th century rather an alien than a Rus country... The inhabitants here were the Murom, the Merya and the Ves."<sup>7</sup> Thus at best one might speak of about 800 years of Russia's existence as a separate statehood. From its beginnings, this early Russian state lost almost all similarities and cultural affinities with the Ukrainian-Rus state, which lasted approximately half a millenium (from mid-ninth to mid-fourteenth century).

Almost from the beginning of its existence on Russian territory, the Orthodox Church became completely subordinated to and controlled by the monarchic regime. As a whole it never had any chance to develop as a real religious institution, caring primarily for the salvation of souls. It was always a tool of the state, and in particular, the tool of Russian messianistic imperialism.

Erroneous and unfounded is Alexander Solzhenitsyn's claim "to the thousand years of Eastern Christianity in Russia". (801) All scholars of the history of Christianity in Eastern Europe agree that Christ's Faith and Church were spreading on Ukrainian territory right from the first century A. D. The Ukrainian-Rus prince Askold was baptised in the ninth century. So was Grand Princess Olha in the tenth century. Officially Christianity became the religion of the Ukrainian people in 988. However to the principalities of Suzdal, Rostov and Vladimir it was introduced only in the eleventh century. Nevertheless it was limited there to a small minority in the towns where foreigners from Rus-Ukraine were staying. It spread in the countryside very slowly. Thus the real push by the princes to baptise the natives came only in the twelfth century when these principalities separated themselves from Rus-Ukraine. Before that time Christianity was considered an alien religion; afterwards it became to be considered the religion of native rulers which had to be formally accepted in order not to be punished. (The rule "cuius regio, eius religio" was supreme in Russia.) As late as the eighteenth century there were native Russians, who did not accept even formally the Orthodox Church.

In the thirteenth century Eastern Europe was invaded by the Mongols-Tatars. While Ukraine, particularly west of Dnipro River managed to retain national sovereignty under king Danylo (1205—1264) and Grand Prince Lev I (1264—

1301), Russian principalities submitted themselves completely under the Tatar rule. As a typical example can serve Grand Duke Alexander Nevskiy (died 1263), contemporary of the Ukrainian king Danylo. He closely cooperated with and submitted to the Tatar overlordship and fiercely combated his European neighbors (Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Swedes and Germans). King Danylo, on the contrary, sought European assistance in the struggle of Ukraine against the Tatars. As the result, cultural estrangement between Russia and Ukraine was growing even more than in the preceding period. Ukrainian rulers were struggling to regain more freedom for the Ukrainian people, while Russian princes and grand dukes were becoming more absolutistic, tyrannical and despotic, claiming to be subordinates of the Great Khans. Russian historians V. Klyuchevskiy and I. V. Sergeevich recognized these differences very clearly. Mongol overlordship in Russia of about 250 years left lasting influences upon the Russian people and estranged it for ever from the major cultural and civilizing trends of Europe. What's more, Russia became Europe's major cultural antagonist, which resulted in uncompromising hostility of Russia toward Western Christianity, pluralistic political systems and inherent recognition of rights of man. When Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, Russia was ready to claim the succession to spiritual leadership in the whole Christendom, according to the doctrine of the "Third Rome".

#### **Rise of Russian (Muscovite) imperialism**

Alexander Solzhenitsyn's claim that a certain Russian autocrat did not conquer any European territory is intended to create the impression of Russia's peaceful and friendly attitude toward the Western nations. However in reality Russia's whole history is one continuous chain of hostilities and conquests of European nations, especially under the banner of the messian-



istic "Third Rome" idea. The policy started under Grand Duke Vasilii II of Moscow (1425—1462), who prevented the restoration of Church unity between Catholics and Orthodox branches at the Council of Florence (1439). In 1456 Vasilii invaded and subordinated to Muscovy the Grand Duchy of Novgorod arguing that Novgorod kept close and friendly relations with Lithuania and other European countries. In 1470—78, his successor Ivan III destroyed and pillaged Novgorod, rooting out all democratic and European influences still lingering there. In 1492 Ivan III waged war against Lithuania, the result of which he got by conquest some Byelorussian territory. In 1500 Russian troops again invaded Lithuania and captured the ancient Ukrainian city and principality of Chernyhiiv, 1503. Ivan the Terrible organized the first Russian colonial police, the terroristic "Oprichniki", a 6000-man force, the precursors of the present day KGB.

The next Russian despot, Vasilii III, started his rule by destroying all democratic and pro-Western influences in the principality of Pskov, 1510. As Prof. N. Chirovsky maintains, the policies of Ivan II and Vasilii III were "early forerunners of the Soviet-Russian mass genocide of the 20th century, as the political devices of lasting domination of the conquered lands. It has served as historical proof of the undeniable fact, that genocide was not a Communist invention but a traditional Muscovite-Russian imperialist technique so frequently applied in the past toward conquered countries and peoples."<sup>8</sup> The list of Russian conquests takes many pages. Indeed, Russia's history is a history of imperialism, colonialism and warfare, connected with messianism of various kinds and even racism. Within three centuries Russia conquered half of Europe.

The conquest of Ukraine by Russia proceeded in stages. During the existence of the Ukrainian Cossack state in the seventeenth

century, there came the first invasion in 1658 under tsar Aleksiy Mikhaylovich, but it was repelled by the Ukrainians under hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy, who defeated Russian armies at Konotop. Nevertheless, Russians were expanding their internal subversion of Ukraine so that in 1709 under tsar Peter I they were able to defeat the famous Ukrainian hetman Ivan Mazepa at Poltava. Mazepa was allied to the Swedish king Charles XII. In 1775 Russian armies on orders of tsarina Catharina II destroyed the last bastion of Ukrainian independence — the Zaporozhe Sich on the lower Dnipro River. The last commander of the Ukrainian Zaporozhe Cossacks, Petro Kalnyshevskiy, was deported in 1776 to the Solovetsk monastery in northern Russia, where he was kept in an underground cell without windows for 25 years. He died in 1803 at the age of 112.

Solzhenitsyn claims that "Alexander I had even entered Paris with his army, but he did not annex an inch of European soil." (805) This claim is untrue, because under Alexander I (1801—1825) Ukraine was moaning in colonial yoke. Similarly were the three Baltic nations and Byelorussia. Russia conquered Finland in 1809. So was Georgia in the Caucasus (1801). Alexander took also the Bilostok region from Prussia. All over Europe he proclaimed Russian messianistic ideas. The Holy Alliance, an off-spring of his views, was to serve as a hot-bed of Russian imperialistic expansionism and an agency for combating anti-Russian nationalist movements. The wars of Alexander I in Europe cost Ukraine tremendous losses in manpower and taxes on behalf of the Russian colonial empire. In 1812 Alexander's forces occupied Bessarabia and Northern Azerbaijan. In 1814—15 Central Poland was incorporated into his empire. Actually Alexander I dreamed of a world empire, first in a coalition with Napoleon, and later together with the reactionary regimes of Austria and Prussia. In Ukraine there

arose a secret anti-Russian pro-Napoleonic liberation movement. Later, in 1819 another secret society, entitled the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine, was formed in the Poltava region led by an aristocrat, Vasyl Lukashevych. The society was composed predominantly of the elite of the former Ukrainian Hetman State, liquidated by Catharina II in 1780. It proclaimed as its goal the re-establishment of the Ukrainian independent state.

The "paradise" in the Russian empire during the 19th century, so beautifully described by the novelist A. Solzhenitsyn, looked in reality quite differently. The Ukrainian genius, Taras Shevchenko, painted the true picture of this "paradise" as it existed in mid-century Ukraine. Ukrainian peasantry was in total slavery, treated worse than cattle. Ukrainian intelligentsia was under KGB-like permanent surveillance and pressure to renounce their own nationality. Tsar Nicholas I (1825—1855) established the ill-famed "Third Section" — a copy of Ivan the Terrible's "Oprichniki" — a secret political police with duties to constantly watch over the activities of the intelligentsia, especially of the subjugated peoples. The slightest deviation from the official doctrines of tsardom were registered and then their advocates were persecuted as dissenters. The "Third Section" existed till 1917, and almost without interruption its duties were taken over by the Cheka-GPU-NKVD-MVD-KGB. No wonder, tsar Nicholas I is called a "gendarme of Europe". If some one should mention a humane and tolerant regime of tsar Nicholas I, he should be reminded that upon the direct orders of the tsar the so-called Decembrist movement was ruthlessly crushed: 40 members were executed, 81 were sentenced to life-long imprisonment and several hundred were deported to Siberia.

The peoples enslaved in the Russian tsarist empire were not less afraid of the Third Section than of the KGB in the Russian Communist empire. Ukrainians were dying

by tens of thousands in Russia's constant colonial wars. Slightest expressions of sympathy for the liberation of Ukraine or other peoples was ruthlessly suppressed. For example, a society of Ukrainian intelligentsia of Kyiv was formed in 1846 propagating national liberational ideas. When it was discovered by the Third Section, all of its members were sentenced to long-term deportations to Siberia, including Taras Shevchenko. The constant stream of political prisoners throughout the 19th century to the Solovetsk dungeons on the White Sea is well described by P. Yefymenko and M. Kolchyn. Persecution of national freedom-fighters of the enslaved nations by the tsarist regime was not lesser than that of the KGB today. During the three centuries preceding the Communist take-over of the Russian empire close to one million political prisoners were deported or exiled to Siberia alone.

But strangely enough, Mr. Solzhenitsyn without hesitation stated: "pre-revolutionary Russia... with her many nationalities, knew no deportations of entire peoples and no armed separatist movements." (804—805) How about the Polish armed uprising of 1830, which was ruthlessly crushed by tsarist occupation forces? How about Russian imperialist conquests in 1829 up to the Danube? Or of East Armenia in 1828? Or of Kars in the same year? How about crushing the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 by Russian interventionist forces? How about the war of conquest and extermination conducted against the North-Caucasians led by the famous Shamil, 1834—1864? How about crushing the anti-colonialist movements of Ukrainian peasantry in the Kyiv province in the 1830's as the result of which tens of thousands of Ukrainian peasants were deported to Siberia?

Colonialist conquests of Russia continued under tsar Alexander II (1855—1881). In 1858 the Amur region was occupied. In 1860 — the Ussuri region. In 1864 —

came the final subjugation of North Caucasus. The famed leader of the North Caucasians, Shamil, with hundreds of captured freedom-fighters were imprisoned in Russia where all of them were liquidated. In 1866 Russians invaded the Emirate of Bokhara. In 1873 they subdued the Khanate of Khiva. In 1876 the Khanate of Kokand was overrun. In the late 70s Russian invasion forces under M. Muravyov and Bergov crushed new Polish and Lithuanian liberation uprisings, followed by terror and oppression.

As far as Solzhenitsyn's cynical and erroneous statement is concerned that "there was complete cultural freedom, the intelligentsia was not restricted in its activity, religious and philosophical views of every shade were tolerated..." (804), it suffices to mention the fact that in 1876 tsar Alexander II issued a decree which outlawed the Ukrainian language, the Ukrainian culture, prohibited the use of Ukrainian in religious services, prohibited any Ukrainian publication. The then tsar's minister Valyuyev stated: "There never was, there is not, and there never will be a Ukrainian language." Is that statement of the tsarist Russian regime not a racist and chauvinistic policy? The best response of the Ukrainians to the 1876-decree was formulated by the prominent lawyer and political leader, Mykola Mikhnovskyi in "An Open Letter to the Russian Minister of Internal Affairs Sypyagin" in 1900. Mikhnovskyi wrote: "The law of the tsar of 17 May, 1876 is a crime against the Holy Ghost, because it grimly and unmercifully sentences to spiritual death our whole nation."<sup>9</sup>

A very good proof that tsarist Russia was actually a colonial state is the fact that as the result of the downfall of the tsarist regime in 1917 and the weakening of Russia after the World War all the captive nations re-established their independent states and none wished to remain within the Russian state. All these national

states (Ukraine, Byelorussia, Don-Cossackia, Georgia, Turkestan, Armenia, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and others were immediately attacked and invaded by Communist forces of the Russian SFSR on one side and the White Russian imperialist forces on the other. Lenin's armies were as brutal as the armies of the monarchist generals Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel. Reading Mr. Solzhenitsyn's writings a widely known saying of tsar Alexander I came to mind "Who does not lie, he is not a Muscovite."

### On communism in Russia

Alexander Solzhenitsyn's attempt to detach communism from any connection with the Russian people and state is fruitless because of the abundance of documentation proving the opposite. He must surely know that Russia was in the second half of the 19th century full of various kinds of socialists. It would obviously be ludicrous to advocate the view that all these Russian socialists were not Russians but some international conspirators. The theoretical and political heritage of these Russian socialists must be taken into account as having direct relation to Russian Communists and influence upon the formation of the Leninist movement. One scholar convincingly showed the influence upon the Bolsheviks of the so-called People's movement or Populists.<sup>10</sup> Writings and acts of the Russian social-revolutionaries had also some influence upon the rise of Russian Marxists. N. G. Chernyshevskiy, P. L. Lavrov, N. K. Mykhaylovskiy, Nechayev, V. Chernov, P. Tkachov and other social-revolutionaries were not only prominent Russians but also in high esteem of Lenin, Plekhanov and many other Russian marxists. It would be absurd to argue that all these people did not compose part of the contemporary Russian intelligentsia which in turn was part of the Russian people. Then the Russian nihilists-anarchists M. Bakunin

and P. Kropotkin had some influence upon Russian marxists.

The founder of the social-democratic movement in Russia, the nobleman G. V. Plekhanov was a 100 per cent Russian. He belonged at first to the social-revolutionary group called "Zemlya i Volya". Later Plekhanov formed a secret society "Chernyj Peredel" (1880—1881), which certainly was a Russian group and not some alien force. Next he founded in 1883 the "Group for the Liberation of Labor", composed mostly of Russians. The tsarist regime persecuted and tried to crush all the various socialist groups as Russian dissident anti-regime groups and not as some foreign groups, coming from abroad. When in 1898 the All-Russian Social Democratic Labor Party was founded, it became another of the many anti-regime groups in the Russian imperial state. Perhaps only true strict followers of Karl Marx might be considered non-Russian or supra-national forces. But there were no such groups, because Marx himself wrote that Russia is not yet ready for a true proletarian revolution. V. I. Lenin and his followers took only some doctrinaire aspects of Marx's theory and adapted it to Russian national and imperial conditions. For example, in Marx's writings there was not a word about using mass terror on the model of Ivan the Terrible, as was used by Lenin's movement. Lenin realized soon that Marx's theory was a fiction, a utopia. Thus very soon, at the beginning of the 20th century, the Bolshevik party became a Russian imperialistic and messianistic party advancing exclusively Russia's national interests under the cover of a utopian proletarian doctrine.

After the downfall of the tsarist regime in the Russian empire a Temporary Government was formed. But parallel with it the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers was established, composed of various Russian socialist groups. No one will argue that the one was a Russian institution and the other

non-Russian. The absolute majority of the members of the Soviet were Russians. The coup d'etat of 6-7 November 1917 was performed primarily by Russians and not by any political forces from outside Russia.<sup>11</sup> Lenin took over the reigns of the Russian socialist-marxist movement from Plekhanov, because he was convinced to be able to work better for the preservation of Russia's big-power status. He devalued Marxist theorizing and retained this non-Russian doctrine only for a propagandistic window-dressing. However he gained followship and trust of the Russians when he started to act as a traditional Russian ruler — despotic, ruthless and terroristic, proclaiming continuously Russia's messianistic role in the world, urging immediate conquest and pillage of foreign lands. He convinced very many Russians to follow him in attempts to overthrow the decaying tsarist elite and replacing it with a new people's rulers, having simultaneously in mind the principle of preserving the imperialistic heritage ("yedinaya-nedelimaya"). While orthodox Marxists attempted to explain and follow the doctrine, Lenin with his followers were trying to grasp the pressing issues of the Russian people and empire in a way to be advantageous to Russia. In order to be able to achieve these actual objectives he established a political organization. One of his close associates, G. Zinovyev, gave an excellent description of Lenin's national aspect: "He was a Russian, one might say, from top to toe. He was the incarnation of Russia, and he knew it and felt it. Despite his long exile and the many years during which he lived the life of an emigrant, he personified the Russian mind and soul. When he was living in Cracow, about four and a half miles from the Russian frontier (imperial) he frequently used to drive to the frontier in order to 'breathe Russian air'."<sup>12</sup>

Immediately after the founding of the RSDLP, Lenin wrote a pamphlet entitled

"The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats". One commentator gave the following evaluation of this essay: "This first work of Lenin, which belabors practical and organizational questions, reveals Lenin already as the founder and organizer of the party, as we know the Communist Party today. In that essay we perceive less the influence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels than of two Russian revolutionaries of earlier times. They were S. G. Nechayev (1847—1882) who wrote 'the Catechism of a revolutionary' and brought up for the first time the requirement that only the professional revolutionaries should lead the revolution... The second Russian revolutionary who influenced Lenin in his practical and organizational aspects is P. N. Tchachov (1844—1885)... He expounded the view of a 'conspiratorial minority', highly centralized and highly disciplined".<sup>13</sup>

The ideological and organizational objectives of Lenin clearly reveal him as being primarily a Russian, thinking as a Russian messianist. He argued cleverly: "Only the complete and most intimate alliance with the Russian proletariat can meet the requirements of the political struggle that is now going on against tsarism, only this alliance can assure complete political and economic freedom."<sup>14</sup> Leaving away semantics, Lenin's argumentation is very similar to the one of Alexander Solzhenitsyn. In short, Lenin (and Solzhenitsyn) argued that only the Russian people are able to make historical changes. Only the Russians are masters of our destinies. According to the above principle Lenin worked for many years to make the RSDLP an imperial party, strongly in the hands of the Russians but bringing into it collaborators from other peoples, individuals who were russified so much that they performed the function of Russian "fifth columns" in their own societies. In this vein Lenin formulated a resolution adopted at the party conference in Stockholm, 1906: "We avow and present to the con-

ference for adoption: the imperative need to use all means for the fusion of all national Social-Democratic parties of Russia in a single Russian SDLP as soon as possible..." However the Bolsheviks did not have much success in it, because the RSDLP always remained a Russian national party and never turned to be a real international party, composed of Marxists of the various peoples within the Russian empire. Starting in 1918 the Bolsheviks alone with the power of the Russian people had to conquer one by one every people which re-established its national statehood. The top echelon of Lenin's party became the new ruling elite in the reconstructed Russian colonial empire, as Lenin so fervently desired back in 1917: "Russia after the 1905 Revolution was ruled by 130,000 landlords... And yet we are told that Russia cannot be governed by the 240,000 members of the Bolshevik Party."<sup>15</sup>

The historical fact must be stressed, which M. Solzhenitsyn prefers to ignore, that since the inception of the RSDLP(B) its Russian members always retained the absolute majority. Members from other nationalities formed always small minorities, although Lenin constantly endeavored to place these non-Russian Bolsheviks in visible positions to hold formally important functions in order to create the illusion of a really international movement, which never came about. However, Mr. Solzhenitsyn attempts to convince Western societies in the opposite, namely, that the Bolshevik movement was a true internationalist movement. It is the goal which neither Lenin nor his successors were able to achieve. We have a testimony of Lenin's chief representative to the then independent Ukrainian (non-communist) national state in 1918—1919. He was V. Zatonsky who confessed: "In Ukraine the party of the Bolsheviks, as well as the majority of the industrial proletariat there, is composed mainly of Russians, if not by nationality, then by culture... we are being

called russifiers by true Ukrainians. To recognize Ukraine as Ukraine — our souls are not inclined to do so...<sup>16</sup>

Solzhenitsyn's statement about the non-Russian and anti-Russian nature of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) is disproved by a certain Safarov, delegate to the 10th Congress of the RCP(b) in 1921, who said: "Well, who succeeded in penetrating the Party there?.. The old Russian official... those who actually got into our ranks were the communist parson, the Russian policeman, and the kulak from Semirechie, who to this day keeps dozens of hired laborers, has hundreds of cattle, and hunts the Kirghiz like game... The Russian Great-Power kulaks, who were ordained to become the 'bearers' of proletarian dictatorship in the borderlands, did thrust the native masses back into the camp of the counter-revolution... Naturally in the industrially undeveloped borderlands the number of Russian proletarians was infinitesimal, and at the same time, since authority had to be constituted of Russians, kulaks and others followed suit... this is the heritage of imperialist colonial relations. It is the automatic continuation of the old colonial relations behind a Soviet facade... According to statistics from the Semirechie region, during the time of the revolution Russian kulak landownership increased from 53 per cent to 70 per cent. Take note, Comrades, during the time of the revolution, during the time of Soviet power! And at the same time the number of Kirghiz who died out in the Semirechie region rose to 35 per cent."<sup>17</sup>

The Russian CP(b) established its branches in the conquered countries, like the CP(b) Ukraine, called by a Russian scholar, "the party of a Russian element".<sup>18</sup> Another scholar commented: "One can at least project what kind of an 'element' it was from the fact that it was formed artificially in Moscow... and that it did not have any Ukrainian foundations."<sup>19</sup>

At the meeting of the CP(b)U in Kowel,

October 1919, it was resolved: "The southward movement and the establishment of the Soviet government in Ukraine will be possible *only* with the assistance of regular military forces (in *no* case of native origin)".<sup>20</sup> As in Ukraine, so in Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Turkestan, Siberia and other areas were the "communists" in position to set their occupation system only by means of Russian military and political forces. While the RCP(b) was the political government, the CheKa — the terroristic administration, so was the Red Army the main power of Lenin. But the Red Army was the army of the Russian state.

A. Solzhenitsyn's uppermost is to show that the state called "the USSR" is actually "Russia", and the Russian people should be the sovereign in it. The identical principle guided all the policies of V. I. Lenin. For example, he demanded: "Evil councilors of (Ukrainian) workers, petty-bourgeois intelligentsia from 'Dzvin' go out of their skins in attempting to separate Ukrainian Social-Democratic workers from the Great Russians."<sup>21</sup> At all costs Lenin (and Solzhenitsyn) worked for the preservation of the "one and indivisible" Russian colonial empire. He said: "The Socialists of the oppressed nations... must particularly fight for and maintain complete, absolute unity (also organizational) between the workers of the oppressed nation and the workers of the oppressing nation."<sup>22</sup>

The principle of domination of the RCP(b) by Russians is formulated clearly in the Program of the RCP adopted in 1919 at the 8th Congress: "Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania and Byelorussia exist at the present time as separate Soviet republics... But this does not in the least mean that the Russian Communist Party should, in turn, reorganize itself as a federation of independent Communist parties... there is a need for the existence of a single centralized Communist Party with a single central committee... All decisions of the RCP and

of its supreme institutions are unconditionally compulsory for all sections of the party, disregarding their nationality composition. The CC of the Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian communists can make use of the rights of provincial committees of the party and are completely subordinated to the CC of the Russian CP."<sup>23</sup>

A present-day fact glaringly proves that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the party of Russians: out of 14 members of the Politburo there are nine nationally-conscious Russians, while the other five are russified persons from the subjugated peoples. No wonder, during the Communist rule Russia reached such aggrandizement and expansion, which she never before obtained. While the number of Russians doubled, the enslaved peoples lost tens of millions of their countrymen as the result of Moscow's systematic policy of destroying the non-Russian peoples.<sup>24</sup>

#### **Solzhenitsyn paraphrasing Lenin**

Alexander Solzhenitsyn speaks to the Western peoples not as a refugee from tyranny and oppression but from a position of a master race dictating what should be done or threatening if his precepts are not followed. For example, if a preacher he says: "The only salvation for the entire world lies in..." (816) "Without the rebirth of a healthy, nation-minded Russia, America itself will not survive..." (821) "It would be disastrous to fight the Russians..." (ibidem) "I can envision no salvation for mankind other than..." (832) Solzhenitsyn was paraphrasing Vladimir Lenin in repeating the age-old Russian messianistic racism: "I wish all the people well, and the closer they are to us, and the more dependent upon us, the more fervent is my wish." (832)

A. Solzhenitsyn wants the West to regard the state called the USSR as the state of the Russian people, and not as an imperial state created by Russian conquests of many freedom-loving independent na-

tions. He urges the West to continue to give its assent to the policy of nationicide of the enslaved peoples within the USSR. Uppermost in his mind is probably the theme of convincing the Western nations to forget about any thoughts to assist the national-liberation movements inside the Soviet Union, because they work for the liquidation of the Russian colonial empire. Solzhenitsyn wants the West to cooperate primarily or even exclusively with the so-called representatives of the Russian people, namely with the Russian dissidents. Western nations should limit their policies to combating the communist rulers in the Kremlin as if they were aliens to the Russian people. In no case should the Western nations advocate a policy of dismemberment of the USSR into independent nation-states of the various non-Russian peoples. The West should advocate only a need to replace the present Soviet-Russian elite by another Russian elite. Consequently, Russian imperialism, Russian racism, russification or denationalization of whole subjugated peoples, Russian economic colonialism — all those matters according to A. Solzhenitsyn are non-existent or negligibly minor problems.

The methods to achieve his goals should according to Alexander Solzhenitsyn be as follows: First, the West should stop attacking by word and deed everything which is Russian. Second, the West should express its sincerest friendship for the Russian people, as the population of the USSR in general. Third, only peaceful-evolutionary means should be used in bringing about the replacement of the communist regime by a "truly" Russian regime, "as a shift to a path of reconciliation, recovery, love..." (825) In such a way, Mr. Solzhenitsyn tries to assure us, will come "the slow and smooth descent via an authoritarian system" (827) to a future "paradise" better than anything humanity has ever known. However because the empire should remain, Solzhenitsyn's "authoritarian sy-

stem" will actually become identical for the colonially enslaved peoples with the present-day "dictatorship of the proletariat".

The entire method proposed by Solzhenitsyn is a nice fiction story, because without any use of force no one will be able to induce the current rulers in Moscow to voluntarily step down and give over the reigns of power to some other Russians, wanting to replace them. Thus one has to conclude that Solzhenitsyn does not really want to achieve his propagated objectives but to strengthen Western friendship to the existing Russian empire, although criticising its many mistakes and failures. Such a reasoning is justified, because hardly any statesman or diplomat will believe that Solzhenitsyn's objectives can be achieved "through an organic development of accumulated national experience, and it must be free of any external coercion." (828)

Whatever foreign policy toward the Russian empire the Western nations will follow in the future, let Mr. Solzhenitsyn reassure that the enslavement of the 50 million Ukrainians will be progressively more difficult to retain by Russia. During 1918—1922 tens of thousands of Ukrainians fought first in the regular army of the Ukrainian national state (Ukrainian National Republic) and later in guerrilla units throughout those areas of Ukraine which was occupied by Communist Russia. Ukrainians will never forget the many millions of their countrymen who died as the result of artificial famines arranged by the Russian government in 1921—1922, in 1932—1933 and in 1945—1946. During the 1940's a quarter of a million of Ukrainians fought with arms in their hands against the Nazi-German and Communist-Russian invaders. Let Mr. Solzhenitsyn remember that the biggest battles of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were conducted against Soviet-Russian forces not only in Western Ukraine but on the territory

of present-day Zhytomyr, Khmelnytskyi, Vinnytsya and Kyiv oblasts (provinces). Against the communist-Russians, in other words, were and still are fighting not only Western Ukrainians but similarly those Ukrainians, to whom Alexander Solzhenitsyn does not want to recognize the Ukrainian nationality and calls them "Russians". Let Mr. Solzhenitsyn remember the words of a well-known present-day Ukrainian political prisoner of the Russians: "Even if I should remain alone, I shall continue the struggle for Ukrainian national independence against Russian chauvinists and colonialists." And he, Lew Lukianenko, is not by any means a West-Ukrainian.

We believe that the concepts and ideas expressed in the "Captive Nations Week", Public Law 86—90 of the US Congress will not wane, as Mr. Solzhenitsyn fervently desires, but will flourish and result in a proper US foreign policy. The captive nations within the Russian empire are the Achilles' heel of Russia. That is why Mr. Solzhenitsyn hates this resolution. He is also very much afraid of a Western alliance with China and Japan against the Russian empire. And he dislikes all those Jews who are exposing in the West Russian racism and imperialism.

Let us conclude our reply to Mr. A. Solzhenitsyn with a quotation of a recent document signed by thirteen Ukrainian nationalists incarcerated in the terrible Vladimir prison. They wrote: "Russian dissidents in Western countries expose the anti-democratic character of the Soviet social-political regime. Moscow is already accustomed to such a criticism, even when the true testimonies of dissidents result in some attacks upon its global propaganda and create some difficulties for its international manipulations. They do not threaten the existence of the empire itself (which has since 1922 the name 'USSR'). Moscow accepted the fact that in the eyes of the West the Soviet Union is



'not quite' a democrat state. One can still live with such a world opinion. However one cannot live in the second half of the 20th century with the face of an empire. Therefore, Moscow is doing everything in order to cover up the imperialistic substance of its nationality policy and to hide the widespread dissatisfaction with Russian occupation of Ukraine, the Baltic peoples and of the Caucasian peoples . . . The goal of Ukrainian nationalists is not the democratization or any kind of perfection of the forms of Russian political existence. Our goal is to achieve the exit of Ukraine out of the USSR and the re-establishment of the Ukrainian state. This goal contradicts with the aggressive spirit of Russian imperialism, and its achievement means the destruction of the Russian empire. It would mean a failure of Russia's desire to rule over the whole world. The criticism of the Russian regime by the nationalists means exposure of the nature of the Soviet Union as a Russian empire. Such a criticism endangers the existence of the empire itself. Communists — the vanguard of Russian imperialism — are doing everything in order to turn Western criticism of the USSR into channels of analyzing the social and even the political position of a citizen in the USSR away from inter-nationality relations."<sup>25</sup> September 3, 1980.

<sup>1</sup> See Dmytro Doroshenko, "A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography". New York, Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1957, 456 pages. We read there: "The oldest monuments of Ukrainian historiography are chronicles... The writing of the chronicles in Ukraine began in Kyiv in the first decades of the eleventh century." p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> N.L. Chirovsky, "A History of the Russian Empire", v. 1. New York, Philosophical Library, 1973.

<sup>3</sup> N. Polonska-Vasylenko (1884—1973), "A History of Ukraine", v. 1. Munich, Ukrainischer Verlag, 1972, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> See V. Shcherbakivskyy, "Formation of the Ukrainian Nation", 2. ed. New York, 1958.

<sup>5</sup> See N. Polonska-Vasylenko, op. cit.

<sup>6</sup> His "Vladimirskiye kurgany".

<sup>7</sup> His "Kurs russkoy istoriyi", v. 2, Petersburg, 1904, p. 362.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., 237—238.

<sup>9</sup> P. Mirchuk, "Mykola Mikhnovskyj". Philadelphia, Pa., 1960.

<sup>10</sup> Yu. Boyko, "The Movement of Russian 'Narodniki' as a Source of Leninism-Stalinism". Munich, 1959. Also: F. Venturi, "Il populismo russo", Turin, 1952; Th. G. Masaryk "Zur russischen Geschichts- und Religionsphilosophie, Jena, 1913; H. Seton-Watson, "The Decline of Imperial Russia", London, 1952 etc.

<sup>11</sup> The predominance of Russians in the Bolshevik movement is well documented in "Russia and her Colonies" by W. Kolarz, New York, 1952.

<sup>12</sup> His "V. J. Lenin", Leningrad, 1925, p. 159.

<sup>13</sup> W. Scharndorff, "Moskaus permanente Säuberung", Munich, Olzog, 1964, pp. 13—14.

<sup>14</sup> His "National Question in Our Program", 1903.

<sup>15</sup> His "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?", 1917.

<sup>16</sup> His "Iz nedavnego proshlogo" in "Kommunist", n. 3—4.

<sup>17</sup> "10 Syezd RCP(b)", Moscow, 1963, p. 190—192.

<sup>18</sup> M. Ravich-Cherkasky, "Istoriya KP-(b)U", Kharkiv, Gosyzdat, 1923, p. 148.

<sup>19</sup> F. Pigido, "Ukraine under the Bolshevik Occupation", Munich, 1956, p. 18.

<sup>20</sup> Underlining original, "Litopys Revolutsiyi", 1936, n. 6.

<sup>21</sup> "Primechanie 'ot redaktsiyi' k 'obrashcheniyu k ukrainskim rabochim' Oksana Loly", 1914.

<sup>22</sup> "Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1916.

<sup>23</sup> "Program of the RCP, 1919, 8th Congress of the RCP.

<sup>24</sup> An excellent overall analysis of Russian Communism and Leninism is found in "The Real Face of Russia", edited by V. Bohdaniuk, London, 1967.

<sup>25</sup> "Appeal of 13 Ukrainian Political Prisoners-Nationalists at the Vladimir Prison to the Secretary-General of the United Nations", 1976, "Liberation Path", monthly, London, December 1976.

# Ivan Kandyba reveals the truth about Russian unlawfulness in Ukraine

(Continuation)

## Persecution and harrasment

I had to reconcile myself to living under administrative surveillance for another six months and suffering militia and KGB attempts at "instructional influence".

For example, on October 24, 1976, I was having dinner at a restaurant in Pustomyty with one of my friends from Lviv and having been seen by the above mentioned First Lieutenant Machurad. The same day, I was interrogated at the Militia Headquarters as to why did I dine in a restaurant, with whom, and at whose expense.

Just one more example of how the "instructional influence" over me looked in practice, performed by officials of the Detective Service of Pustomyty Militia, headed by the above mentioned First Lieutenant Machurad, under whose "protection" I found myself during my first year of being under administrative surveillance.

Simultaneously, it should be made clear that the militia is only formally surveilling me, in practice, it applied to me the cruellest forms of persecution and harassment pursuant to KGB orders, which had the "behind the scenes" responsibility for my "instructional influence".

Such "instructional influence" by the KGB is not only practiced through the militia, but also directly by the KGB, however quietly and secretly. In this way, the KGB directs the question of my employment, giving specific orders to managers of enterprises and organizations as to whether I should be hired or not and in what capacity should I be employed. Here are some examples of the KGB interference, in the person of its Chief, Captain Polishchuk, in connection with this matter.

The circumstances of my employment in the shop where I worked as a locksmith became unbearable, and I decided to seek employment elsewhere. After a while, I found employment in one of Pustomyty enterprises and, upon making arrangements with the manager in connection with the start of my employment, I took a leave of absence from the locksmith shop on October 8, 1976. The KGB Chief found out about this and the manager of the enterprise who hired me, suddenly changed his mind and refused me employment. In connection therewith, I found myself in a most unpleasant position. Wherever I applied, I was refused employment. At the end of October, I considered myself lucky to find employment in a construction organization, and on November 1, I started work. However, this did not last long, since the very next day, the manager stated that, due to various sets of circumstances, he had to terminate my employment as of that day. The loss of this employment was due entirely to the direct interference of the Chief of KGB. Not having any other alternative, I was forced to return to my former employment at the locksmith shop.

In both places where I was hired, I was assigned to work as an unskilled laborer. Then why the interference by the Chief of KGB? One day, he revealed the reason to an acquaintance of mine, namely that "...I desire that Kandyba work where I can see him every day through the window of my office". The locksmith shop where I worked was located across from the window of his office and the other enterprises somewhat remote.

Agents of the KGB shadow me in my place of employment, outside my residence and trail me whenever I go out, in addition to trailing all those who visit me, whomever I meet or talk to, even those whom I only greet on the street. The KGB does everything to isolate me from other citizens of Pustomyty, with the aim of limiting its surveillance over persons of my acquaintance. More than once I heard, "Do not approach Kandyba and do not talk to him, or you will be called in by the KGB". This proves that most likely more than one of my acquaintances was called in by the KGB for interrogation because of me.

Yet another instance. One day on the street I met my neighbor, Mychajlo Medvid, and talked to him for a short while. This was enough for Mychajlo Medvid to be called in by the KGB and interrogated as to the reason he talked to me and what we talked about. The KGB Chief himself told me about this event.

In my view, an explanation might be in order as to who is M. Medvid. He is a seventy year old man, pensioner, suffering from a severe case of asthma. Regardless, he still works very hard. During the entire cold-weather season of 1977—1978, namely during seven months, he worked as a stoker at the boiler-house "Silhosptechnic", where he serviced four large boilers. In accordance with the current labor laws, he should not be working more than thirty-six hours per week, but was forced to work each and every week eighty-four hours, because in said boiler-house instead of four necessary stokers there were employed two only. Due to harsh labor conditions, not many are willing to work there. Therefore, this sick old man is forced to toil full twenty-four hour shifts, which can only be considered as nothing less than cruelty — and, in addition, being interrogated by the KGB.

The KGB Chief often called in my co-workers with whom I conversed, inquiring what we talk about, who visits me, and about my general disposition, etc.

The KGB, with the cooperation of local authorities and postal employees of Pustomyty holds-up and censors my correspondence. As a result of such unlawful interference, some of the letters get lost. For example, my letter dated December 10, 1977 to political exile Vasyl Stus got lost, as well as my letter to former political prisoner Kuzma Matviuk, and many others. In addition, the KGB monitors my telephone conversations, censors my telegrams, parcels, etc. These things are done regardless of the fact that they violate the Constitution of the Soviet Union and are considered crimes.

Article 56 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union states:

"Personal life of the citizens, privacy of correspondence, telephone conversations and telegrams is protected by law."

How is this privacy protected by law? How is violation of such privacy punishable? Article 131 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian SSR states:

"Violation of privacy of correspondence committed by a public official — is punishable by punitive assignments during a six month period, or by a fine in the sum of 30 rubles, or by a public reprimand."

As can be seen, the punishment is such that it cannot provoke much hesitation in committing said crime. In my instance, nobody is going to accuse postal employees of such crime, if same was committed pursuant to KGB demands. The KGB, as is well known, is all-powerful, it is allowed to do anything.

Here are some more facts with reference to the "instructional influence" over me by my factual and principal "protectors-teachers" from the KGB.

On April 1, 1977, my one year term of being under administrative surveillance ended. Since it was not extended, I obtained permission to leave Pusto-

myty and reside and work in another place. I moved to Lviv and commuted to my place of employment in Pustomyty (from beginning of March, 1977, I worked as a stoker in a public steam bath-house with a monthly salary of 60 rubles).

On June 7, 1977, I took a leave of absence from my employment for the purpose of obtaining some rest after my fifteen years of imprisonment and one year of being under administrative surveillance, as well as visit some friends and family, thereafter find another employment and residence in Lviv.

Regardless of the fact that the outward administrative surveillance over me came to an end, the KGB did not leave me outside the sphere of its attention and continued to conduct surreptitious surveillance over me. Its agents followed me wherever I went. Even when, on June 26, 1977, I was going by train from Lviv to Donetsk, to appear as a witness, pursuant to a subpoena, at the trial of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhyj, which was taking place in the town of Druzhkivka, Donetsk Oblast, nearby in the same car travelled one of the agents of the KGB, well known to me, who, in fact, was escorting me.

The KGB periodically changed its agents, therefore, it was not easy to immediately recognize them. My rest and tour of Ukraine I completed with a visit to Moscow, returning to Lviv on September 21, 1977. Immediately upon my return, the very same day, I proceeded to look for employment. I walked around until quite late and did not notice any KGB agents following me. The same impression continued through the next day, which somewhat surprised me. However, as I discovered, said agents were in fact around. In the afternoon of September 22, 1977, I was looking for an establishment where I was to apply for employment, but did not know the street where it was located. At that moment, some fourth and fifth grade girl students appeared and I asked them for directions. They gave me directions where to find the necessary street. When I was about two hundred meters away from them, one of the girls rushed after me and excitedly told me: "Mister, you are being followed". As a matter of fact, there were two KGB agents following me. With gratitude, I was pleasantly moved by the honesty and courage of the girl student.

I did not retain even this relative freedom for long. The next day, namely September 23, 1977, having been relatively free for less than six months, I was again placed under administrative surveillance.

From early morning hours of September 23, 1977, Chief of Pustomyty KGB, Captain Polishchuk, was searching for me throughout Lviv. When around noon he finally found me, he told me to accompany him and took me by automobile to the Prosecutor's Office of Lviv Oblast to see Assistant Prosecutor of Lviv Oblast Rudenko. Shortly, we were joined by the Chief of Administrative Command of Lviv KGB, General Poluden.

The conversation started with complaints relative to my actions, namely that I led an improper sort of life, did not work, travelled all over — to Kyiv, to Chernihiv, to Rivne, to Kharkiv to visit Ihor Krawciv (former political prisoner), to Moscow, and even to Tarus to visit Nina Strokata-Karavanska (also former political prisoner). Thereafter, I was informed about the conclusions of two expert researchers — professors of Donetsk University, in connection with the ideologically-political trend of the Declaration of Ukrainian Group promoting the implementation of the Helsinki Accords (Ukrainian Helsinki Group). In accordance with their conclusion, said Declaration in its contents and ideology is a hostile, anti-Soviet document. Here I was threatened that, in the event I alone or in cooperation with somebody else will ever write a similar document, I will be held criminally liable. Then General Poluden left the room.

Continuing the conversation, Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko suggested that I renounce my views and beliefs and condemn them publicly through the press and television. If I would take his suggestion, I will be allowed to remain in Lviv and work in my profession, although not as an attorney, but as a legal advisor in a commercial enterprise. However, in the event I refuse, then my place is only in Pustomyty and the only employment available to me would be as an unskilled laborer...

It would be to the point herein to quote a few words from my conversation with Assistant to Chief of Lviv Oblast KGB, Colonel Andrienko and his associate Colonel Davydow, which took place in Pustomyty on March 29, 1977, namely two days before the completion of the one year administrative surveillance over me. During said conversation, Colonel Davydow intimated that, in his opinion, the administrative surveillance over me will not be continued and in a few days I will be free and able to live and work in Lviv. He even suggested that I apply to the First Secretary of Lviv Communist Party Dobryk, asking for a residence visa to remain in Lviv and employment in my profession. How is that?! Such treatment was certainly surprising and I became most suspicious. First I was sent to Pustomyty and administrative surveillance was established over me immediately after my release from imprisonment for no violation on my part. And now, this treatment, after I became a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and co-author of its Declaration as well as other memoranda, similar actions causing the arrest and current trial of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhyj. I was not that naive and did not believe Colonel Davydow, of which I advised Colonel Andrienko. In addition, I informed him that I will not make any concessions or compromises as regards my views and beliefs. He answered that they did not need anything from me.

Therefore, if Colonel Andrienko told the truth that the administrative surveillance over me will not be extended, then his statement that they did not need anything from me for allowing me to live and work in Lviv was false. As can be seen clearly, they wanted a lot from me for this "privilege", which, of course, I rejected.

Upon hearing my negative reply, Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko instantly changed the tone of his comments, called me an anti-Soviet person, a degenerate and enemy No. One (I did not have a chance to ascertain of which section of the Soviet Union was I an enemy No. One — the whole Ukraine, Western Ukraine or only Lviv Oblast), and commanded the Chief of Pustomyty KGB to order my father and brother to appear on September 26, 1977 before him in order to be told what kind of degenerate they have as a son and brother.

On the day ordered, my father and brother appeared at the Prosecutor's Office. There they were told what kind of a person I am, they were reproached for helping me financially, and were asked to influence me so that I will renounce my demands for Independent Ukraine and reject my nationalistic, anti-Soviet beliefs, or I will again wind up in prison. It should be noted here that my father and brother were never told what happened to me and they did not know where I was during the next four days.

Returning to my former narrative — after giving orders with reference to my father and brother, the Assistant Prosecutor presented me with a previously prepared Ordinance, dated September 23, 1977, re-establishing administrative surveillance over me for the next six months. This ended our conversation and Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko ordered my immediate removal to Pustomyty for commencement of the administrative surveillance over me (in fact, I was placed under house arrest without being allowed to return to my residence in Lviv for the purpose of packing my necessities, like towels, soap, toothbrush, toothpaste,

razor, etc., the lack of which, for four days, namely until my brother delivered them to me, was most inconvenient).

The first ten days of my stay in Pustomyty I had to spend in a hotel, since my old quarters were not available anymore and new ones hard to find. As during my first stay in Pustomyty, it was very hard for me to find employment. After about a month, with great difficulty, I was employed as a stoker in one of Pustomyty boiler-house establishments, with a salary of 70 rubles per month. The rent for my quarters was 30 rubles per month. In this way started my second term of factual exile under administrative surveillance and under practical house arrest.

Pustomyty militia, under its Ordinance of September 23, 1977 stated the following motives for its extension of administrative surveillance over me:

1. Continuously refused to work;
2. Did not live where he was directed to;
3. Travelled through regions and cities of the Soviet Union.

The limitations upon my person were the same as during the previous circumstances, with the exception that, instead of my being allowed to walk around the village from 8:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m., namely for fourteen hours, this time such allowance was reduced by one hour requiring me to terminate my allotment outside by 8:00 p.m. In this manner, the actual period of my house arrest was increased from ten hours in 1976 to eleven hours in 1977.

Therefore, by the repetitive ascertainment over me of administrative surveillance, and in fact, coercion, all international legal agreements in connection with human rights, such as the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Pact covering the socio-political rights, and the Helsinki Accords were cruelly violated.

Above I have already mentioned the illegality and groundlessness of establishing administrative surveillance over persons for their ideological and political views and beliefs, the regulations of July 26, 1966 covering administrative surveillance applying only to criminals and other anti-social elements.

This time also the imposition over me of administrative surveillance, pursuant to Militia Ordinance of September 23, 1977, was absolutely illegal and groundless.

In accordance with Article 6 of the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance", the basis for the establishment of such surveillance is:

"Materials of the militia organs which prove that the person, released from imprisonment, is conducting himself or herself in an anti-social manner".

Even the above did not completely cover everything.

In Article 5, No. 6 of the Resolution of Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, dated July 5, 1974, "Covering the practice of application by courts of law regarding the responsibility for violation of rules of administrative surveillance", is written:

*"The establishment of administrative surveillance by a militia organ, in case of violation of social order and rules of socialistic manner of life, may be considered as having sufficient grounds only in the presence of a written warning of the possibility of establishment of administrative surveillance over an individual, in the event said individual, after having received such a warning, continues to conduct himself or herself in an anti-social manner."*

There, in order that the militia have grounds for establishing administrative surveillance over a person, it is necessary that said person not only conducted

himself or herself in an anti-social manner, but, after having been warned in writing that he or she does in fact conduct himself or herself in an anti-social manner, neglects such warning and continues to behave himself or herself in an anti-social manner.

**The establishment of administrative surveillance illegal and groundless**

Why is the establishment over me of administrative surveillance, pursuant to Militia Ordinance of September 23, 1977, groundless and illegal?

Firstly, the "motives" stated by the militia in its Ordinance, namely that it considers my conduct as anti-social, are such that either did not take place, or such that contain no grounds whatsoever to be scrutinized as being anti-social. Secondly, even if it could be considered for a moment, purely hypothetically, that I did behave myself in an anti-social manner, then militia still did not have any grounds for establishing administrative surveillance over me, since during the entire period of my so-called anti-social conduct, no written, or even verbal, warning was administered to me in accordance with Article 5, No. 6 of the Resolution of the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, dated July 5, 1974.

The statements of the militia that I "continuously refused to work" do not reflect the truth.

During the period of time that I did not work, namely from June 7 through to September 23, 1977, I was never once ordered to appear at the militia or questioned why I did not work. Then on what grounds is based the statement that I "continuously refused to work"!

To the contrary, during the above mentioned period, I, on my own initiative, was attempting to find employment through my former colleagues (Lviv jurists), who, if necessary, could have corroborated this, by directly applying to Lviv organizations and enterprises, and by frequently applying at Lviv employment service, which could be corroborated by it referring me, by Referral No. 3548, dated September 12, 1977, which Referral I still have in my possession, for employment as a legal consultant to Lviv Iron-Concrete Works. It is another matter that I was not hired.

However, there remains conclusive proof that I did not refuse to work, was attempting to find employment through my own initiative, because I was certainly more interested in it than were my "teachers-protectors".

Militia's statement that I "did not live where I was directed to", even if reflecting the truth, does not automatically mean that I conducted myself in an anti-social manner. To reside anywhere without a residence visa is a violation of passport rules, the violation of said rules, either through administrative or criminal judicial process, in accordance with Article 196 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian SSR, is punishable by imprisonment of up to two years or a fine of up to 50 rubles. The militia certainly knows very well the difference between anti-social conduct and violation of passport rules. Therefore, it should have charged me with violating passport rules, not for anti-social conduct, during the above mentioned period.

In addition, during the entire above mentioned period of time, Pustomyty militia did not once inquire about my not residing at the place I was directed to, namely 176 Shevchenko Street, Pustomyty.

Therefore, even if this residence violation be considered an anti-social conduct, then, due to the fact that I never received any warnings in accordance with Article 5, No. 6 of the Resolution of the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, dated July 5, 1974, there were no grounds for establishing administrative surveillance over me.

I do not deny that I “travelled throughout regions and cities of the Soviet Union”. So what? I, as a free citizen, had the right to travel wherever or whenever I deemed necessary, and did so. However, on what basis is the fact of my travel qualified by the militia as anti-social conduct? Particularly, taking into consideration the fact that the militia at no time warned me that through travelling I was conducting myself in an anti-social manner. Such warning, of course, is required by Article 5, No. 6 of the Resolution of the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, as grounds for establishing over me of the administrative surveillance.

Therefore, from the above, it could be noted that Soviet law stands one hundred percent behind a non-Soviet person and even an enemy No. One (as I was called by Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko), and not even one percent behind the initiators of this red, groundless and lawless coercion of me by the Soviet people. However, in practice, the Soviet government is the greatest violator of said law, which was only written for naive westerners. On my side, so-called law, on the side of my “protectors-teachers” power. Power won over law, thereby constituting the most arbitrary rule and lawlessness.

It could only be concluded that imprisoning a person in concentration camps and prisons for a period of fifteen years and then in addition keeping such person under administrative surveillance for a year, all completely unjustly, groundlessly and illegally is considered “lawful”; however, if said person after suffering the above, decides to rest and travel to revive his soul after having been caged and under a microscope for such a long period of time, then such action is qualified as anti-social conduct. In such a case, the only conclusion that could be arrived at is that the “normal” life in this country is not in freedom, even a relative one, but in concentration camps, prisons, exile, under administrative surveillance and house arrest.

### **KGB provocation**

Here I would like to mention a few additional facts.

During my above mentioned conversation with Colonel Andrienko, which lasted more than three hours, he asked me: “What is your impression of the Soviet reality?” I answered that, in fact, I could tell him very little of the Soviet reality, since immediately upon my release from imprisonment, I was herded into Pustomyty, having had no opportunity to view or observe much of anything. However, if Soviet reality is to be judged in accordance with Pustomyty, then it truly looks very, very sad. For instance, during my whole year there, in the stores (all run by the government) there was not one instance when meat or meat by-products could be purchased at governmentally regulated prices, they were always sold at commission prices, namely double that of the governmentally regulated prices (this practice continues up to date); and butter and margarine could be purchased only very seldom. There is a large chicken farm in Pustomyty, however, chicken and eggs are impossible to buy — everything is being transported out somewhere. It seems unbelievable, but there was a day when eggs imported from Finland were being sold. There are never sufficient quantities of dairy products.

Colonel Andrienko stated that true Soviet reality could not be judged in accordance with Pustomyty (seems that in Pustomyty there is only a non-Soviet reality), but that I will soon have a chance to travel throughout Ukraine, and even the whole Soviet Union, and then I will see the great changes for the better and achievements in all fields of the economy, therefore, the true Soviet reality. Actually, Colonel Andrienko was one of the officials who considered



my travels as anti-social conduct and punished me by establishing administrative surveillance over me.

Here I will allow myself to show another side of the coin.

On December 18, 1977, while listening to one of the western broadcasts on the radio, I heard such: "The next comment will be about KGB provocation in connection with former political prisoner Ivan Kandyba...". I became suddenly very attentive. As far as I knew, neither during my presence in Pustomyty nor during my travels and rest in Crimea from June through September, 1977, did the KGB commit any provocation against me. However, when I caught a few more words (due to strong static interference, I was unable to understand much), namely "... what of it, if Kandyba was in the Crimea, he was resting there...". faint realization dawned on me. My understanding became clearer when, shortly after the above mentioned broadcast, I received a letter from my friend from Kyiv. Here is a portion thereof: "I already know about your cruel fate (she meant the re-establishment over me of administrative surveillance — I. K.). Heard also about the false rumours from western sources. However, it is their defeat, and your victory. This is the way we all understand it." I was trying to find out more about the "false rumors", but my attempts came to nothing, since she never received any more of my letters nor I of hers. I still do not know exactly in what concrete manner did the KGB commit a provocation against me. However, from pieces of information gathered here and there, I came to the following conclusion. The KGB made it known that the West believes that Kandyba is being persecuted by the KGB and his freedom, after release from imprisonment, is being severely curtailed by the KGB through the establishment over him of illegal administrative surveillance. However, all of this is untrue. He, with complete freedom, travels all over Ukraine, enjoys himself with women at Crimea beaches, etc. For "corroboration" of the above, the KGB probably photographed me with some woman of slight acquaintance, or it could have used the photograph of me with my aunt (my mother's sister), Maria Dowhanska, born in 1919, who was also taking a rest-leave in the Crimea at the same time I was. My conclusion is that such or similar rumour was spread by the KGB against me, constituting grave false provocation.

This KGB provocation was committed with the aim of firstly to prove to the western world that I was completely free, and secondly to compromise me in the eyes of the western world. At the same time, the KGB was attempting as soon as possible to herd me back to Pustomyty under administrative surveillance, thereby depriving me of any further opportunities for travel, including medicinal rest visits to Crimea. This aim it accomplished shortly thereafter.

In accordance with Article 8 of the Pact covering socio-political rights, it is forbidden to force or obligate anybody to work, however, I was accused and punished because I "continuously refused to work".

Also, in accordance with Article 12 of the Pact covering socio-political rights and Principle 13 of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, each individual has a right to freely move around and the freedom of choice of his or her place of residence, not only in his or her own country, but any place outside of it; and here I am being punished for "not living where I was directed to" and "travelling through regions and cities of the Soviet Union".

The clearly unlawful Militia Ordinance dated September 23, 1977 with reference to the re-imposing over me of administrative surveillance I appealed to the Prosecutor of Ukrainian SSR. The Prosecutor of Ukrainian SSR refused to review my case, transferring it to Lviv Oblast Prosecutor, who, without even glancing at it, transferred it for review to Pustomyty Prosecutor's Office. Therefore, my appeal wound up before the particular Prosecutor who was completely

agreeable with the Militia Ordinance of September 23, 1977 re-establishing administrative surveillance over me, sanctioned it and finally confirmed and upheld it. In these circumstances, I knew ahead of time that my case will be decided negatively. And that is what actually happened. Below is the answer of Pustomyty Prosecutor to my appeal:

“Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor, Lviv Oblast, December 26, 1977, No. 1420.

Citizen, Kandyba, I. A., village of Pustomyty, 302 Shevchenko Street.

Your appeal, addressed to the Prosecutor of Ukrainian SSR, with reference to allegedly illegal re-establishment of administrative surveillance over you, was reviewed by the undersigned and refused as groundless.

Your contention about the illegality of the re-establishment of administrative surveillance over you has been found to be groundless.

There are no basis for reversal of the Ordinance. Your appeal is hereby refused.

Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor  
Signature — Horbulko”

Here another empty, brief refusal, without any reference to legal basis. He purposefully omitted any such reference, knowing very well that Soviet law was one hundred percent on my side. However, in accordance with Paragraph 3, Article 7 of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Ukrainian SSR of April 12, 1968, about “the process of review of proposals, declarations and appeals of citizens”, it is stated:

“Officials, when deciding proposals, declarations and appeals are obligated ... *in the event of refusal of such proposals, declarations and appeals to cite motives, basis and reason for such refusal.*”

In this manner, the Prosecutor in this case was permitted to completely ignore Article 5, No. 6 of the Resolution of the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union of July 5, 1974.

Then how is Article 164 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, which places upon Prosecutors “*The gravest responsibility of strict and impartial application of law ... is placed upon the General Prosecutor of the Soviet Union and the Prosecutors answerable to him*” upheld?

#### **Power over law**

If the government were to strictly uphold the laws of the Soviet Union, then it would have revoked the administrative surveillance over me, even if I were, according to the words of Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko, a non-Soviet person, degenerate and enemy No. One, and to allow me even relative freedom. Therefore, Soviet laws were overturned completely for the benefit of my enemies, and once this happened, it seems imperative to renounce them and conduct oneself as one desires and as is convenient to the KGB, to the Prosecutor, and the Soviet power, generally in accordance with power.

So, pursuant to the political resolution of this question, power got the upper hand over the law. Although this kind of approach constitutes high-handedness and unlawfulness, it doesn't mean anything. Mainly, it is convenient for the powers that be.

Possessing unlimited power, there exists every possibility for arbitrarily deciding the fate of such inconvenient element as I, and, without any lawful grounds, by way of force and blackmail, placing me in a hopeless, servile situation, and proposing that I, through rejection of my views and beliefs, buy my freedom, which is mine by law and which was forcefully taken from me.

This took place in the office of Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko. Almost the same took place in five days' time, on September 28, 1977, here in Pustomyty during my next conversation with Oblast Chief of KGB, General Poluden. Keeping in mind what Assistant Prosecutor told me on September 23, 1977, General Poluden stated that a few days ago, namely on September 23, 1977, we were talking as "an equal to an equal", and presently it is not so because I am under administrative surveillance, and he is a free person. In this way, he made me understand that the price of my freedom, which was taken from me unlawfully by way of force, will be much higher.

Similar conversation between me and General Poluden, pursuant to his demand, took place here in Pustomyty on January 26, 1978.

This is one of the methods of "instructional influence" as practiced by the KGB.

The term of administrative surveillance over me, which was established on September 23, 1977, ended on March 23, 1978. Few days before its completion, namely on March 20, 1978, I was called out to the office of Chief of Pustomyty KGB, Captain Polishchuk, who asked me what my reply was to the propositions of Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko and General Poluden, and in not so many words made me understand that the continuation or cessation of administrative surveillance over me will depend upon my answer. As previously, I categorically declined the propositions of both Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko and General Poluden, which required me to reject my views and beliefs. Captain Polishchuk tried to convince me that my views and beliefs were harmful to my existence and were the reasons for me being limited in almost everything. He reasoned that I have no place to live, am unable to obtain better employment, am even unable to build a family, and finally he offered me his help and service in finding me a wife. This seemed to me almost funny! They wanted to supply me with a wife, educated by them and belonging to them heart and soul, in order to "re-educate" me through her. Well, I rejected all his propositions and we parted company.

On March 22, 1978, I was called out to the Headquarters of the Detective Service of Pustomyty, where its Chief First Lieutenant Machurad familiarized me with its decision to extend the administrative surveillance over me for a period of another six months.

So, another extension, but on what grounds?

In accordance with Paragraph A, Article 13 of the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance", said surveillance is to be stopped "*upon completion of the term for which said administrative surveillance was established*".

When in 1976 the administrative surveillance over me was extended, then the militia, or actually the KGB, at least had some so-called "grounds", since I twice "allowed" myself to "violate" the surveillance regime. However, during the latter six months term of administrative surveillance over me, I did not allow myself to "violate" said surveillance regime even once, therefore, in accordance with the above mentioned Paragraph A, Article 13 of the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance", said surveillance should have been stopped. But, this did not happen. As in the previous instances, so in this one, this question was not decided upon pursuant to Soviet law, which again was one hundred percent on the side of the non-Soviet person, degenerate and enemy No. One, myself, but pursuant to the dictates of power.

In the Ordinance of the militia dated March 22, 1978, the following grounds were stated as the basis for the extension of administrative surveillance over me:

"Presently it is evident from existent materials that the person under

administrative surveillance is consciously unwilling to enter upon the road to reformation”.

From this “basis” for the extension of administrative surveillance over me, it can be surmised that said extension was clearly the result of my conversation with Chief of Pustomyty KGB Captain Polishchuk, which took place on March 20, 1978, and during which I categorically rejected his proposition to renounce my views and beliefs. In such case, of course, it meant that I was “consciously unwilling to enter upon the road to reformation” and my place was under administrative surveillance.

In answer to my demands to be presented with materials that constitute the evidence of my conscious unwillingness to enter upon the road to reformation, I was not allowed to peruse them, since, pursuant to militia statements, said materials or documents were not for my use but for the use of the militia.

In addition to the extension of administrative surveillance over me, the KGB, from spite, ordered some of the limitations I was under to be increased. For example, up to March 23, 1978, I was allowed to remain outside my quarters from 7:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. (and in 1976, until 9:00 p.m.), then from March 23, 1978, I was allowed to remain outside my quarters from 7:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. only, which forced me to stay in my quarters for full twelve hours out of every twenty-four — namely being under house arrest for half of the time of my so-called freedom.

As could be noted from the above, the period of my house arrest was systematically extended. In 1976, said house arrest period constituted ten hours out of every twenty-four, in 1977 — eleven hours, and in 1978 — twelve hours.

All of the above, the KGB does not only to spite me or to make my life harder, but also to “wrangle” some concessions from me.

*(to be continued)*

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## **The policy of detente with Moscow**

**Ronald Reagan:**

“So far, detente’s been a one-way street the Soviet Union has used to pursue its own aims.”

“I know of no leader of the Soviet Union, since the revolution and including the present leadership, that has not more than once repeated in the various Communist congresses they hold, their determination that their goal must be the promotion of world revolution and a one-world Socialist or Communist state, whichever word you want to use.”

He continued:

“Now, as long as they do that and as long as they, at the same time, have openly and publicly declared that the only morality they recognize is what will further their cause, meaning they reserve unto themselves the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat in order to obtain that, and that is moral, not immoral, I think when you do business with them — even at a detente — you keep that in mind.”

*Washington, Jan. 30.*

*(The first presidential news conference)*

## Western Weakness Encouraging Russian Expansion and Invasion

*The Opening Speech of WACL Chairman, Mr. Pierre Schifferli.*

Allow me first of all to extend a cordial welcome to each and every one of you on behalf of the Swiss Chapter of the WACL, as well as on behalf of the Organization Committee of this Congress. In particular, I welcome here the presence of Mr. André Gautier, National Councillor, of Mr. Edgar Oehler, National Councillor, of Miss A. Aubert, René Guidini and Pierre Jacquiard, Deputies at the Grand Conseil of Geneva, and of Mrs. Jacqueline Jacquiard, member of the Geneva Municipal Council.

Thus we are especially proud of the fact that Switzerland was chosen. We hope to be worthy of the confidence you have placed in us by that choice. We should like to be able to list here the names of all those who worked to make this conference possible. Obviously, we are unable to do that, but we do however wish to thank two persons who have been exceptionally devoted to the cause that is dear to us: on the one hand, the Honorary President of the World Anti-Communist League, Dr. Ku Cheng Kang, who has, from the very start, been the soul of our organization. We extend to him our best wishes for a prompt recovery. On the other hand, Dr. Juan Manuel Frutos, President of the League, who has carried on a year-long campaign of action marked by both vigor and flexibility to advance the cause of liberty and to broaden our influence wherever we are represented.

You are well aware of the fact that Geneva is also an international city. Dozens of international organizations have set up their headquarters here. You certainly also realize that countless conferences have taken place here, and even if, they often failed to achieve the hoped-for success, they were nevertheless marked by a spirit of conciliation and of unity.

As you no doubt also know, GENEVA is a city of *liberty*. Numberless refugees have come here to find safe asylum from the harassment to which they had been subjected in their land of origin. And many citizens of GENEVA have as their land of origin a country that is today communist. May that *liberty* which symbolizes GENEVA give vitality to our meeting and enable us to extend our drive still more broadly.

It is not out of place to be holding this anti-communist congress at this time, just when Moscow is promoting the Games of Shame, the Games of the Goulag. All the Swiss mass media, even the television (ordinarily rather accommodating to everything that calls itself "communist"), have violently denounced the hypocrisy and the masquerade of these games, hosted by a country which flouts liberty, attacks its neighbors and other more distant lands, a country which maintains within its boundaries the last colonial empire of the 20th century, by refusing the right to national self-determination to the nations forcefully encysted within that empire.

Public opinion in Europe and especially in Switzerland has taken a strong position against the Moscow Games, except for the militants of the Communist party, of course. And the political climate thus created cannot fail to be of advantage to our Congress.

For that matter, a notable awakening of public opinion in the Western World is to be found everywhere as concerns the communist, and particularly the Soviet, menace.

The tragic fall of three lands of Indochina into the hands of communism, leading to the flight of many thousands of Cambodians, Vietnamese and Laotians, the grip of the Soviet generals and their Cuban mercenaries on Angola and Ethiopia, and

today the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan have, in the past five years, enabled public opinion to see from what source the real menace of war was coming.

Let us only hope that it is not too late!

Our task now is to keep from destroying the fresh luster surrounding the word "Anticommunist" by internecine disputes and behavior detrimental to the good name of the World Anticommunist League.

Our goal is to struggle against communist totalitarianism and imperialism. The ways and means of anticommunist struggle clearly differ from one country to another, and we Swiss can readily understand that in the Republic of China or in the Republic of Korea the communist party is illegalized, the members of that party are hunted down without pity as traitors and criminals. The Republic of China and the Republic of Korea live under the constant threat of an aggression from outside, one which moreover makes use of subversion from within. In Switzerland likewise, during the period of the 2nd World War, the Communist Party was forbidden, and the directing members of that party were imprisoned or interned.

Today, this Communist Party of Switzerland vegetates freely, under police surveillance, in our democracy and no longer represents anything at the national level, with only three deputies, all over 60 years of age, to hold the line against the 244 members in the two chambers of our parliament.

That will also, Ladies and Gentlemen, make clear to you that the anticommunist struggle in Switzerland can, in practice, only develop on the basis of international themes, such as that of supporting anti-communist resistance in Indochina, in Angola, in Afghanistan, and such as that of assisting the counter-propaganda efforts against the campaign of denigration and misinformation to which, for example, the Republic of Korea is subjected.

We must enter into the broadest possible union with all the democratic forces opposed to communism, we must effectuate an intensive information program on the reality of the communist countries.

1. We must, for example, prepare ourselves to create a powerful current of opinion favorable to the implantation in Europe of American middle-range nuclear missiles, such as the Pershing 2 and the Tomahawk, since we know that the USSR is considerably building up its nuclear capacity in Europe and has already, by the intermediary of the Communist parties, launched into a virulent campaign intended to slow down, if not prevent, the implantation of these missiles in Western Europe, all this in the name of peace and "détente".

2. We must sensitize world public opinion to the utmost over the drama of Afghanistan, so that it may be psychologically prepared to support any eventual military action of the Western or Islamic forces in favor of national resistance.

We must back up the governments and the public opinion of the countries of South-east Asia, so that they may get together in opposing resistance to the communist regime of Hanoi, which menaces them all. We express the hope that these countries will hold out against Hanoi and will actively support the Indochinese resistance movements.

3. We must also remember that communism infiltrates the churches and seeks to destroy the faith of the multitudes, in order to be in a position to impose its dictatorship more easily.

4. And finally, we must remember that the communist system accepts none of the natural liberties of human beings, whether for individuals or for nations as a whole.

The four themes I have just outlined will provide the subject-matter for the work of the commissions meeting tomorrow.

Out of the sempiternal tendency of the

democracies to produce their own auto-criticism and to publicize their weaknesses with a view to curing them is derived one of the principal lines of force of the drive to disarmament undertaken by the communist camp. The communist regimes are raising generations of citizens imbued with the certainty that there is a capitalist menace, this being a source of conflict. They castigate the U.S.A. for possessing bases in this or that country, while they, by the intermediary of local popular parties, are taking over power in many States, are inundating the globe with propaganda, while not tolerating any interference in their own affairs. They declare that "détente" in no way excludes the pursuit of the class struggle and the efforts to extend socialism to the entire world.

In reply to this permanent offensive, within the scope of which an intensive military preparation finds its place quite naturally, the West shillyshallies about the hopes of decreasing tension that it might encourage, evaluates the communist wrongdoings in terms of the putative action of hawks or of doves, and sticks to the defense of its evangelical purity. The West denounces with conviction, but does not go along with the consequences deriving therefrom, and above all it finds a stupid pleasure in nursing the deeply felt belief in the communists' attachment to the maintenance of peaceful co-existence, this notion being replaced a few years ago by the theoretically even more "encouraging" one of détente. Communism makes use of a very tricky policy, psychologically speaking: it starts out with the policy of the outstretched hand, the great friendship, to obtain an East-West co-operation indispensable for their plans. If this first tactic fails, the pretext of safeguarding détente comes into play: there is a menace and the West falls back in retreat!

The weakness or even the absence or western reactions in the face of communist

imperialism results therefore in favoring and encouraging this policy of expansion and invasion.

The superiority of the communist political system puts its stake on the first phase of the action, on the first hours, when the great Western democracies accept what shouldn't be accepted, as, for example, the invasion of Afghanistan. A verbal opposition on the part of the Western diplomacies is not enough. To guarantee *détente*, vigilance and firmness are indispensable components, the only ones that are understood by the communist leaders, just as a powerful and well-equipped army is indispensable for maintaining peace. When confronted by the assassination of the Afghan people, as by that of the people of Indochina, the West questions itself, worries itself and, without realizing it, sacrifices itself. *The democracies condemn instead of prohibiting, envisage instead of acting.* If we do not resist communism, at least we have to know, as Bernanos wrote, that the menace hovering over us is not only that of dying, but that of dying like imbeciles.

In closing, I should like to quote what was said by a former professor of the University of Kaboul, when asked what his feelings were, as to the western attitude toward the drama of his country:

"Present-day western civilization is one-legged. Humanity needs an economic and industrial pillar, and that you have. But you no longer have the pillar of faith in God and Country.

You no longer have the pillar of feeling, of love. The West walks on only one foot, on the hunt for an always greater economic profit, and the USSR takes political advantage of this. Our Afghan resistance forces have that faith which enables them to fight."

Ladies and Gentlemen, we also must rediscover that faith to combat communism, for *the struggle against communism is the struggle for humanity.*

Geneva, 2. 7. 1980

## Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

*The General Assembly of the United Nations, on 14 December 1960, adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes a "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" in which it solemnly proclaimed "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".*

*The Declaration reaffirms major principles in the United Nations Charter concerning fundamental human rights and the self-determination of peoples. It calls for immediate measures to transfer all powers to the peoples of the colonial territories and for an end to all armed action or repressive measures against them.*

*By recognizing the "passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence" the United Nations gave fresh impetus to the historic development which during the life of the Organization has seen scores of dependent territories gain sovereign independence and many others advance to the threshold of statehood.*

*The full text of the Declaration follows. The General Assembly,*

*Mindful of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the Charter of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,*

*Conscious of the need for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being and peaceful and friendly relations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms*

*for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,*

*Recognizing the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence,*

*Aware of the increasing conflicts resulting from the denial of or impediments in the way of the freedom of such peoples, which constitute a serious threat to world peace,*

*Considering the important role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in trust and non-self-governing territories,*

*Recognizing that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations,*

*Convinced that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic cooperation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace,*

*Affirming that peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law,*

*Believing that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith,*

*Welcoming the emergence in recent years of a large number of dependent territories into freedom and independence, and recognizing the increasingly powerful trends towards freedom in such territories which have not yet attained independence,*

*Convinced that all peoples have an ina-*



alienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory,

*Solemnly proclaims* the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

And to this end

*Declares* that:

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

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

3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them

to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.

5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in trust and non-self-governing territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

6. Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purpose and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity.



*Russian oppression protested before the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Dec. 6-7, 1980.  
Canadian M. P., Mr. M. Wilson, addressing the demonstrators.*

## Helsinki Accord Damaging to Ukraine

*Brief submitted by the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (CLLU) to the Canadian Government in connection with the Conference on the Security and Cooperation in Europe in Madrid, 1980/81.*

Historical experience (as with Nazi Germany) and political realities (the invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR) point to the fact that neither meaningful cooperation nor lasting security in Europe, and in the world at large, can be negotiated with any totalitarian state bent on expansion abroad and on repression in areas under its control. The stated goals of any such Conference can only be realized in a world community of independent and democratic states of all the nations — those currently free and those struggling for their liberation. Canada, and the free world in general, must take into consideration that, in the final analysis, the only viable solution to current international problems lies in the demise of the Soviet Russian empire (the USSR) through moral, political and material assistance to the liberation forces active within that empire. The alternative, which is based on current Western policies of “nuclear balance of power”, arms race, and appeasement of and frequent capitulation before a totalitarian aggressive state like the USSR inevitably leads to a nuclear confrontation and a disaster for humanity.

In view of the above, and given Articles III and IV of the Final Act of the CSCE which guarantee the “inviolability of frontiers” and the “territorial integrity” of the USSR (as one of the participating states), and given Part II, Art. 4 of the Constitution of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (CLLU) which binds this organization to promote the re-establishment of an independent and democratic state of the Ukrainian people, the CLLU considers on principle the Helsinki Accord unfair and damaging to Ukraine

and other non-Russian nations in the USSR and, in this respect, contradictory to the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the UN Declaration on Independence for Colonial Countries and Peoples (1960, supported by Canada), and the UN Programme of Action of Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (1970). Since Canada is one of the participants of the CSCE, the CLLU’s position with respect to Canada’s participation in the Madrid Conference is the following:

Whereas, Articles III (“inviolability of [Soviet] frontiers”), IV (“territorial integrity of states” — including the USSR), and VI (“non-intervention in [Soviet] internal affairs”) a priori deny Ukraine and other oppressed nations within the USSR their right to national self-determination and state independence;

and, whereas, *the Soviet Union has consistently violated Article VII of the Final Act which guarantees human rights and fundamental freedoms* by incarcerating, in the past 5 years, 18 members of the Ukrainian Public Group for the Implementation of the Helsinki Accord, and many other activists for national and human rights in Ukraine (list enclosed);

and, whereas, the Soviet Union has *violated Articles II (“Refraining from the threat or use of force”), VII (“Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief”), VIII (“Equal rights and self-determination of peoples”),* and others, of the Final Act by its invasion and occupation of Afghanistan;

→

## Independence for Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia

A group of 45 citizens from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia have demanded self-determination for the Soviet republics on the grounds that they were illegally annexed under the 1939 alliance between Stalin and Hitler.

The 45 issued a statement to Western reporters to coincide with the 40th anniversary of the non-aggression treaty which allotted the then independent Baltic States to Moscow's sphere of influence.

The lengthy appeal to the Governments of the Soviet Union, West and East Germany and the United Nations argued that the Soviet Army moved into the Baltic republics in 1940 as a result of secret protocols to the pact signed by Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov and Hitler's Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop.

"The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was a

plot between the two great tyrants of history — Hitler and Stalin — against peace and humanity and creating the beginning of the Second World War," it said.

The statement called for the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact to be published in full for the first time and to be declared void in the same way as the 1938 Munich Agreement between Hitler and British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain.

"We appeal to the GDR (East) and FRG (West) German Governments... to assist the Soviet Government to liquidate the consequences of the Pact and to withdraw foreign troops from the Baltic territories," it said.

The statement called on the Western powers to condemn what it said were the consequences of the treaty and on the Soviet Union to live up to its obligations to respect the right of sovereign peoples to self-determination.

The 45 also said the United Nations, as the successor to the League of Nations, had the responsibility for the sovereignty of the old Baltic States which belonged to the pre-war body.

"We desire that the next General Assembly in the UN consider the situation of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, because the peoples of these countries are deprived of the right and possibility of determining their own fate," it said.

Western countries, except the Netherlands, have all withheld formal recognition of the incorporation of the three Baltic republics, independent of Russia from 1919—1940, into the Soviet Union.

*Reuters—Moscow, 1979*

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←

Canada should make its participation in the Madrid Conference directly dependent on an unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet Russian troops from Afghanistan, and the immediate release of all individuals currently imprisoned in the USSR for their activities to promote national and human rights and fundamental freedoms as a first step towards a full restitution of national and human rights and fundamental freedoms to Ukraine and other nations forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union in the past 60 years.

Although in practical terms Moscow will make no such concessions, it is our conviction that a principled stand by the Government of Canada will go a long way in filling with meaning and substance all past, present and future declarations about "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" and "equal rights and self-determination of peoples".

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## Solidarity with Political Prisoners

Half-way through their stay at "Tarasivka" — the Ukrainian Youth Camp at Weston-on-Trent, Derbyshire, the older participants of the camp decided to cancel their day's outing and instead organised a 24 hour hunger strike in support of Ukrainian political prisoners who are at present in Russian prison camps and psychiatric hospitals. This hunger strike took place outside the Russian Embassy in London from 12 noon on Wednesday, August 13 to 12 noon, Thursday, August 14. About 60 members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) took part in this hunger strike to free Yuriy Shukhevych from Russian incarceration and hardship.

Many leaflets about Russia's political prisoners were distributed and many signatures were gained for the petitions demanding the freedom of Yuriy Shukhevych. Even though many people threw their leaflets onto the pavement, still more retained their leaflet and asked for more

information on Yuriy Shukhevych. All the while the leaflets were being distributed, Ukrainian national songs were sung and slogans were continually being repeated — "The Kremlin will crumble but Ukraine will never die", "Russians out!" "Freedom for Yuriy Shukhevych" "The Russians said we are CIA agents. Do we look like CIA agents? and so on. In the early evening three Russian flags were set on fire with torches and the Ukrainian national anthem was sung.

After spending the night on the pavement, all the young people were ready to continue with their protest. When the hunger strike ended at midday with the singing of the national anthem, many were tired and hungry but equally elated and satisfied that they had shown, be it in a small way, their unfailing support for our fellow Ukrainians who have been pulled down to utter degradation by the Russians.

Lesia Saplyva (a participant)

Head of the Oldham Branch of SUM



*Afghan freedom-fighters near to Jalalabad prepared for action. In the front, their commander engineer Mahmoud.*

*Photo taken by our correspondent Askold Krushelnycky*

## Central Asian Peoples Pose Problems for the Kremlin

The resurgence of the nationalist and Islamic feelings among the peoples in the Soviet "republics" of Central Asia has always been a problem for the Kremlin leadership, but never so acute as after the Islamic take-over in Iran and the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. For months now a campaign has been carried out in that region in order to "raise the standard of the working people's patriotic and internationalist upbringing". Below are excerpts from the speech, which occupies two and a half pages of the newspaper 'Turkmen-skaya Iskra' (The Turkmen Spark), of M. G. Gapurov, First Secretary of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party in Turkmenia, which shares more than 1,500 km. long border with Iran and Afghanistan.

### Enforced Russification

"Russian, the language of communication between our nationalities and of cooperation among our country's all nations and ethnic groups, has played and continues to play an outstanding role in the appearance of the new historic community, the Soviet people, and in strengthening the unity of the Soviet peoples. Arguing prior to the Great October revolution that every inhabitant of Russia should have the opportunity to learn the great Russian language, V. I. Lenin predicted a great future for it as a potential world language.

The Russian language is now a mighty factor in giving Soviet nations and ethnic groups access to the achievements of world culture and artistic values and facilitates a rapid upsurge and enrichment of their national cultures... It is our profound belief that the improvement of Russian teaching and the entire population's mastery of the language... are a very important factor in the further strengthening of the international character of the Soviet way of life.

The Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee has always devoted, and continues to devote, great attention to improving the teaching of Russian in the republic. We have taken measures to improve the training of teachers of Russian and to ensure that the learning of Russian begins in the first year at State schools...

We can see that there are many elements of the obsolete, archaic and nationally narrowminded in the traditions, customs and rituals. Custom and ceremonies which are out of step with our moral standards and contain elements of consumerism and manor house morals must be resolutely renounced. Extravagant weddings, expensive funerals, various kinds of rituals which still occur are incompatible with the ethics of the socialist way of life...

Bourgeois propaganda tries to foster various reactionary theories of nations and national relations and uses nationalism as one of the main levers in this anti-communist activity. It falsifies Leninist nationalities policy and the USSR's experience in resolving the nationalities question.

As it is known, bourgeois propaganda organs and foreign anti-Soviet special service and centres, such as the Turkmen desk of the Radio Liberty, the Association of Turkestanians in the USA and West Germany, the Federation of Turkic Migrants and Emigres in Turkey, the Gorgan radio-centre and Mashhad television in Iran and various "Sovietology" centres masquerading as scientific research institutions have stepped up their hostile activity and propaganda intended for our republic's population.

In addition, there are daily broadcasts from Peking making every effort to discredit communist construction in the USSR and the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy. They are spreading misinformation about our republic, conducting brazen propaganda of revisionism, nationalism, pan-

Turkism and pan-Islamism, and trying to evaluate the republic's socialist transformations from nationalist positions.

### **Fear of traditions**

Hostile propaganda attempts to speculate on vestiges of the past preserved in certain people's consciousness and behaviour, and tries hard to kindle nationalist sentiments and sow enmity among the peoples living and working in Soviet Turkmenia as a united fraternal family. They are also trying to inculcate the idea that the national and international are incompatible, and to distort the CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy...

It is true, however, that everything is not running smoothly. We have many difficulties, and we expect more effective assistance in this field from the scientific methodological council on problems of foreign ideological trends and the new department of scientific communism and criticism of foreign ideological trends set up at republic's Academy of Sciences...

Linking tasks of antinationalist and atheist education merits the most serious attention... It must be borne in mind that nationalist and religious relics are complementary and sustain and nourish one another... nationalism and religion are making a joint effort to hold and even broaden their positions..."

Gapurov continued: "But there are still many religious people in the republic and it must be borne in mind that our ideological enemies are currently laying special emphasis on propaganda of Islam and obsolete patriarchal and feudal customs as a means of kindling national discord and undermining Soviet people's ideological and political unity. Their aim is to revive religious sentiments on an anti-Soviet basis and sow anti-sovietism in the soil of Islam... We must learn purposefully to combine internationalist and atheist education in order to rob nationalism of its religious cover and religion of its claim to represent the nation..."

Moslem quack-confessors, champions of old, reactionary rites and principles, operating wilfully in the so-called holy places, are trying to kindle religious fanaticism, fuel feelings of national narrow-mindedness and instil in family relations harmful feudal and kinship vestiges and rituals...

The fact is that our lecturers, propagandists, agitation workers as well as ideological activists allow progressive folk traditions and customs to mix in everyday life with religious ceremonies... As practice demonstrates, many of our ideological activists are still unable to distinguish religious principles from genuine people's principles and are often unaware of and incapable of convincingly demonstrating the harm caused by a particular custom or ritual, or its religious essence... It will be difficult to solve these complex tasks..."

*(From 'Turkemenskaya Iskra'  
of 15 June 1980)*

(N. B. Ellipses denote omission of sentences or complete passages).

### **Shortcomings of Tajik Construction Industry**

On March 6, 1980 the Tajik Communist Party and Government newspaper, 'Kommunist Tajikistana', reported the speech which Nabiyeu, Chairman of the republic's council of ministers, made at a republican conference of building workers on March 5, 1980. He said, i.a.:

"The plan was not fulfilled for the majority of indices, and some of these were allowed to fall below last year's level. The plan was underfulfilled by not putting into operation 382,000,000 Rubles worth of basic assets, 135,000 sq. metres of housing, schools for 7,300 pupils and many other projects. Some R103,600,000 of capital investment was not implemented. Contracting organizations underfulfilled the works programmes by R47 million. Especially unsatisfactory was the work of the contracting organizations of the Ministries of Construction, Rural Construction and Water Conservancy..."

In 1979, due to unsatisfactory implementation of funds, only 44 of the 57 most important building sites at a pre-commissioning stage were put into operation... there are still many examples of low quality, especially in housing and civil construction. Thus in 1979 only eight percent of the total number of these projects built by republican Construction Ministry organizations were put into use with the assessment "good". This situation can no longer be tolerated...

However, the quality of bricks, ferro-concrete articles and joinery remains to be low, as a result of which the builders have to spend considerable time and resources to patch them up on the building sites..."

#### **'Socialist Realism' Art Does Not Work by Decree**

The Russian language newspaper 'Pravda Vostoka' has reported that the central committee of the Communist Party in Uzbekistan had adopted a decision on the work of the union of composers of Uzbekistan. The decision points out, i.a., that "there are considerable shortcomings in the work of the republican union of composers for the development of musical art. There are still very few major works being created which can greatly stir the public, deeply and clearly reveal the heroic spirit of communist construction, the boundless force of the Leninist friendship of the peoples of the USSR, the moral purity of Soviet people, their selfless devotion to the party, their bright and life asserting ideals. There is a shortage of large-scale productions of theatrical music, operas and ballets, and of musical shows. There are few composers who are working on music for

choirs, films and chamber orchestras. There is a particular shortage of new songs with easily memorized words and music on political, civic, labour, patriotic and youth themes and the theme of rituals of everyday life".

For more than 50 past years the Russian occupiers of Uzbekistan tried to destroy everything pertaining to the national culture of the Uzbeks in favour of the Communist Party "culture" of "socialist realism". But, obviously, "socialist realism" culture, including music, cannot develop by decree and decisions of the Party leadership, consisting of ignoramuses and downright gangsters. It is clear that Uzbek composers, like workers in other cultural fields, do not wish to respond to such decrees and such leadership.

#### **Results of Colonial Economy**

"At the planned rate of land irrigation, the water resources of the Syr-Darya basin will be exhausted by 1985 and the Amu-Daryan basin by 1990."

"In recent years there has been a catastrophically rapid fall in the flow of water into the Aral Sea. Its level is falling rapidly, revealing hundreds of thousands of hectares of saline and sandy land round the periphery of the sea and in the lower reaches of the Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya; these are rapidly turning arid and being eroded by the wind. It is difficult to predict the scale of the harmful consequences of this phenomenon."

This information comes from an article in 'Pravda Vostoka' of 6 July 1980, signed by the President, Vice-President and Learned secretary of the Academy of Sciences in Uzbekistan.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit  
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## Support for the Subjugated Nations

*Resolutions adopted unanimously by XIII World Anti-Communist League (WACL) Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, on July 28th 1980.*

### **Resolution on the Independence of Byelorussia and on the Defence of Byelorussian Political, Cultural and Religious Prisoners**

Whereas, in 1975, Byelorussia was by force of arms, conquered and annexed to Russia;

Whereas, the Byelorussian People will never cease to fight for their freedom and national independence which was proclaimed by the Act of March 25, 1918, and reaffirmed by the All-Byelorussian Congress in 1944;

Whereas, the totalitarian communist regime arrests thousands of the best sons of Byelorussia and deports them into concentration camps and imprisons them in insane asylums, as for example: Michel *Kukabaka*, Eugen *Buzinnikau*, Iwan *Karejscha* and others, who tried to oppose morally against the violence of the totalitarian ideology, and who tried to defend religion, the human rights and the Byelorussian nation,

### **Therefore the XIII WACL Conference Resolves:**

*To support* the inalienable rights of the Byelorussian nation to the freedom and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations as recognized in the UN Declaration on Human Rights, International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence for Colonial Countries and Peoples.

*To appeal* to the UNO, to the Governments and Parliaments of the free countries in the world to defend the Byelorussian prisoners repressed in the Soviet Union for their cultural, religious and political convictions, such as Michael *Kukabaka*, Eugen *Buzinnikau*, Iwan *Karejscha* and others, and request the abolition of concentration

camps, political prisons and psychiatric establishments intended to break the will power of the political, cultural and religious prisoners.

### **For the Sovereignty and Independence of Ukraine**

— Whereas the 53 million Ukrainian nation with its continuous revolutionary liberation fight, with its unbounding human revolutionary potential, talents and creative works of its members, economic wealth of its land, its geo-political position constitutes the key factor in the world struggle against bolshevism and Russian imperio-colonialism;

— Whereas the revolutionary liberation, insurgent-partisan war of Ukraine, without any support during World War II against the biggest military world powers — Germany and Russia, waged by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, (who was imprisoned by the Nazis for almost four years and killed by the KGB in 1959) and by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army under the command of Gen. R. Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka, who died in the battle against the NKVD armies in 1950, also today reveals an unsurmountable power and great importance of Ukraine together with other subjugated nations, as an ally of the Free World;

— Whereas bolshevist Russia, exploiting the policy of detente, desires by all means to destroy the leading strata of the Ukrainian nation, applying also to the entire nation ethno-, natio- and geno-cidal policy, including brutal russification, while imposing its communist/atheistic way of life;

— Whereas the Ukrainian nation by its revolutionary liberation struggle and during the recent years also by other open forms of opposition\* and struggle opposes the



Russian colonial empire, branding the Ukrainian SSR as being a Russian colony and demands the national independence and sovereignty;

— Whereas the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, in its struggle against the Russian imperialism and Communism, was commemorating in 1979 its 50th anniversary and still remains as a continuous and leading moving force of the liberation fight for the independent democratic Ukrainian state and jointly with Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) became the very co-founder of the ABN in 1943 carrying an insurgent combat against Nazism and Bolshevism;

Therefore the XIIIth WACL Conference resolves: —

1. To give political and moral support to the national liberation struggle of Ukraine for its national sovereignty and independence in order that through a national liberation revolution of the subjugated nations the downfall of the Russian empire and of the entire bolshevist system be accomplished from within, thus avoiding thermonuclear hermegedon and bolshevist world holocaust.

2. In view of the heroic struggle of Ukraine and during the last six months' armed struggle of the courageous Afghanistan, assaulted by Russia, to appeal to the governments and parliaments of the Free World to value the volcanic force of the neglected ideo-political superpower — the subjugated nations under the Russian-bolshevist yoke and to aim its war strategy not only on the technico-military elements but on the explosive force of the liberation idea.

3. The conception of holy liberation wars which combine the national and

—————  
\* open statements of fighters for an independent Ukraine under the cover of the Helsinki Accords, or without it, in the frames of the Ukrainian national liberation movement.

religious ideas under the slogan, as we witnessed in Afghanistan, "The Lord is great" against the bolshevist Russian atheist colonial-imperial subjugation — such a concept is invincible. To place by the governments of free nations, at the disposal of the OUN and other liberation organizations, all possible technical means of psychological warfare e.g. radio stations, printing facilities for the dissemination of informational material for the use of soldiers of the Red Army in order to win them against the occupants, what is the task of first priority in aiding Afghanistan as well.

4. To appeal to the West for armed military aid for Afghanistan in its liberation war as well as for other subjugated nations who are willing and prepared to synchronise their own liberation war with that of heroic Afghanistan gradually and simultaneously training volunteers of respective peoples in the modes of the insurgent-partisan warfare.

5. To grant the OUN — liberation revolutionary Organization of the Ukrainian nation, the same legal status which the PLO has achieved not only in the UN, but in the capital cities of the Free World, the more that the OUN does not apply in the Free World methods of struggle analogical to those of the PLO.

6. To condemn russificational natio-cide, physical genocide in Ukraine and other subjugated nations, in particular the deprivation of freedom of 5 million citizens of the USSR, 70% of them Ukrainians, in the concentrations camps of compulsory labour, prisons, psychiatric wards, deportations, exile, and, in particular, to condemn the KGB murders of freedom fighters e.g. artist Alla Horska (1970), Ivan Mojsseyev (1972), Fathers Ivan Luchkiw, Michael Lutsky and A. Gurgula (1975), Volodymyr Ossadchyj (1975), mathematician Ivan Vytenka (1976), Mykola Konchakivskyj (1978), historian M. Melnyk (1979), composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk

(1979) and further to condemn the KGB murders of nationalists, members of the OUN.

7. To appeal to the governments and parliaments of the Free World to exercise constant pressure on the USSR — by means of the compact economic blockade of the USSR up to the inclusion of armed support to the subjugated nations against Russian occupational armies — to withdraw the occupational armies from Ukraine, Afghanistan and other countries which have been overrun by the Russians.

8. To condemn the imprisonment of the fighters for national and human rights, for religious practices, and to appeal to the governments and parliaments of the free nations to put heavy pressures on the USSR for the release of political and religious prisoners, in particular members of the OUN and UPA, and the participants of the Ukrainian national liberation movement and all the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, to demand the release of Vasyl Pidhorodetsky, Ivan Hel, Father Romaniuk, Danylo Shumuk, Mykola Rudenko, Oles Berdnyk, Levko Lukianenko, Oksana Meshko, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovich, Petro Sichko, Vasyl Sichko, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Vasyl Stus, Iryna Senyk, Zinovij Krasivskyj, Iwan Switlychnyj, Oksana Popovych, Ewhen Swerstiuk and Yuriy Skukhevych, the son of the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Yuriy Skukhevych, has been sentenced several times for a total of 30 years imprisonment because he refused to denounce the

legacy and ideals for which his father, Gen. R. Skukhevych, fought and died.

This imprisonment into concentration camps, prisons, psychiatric wards and deportations, violates the "Universal Declaration on human rights", the "Declaration on decolonization from 1960/1970", the UN resolution on the support to the military struggle of the subjugated nations against the colonial yoke, September 1976, as well as other agreements made between the West and the USSR.

#### **Endeavor of Latin Americans**

Aware of the disturbances created in Latin America by leftists and Communists, including those from Cuba;

Aware, in particular, of what has taken place in some of the strong anti-Communist Latin American countries; and

Aware of the grave situation resulting from the Cuban release of large numbers of refugees:

The World Anti-Communist League resolves at its 13th General Conference:

1. To urge concerted Latin American efforts in conjunction with other free world sources to drive out and keep away all Communists and leftist from the continent;

2. To urge all Latin Americans to be ever more strongly anti-Communist, never permitting any Red regime or group to deceive and entrap them;

3. To urge steps to cope with the Cuban refugee exodus in the best possible manner; and

4. To urge the maximum free world cooperation to augment strength to make and keep all of Latin America free and secure.

**„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**

## A GREAT LOSS

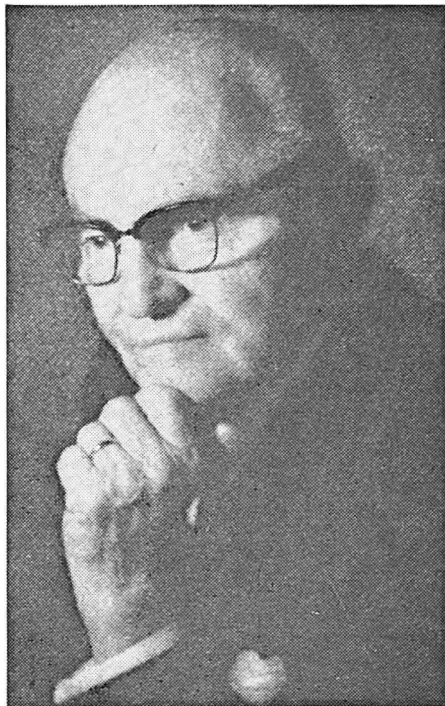


With deep sorrow and heartfelt pain we inform our peoples that on the eve of Wednesday, December 3, 1980, Ole Bjorn Kraft, aged 86, passed away in Copenhagen. In his homeland he reached the heights of great responsibility for its destiny, as well as in such institutions as NATO. He was a long-standing Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, a long-term member and speaker of the Danish parliament from the Conservative party from 1926—1964, a leading member of the European Council in Strasbourg, the leader of the Danish national resistance movement named the “Freedom of Denmark” which fought against German occupation during World War II. He was a fearless opposer of Russian communist aggression in all parts of the world, the first president of the European Freedom Council (EFC)

and its honorary president from 1973, a great friend of the subjugated nations providing his moral support to their revolutionary freedom struggle. He was a brilliant journalist and the editor of the “Berlingske Tidende” for many years.

Ole Bjorn Kraft was born on December 17, 1893. For serving his fatherland in protecting and later reconstructing post-war Denmark, he received the highest honours. He was one of the few Europeans who thought in terms of Europe as a whole, both enslaved and free, being aware of the fact that the remainder of the still free Europe is doomed to conquest by the tyrants, if the free nations fail to support the struggle of the subjugated nations for their liberation. Ole Bjorn Kraft was a spokesman of the free and oppressed nations also on the world forum — WACL. He favoured liberation from the Communist and Russian yoke of all nations of the world.

Ole Bjorn Kraft received a state funeral. Although we are bidding him farewell today, his deeds and the spirit he breathed into our organization will remain. His name will remain widely known among the peoples of the subjugated nations. The truly great will always remain present among their fellow comrades-in-arms. He will be remembered not only in the history of the heroic Danish nation, but of our peoples too, as a champion of the struggle for freedom and independence!



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Afghan freedom-fighters celebrating their victory on the captured Russian tank in battle near Kabul.

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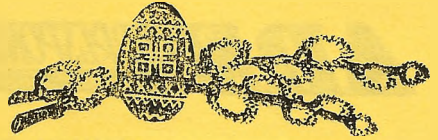
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We wish to extend to you our deepest and warmest wishes for a happy Easter.

We hope you find our magazine interesting. We are indeed pleased that we are able to inform you about those matters which trouble us most. Yet we ask you to consider the fact that the costs involved in publishing our magazine become constantly higher. We would, therefore, be most grateful and appreciate your kind contribution by way of a donation for the press fund of the ABN.

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With many thanks,

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## **THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS SHOULD BE ANNULLED**

The Helsinki agreements were initiated by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow with the aim of receiving international recognition of the gains made during the Second World War:

— of consolidating the inviolability of the frontiers of the modern Russian empire, including the neocolonial satellite States.

— of preserving the integrity of territories dominated by Russian imperialism.

— of securing non-interference in the so-called internal affairs of the Russian colonial empire in Europe, Asia and on other continents.

This has been the only complex of the Helsinki agreements observed by both sides, the West and the Bolsheviks. What irony!

The Russian empire, the USSR, has discarded all other pledges on human rights and the fundamental liberties of peoples and individuals in its sphere of domination.

In the hope of being personally involved with President Carter in the human rights campaign, there were formed in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia and also in Moscow groups for monitoring the implementation of the Helsinki agreements.

These groups demanded the realization of the national and human rights of their peoples. The Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Georgian and Armenian groups in particular did not stop at the Third Basket for the implementation of human rights. They reached to the sources of oppression, the existence of the USSR, the Russian colonial empire, and demanded national independence for their peoples, that is, the disintegration of the empire in the age of the fall of empires throughout the world, according to the relevant UN Declaration on decolonization.

On the instructions of the Politburo and the USSR Government, the KGB smashed all national groups "for the implementation of the Helsinki Agreements". The pogrom of these groups continues today. Even on the eve of the Madrid conference. The Politburo and the USSR Government in fact have made a laughing stock of the Helsinki agreements, having achieved what they desired most: the recognition by 33 States in Europe and North America — without any peace treaty! — of the inviolability of all, the present territorial acquisitions of the Russian conquerors.

The Helsinki agreements came after the suppression of the 1949 uprising of Ukrainian prisoners in Vorkuta, the 1953 uprising of workers in East Germany, the defeat of Hungary and Poland in 1956 and the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, after the smashing of the revolts of Ukrainian and other inmates of the concentration camps, after the erection of the Berlin Wall, after the suppression by brute force of the uprisings of Ukrainian working people in Novocherkask, Novodzerzhinsk, Dnipropetrovsk and the Donbas; and after the suppression of the workers' revolts in Poland in 1970 and 1976.

## False Security

Can one speak about security and peaceful settlement of misunderstandings? If so, then how does one explain the Russian aggression in Angola, Ethiopia, Zanzibar, Vietnam, Campuchea, Laos and numerous other countries on various continents? Is this security?

And on the eve of the review of the fulfilment of the Helsinki agreements: — aggression against Afghanistan and genocide by napalm bombs and bacteria? The Helsinki agreements and hundreds of thousands of drowned refugees of Communism in Vietnam, is this security? Is this the indivisibility of security and peace?

The murder of the fighters for the rights of individual and nation, of priests, cultural workers and political fighters, the members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, thousands deported to Siberia and imprisoned... All this took place after the Helsinki and Belgrade meetings!

Without needing another World War the Russian imperialists have been ruining internal order inside the free nations with the help of peripheral wars, local wars and social subversion, including the terrorist factions of the Red Army in the free world. And the Western nations seem to be helpless and frightened like rabbits facing a python!

But at the same time the Russian empire is a colossus with clay feet. It is being destroyed by the revolutionary national liberation movements of the oppressed nations, with Ukraine at their head. The oppressed nations constitute a majority in the USSR and this means also in the Soviet army. If we add also the satellites then the relation of forces would be 3 to 1 in favour of the subjugated nations against the Russian oppressor nation.

The policy of detente is bankrupt. The strategy based on the balance of power has been a deception, for the Russians have superiority in nuclear and conventional armaments.

The West has underestimated the most important factor: the neglected power of the oppressed nations which are tearing apart the Russian empire and the communist system from within. The West has written off these people, its most determined allies, as the decisive force of our age.

*Liberation nationalism, militant religion, national idea coupled with social-these are the forces that will destroy the imperial system.*

We demand: instead of the policy of detente with the Russian imperialists and communist tyrants, *a policy of liberation of the oppressed nations*, as an alternative to nuclear war!

Detente will lead to a world-wide Holocaust, while the policy of liberation leads to a lasting and just peace!

The Russian empire is advancing by stages in its march for the conquest of the world. It achieves its aims piecemeal, stage by stage. Its strength lies in the ethical, ideological and political weakness of the West, in the lack of the Western nations' political will to lead a struggle. The Russians have been occupying more and more countries by force of arms while shouting about their desire for peace, "against war" at the same time. The West continues to capitulate before Russia.

*Therefore, we propose to the non-communist participants in the Madrid*

## Russification in Occupied Latvia

Russification of the subject peoples in the Soviet Union takes place on different levels and by various means and can be viewed within the framework of the country's expansionist policies. The Soviet Russian policy toward the subjugated nations can best be described as one of systematic assimilation or so-called internationalization of the subjugated peoples. To accomplish this goal all means at the disposal of the State and the Communist party are utilized — state laws curtailing the rights of the member republics of the Soviet Union, centrally regulated educational and cultural policies, mass media, etc. Propaganda dealing with the nationality question stresses ever closer ties between peoples and exults in their intermingling. This is described as a legitimate process toward the development of a multinational Soviet State.

The deliberate russification of Latvia began immediately after the country's forced incorporation into the Soviet Union, on June 17, 1940, and continued after World War II with three successive waves of mass arrests and deportations, in 1941, 1944/45 and 1948/49. These events provide the basis for the russification policy of the Latvian people and exhibit all the characteristics of genocide as defined by the United Nations resolution.

This policy, established in the forties, continues to be implemented today in the

field of politics, economics, culture and education. Demographic changes are brought about by the manipulation of centralized economic policies. Centrally directed cultural and educational policies, designed to curtail the creativity of a national culture, are implemented, as well as forced assimilation and the relegation of the Latvian language to a secondary role. Finally, the existence of the Latvian people is being threatened by increased immigration of non-Latvians into Latvian territory, and the forceful suppression of any opposition to the process of russification.

### Increase of Non-Latvian Population in Latvia

In order to encourage mass immigration of non-Latvians, especially Russians, the Soviets have created various intra-national and zonal organizations. New industries have been created and existing ones expanded, even when this is not economically advantageous. For example, the labor force for these undertakings is recruited outside the borders of Latvia, while the raw materials are brought in over long distances. The finished products are then sent back over similar distances. As a result of this policy the percentage of Latvians in Latvia has been steadily decreasing to the point that it endangers the very existence of the Latvian people. The following percentages show the relative decrease of the Latvian

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← *review of the implementation of the Helsinki accords to start a war of nerves against the Soviet Union now.*

Instead of accepting the Politburo's proposition of summit meetings, which would confirm one more Russian conquest, that in Afghanistan, *they should declare null and void the agreements made in Helsinki.*

Agreements broken by one side do not bind the other side. This is a simple truth!

If anyone wishes to call this a provocation, then the only show of provocation against the USSR is passiveness, lack of counter action, lack of any action in general and lack of political will to wage a struggle. Regrettably, this is typical of the West.

population in occupied Latvia during the past twenty years:

1959	1970	1979
62.0%	56.8%	53.7%

### **Russification in the Field of Education**

There are three basic types of schools in Latvia:

- a) national schools, where all subjects are taught in Latvian;
- b) schools where all subjects are taught only in Russian, and
- c) the so-called integrated schools, Latvian-Russian.

Since the integrated type of school system suits best the prerequisites for internationalism in education, as formulated by Lenin, the tendency has been to convert the national schools during the last twenty years to the integrated type with mixed instruction in Latvian and Russian. The emphasis in these integrated schools is on Russian. Even the language used for administrative purposes, at meetings of teachers and students and educational advisory councils, is Russian. In the non-Russian schools, about 30% of the time allotted for language instruction is devoted to the teaching of the Latvian language and literature, 55% for the study of the Russian language and literature and 15% for other foreign languages. According to a faculty member of the University of Latvia:

*A world view must be acquired purely from the standpoint of the Communist Party. All literature must follow the party line — every student knows that! High school graduates in Latvian language and literature have thus mastered neither, the language nor literature, but instead have learned to recite by rote certain slogans and phrases of ideological content, while trying to memorize the appropriate terminology for praising the recognized type of positive hero. Individual thought must not exist.*

The majority of specialized institutions of learning have as a prerequisite for admission, the knowledge of Russian. At the

Electro-Mechanical Institute of Riga five out of ten disciplines are taught in Russian, the other five in Latvian and Russian. At the University of Latvia for the 1980/81 academic year, 121 basic courses were offered. In eighteen of these, that is about 15%, all lectures were conducted in Russian. In practice, however, if the teacher happens to be a Russian who does not know Latvian, lectures are held in Russian, and so the percentage of courses taught in Russian is actually much greater. Research papers must be written in Russian and dissertations defended in Russian. This, in fact, means that the Latvian language has been obliterated as an academic language.

### **Curtailment of Creativity and Preservation of a National Culture**

The basis for curtailment of a national culture is inconspicuously couched in Article 44 of the Soviet Latvian constitution:

*Citizens of Soviet Latvia have a right to make use of cultural achievements. Such rights are ensured by allowing access to the cultural heritage of one's country and such examples of world art and artifacts as are preserved in state and social centers.*

However, materials and information accessible in these centers have been carefully screened, and only those supportive of the realization of Soviet aims are available. Everything created during the period of Latvia's independence, for example, is inaccessible; as is everything created by those considered as non-persons. Achievements of note in literature, music, the dramatic arts are just not accessible. History is thus falsified and the country's historical heritage kept in obscurity. Creativity along nationalistic lines is discouraged by Article 45 of the constitution:

*Citizens of Soviet Latvia are guaranteed the freedom to do research, to create in the sciences, technology and the arts in order to further the goals of communism.*

Thus freedom of creativity is guaranteed only if it benefits communism and specific organizations have been set up to ensure

that this is indeed done. A good example is the field of literature. In order to publish, one must be a member of the Union of Soviet Latvian Writers. An applicant is judged on the basis of his or her ideological stand; whether the work of this person reflects the aims outlined in the constitution; whether the methods of socialist realism and political indoctrination have been mastered. The Writers' Union in turn is watched over by the Communist Party, since its members form the governing body of the organization. Finally, "Glavlit" a special section of the KGB, contrary to the provisions of the Civil Code regarding authors' rights and the inviolability of their work, censors all works. Thus, many talented young writers are forced to curb or alter their creative efforts. Some of them are thus forced to give up and concentrate on translating permitted works from foreign languages. In summary, literary works, if they do not conform to the official party line, are not published. Previously published works, if they are nationalist in content, cannot be obtained at public libraries.

#### **Assimilation of Language or the Forced use of Russian**

Use of the Russian language is being enforced in all walks of life — including kindergartens, schools, social organizations, places of employment, offices. Last year (1979) at the conference on "The Russian Language — the Language of Friendship and Cooperation Among Soviet Peoples" in Tashkent new and highly important resolutions were passed concerning the forced use of Russian — beginning with kindergarten-age children. Parents are impelled to speak Russian with their children. The Soviet Ministry of Education is conducting a widespread propaganda campaign about the teaching of Russian. Economic conditions in Latvia are such that women, who make up a large part of the work force, must leave their children at an early age at day care centers. Because of the limited number of government-allowed Latvian

day care centers, parents often have no choice but to send their children to Russian kindergartens, where only Russian is spoken.

The official administrative language everywhere is Russian. Also, at places of employment, all directives are in Russian and all meetings, if attended even by a single non-Latvian, are conducted in Russian. Russian is used at trade union meetings as well as at meetings of Communist Youth organizations.

The number of books and newspapers published in Latvian by the government controlled press is continuously decreasing. (For additional information see: Russification of press and publishing in Latvia.)

Out of the four TV channels that can be received in Latvia, three are in Russian and the fourth in Russian and Latvian. The majority of all children's and young people's TV programs are in Russian.

#### **Opposition to the Russification Process**

Opposition to the russification process is classed as anti-State activity and can result in various forms of repression. Many high-ranking officials have been dismissed from their posts because of their opposition to this process. Some of them have been transferred to other parts of the Soviet Union, while others have been imprisoned or placed in psychiatric hospitals. Just recently, for example, a Latvian lawyer, Peteris Lazda, an opponent of russification, was placed in a psychiatric hospital.

Another example is Imants Kerešs, who was committed to a psychiatric hospital for making films depicting the russification of the Latvian language and culture. Jurgis Skulme, a Latvian art historian, and an ardent advocate of preserving Latvian culture, was sentenced in 1977 during the Belgrade Conference to prison for allegedly passing anti-Soviet statements to foreigners. (Skulme has been recently released).

Artists who portray nationalistic themes face serious reprisals and dismissal from their respective unions, thus virtually cut-

ting them off from any chance of employment.

Such acts of intimidation and persecution

T A B L E 1

*Distribution of Books and Brochures by Republics and Language 1977*

	Total of books and brochures published	Number in local language	Percentage in local language
USSR	85,395		
RFSSR	55,657	50,791	91.3
Ukraine	8,430	2,367	28.1
Byelorussia	2,330	393	16.9
Uzbek	2,176	951	43.7
Kazakhstan	2,170	765	35.3
Georgia	2,470	1,576	63.8
Azerbaijan	1,278	820	64.2
Lithuania	1,519	1,181	77.7
Moldavia	1,346	547	40.6
Latvia	2,263	1,174	51.9
Kirghizia	1,082	465	43.0
Tadjikistan	801	342	42.7
Armenia	1,121	740	66.0
Turkmenia	565	246	43.5
Estonia	2,187	1,460	66.8

Source: Narodnoe Khoziaistvo SSSR v 1977 Godu (Moscow: Statistika, 1978), p. 524.

T A B L E 4

*Books and Brochures Published in Latvia 1935*

	Total	Latvian	Russian	Other
Social sciences	418	365	9	44
Philosophy	45	31	10	4
History and geography	101	88	4	9
Exact sciences	53	46	0	7
Applied sciences	163	156	0	7
Linguistics	18	11	2	5
Literature	491	455	26	10
Art and sports	42	31	7	4
Religion	56	45	4	7
General	63	50	1	12
TOTAL	1,450	1,278	63	109

Sources: *Latvijas Statistiskā Gada Grāmata 1935* (Riga: 1936) p. 57.

aid the Soviet russification policy and work toward the gradual annihilation of the Latvian people.

STATISTICAL DATA

*Number of Communist party members:*

	1961	1965
in Lithuania	60,551	86,366
in Latvia	72,519	95,742
in Estonia	37,848	54,836

*In Communist party Central Committee:*

25% Russians in Estland
40% in Latvia
32.5% in Lithuania

Besides Russians there are other national members but mostly are born and educated in the USSR.

National education is not tolerated by the USSR. Every nationalist is condemned, yet not the Russian nationalist. The "Big Brother" conception is proclaimed and praised by the Russians at all times.

In 1958 the Russians constituted  
9% of the Lithuanian population  
27% of the Latvian  
20% of the Estonian population

(From the material distributed at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Madrid, November 1980, by the World Federation of Free Latvians.)

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## THE NEGLECTED POWER

(2)

### Worldwide National Revolution

A vast worldwide national revolution cannot be stopped! It will be the highest form of universal revolution of all continents, particularly the nations of Europe, Asia, Near and Middle East, as well as Latin America and Africa. It will be a *nationalistic* revolution, universal in character, which will also encompass heroic religious components!

Khomeini, certainly a degenerate religious phenomenon, but also constituting an index of a new power, which is spawning and which, in its noble form, cannot be stifled by anyone, not by the West, nor *all the more by the Russians!* The degenerative development of the Islamic-sect chauvinism and imperialism of the Shiites has as its aim to stifle the national-liberational, nationalistic manifestations of struggles of the Kurds, the Kuzistanis, the Azerbaijanis of Northern Iran, the Baluchistanis and others, but the urge for freedom of those nations will overpower the "protection of Khomeini's 'orthodox Shiism'".

The US and Western Europe face an ill-fated or salutary *dilemma* of choice — *to stand on the side of the imperialistic or the nationalistic ideal in the whole world*, because mankind is facing a great revolution of nations! The US, as in the past, gave away the key to victory not only in superiority of military means, but also the (deceptive) safeguarding on the Western side of the Iron Curtain of national-liberational ideals, to the Russians! Today, Russia is able to blackmail Iran (or Iraq) with Kurdistan, Arabistan (Kuzistan), or South Azerbaijan, etc., Pakistan with Baluchistan, Yugoslavia with Croatia or Macedonia (Bulgarians). NATO, in view of this, chose a policy of *reaction* as a whole, namely not to touch the Russian empire and *consequently* not to touch any painful national world problems generally, hiding behind a veil of "respect" for so-called international agreements of *coercion*, having signed the Helsinki Accords in order to gain "peace of mind"!

In view of national and social, as well as religious revolutionization of mankind, in view of new revolutionary international law relative to the United Nations Resolution regarding world decolonization, in connection with the law enacted by the US Congress in 1959 (86th-90th) regarding captive nations and in connection with United Nations Resolution regarding international lawful legality of military aid to subjugated nations in their struggle against colonial enslavement for their independence and freedom — the policy of the US and NATO, up to the present, is antiquated by hundreds of years, constituting stationary stamping at a time when new, revolutionary, nationalistic might is growing in the world, whose birth was quicker understood by Moscow, which is trying by deception, fraud, perfidy and force, to curb it!

*Victory will belong to the one who will stand against such forces! It is foolish to brand such struggle for national or social justice as communist undertaking!* Croatian, Catanga, Biafran fighters for independence or some national Irish fighters for unification with their homeland Ireland, or those fighters of Diem or Thieu or Park for sovereignty — never were any kind of reactionaries

or communists, the categories into which they were placed (dependent upon who was doing the categorizing, whether members of NATO or the Warsaw Pact) by politicians!

The OUN-UPA (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-Ukrainian Insurgent Army) during the waging of its two-front war was categorized by the Germans as belonging to the Russian camp and by the Russians as belonging to the German camp! This we have to remember when evaluating national and social liberation processes in the world on both sides of the Iron Curtain!

Western victory depends upon whether it will fall in with world revolution of *nationalism* in national-liberational and social respects! No other power will save the world from Bolshevisation, not even the so-called Christian-Democratic, except nationalistic power, because nationalism is akin to a nation — this highest community on earth and members of that very nation are brothers and sisters, the socio-economic exploitation of whom *expelles* nationalism, at the same time repressing capitalism together with feudalism of Latin America or Africa, as well as a communist regime which does not recognize a *nation* nor an *individual*, but a robot of sub-proletarian class — a herd, which at the same time constitutes a new form of Russian imperialism!

The countries of the Third World must be more concerned about social, cultural and political betterment of the fate of their inhabitants, and less about armaments, so very necessary for their leaders in order to hold for themselves and their descendants and clansmen the power of despots and exploiters! Out of twenty billion pieces of armaments sold, seventy percent were bought by nations of the Third World, instead of food or means of industrialization of their countries! As long as nationalistic system, in government and socio-economy, does not reign in the world, the world will have hunger, squabbling among nations, exploitation, illiteracy, and pursuit of communist or capitalist fanthom! Nationalism does not consider capitalism, nor more so communism, suitable social, economic or political system fitting for liberated nations or for ones struggling for liberation from the shackles of slavery!

*Afghanistan placed before the US and NATO, with complete clarity, the central problem of our time, upon the solution of which depends the future of the world.*

All derivative questions of mini-empires, whose untouchability is also guaranteed by the West due to its fear of a wave of spontaneous upheaval of nations every place where there exist national injustice and slavery, will be solved fairly and equitably, if only the principal problem, like the Gordian knot, is slit!

The US and NATO, the free world, must stand decisively for the collapse of the Russian empire, regardless of its color (excluding the safeguarding of its inviolability with Solzhenitsyns, Sakharovs, Maksimovs, NTS (White Russian emigre organization), Nekrasovs, etc. coming into power — namely with change of the regime) — and establishment of sovereign, independent national states from all enslaved nations, Ukraine and others. This means that the free world must openly and substantively identify the USSR as a Russian colonial empire, and not hypocritically consider it —



against its own inner beliefs — as a “union of republics”, instead of as a “union” of *provinces* or “Reichskommissariats” of Russian central government, and supply multi-faceted aid, inclusive of *military and technical aid*, to each nation presently enslaved by Russia in accordance with the right of each nation to its sovereignty and independence.

This means that the West must decide to place its stake upon national liberation conception, and not continue through all possible means to safeguard the Russian empire, in whatever form, particularly in a form most acceptable to the West, namely fictitiously “democratic”. This is another delusion of the West, since “democratic” empires have never existed, do not exist and cannot exist! Democracy on the territory of an occupied nation has *never* constituted a democratic order of the occupant nation.

If once and for all the West will forget about safeguarding the existence of the Russian empire, if it will make a final break with its policy of senseless protection of status quo of prior or post Helsinki type, including the protection of the so-called balance of power and détente, which is leading toward an eruption of a new World War, and will undertake a policy of liberation of nations enslaved by Russian bolshevism, then the multinational problems of for example Khomeini’s Iran, Yugoslavia or Pakistan, plaguing the West will cease to exist, because all these problems — stemming from the central one — namely the Russian empire, will be solved with the collapse of the Russian empire!

The borders of Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, etc. will not be threatened by the Russian boot! This boot will also cease to exist on the Mediterranean, the Near East, Israel and the Arab world will be free, as well as Persia!

We think that the *US has to, in accordance with its great freedom-loving traditions, reverse its position of defending the reactionary, imperialistic, colonial systems, which go against the grain of American soul, and take a national revolutionary stand in the spirit of great American traditions.* It is not the most reactionary, genocidal and ethnocidal Russian imperialistic nation which should “carry” *falsely* “a revolutionary order into the world within the meaning of nationally sovereign independence of nations”, but the US which should constitute hope for all the subjugated nations in the world *and especially for nations enslaved in the Russian empire — Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Northern Caucasians, Azerbaijanis, Idel-Urals, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Karelo-Finns, Turkistanis, Siberians, Poles, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Eastern Germans, Rumanians, Albanians, and others enslaved by bolshevism.* A situation may not exist where the US will be helping some kind of Tito to strangle freedom-loving Croatians, and Russians will be maliciously “aiding” them in their liberation struggles, in order to later on turn them into Russian colonies. The declaration of, for example, Baluchistani leaders in Pakistan, about the “selfless” help of the USSR in their struggles, must cause alarm to all fighters against Russian imperialism! This is only one example of a volcanic situation in national relations in the Near and Middle East. Due to Baluchistani and other national problems, Pakistan is forced to tactically maneuver, to prevent the Russians from strengthening, through their malicious strategy, the possibility of an eruption of national volcano of this geopolitical complex. As a matter of

fact, it is not only this geopolitical complex that constitutes a remainder of the old imperial powers, which created artificial state constructions based upon a view of their own interests of more proficient mastery of involved nations.

Khomeini, by his Shiite chauvinism, exclusion and sectarianism, is hastening the collapse of Iran. Kurds are also of Islamic faith (Sunnis). Thus, the essence is not in a religious complex, but foremost in a national. In the struggle against Russian imperialist aggression and atheism, Afghan national and religious factors, and national traditions with their inherent Islamic origins, have been united. This Gordian knot has only one solution and that is — *the US has to change its position for a defender of status quo into a dynamic position of a moulder of new revolutionary order in the world based upon an ideal of liberation and nationalism!* This means — *to expose Russia as reactionary defender of status quo, and the US to become a champion of a just national order in the world, a champion of national ideals against imperialistic, of national principle of organization of the world against imperial.* *A prerequisite to such revolutionary policy, which will automatically solve the problems of derivative character such as Yugoslavia, etc., is the declaration and active accomplishment of the conception of collapse of the Russian empire and division thereof into national independent states of its presently enslaved nations, and recognition and disclosure of the fact that the USSR is a colonial empire, and not a "union" of "republics", but an empire of provinces and "Reichskommissariats" of Russian imperial center!* Based upon different international resolutions, regulations, declarations of the United Nations and the International Red Cross with reference to insurgent armies, as well as United Nations Resolution with reference to the legality and obligation of aid in armed struggles of enslaved nations against colonial oppression and enslavement, in accordance with the principles of the great American anti-colonial war, in accordance with the US Congressional Resolution of 1959, the Government and Congress of the United States should proclaim as the aim of American policy — *a revolutionary change of the "order" of coercion in the world, into an order of national independence, individual freedom and social justice through the collapse and division of the most reactionary, totalitarian, nation-killing, colonial Russian empire of all colors, and act in the spirit of such proclamation!* *This aim should become an integral factor of American foreign policy, in the same way as "proletarian internationalism", "national liberation struggles and class upheavals" are principal integral factors of Russian foreign policy!*

In addition, the above mentioned aims are included in the USSR Constitution, but the US is unable, due to its outdated Constitution, to grant its citizenship to freedom fighters in the USSR, who renounce their Russian citizenship and ask for US citizenship! *In revolutionary times there must be revolutionary changes in all spheres of life and struggle! New revolutionary law of international relations is being created and the West cannot stand upon its antiquated position of "holy" or rather "unholy" alliance of olden times!* There are no other possibilities of victory! Besides, how come George Washington's American anti-colonial revolution was *legal*, and the anti-imperial armed revolution of national liberation of Taras Chuprynka against Russian invaders was *illegal*!?

Did the British king grant Washington "permission" to stage an anti-British revolution, a war of anti-colonial liberation? It is a hypocrisy to talk about

the illegality of revolutions and uprisings against enemy occupations, because such statements make the struggle of deGaulle against Germans and Petain's government also illegal! What kind of double morality?!

Also, we would like to remind the world leaders that it is disadvantageous to them to negate the roles of emigre leaders, who enjoy recognition and resonance of revolutionary underground struggles of their respective countries. Such negation served as a lesson to the West, as exemplified by Khomeini (the West considering him an elder), or deGaulle, or even Lenin, that the West has never understood revolutionary processes and does not understand them now. The fact that the US



*The lighting of a Ukrainian Christmas tree in the centre of Syracuse, Christmas 80/81, dedicated to children in Ukraine, victims of Russian oppression. (Above) Ukrainian carol singers in embroidered blouses.*

government did not foresee the dynamic power of Shiite chauvinists in Persia attests to complete lack of understanding on behalf of the West also of national *revolutionary* processes in Ukraine, in Lithuania, in Turkestan, in Georgia.

In Ukraine, only the top of the iceberg can be seen, the top of the revolutionary volcano. When the explosion comes, Ukraine will sweep away — together with other enslaved nations — everything reactionary. We all would wish that Americans be on the side of *revolutionary nationalistic* liberational processes in the world, particularly in the Russian empire, and not remain in a camp of *anti-national and therefore anti-social reaction!*

These are our bitter but true words!

We will wait and see.

The time of empires has irrevocably passed. The time of mini-empires also! Little Ententes, post-Versailles world with Poland occupying Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia, Lithuanian capital, etc. with Czecho-Slovakia occupying Carpathian Ukraine, with Yugoslavia, etc. and etc. — these are all in the past, when the bacteria of imperialism were injected to other European nations, and not only to them, by victorious superpowers for the purpose of exoneration of their various seizures and occupations! Wilson's theses were fiction, since neither Ukraine, nor Croatia, nor Slovakia, nor Georgia, nor Byelorussia, nor Turkestan gained anything from them. Middle-size and small nations were supposed to be bouncing balls in, the game between superpowers of Europe and beyond.

For the US a decisive time has come, so that the enslaved nations would orient themselves upon the US, no matter whether they are Baluchistanis or Croatians, and not upon deceptive Russia, which tomorrow will turn them into nations-slaves of its empire. Kossuth's and Maleter's fate should teach the US something. There a tsar and here a president were aiding an invader or persecuting a nation, which was trying to rise toward freedom. *On this principle was and is based the conception of reactionary world system: a balance of power among the great powers, with negation of the real ideological superpower — the captive nations, which hold the key to the resolution of world political crises and the threat of Armageddon.*

Let us summarize: If the American government and Congress in this fearful time do not understand the spirit and meaning of the epoch — collapse of empires, particularly Russian, and the role of captive nations, — then they will find themselves in the role of Nicholas I in 1848-49 in Kossuth's Hungary, or in the role of President Eisenhower, the helper of Khrushchev and Bulganin, against Maleter's Hungary. More so, they will find themselves in the role of a reactionary power which negated Chuprynka's epoch — the omen of the collapse of the empire! Even Peter Scholl-Latur, current German writer and publicist, writes in his newest book about the enormous difficulty Russians had in strangling Chuprynka's Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which, he writes, without any outside help, was fighting against Russia until 1951, although Ukraine's terrain was not as suitable for insurgent guerrilla warfare as the terrain in Vietnam or even today in Afghanistan.

The Near East, homeland of three great religions of the world, places before the US *not only* the question of oil, not only a geo-strategic problem, but a problem, far-reaching in its consequences, of national liberation of enslaved nations of this geo-political complex.

It is erroneous to believe that there exists an Arab or an Islamic bloc, based upon racial or religious foundation of unity. Iraq is at war with Iran, Egypt is in conflict with other Islamic nations, particularly Lybia. Neither race nor religion are decisive factors, but national interest is, national interest which might go together with religion, but does not necessarily have to, nor more so will it go together with racial interest. Arabs and Jews are Semites... Against Russian chauvinistic, atheistic imperialism stands a united national and Islamic ideal with its ancient traditions of freedom and dignity of the Afghan people. But on the national Shiite stake burn national freedom fighters of Sunnis faction of Islam — the Kurds. *National interest decides!*

Thus, we are faced with a pointed question: Is America going to strangle, directly or indirectly, the new Chuprynka, Shamil, Kossuth, Maletier or its own Washington of any *nation enslaved*, particularly by Russia, a new Diem, and in that manner will not only betray its great tradition, but will help indirectly hypocritical Russian imperialism (using slogans of “liberation”) to invade new nations of the world? Or, vice versa, is the US going to decide to step upon the road of liquidation of the Russian empire and in this manner automatically solve the derivative questions, namely liberation of nations enslaved by still existing mini-empires, (which, in fact, exist in the shadow of the greatest empire, the Russian empire) and safeguarding of permanent and just peace in the world?

There will not be any special complications for the Western world then as a result of collapse of these artificial state constructions, because there will not be Russian imperial might, which plays with different marked cards in different situations.

One word with reference to the Olympics in the USSR. A portion of the Olympic Games took place in Tallin, Estonia, the occupation of which by Russia has not been recognized by any great power of the West, but to the contrary, there even exist legal legations of Baltic countries in Western capitals. Thus, how is it possible that Olympic Games of peace and friendship take place in an occupied country, whose occupation is not recognized by those who participate in the Games on said country's territory? And Ukraine? How can the West agree to analogous Games in Kyiv, the capital of occupied Ukraine? Is this in accordance with the spirit of classical Olympics and is this in accordance with its present aims?

*(To be continued)*

Dr. Baymirza Hayit  
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## Leading Members of the Confederation of Independent Poland Imprisoned

In Poland there are today seven prisoners of conscience who have been held in custody since September and November 1980 without trial and without being formally charged. Just before Christmas, however, a Committee for the Defense of Persons Imprisoned for their opinions has been created in Warsaw, with Walesa as member of the new group. Whatever the opinions of the seven Poles, they must be released now.

### In need of HELP

*Leszek Moczulski*, founder of a citizen's group called Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN), arrested on 23 September, 1980 and ever since held in custody without being formally charged. It was announced in Warsaw on 16 September that KPN had suspended all its activities so as not to further complicate the current situation in Poland.

*Wojciech Ziembinski*, one of the leaders of the Movement for the Defence of Human and civic Rights (ROPCO), is held in custody since 11 November, 1980, without being formally charged.

*Tadeusz Stanski*, member of KPN, arrested in the night of 11/12 November, still held without trial.

*Zygmunt Golawski*, also KPN activist, arrested on 12 November, charges against him not specified.

*Tadeusz Jandziszak*, member of KPN, held in custody since 12 November.

*Krzysztof Bzdyl*, KPN official, arrested on 12 November and held in custody without trial.

*Jerzy Sichut*, KPN member, arrested on 12 November.

THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW [1 May 1979 to 30 April 1980] has seen an intensification of repressive measures

applied by [Polish] authorities to members of and sympathizers with unofficial groups established to protect human and civil rights. At the same time there has been a continued growth in the membership and activity of those groups, which originated in autumn 1976 with the creation by a group of intellectuals in Warsaw of the *Komitet Obrony Robotnikow* (KOR), the Workers' Self-Defence Committee to provide financial and legal assistance to workers prosecuted or imprisoned after the strikes and disturbances in Radom and Ursus in June 1976. Such groups now include *Komitet Samoobrony Spolecznej* (KSS), Committee for Social Self-Defence (formerly KOR), the Movement for the Defence of Human and Civil Rights, Farmers' Self-Defence Committees, Believers' Self-Defence Committees, Student Solidarity Committees, the Society for Educational Courses... and Free Trade Unions.

*From Amnesty International Report 1980*

### Profile of Leszek Moczulski

Leszek Moczulski, head of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN), was arrested on September 23 after an interview he had given West German weekly *Der Spiegel* (15 September 1980). In that interview, Moczulski had declared that his organization was in favor of a solution that would bring about the overthrow of communism in Poland, and had cast doubt on the authorities' intention to maintain the independent self-governing labor unions, since they had constrained these unions to acknowledge the party's leading role. Basing its charges on these statements, the public prosecutor's office accused Moczulski of slandering the dignity of the Polish People's Republic and its highest authorities, and of attacking its alliances. Two days after his arrest KSS "KOR" issued a statement protesting against the autho-

rities' action and defending the universal right to voice one's opinions whatever they entailed and regardless of whether KOR agreed with them or not. The KPN itself has issued several protests, including a recent one to the European Conference on Cooperation and Security in Madrid.

After the arrest on November 21 of Jan Narozniak, a printing worker at the Warsaw chapter of Solidarity, charged with duplicating illegally a confidential document with instructions on dealing with democratic opposition activists, the chairman of the chapter, Zbigniew Bujak, announced that the union had drawn up a list of six demands and threatened that a "strike readiness alert" would be called at plants in the area if the government did not send a commission to the Ursus factory for negotiations.\* One of the demands concerned the release of six oppositionists held on charges of antisocialist activities.

A spokesman for the prosecutor-general's office subsequently claimed that the activities of Solidarity, which was a legal organization, and dealt exclusively with "the evaluation of the activity of antisocialist groups," including the KPN, KOR, and ROPCO. The prosecutor-general's office also published the full list of charges leveled against Moczulski.

Moczulski was born in 1930 in Warsaw. After the war he studied law and history, and then went on to political and social sciences at the Academy of Political Sciences. In 1949 he began his career in journalism. Initially, he contributed to the local news sections of the party daily, *Trybuna Ludu*, and the Warsaw daily *Zycie Warszawy*. He later joined the staff of *Dookola Swiata* (*Around the World*), an illustrated weekly for young people. In 1960 he moved to the Warsaw weekly magazine *Stolica* (The Capital) as director of its history section,

where he strove to popularize Polish history and the national tradition and supported the campaign to rebuild Warsaw's historic castle. He also made a name for himself as the author of historical works, specializing in World War II, German military history, and the NATO military potential. His works were repeatedly singled out for awards by the Ministry of Defense. *The Polish War*, published in 1972, dealing with diplomatic moves on the eve of World War II and Poland's defense in the first two months of the war, proved to be somewhat controversial and probably signaled the start of his fall from grace. On 27 March 1977 Moczulski became a founding member of the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights (ROPCO), one of the democratic opposition groups which came into being in the aftermath of the 1976 workers' riots after the Workers' Defense Committee (now known as the Social Self-Defense Committee "KOR") had blazed the trail.

With Andrzej Czuma he became one of the two official ROPCO spokesmen and was recognized as the unofficial leader of the movement. As an editor of the ROPCO journal *Opinia*, he propagated allegedly right-wing and anti-Soviet views. In October 1977 he was fined 3,000 zloty by a Warsaw court for distributing allegedly false information and was pronounced "guilty of an act incompatible with public morality" for conveying slanderous allegations about miners' strikes to subversive foreign broadcasting stations. In May 1978 a split occurred between Moczulski and the other ROPCO leaders, and Moczulski became a controversial figure, largely on account of his alleged anti-Semitism and also alleged former connections with security chief Mieczyslaw Moczar (now member of the Politburo of the "Polish Workers' Party".) However, he appears to enjoy a following, particularly among some veterans of the Home Army who took part in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944. →

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\* Narozniak was released on November 27 pending official investigations and the strike threat was called off.

## Ivan Kandyba reveals the truth about Russian unlawfulness in Ukraine

(Continuation)

And so, on April 5, 1978, I was called to the office of Chief of Pustomyty KGB Captain Polishchuk for a discussion to ascertain my reaction to the extension of administrative surveillance over me and to attempt to “haggle” something from me. In answer to my demands in connection with the lack of grounds for the extension of administrative surveillance over me, he answered that all of that could easily be fixed, namely the administrative surveillance could be revoked, if only I would agree to the propositions of Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko and General Poluden, in fact, if I would spit upon my beliefs and the beliefs of others like me. However, if I was not willing to agree to said propositions, then maybe I could do something else advantageous to Soviet authorities, which would result in lessening of the limitations placed upon me — for example, I would be allowed to remain outside my quarters until 9:00 p.m. or even 10:00 p.m., in lieu of my present allowance of 7:00 p.m.

Therefore, the KGB, having in its possession the greatest power (maybe even all the power), is ready to bargain with everything, sell everything, and not risk anything. If a person spits on his or her beliefs and the beliefs of others like him or her, rejects his or her soul, beliefs and views, sells himself or herself and his or her friends, or becomes a traitor to his or her friends, then the KGB may revoke the public administrative surveillance established over said person, or may not even establish such a surveillance, but just keep its eye on said person, or may not use any methods of surveillance whatsoever, or may even allow said person to live, for example, in Lviv, or other such place, or may find such person suitable employment, attractive living quarters, or may even make said person “very happy” by finding such person a wife or husband, as the case may be, and may do a lot of other things for said person, everything depending upon how much and what said person is willing to pay.

In addition, during my conversation with Captain Polishchuk, he reprimanded me in connection with my exchanging letters with all kinds of criminals and other unsavory characters, of course, having in mind political prisoners and political exiles, and proposed that I cease all communications with them. Similar suggestions were extended to my friend Lev Lukyanenko. When I mentioned that he does not have any grounds for insulting the political prisoners, and particularly Lukyanenko, who was then under investigation and could not be considered guilty under any judicial ruling, he answered with the standard (however groundless it may be) reply that there are no political prisoners in the Soviet Union and, as far as Lukyanenko is concerned, that, since he was arrested, he is undoubtedly guilty, and will eventually be tried, found so, and sentenced.

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On Second World War, Moczulski founded the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN), proclaiming it an independent political party. Last January he and other KPN activists were fined 4,000 zloty each for wearing KPN badges at a

demonstration marking Poland's unofficial independence day (November 11). The KPN drew up a platform and submitted a list of candidates for the national parliamentary elections to the Polish *Sejm* held last March. Needless to say, these were disregarded by the authorities.



At the end of our conversation, seeing that nothing could be “wrangled” from or bargained with me this year, Captain Polishchuk stated with sadness: “It is too bad that beatings are not allowed anymore”.

That is how the KGB understands the meaning of one of the most basic rules of jurisprudence — *the presumption of innocence*, and beating are what they are still pining for.

Knowing ahead of time (having had similar experiences before) what the final decision of the Prosecutor is going to be, I nevertheless decided to appeal to Lviv Oblast Prosecutor the Militia Ordinance of March 22, 1978 extending the administrative surveillance over me, which in fact constituted arbitrary and unlawful persecution, with the demand for revocation of said administrative surveillance.

Lviv Oblast Prosecutor for the second time refused to review my appeal and transferred it to the Pustomy Regional Prosecutor for review and decision, who upheld the Militia Ordinance which I was appealing. Therefore, it was not surprising (nothing surprises me anymore) that this time also I received a formal and groundless answer to my appeal, which read as follows:

“Pustomy Regional Prosecutor, village of Pustomy, 112 Shevchenko Street, April 25, 1978, No. 365:

Citizen Kandyba, I. A., village of Pustomy, 302 Shevchenko Street.

Your appeal addressed to Lviv Oblast Prosecutor with reference to allegedly illegal extension of administrative surveillance over you was reviewed by the undersigned and refused as groundless.

Your contention about the illegality of the extension of administrative surveillance over you has been found to be groundless.

Pustomy Regional Prosecutor

Class 1 Jurist

Signature — I. M. Horbulko”

Here again, “no violations of law were determined”. By the same token, the Prosecutor, instead of demanding that “the law be carried out strictly”, which he is obligated to do in accordance with Article 164 of the Soviet Constitution, ignored the Constitution completely and upheld the authors of arbitrariness and lawlessness.

It would have been absolutely correct if the answer of the Prosecutor were: “no violations of arbitrariness and lawlessness were determined”, in which event I would not have any grounds for dissatisfaction. Once, however, the Prosecutor states that the law was not violated, then I am unable to agree with his decision and decided to accuse him, which I have a right to do under Article 8 of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, dated April 12, 1968, which states in connection with “Rules of review of propositions, applications, appeals and charges of citizens:

“Citizen who does not agree with the decision taken in connection with his or her application, appeal or charge, has the right to appeal said decision to a higher organ, to which the involved state organ, entity, establishment or organization, which has made the decision being appealed, is directly subordinated.”

This means that I have the right to appeal to a higher organ, namely to Lviv Oblast Prosecutor, the decision of Pustomy Regional Prosecutor, Class 1 Jurist I. M. Horbulko, dated April 25, 1978, that I did not agree with, which action I did take.

And what happened?

Again nothing. The Lviv Oblast Prosecutor for the third time, without any explanation, transferred my appeal for "review" to the same Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor, the impropriety of whose actions I was appealing. This is completely contrary to Soviet law, with which assuredly the Lviv Oblast Prosecutor is familiar.

Then why is he acting this way? Why is he violating Soviet law? Maybe because said Soviet law one hundred percent protects a non-Soviet person, a degenerate, enemy No. One, as I was described by Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko.

It is written in Article 5 of the above mentioned Decree:

"It is forbidden to transfer a citizen's appeal for review or decision to the official whose actions are being appealed."

And not only is it forbidden, it is punished, in accordance with Article 15 of said Decree:

"Violation of the prescribed rule regarding propositions, applications, appeals and charges of citizens, procrastination, bureaucratic red tape in connection with such propositions, applications, appeals and charges, by officials make such officials liable for disciplinary responsibility in accordance with the appropriate regulations."

Will the Lviv Oblast Prosecutor be held accountable for his actions? I am sure that he is not.

For the last eighteen years Soviet laws, including the principal one, namely the Constitution of the Soviet Union, were completely on the side of the non-Soviet person, myself, and during all that time, I was deprived of freedom and all other rights, was forced into Soviet concentration camps and prisons, and finally was placed under Soviet administrative surveillance. However, not one person was ever found liable or was ever punished for all of the above violations against me and, therefore, the Lviv Oblast Prosecutor as well will not be held liable for the violation of law in regard to me.

Then how should the Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor I. M. Horbulko act in these circumstances, namely in connection with my appeal? Once Article 5 of the above mentioned Decree forbids the transfer of appeals to persons, whose actions are being appealed, then, in my view, Prosecutor Horbulko does not have the right to review my appeal, since said appeal consists of charges against him. Prosecutor Horbulko should have returned my appeal to Lviv Oblast Prosecutor in accordance with Article 5 of the above mentioned Decree. However, he did not take this action and himself "reviewed" my charges in connection with his actions, finally transmitting to me the following empty reply:

"Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor, Lviv Oblast, April 12, 1978, No. 190, village of Pustomyty.

Citizen Kandyba, Ivan Oleksiyovych, village of Pustomyty, 302 Shevchenko Street.

Your appeal addressed to Lviv Oblast Prosecutor with reference to allegedly illegal extension of administrative surveillance over you was reviewed by the undersigned and refused.

Your contention of the illegality of the extension of administrative surveillance over you has been found groundless.

Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor  
Class 1 Jurist  
Signature — I. M. Horbulko"

This is the third answer of Prosecutor Horbulko to my appeals during the last few months. The first thing that I noted was the fact that all of the

answers were form answers — each one exact copy or the same as the others. From the above, it could be derived, that Prosecutor Horbulko answers all charges and appeals by previously prepared, and previously approved by higher organs, standard form replies.

I was thinking about appealing to the General Prosecutor, but decided not to, since I was sure that to such an appeal also I would receive the “classic” answer of Prosecutor Horbulko.

Having been convinced by the harshest teacher of all — experience — that I, together with my one ally — The Law — am absolutely impotent to fight against the “guardians” of the law with their allies Power, Lawlessness and Arbitrariness, I decided to do nothing and wait, arming myself in a cloak of patience, for the conclusion of the term of the administrative surveillance over me.

During that time, the “instructional influence” of the militia and the KGB continued to manifest itself in still different forms.

On April 24, 1978, I was visited by my brother. Ten minutes after he walked into my quarters, Chief of the Detective Service of Pustomyty First Lieutenant Machurad, Bohdan Petrowych, burst into my quarters without knocking, (it seems, his agents informed him that some one was visiting me), approached my brother and demanded to see his documents. At that time, my brother did not have any documents with him. Then First Lieutenant Machurad searched our wallets and ordered my brother to accompany him to the Militia Headquarters. Neither mine nor my landlady’s assurances that the visitor was indeed my brother were believed. He took my brother along to his office at the Militia Headquarters. There they met Chief of Pustomyty KGB Captain Polishchuk. Both of them took statements from my brother, and then Captain Polishchuk asked my brother to help in influencing me to reject my hostile, nationalistic views, and become a Soviet person. Afterwards my brother was allowed to leave.

### **No privacy of postal communication**

In June, 1978, seven photographs, taken by me in the Carpathian Mountains the year before, were sent to me from Ivano-Frankivsk. However, with the cooperation of the Chief of Pustomyty Regional Communications, Hub B. Krehel, the KGB got its hands on them. In addition, two letters addressed to me from Raisa Rudenko (wife of sentenced Mykola Rudenko) were lost, one letter from Vasyl Stus and one letter from me to him were lost, my letter to Vyacheslav Chornovil was lost (the latter two were former political prisoners and presently are political exiles), and to and from others. Here we see in practice the privacy of postal communications, which is protected by Article 56 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union.

On July 11, 1978, the newspaper of Lviv Komsomol Headquarters “Lenin Youth” published an article about the sentenced Ivan Dykyj entitled “Place a thief on a pedestal”. In this article, completely irrelevant and very insulting mention could be found about Lev Lukyanenko, Petro Hryhorenko and myself. The merit for this could only be placed at KGB’s door.

On August 3, 1978, in a newspaper of Pustomyty Region “Lenin’s Flag”, appeared an article entitled “Through dark glasses”. This article started with the criticism of the actions of the above mentioned Mychajlo Medvid, who was imprisoned during the war for a period of ten years for desertion. However, this article also states that I was somehow responsible for his wrongful actions, since I seem to be his “idealistic mentor”, and then continues to paint me in the darkest colors and monstrous innuendos. Andriy Sakharov, Yuriy Orlov, Vo-

lodomyr Bukowskyj, Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhyj — some of the best of our times — this article called “traitors to the Soviet nation”. All this was done by the KGB in order to compromise me and others in the eyes of the general public, however, I do not believe that the KGB accomplished its aim in this instance.

On July 19, 1978, Chief of Pustomyty KGB Captain Polishchuk visited me at my place of employment. He was interested, what my decision was as far as the propositions of Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko and General Poluden were concerned, namely whether I was ready to publicly renounce my views and beliefs and accuse my friends who continue to share similar views. In addition, he urged me, not for the first time, to cease all communications with my friends who were in prisons, concentration camps, exile or in similar circumstances to mine, accompanying his urgings with insults of these friends of mine. He also tried to convince me to terminate my association with the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. For complying with all of the above, he promised to amply reward me.

On August 15, 1978, I was called in by Chief of Pustomyty Detective Service



*National groups of ABN protesting Russian imperialism — Cleveland, 1980.*

First Lieutenant Machurad to his office. He suggested that I move my permanent residence any place I wished, even Siberia, as long as it would be outside the borders of Lviv Oblast. In the event I comply with his suggestion, the administrative surveillance over me will be discontinued. They wished to get rid of me, since I have proven myself to be a nuisance to them. He gave me until September 10 to decide. I answered him that I would not wish to move any place outside Lviv Oblast, because for me even Kyiv was "foreign", however, I would give it a great deal of thought.

After thinking about his proposition, I decided to agree to move to Kyiv and submitted a statement of my decision to the Chief of Regional Militia of Pustomyty.

About a week later, I was called in again by Chief of Pustomyty Detective Service First Lieutenant Machurad, who advised me that I would be unable to reside in Kyiv due to the fact that I would be unable to obtain a residence visa there. In addition, he informed me that I will not be allowed to live in any Oblast center, but only in one of the small towns of one of Ukraine's eastern Oblasts, for example in Vinnytsya Oblast, but only in a small town where no one knew me. Upon hearing this, I advised First Lieutenant Machurad that in such case I will continue to live in Pustomyty and not move anyplace else. This clearly indicates the rights I possess as far as travelling through my own country is concerned and as far as my choice of residence.

My decision regarding my move was very much disliked by my "protectors" and afterwards I was called in to see Chief of Pustomyty KGB Captain Polishchuk several times, however, we were unable to come to any agreement about my moving.

In the meantime, the fourth six-month term of administrative surveillance over me was nearing its end.

On September 22, 1978, I was called in by Chief of Pustomyty Detective Service First Lieutenant Machurad who presented me with an Ordinance extending the administrative surveillance over me for another six months. The motives for said extension in accordance with said Ordinance were as follows:

"Due to the fact that the person under administrative surveillance, Kandyba, I. A., did not enter upon the road to reformation, said administrative surveillance over him was extended several times.

To date I. A. Kandyba did not enter upon the road to reformation and consciously does not desire to do so."

Since I did not renounce my views and beliefs, did not spit upon myself and others like me, thereby I did not "...enter upon the road to reformation".

Again and again the question arises. In accordance with the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Pact covering the socio-political rights, and the Helsinki Accords, I have the right to my own views and beliefs and to express them freely. Yes, I have such rights on paper, but not in practical application, because it is evident that such rights exist only for the world and for idiots.

But even in accordance with the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance", said surveillance should not have been extended over me, because not even once during the last six months did I violate the surveillance regime and, therefore, in accordance with Article 13 of said Statute, said surveillance was to have been stopped "upon completion of the term for which said administrative surveillance was established".

Administrative surveillance may be terminated even before the term of said surveillance is completed if it is established that the person under administrative

surveillance is leading an honest, productive life and is positively characterized by his employment and general conduct.

The militia had all necessary bases to terminate the administrative surveillance over me (not during the present term only) before its expiration, since my actions in connection with my "employment and general conduct" have been exemplary.

Although in this instance also the law is completely on my side, my "teachers" do not wish to notice my exemplary conduct, what they want is for me to renounce my ideological and political views and beliefs.

Therefore, from the above again it is clearly evident that the administrative surveillance over me was and is being established completely without any grounds and illegally.

With reference to me and others like me, a statute would be applicable which would clearly foresee establishment of administrative surveillance for heterodoxy, views and beliefs differing from the ruling ideology and practices of USSR. However, such statute does not exist in the USSR, and since it does not, then the administrative surveillance over me going on third year is completely without grounds and illegal.

Logic tells me to appeal this illegal Militia Ordinance, but practical reality, life tells me to the contrary. As noted above, the results of my charge and appeals were such, that I decided not to file anymore charges or appeals, considering them naive and humiliating, giving rise to mockery from my "teachers-protectors".

From the above it could be surmised that I will be fated to remain under administrative surveillance as long as my "teachers-protectors" wish it, or even during the remainder of my days. Proof of the accuracy of this statement is in the following:

Article 8 of the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance" states:

"Administrative surveillance may be established for a period of from six months to one year. *In urgent circumstances*, administrative surveillance may be extended every time for another six months, however, not for more six-month terms than is foreseen by law as punishment for a particular crime."

As noted, no place is there concretely stated when and for what violations does administrative surveillance may be extended, only that such extension is applicable "In urgent circumstances..." This means in fact that said extension is applicable every time the KGB wishes it to be. This vagueness is a most auspicious loophole for wide maneuvering. As is widely known, administrative surveillance over dissidents is established only for their views and beliefs which do not correspond to the official ideology and politics of the USSR. So, the administrative surveillance over me was extended for the fourth time because I "... did not enter upon the road to reformation and consciously did not desire to..."; however, the administrative surveillance over former political prisoner, Yaroslav Lesiv, for example, was extended because he "incorrectly assimilated Soviet reality".

*(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' Berdnyk, 1979**

## The Game Played by Soviet Russia in Connection with the Bulgarian Armistice of 1944

December 1943 — arrival in Turkey of the American Jadwin Mission. A member of this mission was Angel Kujumdjiisky, Col. US Army. Officially the mission was purported to study the economic situation of the Balkan countries, unofficially it was to try and make Bulgaria break off relations with the Axis.

February 1944 — the Bulgarian government under Bojilov entrusted the then Bulgarian minister in Ankara, Mr. N. Balabanov, to approach the mission. He was to express Bulgaria's wish to join the United Nations, and at the same time, put in a plea for the ceasing of bombing of Bulgarian territory. The Americans informed the British and Russians of this Bulgarian contact immediately. A place was decided upon at which the Bulgarian delegates were to be received — Cairo. At that time Soviet Russia was not at war with Bulgaria, thus she was unable to participate in the discussions. An uncomfortable position for her.

March 1944 — Molotov informed US Ambassador A. Harriman in Moscow that "it is too early to discuss Bulgarian surrender" as the Allied (read, Russian) Forces were not yet near Bulgaria."

April 1944 — Moscow addressed the sharpest protest to the Bulgarian government. It complained of the use made of Bulgarian ports and airports by Hitler's Germany in her attacks upon Soviet Russia, and demanded the establishing of Soviet Consulates in Burgas and Russé, as well as the re-opening of the consulate in Varna. The Bulgarian government replied that this could be done only after the re-establishing of economic ties between both countries.

May 1944 — the Soviet government, obviously with the intention of postponing the armistice for as long as possible, agreed to study its conditions at the headquarters of the European Advisory Commission in London. On May 14, Mr. Balabanov re-

turned from Sofia where he had been called in for reports. He was deeply depressed by the hesitations of the Bulgarian government, at that moment under heavy German pressure.

June 1944 — Bojilov's government was replaced by that of Bagrjanoff. In a speech in which he elaborated his program, the new prime minister declared that "our fate must be in our own hands", and that "Bulgaria must find her place in the new world which is coming into being."

July 1944 — Minister Balabanov had been to Sofia for instructions and on his return to Ankara he handed the American mission a document in which the Bagranov government listed the steps taken to get Bulgaria out of the war:

a) "Bulgaria has ceased to be a transit area for German military transport / from and to Rumania. b) At the demand of the Government the Germans have withdrawn all their offensive military forces from the Black Sea coast. The Soviet diplomatic representative in Sofia has already verified this fact. c) The Government has now under consideration the withdrawal of Bulgarian forces in Serbia, etc." The State Department considered these steps as insufficient: "No action short of an actual severance of relations with Germany is regarded as satisfactory at this stage".

August 1944 — Ambassador Harriman questioned Molotov once again on Russia's position on the Bulgarian armistice. "He said that the matter was still being studied and that the Soviet Government had not come to a conclusion." On August 16, the British Ambassador in Ankara, Sir H. Knatchbull-Hugessen, received Mr. Stoicho Moshanov, who brought an official message from Sofia that Bulgaria desired to get out of the war and asked to be informed what conditions would be satisfactory to the

Allies. The Ambassador received the message without any comment.

On August 23, Molotov informed Harriman that, "the Soviet government has no objections to the American proposal to start conversations with Bulgaria", indicating Ankara as a better place for these conversations.

On the same day Rumania surrendered. This event changed completely the situation of Bulgaria, bringing the Soviet army to the Bulgarian border.

On the same day, G. P. Kisseloff, returning from Sofia, communicated to the American consul in Istanbul, Mr. Berry, that he and Stoicho Moshanov had been appointed delegates ad referendum to establish contact and begin talks with the representatives of the USA and Great Britain and observers of the USSR for the purpose of withdrawing Bulgaria from the war and establishing status of neutrality towards both the Allies and the Axis.

On August 26, began the retreat of the Bulgarian occupational forces in Yugoslavia. On August 20, Moshanov flew to Cairo accompanied by Col. Jeljaskov, former military attaché in Turkey, while Kisselov remained in Istanbul as a contact with the Americans. Expected from Sofia were also Ljuben Bojkov, delegate, and Ivan Stancoff the delegation's secretary.

September 1944 — by September 1, the Soviet Army had reached Rumanian Dobrudja and demanded entry into Bulgaria. Bagrjanov handed in his resignation and on September 2, a new cabinet was formed under Muraviev.

In Cairo, Lord Moyne and Mr. Shantz, American advisor to the Greek Government, met the Bulgarian delegates but found that they were without negotiating full-powers. Moshanov himself declined to act for the new Bulgarian Government.

On the same day American Ambassador in Turkey, Steindhard, informed the State Department of criticism in Turkish official circles on the way Great Britain had con-

ducted the Bulgarian armistice negotiations. Delaying had allowed the Russians to reach the Bulgarian frontier and in doing so "the Russians will not fail to seize the opportunity to place themselves on an equal footing with the Allies."

On September 5, Russia declared war on Bulgaria.

On September 7, Bulgaria broke off relations with Germany. On the following day Bulgaria declared war on Germany. On September 9, there was a coup d'état in Sofia. With the help of the Red Army, which had already occupied Bulgaria, Muraviev's government was replaced by that of Kimon Georghiev. Russia had achieved what she had always wanted — the initiative for the armistice talks were now in her hands. Moscow was indicated as the place for these talks being headquarters for the Allied troops which "are now in Bulgaria".

Under Russian pressure the armistice clauses were changed and elaborated in such a manner as to subjugate Bulgaria, placing her entirely under Soviet control. The organ of that control, the so-called Allied Control Commission was under the presidency of the Soviet delegate. The participation of the United States and Great Britain was only symbolic. The United States attempted to change Soviet predominance by dividing the duration of the Commission into two periods: the first, to last until the final break-down of Germany, the second, from that date until the signing of the peace-treaties. During the first period Russia was to have the deciding voice, during the second, all three powers were to have equal powers of decision. This American proposal fell through because of the unyielding attitude of the Russians. In this manner the US and Great Britain accepted a degrading situation for their own representatives in Sofia who, from then on, were not even allowed to leave the city limits without previous permission from the Soviet military.



In October 1944, when the armistice terms were being discussed by the USA, USSR and England, Churchill and Eden visited Moscow and there, without the knowledge of the US, took steps with the Russians to determine percentually the influence-zones in the Balkan countries. A telegram of October 12, 1944 from the US Ambassador in London to the State Department throws light upon this episode: "The messages (sent by Eden to the Foreign Office) also referred to various percentages of control, the exact meaning of which was not clear, and the Foreign Office has asked for further clarification".

"I have always been of opinion that the British would be wiser if they sat with us in working out policy and arrangements with the Russians, rather than attempting bilateral conversations. In this instance they have chosen to do otherwise."

"A casual evaluation of the conversations in regard to Bulgarian armistice terms, on the evidence I have seen, might suggest that

our friend Eden was having his pants traded off."

With typical American directness US Ambassador Harriman commented in an October 17, 1944 telegram to the State Department: "Given the general inelasticity of Soviet negotiation procedure, it is not to be anticipated that anything can be accomplished by argument or persuasion with the Soviet negotiations. In the Rumanian negotiations when the Russians were prepared to insist on something, Molotov had no hesitation in saying, "without this clause there will be no agreement". What I would like to know is whether, if worst comes to worst, we would be authorized to say the same thing with respect to any of the points at issue."

To Bulgaria's misfortune, the American delegates never received such instructions from Washington and in this manner the Russian proposal was accepted in totum.

*(Bulgarian Review  
June, 1980.)*

## **The Frontiers of Culture**

*Translation of the document recently smuggled from Ukraine*

*(Part four)*

The methods of socialist realism — expressed through party directives and party dogma — force our literature and its creators to perform narrow, definitive functions, which they are forced to fulfill assiduously. This is intended to induce assimilation, to suppress national consciousness through the manipulation of human behaviour and to force Ukraine into being the pale shadow of the hegemonist. This reduces literature to a base and synthetic level, and deprives it of its humanistic calling — to act in the name of the deprived. It prevents the development of national culture and reduces the individual to a conformist, into a mere labourer. And a labourer-conformist is a mere serf, and as he becomes a mass phenomenon, he be-

comes a social factor that is a submissive body to the party caste and the imperial machine of the ruling nation, and thus contributes to the totalitarian-conformist social order which degrades individuality — with surrogates replacing genuine artistic and human values in all areas of human life, but primarily in the area of the human spirit and ethics.

Shackled by the slogan "national in form, socialist in content" each of the national literature (except the Russian) is not only weak but within the last decade a sharp reversal to "Zhdanovism" and "Stalinism" has been made, ie. the limits for creative potential have been reduced even further than before. The idealisation of positive personalities, of national and spiritual superiority and national cosmopolitanism

these are the directive and primary dogmas that should guide each national literature.

Let us take as an example several novels that have been published within the last few years, novels that have been widely acclaimed as "achievements" and "literary gains" of Ukrainian literature. These include "Rozhin" by Zahrebelny, "Bila Tin" by Mushketyk, "Krovna Sprava" by Andriyashko and Hryhoruk's "Kanal". None of these novels excel themselves although one could not dispute the talent of the authors' "technical production". However, the answer to the question of whether Ukrainian culture has been enriched or benefited in any way by the contribution of these novels is a negative one. For example, the only national element that Zahrebelny's novels contain are the settings and the names of the characters. For the rest, reality, relations between people and the communist hierarchy, the socialist background, relations of production, social optimism and harmony are extremely idealised and glorified beyond recognition. Due to a lack of space in this essay — the evaluation of the novel as a whole has to be simplified. All the novels are written with some sort of style but despite the fact that they all obviously deal with different characters, it is extremely difficult to differentiate between the books none of which make any distinguished contribution to the field of Ukrainian literature. They are all panegyrics written on command of the party hierarchy, in the name of the construction of communism. Is this not concrete evidence showing how reality is falsified; of the mutilation of the real life of workers, peasants, intellectuals; of the negation of the national consciousness of Ukrainians — and thus of the decay of Ukrainian literature? However, these novels are rated as the "most valuable contributions" that our literary process has gained within the last few years.

In this same period of time, anyone who has dared even to hint at a national spirit,

of the rebirth of the national character and who has dared discuss our national problems has been persecuted. The same Andriyashko who has already contributed several novels to Ukrainian literature, including "Poltava" which is destined to leave its mark on history, was severely criticised — and immediately — for the very reasons given above. His novel, which was printed in a small edition, was banned, and the author himself was excluded from literary life for many years. Honchar — for writing "Sobor", a novel impregnated with the national spirit — was attacked by Moscow's imperial press and a slander campaign was conducted against the author in the Ukrainian press. Ivanchuk's "Malva", written exceedingly well, with sound political thinking, was mercilessly criticised and his ensuing and far superior work "Kalnyshchak" was banned even before publication. Bilyk's interesting historical novel "Mech Areya" and in particular his brilliant addendum on the pre-history of the nation, was brutally criticised, but not on the basis of any sound arguments or evidence, but solely from the stance of the imperial ideology. This, while Yakov, a Russian chauvinist, proves on the basis of "original" historical archives that Achilles was Russian by origin. No doubt similar proof will follow showing the Russian origin of Caesar, Cleopatra and Solomon, and will similarly be widely published and acclaimed.

The creative works of a highly talented Ukrainian author — Oles Berdnyk — the sole author-idealist making any contribution to our present literature — is totally banned, and all his previously published books have been removed from all libraries and destroyed. This original and brilliant artist has been expelled from the Union of writers, has long ceased to have his works published in Ukraine (although some of his works had earlier been translated in Poland and other foreign countries.) For his uncompromising patriotism, dedication to Ukraine and to her national interests, he

is brutally and systematically persecuted, repressed and defamed in the press. Other renowned Ukrainian cultural activists are also disparaged and repressed in this same way. For their creativity and convictions the poets Ihor Kalynets and Vasyl Stus, the artists Opynas Zalyvakha and Stefania Shabaturova, the literary critics Ivan Svitlychny and Evhen Sverstiuk, the journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil, the publicist Valentyn Moroz\* and many others have been imprisoned in concentration camps. Lina Kostenko, Ludmyla Skyrda, Iryna Zhylenko, Iryna Kalynets, Ihor Kalynets, Vasyl Stus, Holoborodko, Korzhun, Mykola Vinhranovsky and Roman Kudlyk have been eliminated from the literary process for over a decade. One of the most authoritative Ukrainian authors — Antonenko-Davydovych and the uniquely talented translator of world classics — Mykola Lukash find themselves in the same position. Deprived of the right to work and thus to contribute to Ukrainian culture are: the writer Plachynda, the critic Ivasenko, the well-known historian Braichevsky. Similarly hundreds of young talented people, as for example Valeriy Shevchuk, Hryhoriy Tyutyunyk, Yaroslav Stupak — who could so easily become the pride of Ukrainian culture — are totally isolated from the Ukrainian creative process and are deprived of any means of expression. Les' Tanyuk — one of the most talented modern theatre directors has been deprived of working in the Ukrainian theatre by being exiled in Moscow. Thousands of Ukrainian theatre and cinema directors and actors now enrich Russian culture by working in Moscow, Leningrad and in other towns of the metropolis. This, while the level of opera and the theatre in Ukraine remain at provincial standards and are in a state of decline. Do these facts not speak for themselves? Do they not illustrate the destruction of the

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\* In the meantime he was exchanged to the West for a Russian spy.

“progress” and prove the decline of Ukrainian culture? Does this not explain why our culture in Ukraine has not been able to produce one distinguished work of art which would meet universally recognised standards within the last half of the century? This — while in the same time-span Ukraine has contributed so much in fields that are not directly concerned with national matters.

### **The historical conditions of the colonial yoke**

The following questions arise: why these processes have had a similar effect on Ukrainian culture and is this a natural phenomenon or has it been synthetically created? It would only be possible to give a complete analysis to these questions in numerous volumes of specialised monographs, each specifically concerned with these separate issues. The present Ukrainian underground — established in conditions of terror controlling the means of information is actively striving to explain these issues to the Ukrainian nation and to the world community through the samvydav (the underground publications).

The reader is presented with brief explanations of the different aspects of the national problem, with emphasis being placed upon the assumption that he shall question and analyse these issues himself, and above all the underground movement hopes to gain the committed allegiance of youth to the Ukrainian liberation process. The multitude of reasons of why Ukrainian culture finds itself in this position is the most salient issue — as it fully reflects the status of a captive nation. The reasons for this state of affairs were briefly mentioned above: they are the historical conditions created by the colonial yoke, by the mass assimilation of the elite and the loss of the nation's intellectuals. This process of destruction was initiated with the mass genocides perpetrated throughout the 1930's and 1940's by mass resettlements and assimilation; by the legal

stance of socialist realism and by the Damocles' sword of terror suspended over artists — continually threatening to destroy them. But a great work can only be created in conditions where creative freedom exists; and it can only become an achievement of world culture on the condition that the artist is not only imbued with the full worth of human values but is also completely saturated with the national spirit. Ukrainian literature and culture not only do not have the full advantage of these conditions, but even the slightest manifestation of any organic creative national talent is crippled and oppressed. For the sake of objectivity it should be noted that the written word is subjected to a particularly ferocious control by the totalitarian regime — and even the dominant Russian literature is not able to produce a work worthy to achieve the world standard. When this control is applied to the world sphere of the national spirit the selection of intentions and strivings has a limitless field of activity. This shall be proved below by facts in as much that our culture suffers yet another phenomenon which adds to the reasons why Ukrainian art lags behind world achievements and which acts as further proof of the determination to weaken Ukrainian national culture, to reduce it to a low level and in the final result, is intended to completely assimilate it and thus to destroy it.

As has already been mentioned each national culture is proof of a nation's active existence (as seen through its creative processes) and it is its right to unlimited life — a life which has absorbed the spiritual and national gains of each preceding generation — a reciprocal, natural and harmonious synthesis of the past and present and of both humanitarian and national values. This is the founding basis for the functioning, progress and development of a national culture. Given that these are the conditions necessary for a culture to flourish how could it have even been expected that

our culture could develop during the course of the last 50 years?

What the Ukrainian National Republic achieved in its few years of statehood — before it was brutally destroyed and Ukraine re-occupied — cannot even be compared to that which a nation can achieve through the right of self-determination. The slogan of “national problems” raised during the November 1917 Revolution were far from realised and during the following years the functioning of our culture was far from even the minimum normally granted by national and cultural autonomy. Indeed the true situation during the period on the already occupied territory of Ukraine was not as it seemed, and Ukraine had already been absorbed into the complex of the newly constructed Russian empire.

With the consolidation of the dictatorship and the implementation of its basic theoretical principals all areas of social existence and in particular with the implementation of the thesis of two cultures in co-existence within one national culture — the relevant cultural policy was applied to all social components: to history, social thought, literature, art — resulting in the removal of great names and the most valuable spiritual richness of the nation from the existing cultural process — including the Russian. In the period when the dictatorship was again strengthened, the following thesis was introduced: with the construction and consolidation of socialist society — the class war is strengthened. In practice this means mass terror, directed in the first place against the creators and bearers of the cultures of the captive nations who are considered to be the mobilisers of centrifugal aspirations. Thus in the 1930's totalitarian severe prohibition became the norm used against class inheritance, the national character of culture and which was applied to creative methods. The liquidation of creative freedom led to stagnation — caused by genocide and mass repressions which became the “norm of life”

within the empire and the most active means used to maintain the dictatorship, causing regression, to an increasingly severe and extreme censorship. Books by prohibited authors were removed from both large and specialised libraries, and indeed whole libraries were burnt down (as they still are); historical, cultural and national monuments and relics were destroyed, as were churches, the priesthood, cultural funds, archive materials, historical sources, ancient and recent party (naturally not Bolshevik) and government documents that relate to history prior to the 1917 Revolution and in particular to that time when we had our statehood. During these years cynical Ukrainiophobia was openly adopted. The publication of many magazines was prohibited, many cultural institutions were liquidated, thousands of cultural activists were physically eliminated. The literary and general cultural process was reduced to the lowest level possible and had the appearance of an alcoholic who without any dignity whatsoever praised the occupier and glorified the suzerain and torturer. Not hundreds, but thousands of cultural activists were shot and destroyed in the concentration camps, thus raping, humiliating and destroying our culture — one of the many methods used to destroy the international character and the national spirit of nations.

During the 1930's practically every nation was embraced by ruin. However, despite this, the ruling Russian nation, powerful even in the face of an incompatible world outlook, incongruous creative methods and idealistic direction, did not recognise the extent of the human loss nor the destruction of the values of other nations, and in particular of the Ukrainian nation, and utilised — then as now — many privileges in its own development and in an attempt to aggrandise its global aims.

The victory won during the Second World War over its own counterpart (as

regards state-political systems, desired aims) had one sole aim — world hegemony and not only the victory of Bolshevism over fascism.

Since that time the empire's apparatus has grown enormously and within the space of the last two decades the empire has emerged into the world arena as a super-power, while Russian national aspirations have proved to be one and the same as communist aspirations. This has resulted in the "rehabilitation" (either officially or furtively) of almost all Russian cultural activists. Their most important works are being reprinted and are being rated as irrefutable authorities and the pride of Russian culture.

These politics are without doubt correct, however, the nation has still not been able to extricate itself from the spiritual stranglehold of the Russian empire and fully benefit from its spiritual heritage. It is true that this mechanism was abandoned by previous governments — as they feared new ideas, movements and the desire for more freedom. The reformer Khrushchev understood this well and placed party control over the Russian elite, giving this process a progressive appearance — but which process the ruling elite is powerless against, and anyway does not even attempt to prevent. This is why it is completely normal that the present Russian generation has not heard of for example Solovyev, Leontev, Katayev, Kluchevsky.

*(To be continued)*

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## Byelorussian Memorandum

### To: The Non-Communist Signatories of the Helsinki Accords

The Headquarters of the Byelorussian Liberation Front do hereby call the attention of the non-communist signatories of the Helsinki Accords and all political and civic leaders of the Free World to the fact that Soviet Russian authorities in Byelorussia have been violating civil, religious and cultural rights. We plead for help for the victims of this persecution. Inasmuch as the Soviet Government is covering up its crimes against its citizens because of their political, cultural, or religious convictions, and the exact number of such persons in Byelorussia is not much — it runs into thousands — it has been possible to identify only a small fraction of the true number of victims by names for the last fifteen-year period. Some of these persons are still languishing in prisons, concentration camps, or places of exile throughout the Soviet Union. Others, although living in so-called freedom continue to suffer from discrimination and harassment and are deprived, to a larger or smaller degree, of their human and civil rights. The HQ of the BLF attaches the names of some of these persons and calls on all defenders of human rights to do everything possible to terminate their persecution.

Antonenko (Antonienka) Vladimir I., from Minsk, arrested 1962.

Artyukh (Arciuch) Piotr A., b. 1934, Volkovysk, ar. 1966 & 1972.

Artyuk (Arciuch) Wladimir A., b. 1927, Volkovysk, ar. 1967 & 1972.

Atrakhimovich (Atrachimovic) Zigmunt, from Sharkovshchina, ar. third time in 1974.

Baranovski N. N., from Lesnoye nr. Minsk, ar. 1975.

Besko (Bieska) Vladimir I., Drozdny nr. Stolbtsy, ar. 1974.

Borishevski (Baryceuski) Vasil K., b. Pinsk, ar. 1974.

Borushko (Baruska) Georgi G., b. 1939, a Byelorussian from Odessa, ar. 1967.

Bukhovets (Buchaviec) Artyom A., Rudnia raion Karelichi, ar. 1974.

Buzinnikau Eugen I., b. 1938, ar. 1956 & 1978.

Fedorchuk (Fiedarcuk) Ye. N., from Brest, ar. 1963.

Frolov (Frolau) Andrei F., b. 1931, Gomel, ar. 1968.

Gavrilenko (Haurylenka) T. I., b. 1890, Khoyniki, ar. 1966.

Gavrilovich (Haurylovic) Vladimir K., b. 1927, Laputy, nr. Dokshytsy, ar. 1967.

Karetko (Karetka) Nikolaj A., b. 1907, Kamenets, ar. 1968.

Katovich (Kativic) I. A., b. 1890, Brest, ar. 1963.

Khadorkin (Chadorkin) G. Ye., b. 1922, Svetoch nr, Svetlogorsk, ar. 1966.

Khanzhenkov (Chanzankou) Sergei, b. 1942, ar. 1963.

Kolesnichenko (Kalasnicenka) Alexander P., b. 1932, Gomel, ar. 1968.

Kolesnichenko (Kalasnicenka) Mikhail A., b. 1944, Gomel, ar. 1968.

Korejsha (Karejsa) Ivan, b. Talocynski raion, ar. 1977.

Kopenkov (Kapiankou) F. Ye., b. 1909, Ust of Gomel oblast, ar. 1966.

Korzhanets (Karzaniec) Lidia A., b. 1932, ar. 1973.

Kovalov (Kavalou) N. A., b. 1891, Gomel, ar. 1966.

Kozin Nil N., b. 1930, Gomel, ar. 1968.

Kukobaka (Kukabaka) Mikchail I. I., b. 1936, Bobruisk, ar. 1970.

Kurash (Kura) Piotr S., b. 1936, Kuroshi of Verkhnedvinsk raion, ar. 1968.

Lakhnovich (Lachnovic) I. P., from Ratmanka nr. Minsk, ar. 1975.

Lazuta N. N., from the village of Barodichi of Zelva raion, impris. for five years.

Ludko G. S., b. 1890, Svetlogorsk, ar. 1966.

Lusenko (Lusienka) V. D., b. 1944, Svetlogorsk, ar. 1966.

Madzhara (Madzara) A. Ye., b. 1906, Gomel, ar. 1966.

Makarenko (Makarenka) Georgi M., from Minsk, ar. 1962.

Masyuk (Masiuk) Nina F., b. 1930, ar. 1973.

Matveyuk (Macviajuk) Stefan A., b. 1926, Brest, ar. 1962.

Patsukevich (Pacukievic) Aleksei P., from Minsk, ar. 1962.

Prokhorenko (Pracharenka) F. Ya., from Vitebsk, imprisoned for five years and exiled for another five years.

Prokhorenkov (Pacharenkau) Aleksei N., b. 1927, Rybatskoye, nr. Gomel, ar. 1970.

Puko Piotr, from Sharkovshchyna, ar. third time in 1974.

Romashkievich (Ramaskievic) Stefan D., b. 1898, Mogilev, ar. 1966.

Rusavuk Andrei P., b. 1928, ar. 1974.

Ryzhuk (Ryzuk) Vasili F., b. 1930, ar. 1961.

Shepetunko (Sapiatunka) G. N., b. 1902, Brest, ar. 1963.

Shluk (Sluk) M. A., b. 1929, Volkovysk, ar. 1967.

Shugalo (Suhala) N. V., Barodichi of Zelva raion, ar. 1970.

Silchukow (Silcukou) Evgeni I., b. 1935, Slutsk, ar. 1967 & 1974.

Sloboda, (Slabada) Vikenti F., b. 1932, Dubravy of Verkhnedvinsk raion, ar. 1968.

Sloboda (Slabada) Nadezhda S., b. 1930, as above, ar. 1968.

Streltsov (Stralcou) A. Kh., from Vitebsk, ar. 1969.

Sych (Syc) Mikhail, from Vitebsk, ar. 1969.

Tarasevich Vladimir I., b. 1919, Baranovichi, ar. 1968.

Tolouyev (Talaluyeu) Ivan A., b. 1931, a Byelorussian from Krasnodar, ar. 1968.

Tavrilyuk (Tauryluk) A. Ya., b. 1888, Gomel, ar. 1966.

Tikhno (Cichno) Vladimir I., from Baranovichi, ar. 1974.

Tishkov (Ciskou) I. S., b. 1930, Gomel, ar. 1966.

Tretinnikov (Tracinnikau) Kuzma N., b. 1910, Ut, nr. Gomel, ar. 1973.

Tupolski Ye. N., b. 1895, Gomel, ar. 1966.

Zabiran V. Ya., b. 1926, Gomel, ar. 1966.

Zapatylak Vasili A., b. 1907, Svetoch nr. Svetlogorsk, ar. 1966.

Respectfully yours

*Dimitry Kosmowicz  
President of the Byelorussian  
Liberation Front*



*Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) in Minneapolis performing during the 50th anniversary of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), 1979.*

## Slovak Basic Rights Violated

On March 14, 1939 the Slovak Parliament ceremoniously proclaimed the independence of Slovakia in Bratislava and consequently recalled the Slovak Republic back to life. Shortly afterwards the Slovak Republic could meet with international approval and establish diplomatic relations with 27 world states of that time, with the Vatican, Bern and Moscow.

Members of the Slovak government were allowed to make their debut and to negotiate as equally entitled partners in international politics. All attributes of a sovereign state: the Slovakian national flag, coat of arms, currency, army, etc. were also added to the political make-up of independent Slovakia. However, the destruction of this state was inducted at the end of the Second World War when the Czech politicians, headed by Eduard Benes, signed an agreement of friendship, mutual aid, and post-war co-operation with the Soviet Russian government. The sovereign rights of the Slovaks were hindered to such a degree that by the end of the World War the Soviet Russian government no longer adhered to the confirmation of Slovakian sovereignty and as a result ceded Slovakia as an annexation into Czecho-Slovakia.

### **The CSSR violates fundamental human rights**

The ČSSR is a power system that not only suppresses the national identity of the Slovak nation politically, economically, culturally and religiously, but also grossly violates the most fundamental human rights. Even the lip-service of the Czech government circles cannot overlook the principles of the UNO Charta. Moreover, the human rights movement "Charter 77" would not have been formed and as such could not have protested against the interference of the communist state organs in the private life of the citizen: surveillance of apartments, checking of mail, tapping of tele-

phones, prevention of children and pupils whose parents are critical of the regime in seeking higher vocational and post-secondary education. Scientists, writers and artists are put under pressure to such an extent that their works are only then presented and publicized when the official party bias is clearly emphasized.

The political inhumanity of the Czechoslovakian state and party system appears in situations where nuns were attacked and confined, where final judgement was passed on bishops and religious leaders in mock-trials for allegedly spying for the Western World. Quite an unforgettable case is the trial of Bishop Ján Vojtášak who was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment on Jan. 13, 1951 only because he fearlessly defended national and human rights and who until his death in prison refused to recognize Czech foreign rule.

It is a known fact that the psycho-terror of the communist party and its government organs does not even stop before the doors of dancers and performances: the state security agents also spy in the night.

Since the human rights movement "Charta 77" publicly unmasked these experts in the Czechoslovakian power system and appealed to international boards, it is being persecuted and its speakers tortured or obliged to leave their country.

It is regrettable and at the same time a puzzle how violation of national and human rights can be committed during the office term of a state president such as Dr. Gustáv Husák. In 1950 he himself fell sacrifice to communist justice and after 18 years of imprisonment again plays the role of a career and national traitor because he "normalized" Alexander Dubček and his liberalization course in 1968-1969 in accordance with Moscow.

As one of the authoritative traitors of the Slovak independence of 1945, Dr. Husák also reveals himself as a gravedigger



of political freedoms and as "model" of the 1968 Russian intervention. It is part of his character to appear as an opportunist and ambitious: an imprint of communist ideology. In 1948 Husák wrote in his book "Zápas o Zajtrašok" — "Wrestling for tomorrow" the following about himself: "Unprincipled people glue themselves to the rocks of every regime. Political changes and battles are only personal profits for them. It is time fill up the prisons with them."

As traitor of Slovak independence Husák already confirmed his weak character in 1945. As an opportunist Husák knew how to "normalize" the political situation after the Russian invasion into the state composition of Czechoslovakia: namely with the isolation and extinction of any powers which did not and do not agree with the selling-out of national interests and of the brutal suppression of fundamental human rights.

The reason for the dissolution of Czechoslovakia was briefly described historically and politically:

a. Czecho-Slovakia came into existence in 1945 by means of a forcible annexation of Slovakia and simultaneous abolition of Slovak independence;

b. the CSSR government continuously violates the most fundamental human rights;

c. the CSSR is a political composition whose members of government only agree to the principles of the UN Charter in lip-service and consequently contradict the principles and aims of the United Nations;

d. the CSSR endangers international peace in the world in that they:

1. directly and at all times support the Soviet military politics;

2. strengthen the position of the Russian government in the Baltics, in Byelorussia, in Ukraine, in Georgia, Armenia, Afghanistan, Angola, Cuba, etc.

3. tolerate the presence of the Soviet forces in areas of Czecho-Slovakia.

The only logical alternative to the dissolution of the CSSR is the establishment of two completely independent states:

a. a Czech republic and

b. a Slovak republic.

We demand the establishment of a Czech and of a Slovak state with reference to the decolonization in the world resolved on December 14, 1960.

We appeal to the Panel of the United Nations Committee for Decolonization and peacefully initiate the transformation of the colonial state composition of Czechoslovakia into a Czech and Slovakian state and consequently to employ the principle of national independence.

Thereby a fragment of justice and peace politics in Europe will be formed and strengthened.

We appeal to the 35th United Nations Plenary Session under the direction of president Rüdiger von Wechmar with this memorandum.

Munich, December 14, 1980.

Movement for the Independence of Slovakia.

*Valentino Berko*  
*Chairman of the Committee on*  
*Foreign Affairs*

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### **SLOVAK ANNIVERSARY**

In the political history of Slovakia March 14, 1939 is written down as the day of independence. On this day the independence of Slovakia was proclaimed by parliament in Bratislava, which was to be recognized by 27 states of the then diplomatic world. On this day Slovaks in the entire free world celebrate their national day of independence. Several commemorations took place in the United States, Canada, South America, London and Munich, and were celebrated everywhere under the slogan: "Application of Self-Determination for Slovakia too!"

## Key Dates in the History of Ukraine

- 7th Century B.C. — Scythian state established on Ukrainian territory.
- 1st Century A.D. — Migration of the Slavic peoples; beginning of emergence of the Ukrainian nation.
- 6th Century — City of Kyiv, capital of Ukraine, is founded.
- 9th Century — The Rus-Ukraine State is established.
- 988 — St. Vladimir the Great adopts Christianity from Constantinople as the state religion.
- 1019—1054 — Height of power of Kyivan Rus-Ukraine.
- 1187 — Name "Ukraine" first used in historical chronicles.
- 1240 — Kyiv sacked by Mongol armies.
- 1199—1340 — The Ukrainian provinces of Galicia and Volhynia unite to form Galician-Volhynian state.
- 1340 — Lithuanian-Ukrainian Commonwealth formed.
- 1500 — Ukrainian Cossack organization develops, mainly in response to Tartar attacks.
- 1550—1775 — Ukrainian Cossack Republic.
- 1569 — Lithuania joins Poland in a Commonwealth and most of Ukraine comes under Polish control.
- 1648 — Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky's Cossack armies defeat Polish forces and an independent Ukrainian state is established.
- 1654 — Military alliance of Ukraine and Muscovy, which eventually leads to Ukrainian loss of independence.
- 1659 — Ukrainian forces defeat a Russian invading army at the battle of Konotop.
- 1667 — Treaty between Poland and Russia partitions Ukraine along Dnipro River. Western Ukraine again comes under Polish rule and Eastern Ukraine comes for the first time under increasing Russian hegemony.
- 1709 — Battle of Poltava ends attempt at independence for Ukraine by Hetman Ivan Mazepa and his ally King Charles XII of Sweden, who are defeated by Russia's Tsar Peter I.
- 1772, 1793, 1796 — Partitions of Poland by Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Poland disappears as a state.
- 1772—1775 — Austria annexes the West Ukrainian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna.
- 1775 — Zaporozhian Sich, fortress and capital of Ukrainian Cossacks, is destroyed by Catherine I of Russia.
- 1781 — Abolition of last vestiges of Ukrainian statehood by Catherine of Russia; Eastern Ukraine absorbed as province into Russian Empire.
- 1814—1861 — Life span of Taras Shevchenko, greatest Ukrainian poet.
- 1846—1905 — Establishment of secret Ukrainian political and revolutionary societies.
- 1863, 1876 — Publication and importation of all books in Ukrainian are banned by the Russian government.
- 1865 — Immigration of Ukrainians to western world begins.
- 1917—1921 — Ukrainian War of Liberation against Russia.
- 22/1/1918 — Proclamation of Ukraine's independence and the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) — in Kyiv.
- 1/11/1918 — Establishment of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (WUNR).

22/1/1919 — Merger of the UNR and WUNR into one Ukrainian National State. Symon Petlura becomes the Head of State and the C-in-C of its armed forces.

1920 — The Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) is founded to continue a revolutionary struggle for Ukrainian statehood.

1921—1922 — Ukrainian armed forces defeated, and Ukraine is absorbed into the USSR under the name of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic while Western Ukraine comes under Polish control.

1926 — Symon Petlura is assassinated in Paris, France, by a Soviet Russian agent.

1929 — Underground political movement — The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — founded to wage a revolutionary struggle for Ukrainian statehood.

1938 — Col. Yevhen Konovalets, Head of OUN, assassinated in Rotterdam Holland, by a Soviet Russian agent.

14/3/1939 — Carpatho-Ukrainian State established with Augustine Voloshyn as President.

Sept. 1939 — Western Ukraine invaded by Soviet Russia and incorporated into the USSR.

30/6/1941 — OUN, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, proclaims in Lviv the reestablishment of the Ukrainian State with Yaroslav Stetsko as Prime Minister of the Provisional Government.

1941—1953 — Ukrainian War of Liberation against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

1942 — Creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — military army.

1941—1944 — OUN—UPA war against Nazi Germany.

1943 — Creation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR).

1944—1953 — OUN—UPA war against Soviet Russia.

1941—1951 — Period of the UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND STATE which functioned with the OUN as its political base, the UPA as its armed force, and the UHVR as its Government.

1945 — The Ukrainian SSR becomes a member of the United Nations, but with no effective powers to represent the interests of the Ukrainian people.

1950 — The C-in-C of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Active Head of the OUN in Ukraine, Gen. Roman Shukhevych, fell in combat against Soviet Russian troops near Lviv, Western Ukraine.

1950's — Mass uprisings in Soviet concentration camps (GULAG) led by members of OUN and soldiers of UPA.

1959 — The Head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera, is assassinated in Munich, West Germany, by a Soviet Russian agent.

1960's—1970's The "Generation of the Sixties" brings about the post-World-War-II national and cultural revival, and intensifies the struggle for national and human rights throughout Ukraine, to which Moscow has responded with mass arrests and widespread repression. This, in turn, has further strengthened the process for national Resistance and liberation.

In area — 365,000 square miles of ethnic territory — Ukraine is the LARGEST country in Europe. In population — some 55 million Ukrainians in the world — it is the FOURTH largest nation in Europe. More than 3 million Ukrainians live outside the USSR.

## Violation of Human Rights in Bulgaria

1. The case of *George Markov* is well known to international public opinion. A popular writer and journalist in Bulgaria, with access to the highest levels of Bulgarian public life, he escaped to the West, established himself in London and for several years through the channels of BBC and Radio "Free Europe", conducted an efficient campaign against the communist regime in Sofia and against communism in general. His first-hand knowledge of the system, and the bold exposure of desecrating facts, provoked the rage of Communist dictator Zhivkov and led to the physical elimination of the writer. His murder will enter the history of political crime, for the personality of the victim and for the sensational weapon used by his communist assassin — the already famous poisonous umbrella-pistol.

N.B. If the communists expected to silence Markov's voice by killing him, they were wrong. A short time ago a first volume of his remarkable "Reports from Exile" was published in Bulgarian. Translations in various languages are being prepared and quite certainly many people in different countries will have an opportunity to learn more about Bulgaria and Bulgarian problems through his precious work.

2. *Wladimir Simeonov*: A few days after the murder of George Markov, the journalist Wladimir Simeonov, also a collaborator of BBC, was found dead in his apartment in London. There are no proofs that he has not been the victim of an accident. Those who know his background and his ideas tend to give ever greater weight to the suspicion that he has been killed by one or more communist terrorists.

3. *Wladimir Kostov* has been for 7 years the correspondent of the Bulgarian Television from Paris. After his decision to break ties with the communist regime of Bulgaria, he became a much appreciated collaborator of the French Radio, of BBC

and of Radio "Free Europe". Like Markov he used first hand experience to unmask the hypocrisy of communism, and he was extremely fortunate to escape Markov's fate. The poisonous umbrella was tried on him too in Paris, but he survived.

4. *Sotir Iliev*, Born in Plovdiv 33 years ago, was a refugee living in Vienna. On April 11, 1980, at 9.30 in the morning, he was faced in Langedasse by agents of the Bulgarian secret service, forced to get into a car and deported to Bulgaria. Sentenced to 2½ years and a fine of 3000 leva, he is at present jailed in Sofia. A pitiful detail: On Sept. 3 "Rabotnichesko Delo", organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party published an article — "A flight backwards", in which it was sustained that Iliev returned voluntarily, deeply repented of his error.

5. *Anatoli Boiatov* — Kidnapped in Vienna in November 1978 with the help of a prostitute of Bulgarian origin — Neda G. Forced to get into a car with a regular Austrian diplomatic plate, transported late at night to a Bulgarian ship, and returned to Bulgaria. At present in prison, sentenced to 5 years and a fine of 5.000 leva (the maximum under art. 280).

6. *Bairam Ibrahimov Redjepov Ghetov*, member of the pomak minority (Bulgarians converted to Islam during the Turkish domination in the country). In 1973 Ghetov refused to change his name Bairam to Boris and, together with ten other Bulgarian citizens in the same condition, sent a letter of protest to the Central Committee of the Party. Tried for conspiracy to overthrow the Government and for dissemination of slanderous assertions (art. 106, 108, 109 of the criminal Code) and sentenced to deprivation of liberty for 12 years. At present in the Central Prison of Sofia — Section VI, cell No. 17.

At the same time, his wife and 4 children were deported by force to a locality 400 kms away from their original residence. The

oldest son, Ismail, when called for military service, likewise refused to have his name changed to Ilia. Badly beaten on the head, Ismail is victim of brain concussion. After 2 years of psychiatric treatment he is today a complete cripple, unable to coordinate his movements.

7. *Mishel Assa*, former editor of the magazine of the Union of Bulgarian Writers — "Septemvri", guilty of having published in the magazine a photo of communist heroes Tanev and Popov as prisoners in a Siberian concentration camp. The two were tried and acquitted in Leipzig, together with the then secretary of the Comintern, Georghi Dimitrov. When the two were arrested in Moscow during the Stalin Purges, Dimitrov did nothing to help them. For his error, Assa was falsely accused of mishandling magazine funds and sentenced to 17 years. He is at present in the Central Prison of Sofia, section VI, cell. No. 20. In vain are all the attempts to prove his innocence.

8. *Tihomir Koev* — Electric engineer from Gabrovo, resident in Sofia. In 1977 refused to use defective electric cable imported from the USSR, considered by him not only unusable but also dangerous for the life of workers that would manipulate it. Sentenced to 12 years for mishandling of State property (a loss of over 10.000 leva under art. 203 of the criminal code).

At present in the Central prison of Sofia.

9. *Assia Milolova Petrova*, born in 1942, resident in Sofia, 38 Evstati Pelaghiiski St. block 1022, Apt. 72, divorced, with one daughter (Marianka) aged 14. For long

years Mrs. Petrova has been trying to obtain a permit to visit her brothers — American citizens who live in New York and her invalid father, resident in Rome, Italy. The most recent invitation from her brother Peter Petrov is dated August 14, 1980, registered under No. 006454 at the Dept. for Passport for travelling to foreign countries (zadgranichni pasporti).

10. *Anton Nikolov*, Escaped from Bulgaria with his 7 year-old son in 1974. Settled in Sweden, tried in vain for two years to reunite his family through official channels. In 1976 went to Bulgaria with false documents in an attempt to get his wife and daughter out of the country. Caught at the border, sentenced to 4 years, wife, conditional sentence to 1½ years. After 3 years in prison succeeded in escaping again. Now living with his boy in the United States, invites the Bulgarian Government to respect the commitments of the Helsinki Agreement and let his wife Kalina Ivanova Nikolova and his daughter Aneta Nikolova join the head of the family in his new place of residence. The present address of Mrs. Nikolova and Miss Nikolova is 26, Mitropolska St, Veliko Tirnovo.

The above listed cases illustrate the repressive policy of the Bulgarian Government only to a certain extent. A far more complete list will be prepared and distributed to the competent international agencies in due time.

(from the Bulgarian documentation distributed to the participants of the Madrid Conference on CSCE.)

#### NEW PUBLICATIONS

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).

# News and Views

## The 13th WACL General Conference

The Thirteenth General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League was held in Geneva, Switzerland on July 24—29, 1980. It was of great significance that for the first time in the fourteen years' history of the World Anti-Communist League, more than 250 delegates from 101 national and international organization member units from 89 countries and territories throughout the world, could get together in Geneva, the very heart of Europe.

Under the theme, "Let's be free! Let's fight against Communism!", the Conference demonstrated to the world the strong solidarity of freedom-loving people of the world and their firm determination to fight against international Communism for freedom, justice and peace for all.

All the participants fully exchanged their anti-Communist experiences and opinions for further strengthening the League movement on the worldwide basis. Through extensive deliberation in the five Committee meetings and upon their recommendation, many important Resolutions along with the Conference Joint Communique were adopted at the Conference.

It was also decided that the 14th WACL General Conference in 1981 will be held in Africa and that an exact date and place and other important details will be arranged and announced later. In order to pave the way for the 14th WACL General Conference, the Executive Board has agreed to meet its pre-Conference Board meeting in Geneva some time early 1981.

In accordance with the Article 22, Paragraph 1, and Article 26, Paragraph 1 of the League Charter, the League Executive Board members and Secretary-General were elected for the next three years' term.

All the former Executive Board members were re-elected and Swiss Chapter was also elected to join as a new member of the Board in its capacity as a Conference hosting Chapter. Dr. Woo Jae-Seung was re-elected Secretary-General of the League for a three years' term.

## IV Conference of Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation

The 4th General Conference of Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation held at General San Martin Cultural Center in Buenos Aires, Argentina from September 1 to 3, 1980, was a great success.

The Conference was strongly supported by President H. E. Jorge Rafael Videla and the Government of Argentina. Some 250 renowned anti-Communist leaders, government dignitaries, army generals, professors, lawyers and journalists, etc. from all over the Latin American countries, got together, exchanged and shared varied ideas to defend human freedom and world peace from Communist aggression and subversion.

Wide press coverage of the Conference was most encouraging. Radio and TV stations covered the event extensively. The grand success achieved by the Conference was truly remarkable and it truly paved the way for further enhancing the anti-Communist movement in the Latin American region.

## 26th General Conference of Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League

Holding fast its stand for freedom, democracy and peace, the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) held its 26th General Conference in Perth, Australia on November 19—19, 1980.

Present for active discussion — under the theme: “Asian Pacific Solidarity for World Freedom” — were delegates from 27 national and territorial member units in Asia, Oceania, and the Middle East. Anti-Communist leaders from WACL, CAL, OAF, and WACL Council for Europe and many other observers from various countries also attended the Conference.

Great encouragement and honor were accorded to the Conference through speeches by world renowned freedom leaders such as H.E. Sir Charles Court, Premier of Western Australia, Hon. Daniel P. Crane, member of Congress of the United States of America, Gen. John K. Singlaub, Hon. Kazuo Tamaki, member of Japanese Diet, etc.

Through the four days meeting, extensive discussions and deliberations were carried out, amply reflecting the firm determinations of freedom-loving people in the region to strengthen Asian-Pacific Solidarity for world peace. The Conference issued a timely Joint Communique regarding the present Asian-Pacific situation and adopted

Resolutions, in which positive efforts are being exerted to expand the anti-Communist foundation.

The Conference expressed its unanimous wish to hold the 27th APACL Conference in Taipei in 1981. Date and other important details of the Conference will be decided in due course.

### **World Freedom Day in 1981**

1981 World Freedom Day was observed on January 23, 1981. As you may be well aware, on this day in 1954, twenty two thousand and seventy five (22,075) north Korean and Communist Chinese prisoners of Korean war, chose of their own volition freedom instead of their homeland under the tyrannical rule of Communists. They refused to join their families and friends if it was to be in a Communist society. This clearly demonstrated how precious freedom is, and what it means to be deprived of it.

*Dr. Woo, Jae-Seung  
Secretary-General*

## **AF ABN Chicago Meeting**

One of the most memorable weekends for Ukrainians and representatives of nations, member of AF-ABN, Chicago Branch, was December 5 and 6, 1980, when Mrs. Slava Stetsko, one of the founders of, and distinguished member of the Executive Committee of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations, and editor-in-chief of the ABN Correspondence, visited our “windy” city.

At a conference of the members of American Friends of ABN, Chicago Branch, attended by Mrs. Ulana Celewych (Ukraine), Dr. Prof. Anton Bonifacic (Croatia), Dr. Dzuric (Slovakia), Mr. Hans Hiblings (Germany), Dr. Alexander Ronet (Romania) and Dr. John Kossiak (Byelorussia), together with nine other members of the Ukrainian Division, she, in a most able and elo-

quent manner presented the accomplishments of the ABN in the boycott of the Moscow Olympics, at the XIII General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League in Geneva held on July 27, 1980, and at the conference being held in Madrid, Spain for the purpose of verification of the implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

After brief opening remarks and introduction by Mrs. Ulana Celewych, Chairman of the Chicago Branch of AF-ABN, Mrs. Stetsko mentioned the fact that the ABN was the first organization rallying the free world nations to boycott the 1980 Moscow Olympics, stressing the fact that Olympic games may not take place in the center of genocide. Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of ABN, appealed to the Free World in

numerous press conferences, TV interviews in Washington, New York, Cleveland, Detroit and Munich, Germany, as well as telegrams to the President of the United States and other world leaders to boycott the Moscow Olympics. Finally, the United States and other free nations announced the boycott, but only after the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. The demonstrations by young Ukrainians during the Lake Placid Winter Olympics was adequately covered by the international press. Mrs. Stetsko also spoke about the WACL General Conference held in Geneva in July 1980 and ABN active participation. The Final Communique of this conference appeared in many Free World newspapers, including the New York Times and the Washington Star.

Further, Mrs. Stetsko reported on ABN participation, although unofficial, at the

conference on the implementation of the Helsinki Accords taking place in Madrid, Spain. A most successful press conference held by the ABN on November 11, 1980, was attended by more than one hundred and fifty media representatives, of Spanish personalities and representatives of the subjugated nations, the said conference having been organized by *Allianza Popular*. The demonstration, the following day, was shown on TV news in all European countries, as well as dominating front pages of all major Spanish newspapers for days.

A lively discussion ensued following Mrs. Stetsko's statements, with almost all conferees taking part. The conference was adjourned by Mrs. *Ulana Celewych*, expressing deepfelt gratitude to Mrs. Stetsko and all other participants. In addition, Mrs. Stetsko held separate discussions with Rev.



*Celebrating the 30th anniversary of the AF ABN Branch in Chicago, Dec. 6, 1980.  
L-R: Mr. A. Stetsiuk, Dr. M. Charkewych, Mrs. S. Stetsko, Mrs. U. Celewych.  
(chairman of AF ABN Chicago Branch).*



Jozef Prunskis (AF-ABN, Lithuanian Division) and Dr. George Papricoff (AF-ABN, Bulgarian Division), both of whom were unable to attend the conference.

On Sunday, December 6, 1980, Chicago Ukrainians had the real pleasure of welcoming Mrs. Stetsko as the main speaker at the celebration of the Thirtieth Anniversary of Ukrainian Division of AF-ABN, Chicago Branch. Mrs. Ulana Celewycz, Chairman of the Ukrainian Division as well as Chairman of AF ABN, Chicago Branch, opened this memorable evening with a few brief remarks. Thereafter, Mr. Andriy Steciuk presented a summary of thirty years of work of the Ukrainian Division and the entire AF-ABN, Chicago Branch. The speech by Mrs. Stetsko, covering some points of the Madrid conference mentioned

above, but specifically emphasizing the liberation struggle of Ukraine from Russian occupation and the need for more perseverance, was one of the best and most moving addresses this commentator has ever heard. Mrs. Stetsko's remarks were interrupted numerous times by thundering applause, and at the conclusion, she received a longlasting standing ovation. The evening was also enriched by Ukrainian national dances, songs and music, as well as tasty repast.

For Ukrainians and representatives of other nation-members of AF-ABN in Chicago these two days will be truly unforgettable. We all sincerely hope that Mrs. Stetsko will allow Chicago to welcome her more often in the future.

*Zena Matla-Rychtycka*

## **Russian Colonialism Protested in Ottawa**

Ottawa (UCIS). — Beginning Saturday, Dec. 6th, a two-day picket of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa was held by members of the Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada to protest the continuing subjugation of their country of origin by Soviet Russia. The picket ended with a public rally on Parliament Hill on Sunday, Dec. 7 at 2:00 pm and a subsequent march to the Soviet embassy. Some 450 people took part in this demonstration. The demonstration was sponsored by the various Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front with the participation of members of the Latvian, Estonian, Lithuanian and Polish communities. All the demonstrators demanded freedom and independence of their countries of origin and the release of political prisoners, among them Y. Shukhevych, L. Lukianenko, V. Stus, O. Popovych.

The organizers said that the picket and demonstration were intended to highlight the fiasco of the so-called "Helsinki process". The demonstrators wanted to point out that Moscow has consistently violated

all the principles of the Helsinki Accords, and has persecuted and imprisoned those individuals who believed that they could monitor the implementation of these Accords by the Kremlin. The protesters felt that Canada's and the West's response to these violations has been cosmetic at best, and that the Helsinki Accords have primarily served the interests of Moscow. While Canada professes its belief in the "Helsinki process", Moscow continues its occupation of Afghanistan, is threatening Poland, and persecutes members of the Helsinki watch groups and of national liberation movements within the USSR.

The protesters indicated that after five years of Helsinki, and the disregard of the Accords by the Soviet Union, Canada must re-evaluate its reliance on this agreement. Spokesmen for the demonstrators also called for the revocation of the Soviet-Canada "friendship protocol", a reduction of or moratorium on trade with the Soviet Union, diplomatic sanction against Moscow, and assistance to the national liberation move-

ments of all the countries under communist and Soviet Russian domination.

The rally and demonstration opened with a statement of purpose delivered by Mr. Yuriy Hanas and an address by Mr. Michael Wilson, a Conservative Member of Parliament. Both speakers stressed the value of freedom, independence and human rights, and the need to struggle for those ideals. Mr. Wilson, who marched with the demonstrators towards the Soviet embassy, was presented with a recently published "guide" to the Soviet Russian GULAG. It should also be mentioned that the Leader of the New Democratic Party, Mr. Ed. Broadbent, paid a brief surprise visit to the demonstrators before the Soviet embassy and gave his support to the cheering crowd. Both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Broadbent were honorary patrons of the "1980 Free Olympiad" held in Toronto/Etobico last summer — a successful event which managed to provoke the wrath of the Soviet media.

The final act of the demonstrators was to tear to pieces a Soviet flag and hang its remnants on the fence surrounding the

embassy compound. The demonstration ended with the Ukrainian and Canadian national anthems.

The protest action was planned for the early part of December to coincide with two dates which have great relevance to the issues raised by the demonstrators: *December 10*, which is observed as "Human Rights Day" to mark the date of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and *December 14*, the date on which the United Nations twenty years ago adopted the Declaration on Independence for Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Both dates are observed by political prisoners in the USSR by hunger strikes and work stoppages in the labour camps and prisons. The latter date has taken on particular significance for the imprisoned activists who have proved through their own sacrifice that only full independence and freedom of their countries can guarantee full human rights and civil liberties for them and their compatriots.

The rally and demonstration received wide coverage by the Canadian media.



*View of anti-Russian demonstration by the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa.*

## Ukraine – a Colony of Moscow

When the United Nations was founded, all the founding member-states enunciated their expressed support of national self-determination for all nations and peoples of the world, concomitant with the necessity of de-colonizing all the here-tofore existing empires and colonial regimes. The principle of national independence and sovereignty was regarded as the primary cornerstone upon which the United Nations was erected.

Yet from the very outset this self-avowed sacrosanct principle was brutally abrogated in theory and in practice with the acceptance of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic into the United Nations. The USSR is nothing more than the present extension and organic development of the tsarist-Russian “prison of nations” replete with the traditionally Russian policy of terror and brutal Russification, which is tantamount to an attempted annihilation of the nations subjugated by Moscow. The USSR — this “last Imperium” — is the only existing barrier to the historic process of “de-colonization” (i. e., the dismantling of all neo-colonial empires) and national liberation all throughout the world. As such, the USSR is an historical and political anachronism! Until all Nations will be enjoined with the opportunity to establish their own nationally independent and sovereign states can a true and solid foundation for world peace be realized. Therefore, the constituted membership of the USSR in the United Nations constitutes a detriment to peace in the world.

From the outset the Russian-bolshevik regime in Moscow realized the potential danger to their further existence as an empire inherent in this process of national liberation and world-wide decolonization. They erected a number of nominally “independent” republics within their domain so as to gain a psychological advantage in their aggressive expansion on the Free World. They even managed to gain

membership status in the UN for two of these pseudo-independent “republics”: the Ukrainian SSR and Byelorussian SSR, even though these countries cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered “independent”. They are simply the puppet colonies of Moscow!

Yet such “puppets” can play a great and significant role in diplomatic circles. On numerous occasions the Russian lackey representatives to the UN from Ukraine and Byelorussia manifested their servile position toward their Russian lords by always supporting the Russian position.

The Ukrainian people do not in any way support Moscow. Quite the contrary: the Ukrainian nation is presently locked in a life-and-death struggle with Moscow and is actively seeking to establish a nationally independent and sovereign nation-state on all ethnographically Ukrainian territory.

We ask you to —

— DEMAND, that the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR be excluded from further membership in the UN, on the basis that their continued membership in the UN is in direct violation of all the primary and elementary principles of the UN;

— DEMAND, that the true representative of the Ukrainian people the ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN), which for the past 50 years has been the main force behind the Ukrainian national-liberation struggle, be accepted to the UN and granted NGO (non-governmental organization) status, similar to that granted to the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO);

— AND, FINALLY, that you actively support the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement, with your political (public opinion), moral, and if possible, financial aid!

*Ukrainian Liberation Front  
New York, USA.*

## 14th WACL Pre-Conference Executive Board Meeting

*Geneva, February 15, 1981*

The World Anti-Communist League held the Executive Board Meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, on February 14-15, 1981, with active participation of board members representing the world's various regions, countries, youth bodies and captive nations organizations. The meeting had reviewed the current situation of confrontation between Communism and freedom.

The WACL Executive Board unanimously decided to hold its 14th Conference in Taipei, Republic of China, jointly with the 27th APACL, in July of this year.

The Board in its Final Communique quotes President Reagan's statement that the US will enhance her relations with free nations, as against the policy of appeasing the Communists. Further we read in the WACL's Executive Board's Communique that the Free World is witnessing disintegration behind the Iron Curtain; more and more struggles against the communist rule strengthening on the part of the subjugated nations, as manifested by the Polish working class and the bankruptcy of Maoism.

World events tend to show the contemporary call for national freedom and human rights, which represent the universal aspiration of our age. The Executive Board therefore has decided to announce "The 1980's — Victory of Freedom over Communism" as the theme of the 14th WACL Conference this year.

### **WACL Executive Board resolved to appeal to:**

— free nations to refrain from disunity and dissension, and to pursue policy of liberation to replace policy of detente. They should forge together their strength to counteract Communist aggression for the purpose of common freedom and security.

— the US Government to work for the unity and security of the free world as a part of her global strategy. The recent US-

Korean Summit Conference between President Ronald Reagan and President Chun Doo Hwan demonstrates the US determination to check Communist aggression by not withdrawing its ground forces from Korea for the stability of Northeast Asia.

— free nations and peoples to support the subjugated peoples throughout the world to rise up against enslavement. As the Chinese Communists are now divided, busily engaging in their internecine struggle, timely support should go to the 900 million people on the Chinese Mainland in order to overthrow their oppressors. It is hoped that the US Government will support the national liberation fight for national independence and human rights of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Georgia, North Caucasus, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Vietnam, Cuba and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism. It is also urged that the free nations will exert pressure upon Communist regimes to abolish concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals for torture.

The Executive Board calls for the support to the Armed Forces of El Salvador for their brave fight against Marxist guerillas. It also calls for immediate support to the heroic struggle for the freedom of the Afghan people against Russian invasion.

The Executive Board further calls upon the free nations to suppress terrorist activities throughout the world, which are organised by Communist regimes.

The Executive Board calls for the elimination of the Communist ideologies and its political systems to restore to the peoples national freedom, peace and prosperity. Only by the joint endeavor of all those loving freedom, will their decisive victories of freedom become a reality in the 1980's. The Executive Board unanimously resolved to express their profound appreciation for the hospitality of the Swiss Chapter which rendered the meeting a success.

## Georgian Solidarity with Afghan Nation

One more sovereign state has fallen victim to Moscow's Imperialism. On December 27th, 1979 without declaring war, Soviet Russian armed forces invaded Afghanistan. The local communist government, which had a treaty of friendship with Kremlin, was overthrown and destroyed. With the help of tanks and a destructive air force a government of Moscow marionettes was set up, a merciless extermination of all opponents began and a complete subjugation by military forces was started.

The tragedy of the Afghan people revolted public opinion throughout the world and awoke the political leaders of most countries from their illusion of détente. Following the quick and clear reaction of Anglo-Saxon countries, the Soviet Russian invasion of Afghanistan was condemned and the immediate withdrawal of the army was demanded by the following: the majority of the representatives at the United Nations, 36 Islamic States represented at the Conference of Islamabad, the 9 member countries of the European Community, the members of Socialist International who met in Vienna, the communist parties with the exception of the French Communist Party, and even the member countries of the Warsaw Pact, some of whom can hardly hide their discontent.

The peoples of the Republics of the Soviet Union have no right to have an opinion differing with that of the government, but there is no doubt that most of them do not agree with and condemn the invasion of Afghanistan.

We Georgians, living in exile, our political parties and organizations, expressly condemn the Soviet Russian Government's imperialistic war in Afghanistan and offer all our sympathy and solidarity to the brave people of Afghanistan fighting for independence and freedom.

At this time we would like to recall to

the memory of humanity that as long as 60 years ago and in similar conditions the Soviet Russian Army invaded Georgia even without declaring war. For 60 years the people of Georgia have been struggling under the Soviet Russian yoke to regain the freedom and independence which have been torn from them. All the more understandable our sympathy for the Afghan people and the joining of our voices in support of all those condemning this Soviet Russian aggression.

Georgian organizations in the Free World:

- The Social Democratic Party.
- The National Democratic Party.
- The Federal Socialist Party.

The editorial staff of the "Tribune de la Liberte'.

The Review "Kavkassioni".

The Committee for the application of the Helsinki Accords in Georgia.

*(Translated from the Georgian text.) I. A.*

---

### Ukrainian Confined; Sought U.K. Aid

One of two Soviet building workers who climbed into the British Embassy compound here last month and asked for help to emigrate with their families has been sent to a psychiatric hospital, his wife said today.

The two men, Arkady Stepanchuk, 35, and Sergei Kii, 24, left the embassy Sept. 22 after a short meeting with British diplomats and were seized shortly afterward by Soviet authorities, Mrs. Stepanchuk said.

She said that her husband was taken to a psychiatric hospital where she visited him last Monday. She believed he had been confined only because he wished to emigrate. She said that Mr. Kii had been allowed home after questioning by the authorities, but had later been dismissed from his job.

*Reuters — Moscow*

# From Behind the Iron Curtain

## **Youth Demonstration in Estonia**

*The youth, as well as the Estonian people in general, have never been reconciled with the occupation of their country by the Soviet Russia*

The cause for the youth's demonstrations in Tallinn in September-October in 1980 were not only bad heating of school-rooms and poor school-lunches. There was more profound ground for the unrest, and one of them was the deepening Russianization of the Estonian youth, which starts, according to the recent regulations, already at pre-school level. The mandatory instruction of the Russian language in the non-Russian nursery schools and day care centers is a new wave of the Russianization policy. Also the school programs were revised in order to give preference to the Russian language in the Estonian elementary and high schools.

Recently a Russian, Elze Cretshkina, was appointed to the post of the Estonian Education Minister. The reaction of the students was: "What a shame! The Estonian Education Minister must be a non-Estonian!"

She has no merits for developing the Estonian educational field, her deserts are limited to the activities in the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party.

On September 22nd, 1980 the TV and Radio arranged an international friendship festival at the stadium in Tallinn. The program included a performance by the pop-company "Propeller". But unexpectedly amidst the performance it was withheld by the militia.

Now the discontent and unrest which had accumulated during a long time broke out actuated by forbiddance of the pop-

group. Girls and boys of age 14 to 19 moved in numerous groups from the stadium to down-town. When the militiamen tried to hinder the procession the youngsters shouted: "Gestapo!" "Aren't we allowed to listen to the pop-orchestra!"

After the demonstration on September 22nd the unrest among the youth did not abate but, on the contrary, it fermented and grew from day to day. In the beginning of October new demonstrations took place in Tallinn participated by several thousands of boys and girls, most of them high school pupils.

The demonstrators demanded: "Russians out of Estonia!" and "Freedom to Estonia!" Also the Estonian national colors blue-black-white, forbidden by the occupation authorities, were displayed.

## **Violence Exercised Against the Youth**

The militiamen who were ordered to put an end to the demonstrations did it very brutally. The youngsters were beaten and thrown into the militia buses as if they were logs of wood. Many of them were hurt heavily, and got contusion of brain and other serious injuries. Several of the injured are still in hospital.

Then it was tried to provoke brawl and fight among the demonstrators. To that end plain clothes KGB-provocators who had joined the demonstration started to knock down and beat the demonstrators who tried to defend themselves and were detained under pretext of hooliganism.

The Soviet authorities are usually silent concerning unpleasant phenomena but the revolt of the youth had taken such dimensions that it was impossible not to react to it. The Procurator's Office of the occupation authorities published over the

News Agency (ETA) a notice in all papers, among them in the organ of the Kom-somol "Noorte Hää" (The Voice of the Youth) on October 14th. The young revolters were called "criminal hooligans" and the Procurator said that they will be punished according to the law.

### **Deportation of the Families?**

The Estonian youth had showed to the occupation authorities that an antagonistic and surmountable difference exists between the Estonians and the Russian occupants. The myth of the friendship of the nations and collaboration is but a "twaddle" — is a popular saying, or as one of the young demonstrators questioned: "Am I a friend when shaking my fist at them?"

The laws prohibit to punish non-age boys and girls but people are afraid of a possible deportation of the initiators and organizers of the demonstrations together with their parents. Places of deportation are presumed to be the large constructions in Siberia as the BAM (Baikal-Amur Magistrale).

The authorities know that although the outbreaks of unrest among the youth may be stopped for the time being anxiety and discontent are not subsided. The suppressed conflict is growing and the youth who have not seen the Stalinist brutalities are not apprehensive, the unrest may break out again.

In the university town of Tartu, one thousand workers went on strike on October 1 and 2 in the test and repair plant for agricultural machinery. They protested against the decision of the plant management to increase the production quotas for the last three months of the year and in this context to withhold until the end of the year the payment of premia for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of production quotas during the previous quarter.

Several highranking officials from Moscow were in Tartu, and after they tele-

phoned their headquarters the increase in production quotas was suspended and the workers were promised that the premia were to be paid.

On October 10, Tartu's 15 to 18-year old high school and vocational school students arranged a demonstration in the streets of the town, calling for the resignation of Russian-born education minister Elza Gretshkina and protesting against the expansion of Russian-language teaching in the new school curricula.

The youngsters also carried a banner demanding freedom for Estonia. Of the 200 demonstrators, 40 were arrested and some were even handcuffed. All of them were interrogated and then set free.

Their parents were forced to sign statements to the effect that they will be responsible for the conduct of their children in the future.

### **Lithuanians Defend their Language**

In 1979, 1310 Lithuanians signed an appeal to the Central Committees of the USSR and the LSSR Communist Parties, asking them not to put into effect the recommendations adopted at the Tashkent conference (May 22-24, 1979), which propose that the instruction of the Russian language be started in the nurseries and kindergartens at the age of five, and that in the upper grades of schools of general education, in all professional schools, and in the 2nd and 3rd years of special high schools and universities, instruction should be at the outset in the Russian language "if students so desire."

"Since the child's process of thinking in his native language is formed in the early grades only, an earlier teaching of a second language brings inferior results in the learning of the native and of the second language as well," the appeal states.

"The USSR and LSSR Constitutions guarantee to all citizens the possibility of learning in their native tongue. Therefore,

we ask you to leave unchanged the arrangement that has existed until now: Lithuanian children should not be taught the Russian language in kindergartens; in all educational establishments, Lithuanians should continue being taught in Lithuanian, without reducing the publishing of belles lettres, scientific, and children's literature in the Lithuanian language."

### **The Trial of Arvydas Cekanavičius**

On January 4, 1980, *Arvydas Cekanavičius* (b. 1949) was sentenced in Kaunas to a compulsory "cure" in a psychiatric hospital. Additional information about his trial was provided in issue No. 21 of the Information Bulletin of the "Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes," published on February 18 and only recently received in the West. Most of the members of the "Working Committee" are now under arrest.

Čekanavičius was arrested last November, upon his return from Moscow, and put into the republic psychiatric hospital at Vilnius. His house was searched and he was accused of possession of "illegal documents and medical forms." He was also charged with having installed a telephone in his apartment under a false name and having forged a doctor's signature. Hospital section chief *Jovaltas* told the court that Čekanavičius was diagnosed as suffering from "schizoid psychopathy" — since he was "dangerous to society" and "incompetent to stand trial," he must undergo a "compulsory cure" in a psychiatric hospital. This was the court's verdict.

Čekanavičius was one of the 45 (or 50) Balts who, last August, signed a statement denouncing Stalin-Hitler pact. This is the real reason why he again became victim of the Soviet psychiatry. Back in 1973, as a 23-year old student of medicine, he was arrested for listening to Voice of America and Vatican Radio broadcasts, taping them,

and keeping forbidden literature. He spent six years in psychiatric hospitals and was released only last year.

### **Mother Threatened with Psychiatric Abuse**

*Alfred Zutkute*, Vilnius, is terrorized for her religious beliefs, and attempts are made to place her in a psychiatric hospital. On January 15, 1980, she sent a statement to Brezhnev, in which she relates how, on December 13, 1979, KGB officials took her and her son to a psychiatric hospital for a check-up. However, a panel of physicians diagnosed her and son as normal and refused to place them in the hospital. The KGB officials were threatening to deprive Zutkute of her maternal rights, because she was "harming" her son by giving him religious education.

(From *The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*, No. 42, March 19, 1980)

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### **Russian aim to exterminate Afghan People**

The wilful ravage of the harvest in Afghanistan by Russian troops, with the aim of exterminating the population, can no longer be masked as "brotherly help" even in the countries under Russian influence. In Pakistan they think this will worsen the Soviet Union's reputation in the world. The burning of the harvest is part of the new Occupation-Plan covering eight districts.

The Moslem Conference in Tashkent appointed by Moscow on September 9, 1980 was boycotted, following an appeal to the Islamic World Conference in Karachi to abstain from taking part in a Soviet propaganda performance. Following this, of the 170 invited religious Mohammedan leaders, only 11 delegates appeared. Pakistan, Saudi-Arabia, Jordan, Algeria, Iran, Bangladesh and other Moslem states absolutely refused to appear because of the invasion of Afghanistan.



**Executive Department**

**State of California**

P R O C L A M A T I O N

WHEREAS The Croatian nation, ever since its early beginning in the seventh century, has had to fight to preserve freedom and independence, and in the pursuit of democratic processes created, more than a thousand years ago, one of the oldest elected parliamentary bodies, the Sabor; and

WHEREAS Croatia is presently subjected to force and terror exerted by Yugoslavia which has prevented the election of representatives to the Sabor and has deprived Croatians of the basic human rights of self-determination, free elections, economy, culture, religion, and even language; and

WHEREAS More than 150,000 Americans of Croatian descent live in California, participating in economic, cultural, and political developments of the Golden State and always maintaining their vigilance against Communist aggression by sharing their knowledge and experience;

NOW THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA, do hereby proclaim April 10th as CROATIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY to honor these Californians and invite all citizens to give renewed devotion to the just aspirations of all people for national independence and human liberty.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of California to be affixed here this 4th day of April One Thousand Nine Hundred Sixty Eight.

*Ronald Reagan*  
Governor

Attest:

*Francis McJannet*  
Secretary of State



**IN COMMON FRONT FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND HUMAN  
RIGHTS OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS.**



*L-R: Dr. Ilgvars Spilners, chairman of the World Federation of Free Latvians (USA); Mrs. Slava Stetsko (Ukraine), Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, ABN President, Rev. Maris Kirsons (Latvia), Mr. Griffin Bell, chairman of the American Delegation to the Madrid Conference on the Cooperation and Security in Europe, Mr. Rimās Chesonis (Lithuania).*

**“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**

# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

An original postcard distributed in Ukraine by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) on the 5th Anniversary of the restoration of Ukraine's independence on June, 30, 1941.



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## **ABN CORRESPONDENCE**

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

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## **40th ANNIVERSARY**

### **Fortieth Anniversary of the Act of Proclamation of the Restoration of the Ukrainian State**

#### **Act of Proclamation of the Ukrainian State**

1. By the will of the Ukrainian people, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera proclaims the restoration of the Ukrainian State, for which entire generations of the best sons of Ukraine have given their lives.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which under the direction of its creator and leader Evhen Konovalets during the past decades of blood-stained Russian Bolshevik subjugation carried on a stubborn struggle for freedom, calls upon the entire Ukrainian people not to lay down its arms until a Sovereign Ukrainian State is formed in all the Ukrainian lands.

The sovereign Ukrainian government assures the Ukrainian people of law and order, multi-sided development of all its forces, and satisfaction of its demands.

2. In the western lands of Ukraine a Ukrainian government is created which will be subordinated to a Ukrainian national administration to be created in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv.

3. The Ukrainian national-revolutionary army, which is being created on Ukrainian soil, will continue to fight against the Russian occupation for a Sovereign All-Ukrainian State and a new, just order in the whole world.

Long live the Sovereign Ukrainian State!

Long live the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists!

Long live the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists – Stepan Bandera!

The City of Lviv, June 30, 1941, 8 p.m.  
Head of the National Assembly  
**Yaroslav Stetsko**

## FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

The Congress of AF ABN in New York City

May 2—3, 1981

The Congress of AF ABN was held at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York City on May 2-3, 1981. Over 400 participants, 156 delegates — representatives of 23 nations subjugated within the USSR and the satellite states, as well as Cuba, Vietnam, Afghanistan, 12 AF ABN branches in the USA, representatives of CC ABN in Europe, Canada and Latin America manifested with their presence the global character of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and their solidarity with the struggle of the subjugated nations for their national independence and sovereignty.

Besides the delegates, the hall of the Congress was always filled with guests, representing various political, cultural and civic organizations of various nationalities. The Congress was staged by the New York Chapter of AF ABN; it was chaired by the current Chairman of AF ABN — Bohdan Fedorak of Detroit, while Yaroslav Stetsko, President of ABN was the main speaker. His address at the banquet was heard by 400 guests, including about 50 representatives of youth organizations. Rev. I. Tkachuk, pastor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church opened the banquet with a prayer as well as the hymn "Christ is risen".

Besides the distinguished guest from Europe, the banquet was addressed by N. J. Congressman, Hon. Robert Roe, the Nationalist Chinese Ambassador K. C. Dunn, T. V. personality Martin Abend, radio commentator Barry Farber. Musical entertainment was provided by the Hungarian soloists of the Vienna Opera, Andriy Dobriansky, Ukrainian soloist of the Metropolitan Opera and Olya Hirniak, member of the Ukrainian Youth Association SUM.

At the plenary session on the first day of the Congress, the speaker was Congressman Hon. W. Green from N. Y. After reports from the executive board, the AF ABN branches from Chicago, Detroit, New York, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Amsterdam, New Jersey, Florida, presented their reports while representatives from Canada and Latin America informed about their activities. This was followed by a press conference at which Hon. Y. Stetsko and the representatives of the Afghan insurgents were the speakers.

The afternoon session on May 2nd was inaugurated by the address of Edward O'Connor from Buffalo, former Commissioner for Displaced Persons and an expert on the affairs of the Russian empire. Mrs. Slava Stetsko spoke about the common front behind the Iron Curtain and the activities of ABN throughout the world. This was followed by two panel discussions: "The Situation behind the Iron Curtain" was moderated by Prof. Dr. N. Chyrowskyj, while representatives of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Rumania, Croatia, Bulgaria, Afghanistan, National China, Cuba and other subjugated nations gave short reports regarding the struggle of their respective nations against Russian imperialism and Communism. Mrs. N. Strokata-Karavanska, former inmate of the Russian prisons and concentration camps, was one of the participants.

The second panel discussion entitled "Afghanistan — the beginning of the end of the Russian empire" was staged by youth delegates. Roman Zwarych was panel moderator and the panelists were: L'Mere Yonoussi (Afghanistan), Mychailo

Halatyn (Ukraine), Miss K. Mjerins (Latvia) and Kajus Borea Vlas (Rumania).

The plenary session, which took place on Sunday, was opened with a prayer by the Lithuanian Catholic priest, A. Pogevichjus. The speakers were: Vladas Sakalis, recently released political prisoner, who spoke about "The common front of the Subjugated Nations in the Concentration Camps"; Dr. Tang Yoo, representative from Vietnam, examined the "Tragic State of Contemporary Vietnam; Prof. M. Shaz, the Hungarian representative and Vice-President of the Confederation of Ethnic Groups, presented a few projects for the AF ABN Chapter in Washington; Dr. Charles Andriansky, (Hungary) emphasised Yaroslav Stetsko's great contribution in the common struggle of the subjugated nations and focused on the future plans of the AF ABN in the USA; Jakiw Suslensky, Israeli representative and recent prisoner of Soviet

prisons and concentration camps, discussed the common fate of the political prisoners of the subjugated nations and attacked Russian imperialism; Dr. Anatole Bedriy, representative from Canada, delivered a speech on "Significance of the Act of June 30th in accordance with the perspectives of struggle during and after World War II." Miss M. Swiderska (Amsterdam) read the Congress's Appeal to the governments of the Free World. The Congress's Appeal as well as its resolutions (presented by prof. S. Halamay) were unanimously accepted.

The newly-elected President of AF ABN, Dr. P. Wytenus, concluded the Congress with the pronouncement of "The Proclamation" by the Senate of the State of New York: the Senate supports ABN and appeals to President Reagan that the liberation policy of the subjugated nations become an intricate part of the US's foreign policy.



*US Congressman, Hon. C. Roe, addressing the AF ABN Congress, May 2-3, 1981.*

## Agenda of the AF ABN Congress

SATURDAY MAY 2, 1981

- 8:30 A.M. Registration of delegates at THE HOTEL ROOSEVELT  
45th Street & Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- 9:30 A.M. Opening ceremony of the AF ABN Congress at the Madison Room,  
— Prayer and the Pledge of Allegiance  
— Mr. B. Fedorak, AF ABN Chairman: opening speech  
— Election of Congress Leadership  
— Election of the committees
- 10:00 — 10:30 A.M. *FIRST PLENARY SESSION*  
AF ABN Chairman's report — Mr. B. Fedorak  
— Secretary-General's report  
— Financial report
- 10:30 — 11:00 — *Guest Speaker:* Hon. William Green, US Congressman  
27th District, New York City
- 11:00 — 13:30 — Branch reports:
- |                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Chicago     | 8. Cleveland      |
| 2. Detroit     | 9. Buffalo        |
| 3. New York    | 10. Florida       |
| 4. Washington  | 11. Rochester     |
| 5. Los Angeles | 12. New Jersey    |
| 6. Phoenix     | ABN Canada        |
| 7. Syracuse    | ABN Latin America |
- 13:30 — 15:00 — Delegates' Lunch (Folklore of nations)
- 15:00 — 15:20 — "ABN Activities throughout the World" — Mrs. Slava Stetsko,  
Central Committee of ABN, Foreign Department
- 15:20 — 15:40 — Mr. Edward O'Connor, Former US Commissioner for D.P.'s
- 15:40 — 16:00 — "Decisive historical events in the struggle of the subjugated na-  
tions during and after World War II"  
— Dr. Anathole Bedriy — Canada.
- 16:00 — 17:00 — Panel discussion on "The situation behind the Iron Curtain"  
(in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, N. Caucasus, Byelorussia, Turkestan,  
Hungary, Cuba, Rumania, Poland, Ukraine, Slovakia, Bulgaria,  
Albania and others). Moderator — Dr. M. Czyrowskyj (Ukraine)
- 17:00 — 18:00 — Youth Seminar: "Afghanistan — beginning of the end of the  
Russian Empire" — Mr. L'Mere Yonoussi (Afghan Freedom As-  
sociation Representative.)
- 18:00 — 18:15 — New York State Joint Legislative Resolution Sponsors: New York  
Senator — Martin J. Knorr, N. Y. S. Assemblyman — Joseph Lentol,  
New York City Council Resolution  
Sponsors: Councilman Thomas Cuite, Councilman Herbert Berman.
- 18:30 — Reception
- 19:30 — BANQUET  
— *Guest Speakers* — Hon. C. Roe, US Congress  
— Mr. E. O'Connor  
— Mr. Barry Farber  
— Dr. Martin Abend
- Main Speaker: Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko: "Neglected  
Power: the role of the subjugated nations."



- Greetings . . .
- Artistic Program: Andrij Dobriansky, Tibor Herdan, Bass, Olia Hirniak, Stella Richmond.

*SUNDAY MAY 3, 1981*

- 8:30 — 9:00 — Prayer by Rev. A. Pogeovichjus.
- 9:00 — 11:00 — Guest speakers: Hon. K. C. Dunn, Director of Coord. Council for North American Affairs (Republic of China)  
 “Liberation policy — an integral part of American foreign policy towards Russian Empire and future activities” — Mr. Charles Andreanszky  
 Mr. V. Sakalis (Lithuanian Freedom Fighter): “Common Front of the subjugated nations in the concentration camps.”
- 11:00 — CLOSING SESSION  
 — Acceptance of Resolutions and Appeal  
 — Election of officers
- 12:30 — Closing Speech of the new Chairman of AF ABN.

**AF ABN Leadership Elected**

*I. Presidium*

*President:* Bohdan Fedorak, Ukraine

*Vice-presidents:*

- John Kosiak, Byelorussia
- Dr. Anton Bonifacic, Croatia
- Dr. Mykola Chyrowsky, Ukraine
- H. Jausuff Azem, Albania
- Dr. Do Dang Cong, Vietnam
- Talivaldis Zarins, Latvia
- Dr. Alexander F. Ronnet, Rumania
- Dr. George Paprikoff, Bulgaria
- John Hebling, Germany
- Prof. Arthur Voobos, Estonia
- Dr. Kazys Sidlauskas, Lithuania
- Laszlo Pasztor, Hungary
- Jose Tenreiro, Cuba

*II. Executive Board:*

*Chairman:* Peter C. Wytenus, Lithuania

*Vice-Chairmen:*

- Michael Spontak, Executive (V. Ch.), Ukraine
- L'Mere Yonoussi, Afghanistan
- Tibor Osztroviczky, Hungary
- Frederika Tanner, Estonia
- Lubomir Ivanov, Bulgaria

Abdullah Kwaja, Turkestan

Prof. A. Bratu, Rumania

Wolodymyr Budziak, Ukraine

(Committee on Strategy of Liberation of the Subjugated Nations)

*III. Secretary-General:* Charles Andreanszky, Hungary

*Corresponding Secretary:* Dasha Procyk, Ukraine

*IV. Treasurer:* Petras Azuolas, Lithuania

*V. Director of Women's Division:* Daria Stepaniak, Ukraine

*Co-directors:* Elizabeth Wytenus, Lithuania, Lesia Halatyn, Ukraine

*VI. Director of Youth:* Roman Zwa-rych, Ukraine

*Co-director:* Caius Vlas, Rumania.

All chief delegates of nations, not mentioned in the above governing organs are automatically members of the Executive Board.

Commissioner Edward O'Connor was elected Honorary Member of AF ABN, Mrs. Ulana Celewycz Honorary President of AF ABN.

## Revolutionary and Reactionary Forces in the World

(The subjugated nations in the struggle for a new and just international order)

We would like to express our deep gratitude for this great honor, which you — our dear compatriots from various nations — bestow upon us. We hardly deserve these accolades of honor, since we are simply fulfilling our sacred duty towards our Fatherland, towards our common front against our common enemy, towards the ABN, and towards yourselves, who for many decades have shared in our achievements and even in our unfulfilled hopes in our national-liberation struggle against the Russian oppressor. We would rather not dedicate today's festivities to separate individuals, who have not yet given the greatest sacrifice on the altar of freedom and independence for their Fatherland; instead, let us dedicate this occasion to the national-liberation, revolutionary movements of our nations, by again demonstrating our solidarity and determination in the anti-Russian and anti-Communist liberation struggle. But if we are to mention individuals, let us today again commemorate our leaders and brethren in arms of our revolutionary liberation struggle, who have fallen in battle — individuals such as Osman Batur, the leader of the Turkestani insurgents — Basmachi, the leader of North Caucasus freedom fighters — Shamil, the Commanders of the Lithuanian warriors, the Byelorussian insurgents' leader — Vitushka, General Maleter — the hero of Hungary, the presidents and martyrs for freedom of Estonia and Latvia, the heroes of Bulgaria, Croatia, Rumania, Cuba, Poland, and also the courageous Afghan revolutionaries, and last but not least the heroic Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka and the symbol

of the national-liberation struggle — Stepan Bandera. We also bow our heads in front of the countless national heroes, known only to God, — the unknown soldiers of the liberation revolution of nations. They are all known to God and therefore they will always live amongst us in spirit.

The essence of the matter is not in the tragic element of dying for an idea, but rather in the element of human greatness manifested by their death, by this manifested apogee of heroism!

We do not believe in the illusion that the epoch of wars for one's Fatherland has long since passed, erased by the dawn of a new thermo-nuclear era. With the spectre of a thermo-nuclear Armageddon notwithstanding, we must remember, that the world is ruled by the irresistible will of the Providence of God. Nations not only learn from this will, but God always comes to the behest of those nations who resolutely affirm God's will of justice, by defending their Fatherland. *Liberation wars are holy wars for freedom and justice*, for the sovereignty of one's country. They attest to the desire of all free men to glorify their Creator against Russian atheistic Bolshevism and genocide. Such wars of liberation have God's blessing, because they are just.

There can be no end to wars of liberation as long as there continues to exist imperialism, colonial occupation and exploitation, and the desire of imperialistic nations to rule over the rest of the world, or over other nations. Pacifism can only be tantamount to a capitulation in the face of this evil. This bolshevik evil has become very aggressive in its desire to eradicate all nations. Their culture, and

everything that is sacrosanct and holy in people and nations. Everything noble and majestic in life is now being grossly challenged by a hedonistic lifestyle. To be seekers of this majestic element — this ought to become our slogan in life! For the Free World to be victorious in this struggle against the bolshevik evil it needs, above all, to nurture a rebirth of patriotism, of a heroic spirituality and a heroic humanism, of a heroic Christianity, of religion in general, of the severe traditions, morals and ethics of the first Christians. There can be no political and military victory without an ideologico-moral rebirth. An individual will only sacrifice his life for something great, something majestic, for something eternal! A national principle of world organization against the imperialist, the destruction of the Russian empire from within by way of national-liberation revolutions — this is the only alternative to a thermo-nuclear war. The reestablishment of democratic nation-states within their own ethnographic territories — this is our goal! Our liberation cannot come as a consequence of international agreements, “evolution”, or “liberalization”, of the Russian empire and its communist regime, which is a typical product of Russian imperialism in its modern form. The democratic system of an imperialist nation was never a factor in the realization of democracy in the nations subjugated by the imperialist power, since democratization is only possible after the dissolution of empires into sovereign and independent nation-states. The world has yet to know of a democratic empire, and never can such an empire come to existence, since every subjugated nation was always oppressed by national enslavement and the total repression of all human rights and fundamental liberties. The realization of these rights and freedoms is predicated by the establishment of national independence, of a sovereign nation-state with a

democratic order, formed by the will of the nation in accordance with its own system of values.

The so-called Helsinki Accords, of which the Russian empire is a signatory, are a contradiction in themselves. They are simply a reaffirmation of the inviolability of Russian colonial occupation, of the inviolability of the borders of the empire and its totalitarian, anti-democratic communist system. The Russian empire is the most barbaric system of all world history. For this reason alone *the Helsinki Accords should be annulled*. While debates are being held in Madrid, the Russians are arresting and sentencing the members of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups, most recently the Ukrainian jurist — Ivan Kandyba. All discussions with such a partner should be immediately terminated, especially when one side brutally tramples upon the fundamental tenets, which serve as the foundation for these discussions.

*If the West were to help us, it would be helping itself.* Unfortunately, this is not the case.

There are two fundamental issues which the West must resolve: to identify the enemy and find a consistent solution to the world crisis.

A most appropriate answer has been given to this question by the British Air Force Vice-Marshal, E. J. Kingston McClough, in his book *Global Strategy*:

“The enemy here considered is not simply embodied in an ideological threat but rather it is the State called Russia: that is, Russia as a power: a Russia expanding and desiring to extend her sphere of influence; a state posing as the symbol of all manner of ideals. It is Russia as a fighting force, an organized community, and a power or state in the most autocratic and absolute sense with which we are concerned.”

General J. F. C. Fuller expressed his views as follows:

"No power the world has ever seen has been more vulnerable to internal attack than the Bolshevik empire. It is not a national state, but a state of nationalities. As Theodore Mommsen wrote nearly a century ago: 'The Russian empire is a dust-bin that is held together by the rusty hoop of Czardom.' Reap that hoop and its empire is at an end. In 1956, when the Hungarians rose against their tormentors, the shock to the Kremlin was so great, I am convinced, that had America and Great Britain flown a provisional government into Hungary, which upon arrival would forthwith have called upon them for military support, then rather than risk a nuclear war, the Russians would have evacuated Hungary. The reason should be obvious. It is that the *Kremlin is living on a volcano*, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the

hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel...

Because both America and Great Britain realize that they cannot hope to rival Russian man-power, they have decided to make good their deficiency by relying on what they call "tactical nuclear weapons"; in other words, nuclear weapons less powerful than atomic and hydrogen bombs, which are called "strategic nuclear weapons". This is tackling the problem the wrong way round. The correct solution is not to increase weapon power, but to reduce Russian superiority in man-power, and so indirectly increase Western man-power. This can be done by subverting the Russian armed forces, which are largely recruited from the subjugated peoples within the USSR and the satellite countries. Be it remembered that during the first few months of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet



*Hon. William Green, US Congressman (27th District, New York City) addressing AF ABN Congress in New York, May 2, 1981. Seated to his right are: Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, ABN President, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Mr. S. Psenicnik. To his left are: Mr. P. Wytenuus and Mr. Ch. Andreanszky.*

Union in 1941, well over 2,000,000 prisoners were taken by the Germans. This seems an incredible figure until one realizes that the vast majority of these men were deserters — Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Turkestanians, Cossacks, and other subjugated peoples.”

This is ABN’s answer to the fundamental political problems facing the world, which I have expressed through the positions of two great friends of the concepts promulgated by the ABN. I would also like to underline that the excellent military theoretician — General Hackett, in his book — *The Third World War*, written in conjunction with other renowned military theoreticians of NATO, predicts that the subjugated nations in the Russian “prison of nations” will play a crucial role in the future clash between the world of Freedom and the Russian world of Tyranny. He pays particular attention to the anti-Russian revolutionary potential of Ukraine, which he posits as the decisive factor in the victory of the Free World.

It would be completely reactionary to formulate a global political strategy by imitating the imperialistic concepts of balance of power, emasculated at one time or another by the British, by Metternich, and later by Bismarck, and to place these imperialistic regional concepts of the past within a global context, particularly in the relations between the Russian empire, its communist system and the Free World.

*The present era is particularly characterized by the collapse of empires and the primary prevalence of the national principle in all spheres of international politics throughout the world.*

Furthermore, a concept of arms limitation to the lowest possible level, in reality, does not resolve anything. This process cannot be controlled, especially if one takes into account the fact that Moscow has never respected any agreements. The most important factor to be considered,

however, is the extremely perilous situation within the Russian empire, which is being threatened by the centrifugal revolutionary forces of the national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations. This unstable situation within the empire cannot continue for much longer and the 1980’s may witness a revolutionary explosion of the national potential of the subjugated nations. All the efforts, undertaken by the West, to maintain the existing status quo, ranging from the policy of containment to that of détente, have only served to buttress and promote Russian aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It would seem that the political and military strategy of the West are founded upon the expectation, that a miracle will come of and by itself. *This real miracle will be the revolutionary uprisings of the subjugated nations.* This miracle will come with the appearance on the international global arena of the heretofore neglected power — the subjugated nations.

Was the West able to foresee that Ukraine would be capable of leading a war on two fronts against Germany and Russia? And yet, not only did Ukraine lead such a war under the leadership of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), but this revolutionary-guerilla war continued well into the 1950’s. Lithuania also led a guerilla war on two fronts. Byelorussia also had its insurgents! Similarities can be drawn from other nations. At that time the allied forces refused to believe in this miracle, but once it became a reality, — they neglected to even consider it. *This war on two fronts against Nazi Germany and Russia of the subjugated nations and in a common front with the Western Allies, would have been the decisive factor in the Second World War, which would have saved the world from both Nazism and its original prototype — Bolshevism.*

Later, when it was already too late, Churchill reached a similar conclusion, when he stated that the Allies ought to have slaughtered both pigs when they had the chance.

Will the present leaders of the West learn from their past mistakes? Is history to be our teacher in life, particularly this year, when Ukraine is commemorating the 40th anniversary of the reestablishment of an Independent Ukrainian State, proclaimed on June 30th, 1941. This historical Act was born of the will of the Ukrainian nation and laid the foundation for the ensuing war of liberation on two fronts. In 1941 Lithuania also proclaimed its independence.

Presently, the heroic Afghan nation has taken up arms against the onslaught of Russian imperialism. And at this crucial juncture in history, the West's reaction is limited to a disconcerted boycott of the Moscow Olympics, or to the insti-

tution of a number of economic sanctions which are paralyzed by several loopholes. Instead, the West ought to have immediately liberated Cuba from under the Communist yoke, buttressed by the Russian agent — Fidel Castro.

In 1912, the far-sighted American General Homer Lea stated the following: "There are two lesser known cities in the world, which are of enormous significance for all of humanity — Herat and Kabul." The General then underscores the significant words of the Russian tsar — Peter I, taken from the tsar's final testament to his successors. In this testament the tsar states that India will be the key to Europe. Then he continues: "Do not waste any possible opportunity of provoking a war with Persia, so as to quicken its destruction and to make possible our conquering of the Persian Gulf."

The United States can either become the vanguard force of the Free World in



*Photo published in "The News World" on Sunday, May 3, 1981.  
L.-Rt: Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, president of the Central Committee of ABN with Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Mr. Peter Wytenus, chairman of AF ABN, Mr. L'Mere Yonoussi, committee member of the Afghan Association of Freedom Fighters, Abdulah, a spokesman for the Afghanistan Mujahideen, who is hooded to hide his identity, and Mr. Roman Zwarycz, chairman of the youth panel.*

supporting the national-liberation, anti-colonial, anti-imperialist revolutions of the subjugated nations against the most tyrannical and brutal empire the world has yet known — the USSR, the Russian prison of nations, which would be in accordance with its own American revolutionary traditions of 1776, — or in contradiction to these noble traditions, the United States can become a global anti-revolutionary reactionary power, if it continues to defend the existence and stability of the Russian empire.

If the United States continues to ignore the Congressional resolution on Captive Nations from 1959, if it continues to ignore the resolution of the United Nations on decolonization, by refusing to apply it to the Russian colonial empire, demanding its immediate dissolution, if it continues to refuse to apply to USSR the UN resolution from 1976, which required, from the standpoint of international law, that all UN member-states render military aid to the subjugated nations fighting against colonial enslavement, — then Moscow will be able to maneuver the US into a reactionary position, on the nominal assertion that the US is against independence and freedom for nations, while Russia itself will continue to render military aid to the Kurds, the Baluchis, the southern Azerbaijanis, the Arabs and to other nations from one or another geopolitical complex. The United States can avoid this dilemma by including as an integral component, of its international policy complex, the necessity of the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire and by actively supporting the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations in that empire, leading to the reestablishment of national independent and sovereign states within the ethnographic boundaries of these nations.

Such a position of principle will automatically resolve any derivative questions

dealing with the artificial constructs of multi-national states. Thus, *the United States will become the revolutionary liberational force in the world, and the USSR its reactionary adversary.*

We fear, that if the United States agrees to continue its discussions with the USSR, without establishing any pre-conditions to these talks, then for all intents and purposes this will be tantamount to its acquiescing to the military occupation of Afghanistan in exchange for a temporary concession on the part of Moscow not to militarily intercede in Poland. Two steps forward, one step back! And all the while, the USSR is a colossus on clay feet. This is a barrel infested with rust!

### **Weaknesses of the Prison of Nations**

Afghanistan was a well regulated step on the road to oil and the strengthening of roads to the mineral wealth of Africa.

At the end of the eighties the Russians will have exhausted their oil reserves. They will have the oil of the Middle East and thereby the key to the satellization of the rest of Europe. Demographic changes are occurring at a quicker rate: Russians are already a minority in the USSR, and after a decade every third inhabitant of the USSR will be Islamic.

Moscow knows that it can buy anything for oil — electronics, technology, bread, — and it is therefore ridiculous to think of it giving up Afghanistan. Afghanistan is the key to oil and oil is the key to the highly industrialized West. If Russia were to establish control over the oil fields of the Persian Gulf area, then it can hold the West hostage, despite its own underdeveloped and primitive economic system.

It is meaningless to conclude all these SALT II, or III treaties. In reality this is simply a disarmament farce in which the WEST arms the USSR. This comedy takes place in the following way: the West supplies the Russians with electron-

ics, technology, grain, various economic aid, and even conventional arms in modified form. The West thus creates a base for rocket, atomic and conventional arms and, through its senseless yet assiduous economic and trade policies, aids the Russians by allowing them to concentrate on the development of their own heavy arms industry, indeed even strengthening it.

The USSR cannot win an arms race with the West. But it is not necessary to create tragicomic situations — with one hand to arm the USSR and with the other to beg the Russians for “arms parity at the lowest level”, while at the same time creating the groundwork for a maximum arms buildup. Western capitalists indirectly arm the USSR while their governments concurrently conduct disarmament talks. At the end of the 1980's the empire will be at the end of its technological armament potential and will be in the midst of an oil crisis.

*Hence our suggestion — to stop all technological, electronical, commercial and economic trade with and aid to the USSR and its satellites.*

*The empire sits on top of a volcano.* Any attempt on its part to somehow resolve the crisis in Poland threatens the further existence of this empire. An occupation of Poland by additional military forces will bring about a Russo-Polish war, which will subsequently have its repercussions in the international sphere and in the USSR itself, further complicating the already tenuous internal situation in the empire, regardless of the probable brevity of military hostilities in Poland. If the revolutionary processes in Poland are further tolerated and allowed to develop, without being countered by force or subversion, then the power and authority of the Communist Party, i.e., the Russian imperialists, will be irrefutably broken, with all the evident



*Mr. E. O'Connor, former commissioner for D.P.'s addressing the plenary session of the AF ABN Congress in New York, May 2.*



repercussions in other subjugated nations. *We must remember that the liberation processes are a power, and power means authority.* Can the imperialist-colonial regime share authority with those that it has enslaved and colonized? We think not! The empire is losing itself in its own contradictions, which it cannot resolve in any of the subjugated nations.

The world is excited and surprised by the events in Poland, but does not want to know that all this has happened before. The forties and fifties were teeming with strikes and uprisings of Ukrainians and other political prisoners in the forced labor camps. The fifties, sixties and seventies saw numerous workers' strikes in Ukraine — in Donbas, Odessa, Novocherkassk, and other cities and provinces of Ukraine, in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Georgia and many more.

In 1962 over 5,000 workers in Novocherkassk were killed by the MVD, who

crushed the strikes and uprisings of the workers after the commanding officer of the Red Army refused to give the order to fire at the workers and shot himself instead. A number of strikes, clashes with the militia, and deaths occurred in Kyiv, Sevastopol, Krasnodar and Kryvyj Rih.

In the seventies there were sporadic strikes in Dnipropetrovsk, Dniprodzerzhynsk, Kyiv and many other cities in Ukraine, accompanied by bloody clashes with the Russian occupation troops. There were student demonstrations in many Ukrainian cities, protests against russification, and various forms of struggle and resistance. The groundwork for the creation of free trade unions was also laid by Ukrainians, in particular by the Donbas worker — Klebanov. The workers and urban guerilla forces are a new factor of great importance.

The geopolitical situation of Poland is without any doubt better than that of



*View of the plenary session of the AF ABN Congress, May 2.*

Ukraine. Nevertheless, it is not to be expected that without synchronized actions in other enslaved nations and without the help of other nations in the empire, Poland will be able to attain independence.

The essential fact to be remembered is that *the communist system is an integral component of the imposed system of Russian occupation*. It is impossible, for example, to maintain an occupational system intact when it has been instituted in an occupied nation by Russian armies and the KGB and to simultaneously maintain free and independent trade unions. The communist party is the inevitable and concomitant agent of foreign occupation. This occupation is made possible not only by Russian troops, but also by the communist terror apparatus, the party and its administrative organs and various sub-branches.

The church also has a leading role in the liberation process, because religion is in opposition to the Russian atheistic system of occupation, which is propped up by a militant atheism similar to the Soviet socio-economic model and that of the national and political totalitarian Russian system. These revolutionary tendencies, when aroused in all spheres of life, will exert increasing pressure resulting in a radical change of the whole system, including the expulsion of the occupational forces.

The well-known European expert on guerilla warfare — Peter Scholl-Latour — writes in his book — *Death in the Rice Fields* — that the armed liberation struggle in Ukraine after World War II lasted well into the 1950's even though the terrain in Ukraine was less favorable for a guerilla war than the mountainous terrain of Afghanistan.

*The 1980's will be a decade of volcanic explosions*. A threat from the strength of the West, along with the concurrent de-

termination to use this strength, will undoubtedly have a decisive effect on the gerontocrats of the Kremlin.

On numerous occasions, the Russians have declared their aims. In 1921 Lenin said: "Western Europe and America have closed their eyes before the facts and reality and will support the Soviet war industry with the materials and technology that we need to defeat them."

In 1973 a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stated in Prague: "With détente we have achieved more in a short time than in all the years of political confrontation with NATO. Comrades, through détente we will be able by 1985 to attain a position we consider indispensable."

A few years ago Brezhnev said to the President of Somalia, General Mohammed Siad: "We must acquire the two things that mean life or death to the West: the oil of the Persian Gulf and the minerals of Africa."

In this dilemma, *the United States* has only one available solution: *to clearly and openly proclaim a Great Charter of Independence for all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism, thereby promoting the complete dissolution of the Russian empire into nationally independent and sovereign states*. The United States must discard the antiquated and reactionary policy of détente and balance of power, substituting it with a consistent, progressive and dynamic *concept and policy of national liberation*. Only then will Moscow be forced into a position of being the most reactionary force in the world.

In refraining from exposing the USSR as the most tyrannical colonial empire in the world of all times, the USA is creating an illusion of the existence of a homogeneous and nationally uniform "Soviet nation" as a new "historical formation". The United States is thereby justifying Moscow's deceitful and deceptive poli-

tical strategy of being the supporter of the rights of the nationally and socially subjugated and oppressed peoples in the world, whereas in reality Russia is itself the most brutal subjugator of nations and peoples of all times. In short, the United States, by its fundamentally unsound and inconsistent policies with regard to the ideals of national and social liberation, has dumbfoundedly given Moscow its "carte blanche" in these crucial and historically key political areas.

As long as the United States continues to pretend that the national liberation struggles of Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Azerbaidzhan, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Croatia, Czechia, Slovakia, Armenia, Cuba, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, North Caucasus, Vietnam, Idel-Ural and of the other subjugated nations in the Russian empire — do not exist as the central problem in the struggle for a new and just restructuring of the world political international order, — the future cannot be theirs!

#### **What is necessary at the present?**

1. *A center of psychological warfare must be created*, founded on the political and ideological concepts of the ABN, and at the disposal of the ABN, directed at the subjugated nations in the USSR and the satellite countries, with branches established in:

a.) One of the countries of the Near East, perhaps Egypt, directed particularly to Afghanistan and the African nations presently controlled by Moscow and its puppet states, such as Cuba, the "DDR", and other satellite countries;

b.) Latin America, particularly Cuba;

c.) South-east Asia, with Vietnam as the focal point;

d.) The Far East, with Siberia as the focal point.

*The major objective of this center would be the promotion of the idea of national*

*liberation on all levels of society in the subjugated nations, particularly the Soviet army, on the basis of political cooperation with the national liberation centers or organizations of the subjugated nations.*

2. *Military training in guerrilla warfare* must be offered to the Afghan revolutionaries, as well as to the emigré members of the nations subjugated in the USSR and the satellite countries. *We demand that the West immediately give military aid to the Afghan freedom fighters — the Mujabaddin*, in the form of arms, anti-helicopter and anti-tank weapons, surface-to-air missiles, mine detectors, radio-broadcasting sets, etc.

3. On the forum of the United Nations and elsewhere in the international sphere, *the West must recognize the true representatives of the subjugated nations, i.e., the representatives of the national liberation movements*, as the only real representatives of the will and aspirations of these nations, rather than continue to recognize the imperialist lackeys of Moscow.

4. The representatives of the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations *must have* at their disposal *the various modern technical means of promoting their struggle* in a number of forms in their respective countries, on the basis of their concept of liberation, without them having to meet any pre-conditions, effected by changes in policy by the Western countries.

By utilizing the existing medias of mass communication to the fullest, *the West must propagate our forms and methods of waging a national-liberation struggle, formulated by ourselves*, not restricting the ideas of this struggle by accomodating or adjusting them to the momentary tactical and situational exigencies in the relations between the Western countries and the USSR.

The West must actively support the Cuban freedom fighters, so that they may

overthrow Castro's regime in Cuba, which will immediately resolve the numerous problems of diversion in Latin America, and all the more in Africa.

On the forum of the United Nations, the West must resolutely pursue the issue of *condemning Russian imperio-colonialism, questioning the right of these lackey so-called governments to speak in the name of the subjugated nations.* Also, as a concurrent measure, the West must give the national-liberation organizations of these nations similar status to that of the PLO, demanding the expulsion of the USSR and the satellite countries from the United Nations.

These are our initial demands, predicated by our belief that a reversal of policy is necessary in the West.

5. We are also convinced that the great Chinese nation, with its culture of many millenia, will return to its intrinsic Con-

fucian traditions and the national-political concepts of Sun Yat-sen, and will overcome the Marxist-Leninist way of life forced upon it with their own integral forces.

6. We support and recognize the legitimate Japanese claim to the Kuril islands and Sakhalin, occupied by Moscow. We fully support the idea of unification in freedom of Korea and Germany. We call on all of the world to actively support the Vietnamese insurgents, and all the patriotic anti-Communist fighters for freedom and independence of the nations of Africa, who are defending their Fatherland from Russian imperialist aggression.

*Our demands are not simply the demands of our respective emigré communities, but rather they emulate the demands of those who are on the first front of the struggle.* During the uprisings in the concentration camps of Siberia already



*View of the plenary session of the AF ABN Congress, May 2.*

in the 1950's during the Stalin era, the political prisoners demanded that the West support their revolutionary aims, as was outlined by Joseph Sholmer in his book, "Vorkuta."

In his book Joseph Sholmer, a released prisoner, expressed the demands of the non-Russian prisoners of the Russian concentration camps to the West;

1. The dropping of leaflets over all camps giving the signal to prisoners to call a general strike.

2. The dropping of arms, radio transmitters, explosives, medical supplies and food. This is to be done not only at Vorkuta but in all the forest camps along the railway leading southwards.

3. Immediate formation by the prisoners of partisan groups who would be in a position to cut the 1500 mile railway line at given points.

4. Creation of a separate republic independent of Moscow, which would embrace the whole vast forest network of European and Asiatic Russia. If the prisoners had arms, this would be quite unassailable. Neither tanks, aircraft nor artillery can operate effectively in this gigantic partisan terrain.

5. Intensive radio propaganda to the peoples in the Soviet Union from this independent republic with the aim of bringing about:

a) A peasant rising under the traditional slogan "Land for the peasants".

b) A workers' rising under the slogan "Factories for the workers".

6. Proclamation of national independence for the Baltic States, Byelorussia, Ukraine, the peoples of the Caucasia, Turkestan, and the Far East.

7. The ultimate creation of conditions similar to the tension between the hard

core of the army and the peoples of the Soviet Union."

The political prisoners were demanding arms, medical supplies, radio broadcasting sets, food and the like, which were to be delivered by the West through parachutists. But more importantly, *the prisoners were demanding that the West proclaim its support for national independence of the subjugated nations in the USSR!* The fact that Khrushchev deemed it necessary to reorganize the concentration camps and even freed many prisoners was no coincidence. *The conflagration of the empire could have easily begun in the concentration camps!* The initial phase of this action was to be a general strike! The organizers were Ukrainian nationalists, Lithuanian, Turkestanian and freedom fighters of the other nations.

We must nevertheless remember that these demands were born from the reality of the struggle.

General J. F. C. Fuller, in his essay — "Russia is not invincible", states the following:

"Because in the Atlantic Pact is to be found the only potential first front against Russia, so in the ABN, however lacking in organization, in it still 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 one without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim — *not the containment of Communism and Russian imperialism but the complete elimination of Bolshevism* — without which there can be no peace in the world."

Let me conclude my address with the known ABN slogan: "*He who liberates himself, will be free; he who poses as a liberator of others will lead them into slavery!*"

## **Common Front in the Concentration Camps**

*As a young boy, Vladas Sakalis became a member of the Lithuanian liberation movement. He was arrested at the age of 19 and spent a total of 15 years in prisons and concentration camps. After his release in 1978 he joined the editorial staff of the underground publications. Before being arrested once again he made his way through Finland to Sweden where he asked for political asylum. He covered a distance of 200 kms. by swimming and on foot. Today he lives in the US where he continues his efforts for the liberation of Lithuania.*

I would like to speak to you about labor camps, about the struggle in my country and in other countries of the Soviet Russian Empire, and most importantly about the spirit of this struggle. I was first sentenced to prison when I was only nineteen years of age. I came from a relatively small country — from Lithuania. At that time I thought that my nation was the only one in captivity, the only one enslaved. I later realized that this was not true and that the majority of political prisoners in Soviet Russian camps were non-Russians. In the past Russian prisoners have been correctly called dissidents. Most of the prisoners are not Russians and there is a great difference between the goals of the struggle of the Russian dissidents and those of the non-Russian prisoners.

Because the Russians are the oppressors, the Russian nation is not in captivity. In fact, we must realize that the Russian Empire is not only communist but that communism is necessary for Russian imperialism. The main goal of the Russian dissidents is human rights. This is very important but we must understand that the basic human right is national right. Since national rights cannot be assured without threatening the unity of the Empire, so Brezhnev cannot assure human rights because he must keep the subjugated nations under control.

It is my belief and the belief of most of the non-Russian prisoners that human rights cannot exist without decolonization of the Empire. Russian dissidents, especially those in the West, do not consider the national question and believe in evolutionary change. Although this is good, the change is not coming about quickly enough. Only a successful struggle can bring about change as was proven in the case of Hitler's Germany. In the past, the most oppressed nation was not Russia but Ukraine and other countries.

The national question is very dangerous for the Kremlin. The West, on the other hand, does not understand it. Because West European nations were once themselves imperialistic, for example England, Germany and others, the Soviet Russians effectively use this fact and every nationalistic phrase in these countries against them.

I would like to state that most of the Russian dissidents are very good and honest people. But the policy of allowing these dissidents to emigrate works towards disinformation because they are Russians and do not like to speak about the national question. Even here in the democratic West, you can hear Russian dissidents speaking of the good old times of the Russian Empire. For the captive nations, however, the Russian Empire remains the same: whether

white, red or of any other form. It is the view of these nations that communism is totalitarianism and this imperialism is more effective and dangerous for all nations. This is the primary difference between the old Czarist Russian Empire and the communist Russian Empire.

Most of the nations in the so-called Soviet Union have begun to understand this difference. As a result, they have become more closely linked to each other. We have connections with the Russian dissidents as well but we must remember that their main concern is human rights, not national rights.

I foresee a great change in the world due to the basic economic and political inefficiency of the Empire. My country and other countries believe that the Russian Empire will have to become more aggressive and more expansionistic as a result of this factor. The invasion of Afghanistan is proof of this fact. This expansionism will eventually backfire and lead to the downfall of the Empire.

This expansion not only threatens world peace but all of civilisation. It is therefore crucial that Western countries, especially the United States, understand this. This is only the beginning. It is our responsibility to explain our experience of slavery to the West. We, as captive nations, must support all struggles for liberation throughout the world. Our spirit in the West depends on the spirit of the struggle in all subjugated countries. I emphasize the need for unity among all captive nations. Although there may be misunderstandings between Poles, Ukrainians and Lithuanians which cannot be completely forgotten, we must realize that our main enemy is not found for example in Poland, but rather in Russian Soviet chauvinism and imperialism. I have nothing against the Russian nation as such. Even the Russian nation would benefit from the destruction of Russian imperialism.

It is true that the power of the Kremlin is in the hands of Russian chauvinists. I remember at the time of the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia that all Soviet propaganda in the Soviet Union was about socialism. Now that the Empire is weak, there is no more talk of socialism in Afghanistan but rather that we, "the Soviets", including the captive nations, "must defend our State". Thus, this strong chauvinism is alive among the Russian people. We must not allow ourselves to be subjugated more so than before — we must struggle for national rights. At this moment, Poland and Afghanistan are the two hot areas of the struggle for liberation. The same situation once existed in our own countries and can exist again in the near future. Our victory will come from the weakening of the Empire. We must understand that our freedom will come from the destruction of Moscow's Empire and from the success of the type of struggle we now see in Afghanistan and possibly in Poland. We must support them and if possible, participate in their struggle. I remember that there were also non-Ukrainians fighting with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — the UPA. We should use this as an example today. We must find links to Afghanistan. Most of the Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan are non-Russians. Perhaps 45% of them are Ukrainians and more than 10% are from the Baltics and other states.

We can imagine what would happen if every non-Russian soldier aided the Afghan freedom-fighters and if these slaves of the Russian Empire refused to fight for the Empire. This very desire for freedom and the struggle for freedom is our main power.

## **Decisive Historical Events in the Struggle of the Subjugated Nations During World War II**

This year — 1981 — is rich in important historical anniversaries worthy to be mentioned. 40 years ago, on June 22, 1941, to be exact, there started the war between the two most aggressive empires, namely Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. Nazi racists dreamed of making Germany the center of Europe by subjugating by brute force all the nations. Hence, they needed to control the immense wealth of Ukraine and the oil fields of the Caucasus as stepping stones to the conquests of the Middle East. Eastern Europe was to become the “Lebensraum” of the mythical master-race of the so-called “Uebermenschen” over tens of millions of slaves, the so-called “Untermenschen”. On the other hand, the insatiable Russian imperialists with their ancient world-wide messianism disguised by Vladimir Lenin as the Communist Bolshevik system were readying themselves to destroy the “decayed Occident”. But first, as Joseph Stalin announced, the Russians attempted to exterminate all the resistance and liberation efforts of the already enslaved nations. The period of 1920-1939 was characterized by the mass murders of many millions of the conquered peoples. The murder of 6 to 8 million Ukrainians by means of the artificial Great Famine in 1932-33 was the most dramatic example of the racism of these war criminals, imbued with the devilish notion that the so called Russian proletarian people are chosen to rule the world.

In-between these two aggressive powers there were many peoples lingering in various stages of dependence upon the “big brothers” of the East or the West. Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaidjanians, Don Cossacks,

Turkestanians and others were completely subjugated by the Russians prior to 1939; the Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and Poles enjoyed precarious national independence until 1939, and so did the composite states of Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia, while Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary survived several more years as independent states.

The early signal of an impending continental struggle between the two Leviathans was the signing of the so-called Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact on August 23, 1939. All the nations between Scandinavia and the Black Sea became prey of the two super-states. The Pact unofficially declared war upon the concept of the nation-state. From then on, Berlin and Moscow raced to grab as many spoils of war for themselves as possible. In short, nations were treated as objects of a game between the super power and not as separate, independent, sovereign partners. Finland was attacked by the Russians. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were overrun by them. Poland itself and some westernmost Ukrainian regions were conquered by Germany, while Western Byelorussia, Western Ukraine and Ukrainian Bukovyna were captured by Russia.

At the beginning of 1940, it should have become apparent to close observers that the freedom-loving forces of the smaller nations had to choose one of three courses: either join the Nazi German imperialists or the Communist Russian racists, or take an independent road of national sovereign existence without joining either of the two voracious powers. In order to succeed, this third road required concerted, coordinated action among the



many weaker nations, which was difficult to achieve, and the governments of the still free or relatively free states usually chose the short term policy of their own survival.

The Ukrainian nationalists led by the famed revolutionary Stepan Bandera decided upon the third course — of an independent liberation policy. On February 10, 1940, they established a top command under the name: the Revolutionary Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Yaroslav Stetsko, vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Leadership of OUN, then prepared the official exposé of an OUN liberation policy in which he stressed the necessity of warning Germany not to make the fatal mistake of following a colonial aggressive policy toward Eastern Europe.

With each succeeding month it became more evident that a clash between German and Russian imperialists would come. At a conference of top Nazi leaders on July 30, 1940, Adolf Hitler declared: "Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic States shall definitely belong to us." It was a straight colonialist policy pronouncement. On October 26, 1940, this racist policy obtained substance in a speech by Hans Frank, the Governor-General of the conquered territories. Frank declared: "Our task is to guide the peoples of this area... Poles, Ukrainians, Gural, Lemkos, Hutsuls, Jews, Byelorussians and Little Russians are living here... The Germans are providing a fair treatment of all of them." Frank not only expressed a typical "Uebermenschen" viewpoint but already dissected the Polish people into Poles and Gural, and the Ukrainian people into Ukrainians, Lemkos, Hutsuls and Little Russians. The policy of "divide et empera" was already being implemented.

The OUN chaired by Stepan Bandera responded with a manifesto issued in December 1940 outlining the proper policy

for combatting the Russian empire, and implying that any imperialist policy of the Germans will be rejected by the enslaved peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. The new just international order should be based on sovereign nation-states of every people. To achieve this order it is necessary to unfold the tremendous potential of the strivings toward independence and freedom, lingering within the respective captive nations. The manifesto concluded with the statement: "Only through a complete dissolution of the Russian empire and by means of a Ukrainian National Revolution and of uprisings by all the enslaved peoples we shall achieve the Ukrainian State and liberate all the peoples enslaved by Moscow."

Soon thereafter, the OUN initiated the publication entitled "Our Front" edited by Serhiy Orelyuk, which expounded OUN's slogans: "Freedom to All Nations! Freedom to the Individual! For the Destruction of the Russian Prison of Peoples!" The magazine published articles by authors of various nationalities enslaved within the USSR. Attempts to coordinate activities of the various liberation movements followed. Simultaneously, the OUN cautioned all peoples against depending upon the support of the big powers, but rather on relying on their own strength.

On June 22, 1941, the Germans declared war on the Russian empire. Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Cossacks, Georgians, Azerbaidjanians, Armenians, Tatars, Turkestanians greeted the advancing German armies as liberators. Those among them who were forced to serve in the Russian Red Army surrendered by the hundreds of thousands. But very soon they were to discover that the armies invading their homelands were not liberators but new colonialist enslavers.

In their self-delusion in the indestructible might of the "super race", Hitler's henchmen did not take seriously the revolu-

tionary OUN which, in June 1941, mastered 20,000 dedicated and well-trained underground fighters. Upon the initiative of the OUN, on June 21, 1941, the Ukrainian National Committee was formed, presided over by General Vsevolod Petriv, with Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi and Prof. Victor Andriyevskij as vice-presidents. This committee sent a memorandum to Adolf Hitler on behalf of all organized Ukrainian political forces (except one group) stating once again that the Ukrainian people alone must be the rightful rulers of their own territory. The memorandum was rejected by the Berlin Government and the Gestapo immediately arrested prominent members of this committee.

On June 30, 1941, armed OUN units liberated Lviv — the main city in Western Ukraine — before the first German troops entered it. Without hesitation and with an utmost speed arrangements were made to convene a National Assembly which proclaimed on the same day the Act of Reestablishment of the Ukrainian State. The Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko was elected Prime Minister of the provisional National Government. On July 3, 1941, Prime Minister, Yaroslav Stetsko, sent "the Declaration of the Ukrainian National Government" to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to many other governments, informing them about the establishment of the Ukrainian state and asking for their recognition and exchange of diplomatic missions. On the 6th of July the composition of the full Cabinet of Ministers was announced. Within weeks provincial administrative organs were set up in 11 out of 14 oblasts, which were no longer under Russian rule. About 10,000 Ukrainian militiamen were organized in regular police stations in Western, Northern and Central Ukraine. Ukrainian nationalists also rose against the retreating Russians in the Bukovyna province and established a Ukrainian ad-

ministration there, which functioned till mid-July when the Rumanians disbanded it. Several million Ukrainians took part in a national referendum in favor of the reestablished state at hundreds upon hundreds of mass rallies.

On the very same day, when the Ukrainian state was proclaimed in Lviv, the OUN Supreme Leadership sent its final memorandum to the German "Reichsregierung." Its main thesis was to warn Germany once again that it will inevitably lose the war if it resolves not to support the national liberation movements of Ukraine and the other enslaved nations, striving to reestablish their own independent states.

The reestablishment of the Ukrainian state by the Act of June 30, 1941, took the Germans by complete surprise. They did not expect any resistance from the Ukrainian nationalists in their conquest of Ukraine, at least not so soon. Therefore, Adolf Hitler hastily called a conference at his headquarters on July 5th. After an exchange of views Hitler turned to Heinrich Himmler with the order: "Fellow partyman Himmler, liquidate this gang." However, the Germans soon realized that by threats alone they will not be able to induce the Ukrainians to dissolve the reestablished state. In fact, the unbending resolve of the Ukrainian and other peoples to continue their struggle for national independence became one of the reasons for the loss by the Germans of the war and their short-lived empire.

It took the Germans approximately two and a half months to extinguish our independence. During the second half of 1941, Germans arrested several thousand Ukrainian nationalists, hundreds of whom were executed, hanged, tortured to death or sent to concentration camps. According to their colonialist plans, Ukraine was divided into several sections — Western Ukraine was incorporated

into the so-called "General-Government", Northern, Central and Eastern Ukraine was instituted as "Reichskommissariat Ukraine", and Southwestern Ukraine with Odessa was transferred as a colony to Rumania, with the name "Transnistria".

In mid-September 1941, German armies began the assault on Kyiv, occupied by the Russian imperialists. When they captured Ukraine's capital on September 19th and hoisted the Nazi Swastika flag on its city hall, it was day number one of their defeat in the Second World War. The only rightful and justified flag to hang there was to be the blue and yellow flag with the golden trident in its midst.

Next, Nazi invaders started to exterminate Jews in Ukraine. Therefore, the Territorial Chairman of OUN in Western Ukraine, Ivan Klymiw-Legenda, issued the instruction: "I am ordering that no members of the OUN shall participate in any anti-Jewish activities."

What was to be expected, actually did happen: The mood of all the peoples who were conquered by the Germans was inevitably turning from friendly to hostile. From the Baltic to the Black Sea, underground liberation forces were gathering. The German Minister of Propaganda J. Goebbels noted in his diary under March 6, 1942: "The insurgent threat is growing daily. The insurgents are gaining mastery over entire oblasts and are using terror there. The national movements are stronger than we expected them to be. This applies to the Baltic countries as well as to Ukraine."

Beginning with the spring of 1942, the Ukrainian nationalist underground began carrying out armed counter-actions against the Nazi-racist invaders. When the Russians found out that the Ukrainian nationalist movement was readying itself for a nationwide anti-German uprising, Stalin ordered in June 1942 the formation of the so-called "Ukrainian Partisan Staff" commanded by the NKVD Gene-

ral-Lieutenant Tymofiy Strokach, who was responsible directly to Lavrentiy Beria. The main objective of this Russian partisan army was to combat Ukrainian nationalism together with the Germans.

Since the summer of 1942, armed self-defense detachments of the OUN covered the territory of Northwestern Ukraine, defending the population against the colonialist bandits. In the fall of 1942, these units expanded into company-size formations and adopted the name "the Ukrainian Insurgent Army". In the winter of 1942-43, "Reichskommissar" Erich Koch, the colonial governor in Ukraine, ordered mass executions of Ukrainians for ever-increasing killings of German colonial administrators, arguing in a racist fashion that "the German soldiers are spending their lives for the Negerfolk" and the Ukrainians should serve the "master race" obediently for that favor.

At the beginning of 1943, Ukrainian nationalists went over to the offensive against the Nazi invaders, capturing town after town, county after county. The Nazi racists replied with massive genocide, massacring thousands of Ukrainians. But by April 1943, the "master race" already had to cope with eight UPA battalions, which numbered 20 by the summer. In turn, the Germans established a special force for "Bandenbekaempfung" (for counter-insurgency) under the command of two generals — Richard Plattle and Hans Hintzler. But in a large battle, the UPA dispersed an entire enemy division, inflicting heavy losses on two Hungarian regiments, which withdrew from battle against the Ukrainian nationalist guerrillas around the town of Kolky.

At that time, the Ukrainian nationalists intensified a propaganda campaign among various nationality units which were organized by the Germans from war prisoners with the purpose of combatting

the Ukrainian nationalists. The first group to come over to the side of UPA was a company of Tatars (May 1943). In June many hundreds of Georgians joined the UPA and formed their own Georgian battalion, commanded by officers Karlo and Honik.

When the German generals Plattle and Hintzler were unsuccessful in destroying the OUN-UPA, they were replaced on orders of Adolf Hitler by General Erich von dem Bach-Zaleski, Nazi expert in massacring and exterminating the subjugated peoples. He assembled a corps-size force, which included a regiment of Polish police, two Hungarian regiments and one Cossack battalion. But soon most Cossacks joined the UPA and formed two cavalry companies. A leaflet was distributed among them entitled: "Kubans, Descendants of the Zaporizhzhya Cossacks". Also many Don Cossacks went over to the UPA. Next many Uzbeks came to the nationalist side, under the command of Major Shirmat, followed by large numbers of Azerbaijanians.

The growth of non-Ukrainian forces within UPA gave rise to the idea of establishing an international coordinating center of all forces fighting for their na-

tional states. With that objective in mind, the First Conference of the Enslaved Peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia was convened on November 21-23, 1943. 65 representatives of 13 nationalities were present. They were: Georgians, Armenians, Osetynyans, Cossacks, Cherkes, Azerbaijanians, Kabardinians, Tatars, Chuvash, Bashkirs, Byelorussians, Uzbeks and Ukrainians. The conference resolved to establish an international coordinating center of the liberation movements of all the peoples fighting for national independence against Russian and German imperialists. A single command was formed for all non-Ukrainian units within the UPA under Major Dmytro Karpenko-Yastrub (former officer of the Red Army). At the beginning of 1944, these non-Ukrainian forces numbered around 15,000 men, while UPA counted 50 battalions, but with the armed OUN units it numbered around 100,000 men.

OUN-UPA command attempted to establish friendly relations with the still existing independent states of Rumania, Hungary and Slovakia as well as with the anti-Communist Polish underground. In January 1944, a meeting took place in Kyshyniv between delegations of the



*Members of the AF ABN Executive and Presidium with ABN President, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, and some guest speakers.*

Rumanian Government and Rumanian Army Headquarters on one side and the OUN-UPA on the other. But peace and cooperation were not concluded, negotiations breaking down on the question of territorial belongings.

Another attempt to strengthen unity against common enemies was endeavoured by the OUN-UPA with respect to the Poles, the traditional enemies of the Ukrainians. Thus, on February 10, 1944 an agreement of friendship was concluded with the Polish underground organization, the Union of Military Struggle (SBC). However, officers of this group had to breach the agreement upon insistence of the Polish Government-in-Exile that the SBC must stop to cooperate for unknown reasons.

All the non-Ukrainian forces fought bravely side by side with Ukrainians not only against the Germans, but also against the Russians. For example, in an important battle between 30,000 NKVD troops and 5,000 UPA soldiers at Hurby, April 21-29, 1944, the non-Ukrainian units under Commander Yastrub rendered much assistance by piercing through a strategically located NKVD brigade and afflicting heavy casualties upon the Russians (240 killed).

During the summer months of 1944, the Russian invaders overran all of the Ukrainian territories. While retreating, the Hungarian forces concluded local agreements of cooperation with the UPA forces in the sub-Carpathian and Carpathian regions, and both sides helped each other at times.

The UPA command allowed in 1944 the non-Ukrainian units to leave the Ukrainian territories and move to their respective homelands, spreading the ideas of a united front against the Russian imperialists under the slogan "Freedom to all nations! Freedom to the Individual!" The effectiveness and strength of the na-

tional liberation ideas were so strong that the Russians had to withdraw all non-Russian units of the Red Army from combatting Ukrainian nationalist forces, and after 1945 only Russian forces were engaged in such fighting. The OUN-UPA conducted for years many propaganda raids into neighboring countries: Slovakia, Rumania, Byelorussia, Poland, the sub-Caucasus region and even one UPA unit reached Lithuania and contacted the command of the Lithuanian nationalist underground movement. Contacts with former comrades-in-arms of those non-Ukrainian units which were formed by the UPA were maintained for years.

In conclusion we may state on the basis of historical facts that all the predictions of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists of 1939-1940 came true five years later. Germany had to lose the war because she adopted the colonialist, imperialist policy. Russia would have lost the war as well had she not received decisive assistance from the United States of America. The front of the national liberation forces would have been much stronger and more effective had all the nations of Central and Eastern Europe joined forces, let us say, in 1941, instead of allying themselves with Germany or waiting for their conquest by Russia in 1944-45.

The concept of a united front of all national liberation movements of peoples conquered by Russia is not only alive today but it is the only real strategy of combatting the Russian empire. It was very powerful during the 1950's in the uprisings of millions of political prisoners. It was alive during the 60's and 70's and countless facts attest to its existence today. The main thesis is fully potent that no outside power will liberate the enslaved nations if they do not stand up against the common enemy — the Russian empire — as one united freedom-loving force and liberate themselves.

# Appeal of the Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

To the Governments of the United States and the Free World:

Through its resolutions, the Congress of the AF ABN, held in New York City on May 2-3, 1981, has reaffirmed its support for the national liberation struggles being waged by the nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the satellite countries. The Congress has pledged its continued support for the leadership of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations as the single force in the international arena today which represents the genuine aspirations and interests of the subjugated nations. Furthermore, the Congress fully embraces the policy and strategy formulated by the ABN as the single means of achieving a lasting peace and an international order based on justice, freedom and independence for all nations.

We call upon the United States, its allies and all free nations to reject policies of "détente", "balance of power", "containment" and "appeasement". The policy of "détente" has proven to be an unequivocal failure and significant setback for the West. It has not only weakened the resolve of the citizens of free countries to resist Russian aggression, but has also proven to cause division and disharmony among various members of Western based alliances.

The concept of "balance of power" is reactionary and therefore can never become a means for achieving a free and just international order. On the contrary, the Russian empire has consistently utilized this concept to buttress and advance its own imperialist interests throughout the world, forcing the West to continuously redefine the existing "spheres of influence" after each new Russian imperio-colonial conquest.

The policy of "containment" has

proven itself to be a complete failure in light of Soviet Russian organized aggression directly or by "proxy" and its efforts to legitimize violence as a means for advancing its imperialistic interests in Central and South America, the Middle East, Africa, South and Southeast Asia.

Unfortunately, the Congress of the AF ABN has had to reaffirm the fundamental gap in the strategic policies of the Western nations. The false notion of the Soviet Union being a nationally monolithic state, shared by many strategic thinkers in and out of government in the West, has negated the fundamental importance of the national liberation forces of the subjugated nations within the Soviet Russian empire.

With virtually no support from the governments of the Free World, the liberation movements in Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Georgia, Hungary, Poland, North Caucasus, Turkestan, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Serbia, Czechia, Croatia, Slovenia, Cossakia, East Germany, Cuba, Idel-Ural, Vietnam, North Korea, more recently Afghanistan and other subjugated countries, have demonstrated their commitment to cast off the Russian colonial yoke. These liberation movements should be the cornerstone for a policy of rolling back and ultimately dissolving the last remaining colonial empire in the world into nationally independent and sovereign states. Their struggle represents the missing organic link for the strategic interests of the West.

The Congress of the AF ABN extends the following proposals as modest and yet significant measures integrating the na-

tional liberation movements into Western military and political strategy:

1. The United States and its allies should engage Soviet Russia in the struggle of ideas and ideologies by calling for the recognition of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations as the legitimate representatives of these countries at all international forums, including the United Nations.

2. The United States should provide access for representatives of national liberation movements to the various forms of mass media to facilitate their ability to communicate with their countrymen behind the Iron Curtain on a mass scale.

3. Such a communication center would serve to enable the national liberation ideal to permeate through all levels of the social strata of the subjugated nations.

4. Assistance should also be provided in the form of military training, transport and arms, as well as other political, material and technical means of support for the national-liberation forces in Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, Cuba and extended to all legitimate representatives of revolutionary national liberation movements in the USSR and the satellite countries.

5. National liberation movements of

the subjugated nations should be allowed access to the necessary technological means for waging a revolutionary liberation struggle.

The threat of a nuclear holocaust cannot be negotiated away. Soviet Russia has consistently and unabashedly pursued and is today advancing its colonial ambitions on all continents of the globe. Soviet Russia has skillfully exploited Western fears of nuclear war to blackmail the West into meekly acquiescing to its ever increasing conquests. The Congress of the AF ABN has placed before the governments of the Free World the single alternative to the continuation of this process. Our strategic alternative is based on the belief in the universal principles that every nation and every individual seeks freedom, justice, and national independence. Therefore, the subjugated nations within the Soviet Russian empire represent a vast untapped force, which in a common front with the nations of the Free World provides the strategic *raison d'être* for defeating the last remaining colonial empire, thereby ridding the world of this threat to freedom, culture and human survival.

*Freedom for Nations!  
Freedom for the individual!*

### **AF ABN Congress Resolutions**

*May 2-3, 1981, New York*

The Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF ABN), which took place at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York on May 2 and 3, 1981, with the participation of 156 delegates from 23 national groups representing nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and satellite countries, has adopted the following resolutions:

— Whereas the Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism — following in the footsteps and even exceeding tsarist Russia in brutality and ruthlessness — has

subjugated a whole range of countries — in Europe, Asia, Africa, and even in Latin America — and most recently — after Angola, Ethiopia, Southern Yemen, Mozambique, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos — has invaded Afghanistan, thus demonstrating once again that it unchangeably strives for world domination:

— Whereas the policy of co-existence, *détente*, and NATO's efforts of keeping the balance of power in the world, have in fact been detrimental to the military balance and beneficial to the Bolshevik Russian empire and her further conquests in the Free World;

— Whereas the continuation of détente policy would 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, thus denying them to the West and to the Far East, and thereby forcing the Free World to capitulate to the Bolshevik aggressors;

— Whereas the military superiority in various aspects of the Communist Russian empire over NATO and the Free World seems to have been achieved, thus creating a real threat of thermonuclear annihilation;

— Whereas the Communist Russian aggressors, taking advantage of this superiority, of new conquests, and the present geopolitical and strategic situation disadvantageous to the West, are brutally trying to destroy by Stalinist methods, the national liberation movements of the nations subjugated within the USSR, by mass arrests of patriots and human rights activists sentencing them to long and harsh terms of imprisonment in jails, concentration camps, psychiatric wards, and banishment to the Arctic regions, by pursuing a cruel policy of all-pervasive Russification, subversion, uprooting and destruction of national cultures of the subjugated nations, resorting also to murders of national liberation fighters and religious leaders;

— Whereas the Russian Communist economic system after 60 years of harsh experimentation has proven to be a complete failure and produced man-made famine and starvation of millions of people in the enslaved nations;

The Conference of the AF ABN resolves:

1. to appeal to the Governments of the USA and NATO member countries to end the unrealistic policy of détente and balance of power which has brought disastrous results for the interests of the West and the entire Free World, and instead to initiate a policy of liberation of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism.

AF ABN expresses its firm conviction that the US Government under President Ronald Reagan will recognize the importance of the national liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism for the survival of America and the Free World and will make every effort to implement the US Congress (86-90) Captive Nations Resolution of 1959, signed by President Eisenhower, and consequently will support the national liberation fight of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, Czechia, Slovakia, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, North Caucasus, Idel-Ural, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Croatia, Poland, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Cuba and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism for their national independence and human rights.

2. to appeal to the US Government to render every possible assistance to the heroic people of Afghanistan in their war of liberation against Moscow's aggression so as to bring about the expulsion of Russian occupation troops from Afghanistan, thus strengthening the national liberation struggle not only of the Islamic nations incarcerated in the USSR but also of all the nations subjugated by Bolshevism within the Soviet Union and in the so-called satellite countries who yearn for the downfall of the atheist Bolshevik empire and its dissolution into national independent democratic sovereign states, within their ethnographic boundaries.

3. AF ABN appeals for support to the forcefully divided nations, such as Germany and Korea, in their efforts at reunification in freedom and justice.

4. AF ABN supports the rightful demands of Japan to its territories seized by Russian imperialists in the aftermath of World War II.

5. AF ABN forcefully voices the opinion that the Helsinki Accords of 1975, being the only act passed after



World War II recognizing the status quo of the Russian conquests, the integrity of the Russian empire and the inviolability of its frontiers, barring any intervention of the Free World on behalf of the nations subjugated by Russia, should be declared null and void, the more so as even the human rights provisions have not been honored by Moscow.

6. AF ABN commemorates the sad 40th anniversary of deportations of thousands of innocent people from the Baltic States and other territories occupied by Russia as a consequence of the Infamous Nazi-Soviet Pact.

7. AF ABN condemns the new Soviet Constitution which, under the terminology of a "sovereign Soviet people" posits the Russian nation as a super nation, where Russians are the masters who collectively support the chauvinist policies of unlimited Russian supremacy and pull down the subjugated nations to the level of slaves. AF ABN notes that the Soviet Constitution includes as a constitutional obligation, aggressive wars of the Russian empire under the mask of "an active all-round support of national liberation revolutionary movements and social revolutions" in the name of "proletarian internationalism."

8. AF ABN commemorates the 25th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution and simultaneously condemns the bloody Russian suppression of the struggle for national independence of the Hungarian nation.

9. AF ABN condemns forced Russification and other forms of national oppression, which in effect amount to the destruction of the languages, cultures and traditions and finally to the genocide and annihilation of entire nations subjugated by Russia, carried out by the intermixing and resettling of national groups on a vast scale, forcible deportation of millions of people from their native countries, colonization by Russians of the territories of the enslaved nations; Russification is

a crime against the universal culture of mankind, its barbarization because it is aimed at the destruction of the rich mosaic of national cultures which guarantees the progress and development of world culture.

10. AF ABN calls on the US government to demand the implementation of the UN resolution on decolonization, in view of the fact that the last remaining empire, the Russian empire, under the form of the USSR, continues to maintain its imperio-colonial system trampling over the Resolution "on the granting of independence" to the nations subjugated by it.

11. AF ABN calls upon the US Government and all free nations to develop a wide psychological and political campaign in favor of the freedom and independence aspirations of the Captive Nations against Russian Bolshevik imperialism and Communist tyranny, to stop all economic and technical aid to the Communist states, and instead to support national liberation movements of the subjugated nations, potential allies of the West, who are trying to break up the Russian empire from within, thus presenting a possible alternative to the nuclear war.

12. The AF ABN appeals to the US Government and the Free World public opinion to exert a constant and concerted pressure on the Communist regimes for the liquidation of concentration camps and psychiatric prisons, for the release of national, political and religious prisoners of the subjugated nations and, in particular, for the discontinuance of the Communist Russian practice of murdering political, cultural and religious activists and particularly fighters for national and human rights. Among others, an action for the release of the Ukrainian patriot Yuriy Shukhevych, son of the late Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — General Roman Shukhevych, and Victoras Petkus of Lithuania — is strongly urged.

13. AF ABN condemns Moscow's in-

trigues in Latin America, its attempts by the hands of its Cuban and other puppets to subvert this continent and expresses its support to the US Government policy in defense of the friendly government in El Salvador which is under a vicious attack of Marxist-Leninist bands supported by Moscow and its Cuban underlings.

14. AF ABN notes with satisfaction the present US Government's firm resolve to counter the unrelenting arms build-up and the spread of the military threat of Communist Moscow throughout the world by strengthening the military might of the USA and of the Western Alliance and by extending moral and material support to the non-Communist governments friendly to the West.

15. AF ABN expresses its support to the US Governments's efforts to combat terrorist activities frequently assisted and abetted by Moscow or its client States.

16. AF ABN greets the Ukrainian nation on its 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the re-establishment of Ukrainian sovereignty on June 30, 1941, which presented a challenge to the two biggest military powers of that time — Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, thus initiating a prolonged two-front war of liberation against both imperialist totalitarian invaders, and also greets the Ukrainian national liberation movement with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) at the head, which was the initiator and organizer of Ukraine's fight against Nazism and Bolshevism. With profound respect we greet Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, the Prime Minister of Ukraine of 1941.

17. Considering the very tense situation in Poland which draws much attention to the international public, the AF ABN expresses its solidarity with the Polish people's aspirations for freedom and democracy.

18. AF ABN condemns the totalitarian regime in Rumania as Moscow's stooges

who do not represent the striving for freedom and national independence of the Rumanian people.

19. AF ABN demands that the problem of Russian Communist colonialism be officially made a concern of the United Nations as were the problems of colonialism of the Western powers, and that the liberation organizations of the nations enslaved by Moscow be granted similar status as is enjoyed by the PLO.

20. Commemorating the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China as the first republic in Asia, we underline the urgent need for the new defense weapons system for the Republic of China in order to secure the safety of the Western Pacific. We should like to mention that the USA is obliged to supply a new weapons system to the Republic of China in accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act passed by the US Congress.

21. AF ABN welcomes President Reagan's view that human rights belong on the agenda every time America negotiates and hopes that the Administration will fully support the cause of the nations under Communist oppression for human rights and national independence. In this context, the AF ABN is encouraged by the appointment of Secretary of State Gen. Alexander Haig and Assistant Secretary of State Dr. Ernest Lefever for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

22. AF ABN appeals to the American information media — the press, radio and television — not to ignore the struggle of the nations enslaved by Russian Bolshevik imperialism for their national and human rights, for freedom and independence. Also, it urges the mass media not to ignore the holocaust of oppressed nations for tens of millions have been murdered in Gulag Archipelago or starved to death through man-made famines, but continuously and conscientiously to inform and educate the public about these problems.

## A solution for Indochina?

Mr. President, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.

We are very honored to be here, before you, the august Congress of AF ABN, we, the representatives of the Vietnamese, the most famous victims of the Bolshevik regime in the world, and who are still fighting for their own freedom and the freedom of all other captive nations under communist domination. We hope our message delivered today be heard, our struggle and sacrifice be shared, and our final victory become the triumph of all other captive nations.

The most significant realm of decision-making of the US President is his power to maintain world peace and to eliminate the threat of nuclear annihilation. For that reason, the chief priority and main concern in world affairs is to know how to contain communism and how to thwart the Kremlin's aggressive designs.

Certainly, we must always be very strong militarily to deal with the communists. But, not wishing to risk a nuclear war with its cataclysmic consequences, we must acknowledge that the Soviet Russians like all other communist governments, rely only on fear and only feel menaced by its own citizens. Therefore, an appropriate and effective American strategy against Russia would consist mainly of two points:

1 — Exploiting the antagonism between communist powers.

2 — Using its own people against the communist Party.

The following Vietnamese proverb sums up this strategy: "To serve the proper baton handed by someone to beat himself".

### Relative to the Asian problem

The Indochinese peninsula, dominated by Vietnam, is like a strategic balcony in the Pacific and South Asia: it meets the

Chinese Mainland in the North and connects the Pacific with the Indian Ocean in the South Sea. Here the United States and the Soviet Union rival each other for naval predominance. This explains how communist China upholds its geographic connection with Vietnam, similarly to "lips related with teeth". Therefore, until a political link is established with the USA, Red China has backed Hanoi in its struggle to eliminate the US military base in South Vietnam that Red China considered a great threat to its security. Now, more than five years after the American withdrawal from Vietnam, Red China still feels greatly menaced: it is faced with the sophisticated Soviet weapons in North Vietnam and the Hanoi devotion to serve Soviet expansionism in South Asia. China taught Hanoi a lesson by invading the North Vietnamese frontier, yet the Peking threat still lasted. It made Hanoi fearful, yet the sophisticated weapons were not enough to secure Hanoi.

Faced with such a critical situation, Hanoi had to look for a political link with the US for 4 reasons:

1 — The normalization with the US could impede or at least restrain the Red Chinese military action.

2 — US economic aid is indispensable for Hanoi to remedy the country's misery, and to lessen the resentment of the Vietnamese population against the communist regime.

3 — Hanoi needs the US supplies for the US material left in Vietnam.

4 — Above all, it is important to defuse the popular conviction of an eminent victorious intervention of the US in Vietnam.

The pressing problem for the US Government is the question: to aid or not to aid the Hanoi regime? Indeed, a US recognition of the Hanoi regime means:

1 — Legalizing the Hanoi 1975 flagrant violation of the 1973 Paris Agreement.

2 — Mistrusting Red China which remains a strong antagonist to the Soviets.

3 — Offering Hanoi the economical vivacity it needs to survive and to continue its expansionism in South East Asia.

4 — Deceiving the whole Indochinese population and discouraging other countries in South East Asia (ASEAN) which still depend on the US to impede the Hanoi expansionism.

In short, for US prestige and for the sake of peace, stability, concord, and development in Indochina and South Asia, there couldn't be any alternative to Hanoi's demand for American aid and normalization.

Neither could Peking be allowed to overthrow the actual Hanoi government and to replace it with another communist pro-Peking government: this is definitely not an adequate solution. The Vietnamese population is against communist rule, even against one of a neo-communist post-Mao style. A new Chinese invasion into Vietnam would constitute a grave threat to peace in Asia and, consequently, push India more closely towards Russia. It could cause renewed hostilities.

### **The true solution?**

The proper solution is a radical change based on the platform of nationalism and neutralism which respond to the deep and secret aspiration of the whole Vietnamese population.

We must recognize that Vietnam is one of *the weakest communist regimes today*, and ripe enough for a mass uprising. There are many reasons for this situation:

1 — Confronted with systematic repression and social, cultural, economical and political oppression, the population

views the Soviet serving Hanoi regime with great resentment.

2 — Although the Hanoi communists propagandized the US defeat in Vietnam, popular non-cooperation in South Vietnam made them realize, that they shouldn't have invaded South Vietnam, and become permanently afraid of the American "strategic withdrawal".

3 — Even the Hanoi communist members and soldiers, upon their arrival in Saigon, recognized the deep error in the communist system, and so privately became anti-communist and secretly expect to obtain the opportunity for a better life, freedom and well-being. (many high ranked communist members escaped from Vietnam and took refuge in the US, France, Australia, People's Republic of China....)

4 — Inside the Hanoi communist Party, quarrels, discrimination, separatism, mistrust, elimination, and so on... are weakening the Party, the army and the administration.

Indeed, the situation in Vietnam now is ready to explode: an explosion awaited with impatience by a population hungry for national liberation, for human rights, freedom and progress. Aiding in a mass-uprising and strengthening the liberation movements in Indochina to reverse communist rulers would be a K.O. to pro-Russian communists. Such an event could fatally shake Moscow, Cuba and East European countries. It would be a debut of a process of reestablishment of a new domino game: this time in favor of the free world.

The Indochinese peninsula in general, and Vietnam in particular, were internationally regulated by the Yalta-Potsdam Agreement after World War II, by the 1954 Geneva Agreement, and, recently, by the 1973 Paris Agreement. The installation of Vietnam in a neutralist political position would be the best inter-

pretation and application of these three Agreements, particularly, of the 14th Article of the Paris Agreement wisely conceived by President Nixon and his Secretary of State Kissinger. A nationalist and neutral Vietnam means the death of communism in Indochina, and, by extension, the death of communism in South East Asia. Having once already tasted the disgusting flavour of communism and being once delivered from this horror, nobody will ever come back again with communism, and the myth of the invincibility of the Vietnamese communists after the US withdrawal in 1975 from Vietnam will volatilize and entrain the fall of communism in other countries. Our people are struggling for that historical event which, we firmly believe, will take place very soon.

To promote such a change in Vietnam

would be a complex problem. This requires a detailed plan, a program of action, strategy and appropriate tactics in all domains. This plan, this program, this strategy, these tactics: we have them ready. What we need now is the support from all freedom loving people in the world, and especially the support of the US Government.

**Prepared by:**

- LE DOAN KIM, Founder & President, Neutralist Movement of Vietnam
- Mrs. XUAN LAN, Former Congresswoman of South Vietnam
- TRINH HAO, President Free Vietnamese Association
- THAI TRUNG LUONG, Secretary General Free Vietnamese Association
- ROBERT CHEN, President, Vietnamese American Republican Heritage Group.

**Our Work shall not stop until Nations are Free**

On behalf of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine, and the Women's Association of the Canadian League for Liberation of Ukraine, it gives me great pleasure to express greetings to the Congress of American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

One of the main objectives of our organizations is to take an active role in keeping the Canadian government informed of the political situation in Ukraine and of the aspirations of Ukrainian people for an independent, sovereign Ukraine. Through our organizations we have established a joint committee with other ethnic groups with regard to the formation, planning and expeditions of demonstrations, picketings and press releases in response to national and international opinions regarding the situation of captive nations of Eastern Europe.

In 1979 during the International Year of the Child our organization tried to

bring to the attention of the Canadian Government and the Canadian people the plight of the Ukrainian children in Ukraine. In our demonstrations and petitions we tried to bring out the fact that Ukrainian children in Ukraine are denied the right to an education in the Ukrainian language; they are denied the right to practice their religion, the fact that the Ukrainian language and culture is being russified, the fact that children are very often taken away from their parents and are brought up by state-run orphanages; furthermore, children are frequently forced to spy on their parents. In fact, Russia has broken every point which it endorsed in the United Nations Charter of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. During the year demonstrations were held in Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal, Edmonton, Winnipeg, and other cities across Canada. Thousands of petitions were signed and

sent to members of the Canadian Parliament, to Pope John Paul II and to Kurt Waldheim at the United Nations.

In 1980 our organization sent two delegates to the United Nations Mid-Decade Women's Conference in Copenhagen, Denmark. Our aim at the conference was to present to the delegates of the conference and to the press the political situation in Ukraine and the situation of Ukrainian Women Political Prisoners. The Ukrainian Women's delegation and Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska was able to stage a Hunger-Strike in front of the Official United Nations Conference Building, Bella Centre. Although the Russian Delegations presented a grievance against our group and had tried to obtain an order to have us removed, the president of the conference Lisa Ostegard, after a conferral with the Danish Minister of Justice and Minister of External Affairs declared that we have the right to demonstrate and the delegates of the conference had a right to listen to our demands. At the non-governmental conference our delegates were able to speak on behalf of Ukrainian Women Political Prisoners, Oksana Popowych, Oksana Meshko, Irena Senyk, and many others.

In June 1980, in cooperation with the youth of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Armenia, our Ukrainian group staged a boycott of the Olympics in Russia. Our young people organized the Free Olympiad in Toronto.

In September 1980 a conference was held in Toronto focusing on the life and activities of General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka. Guest speakers preparing papers for the conference included professors from various Universities in Canada and the United States.

In October 1980, Olga Zawerucha was invited by the Canadian Government in Ottawa to speak to the Canadian Dele-

gation to the Security Conference in Madrid regarding the Denial of Human Rights in the USSR. In her presentation she was able to state the situation in regards to Ukrainian Women Political Prisoners as well as other political prisoners in the USSR.

Through the National Council of Women we have been able to extend an invitation to Oksana Meshko, a Ukrainian Political Prisoner, to be a guest speaker at the Annual Conference of the National Council of Women in Canada.

In February 1981, our organizations established a Council for the Release of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the USSR. The council has sent Open Letters to all Members of Parliament in Ottawa as well as to all Provincial Members of Parliament. Such open letters were also sent to all Ukrainian priests, mayors of all municipalities in Canada and to the Honourable Mark McGuigan, Minister of External Affairs. Furthermore, the council hopes to collect 10,000 signatures in a petition which is to be presented to Canada's Prime Minister Trudeau. One of the first to assert his support for our actions was Toronto's newly elected mayor, Art Eggleton. We are presently involved in organizing daily picketings of the Russian Embassy in Ottawa. Through the pickets we hope to draw attention to Yuriy Shukhevych, who has been imprisoned in Soviet concentration camps for almost 30 years, and to other prisoners, Oksana Popowych, Rudenko, Lukianenko, Rev. Romaniuk, Hel, as well as many others.

Our work shall not stop until Ukraine and all other captive nations in the USSR and satellite states are free, independent, sovereign nations. Thank you.

**Mary Szkambara.** *President of the Women's Association of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine.*

## Afghanistan – the beginning of the end of the Russian empire

### (A conceptual survey)

**The geo-political importance of Afghanistan.** Afghanistan is the gateway to the abundant oil-fields of the Persian Gulf area, on which all the highly-industrialized countries of Western Europe and also Japan are critically dependent. It has been stated, that the Persian Gulf is “the jugular of the West”. For this reason alone Moscow’s military aggression in and forced occupation of Afghanistan must be considered on a more general, global strategic plane, since the political repercussions of this event will be highly prevalent for several years to come.

**Aims of Moscow** (with regard to its military aggression on Afghanistan). Afghanistan cannot be treated independently, without taking into account Moscow’s long-range goals in the Near East. Instead, this must be considered as Russia’s initial step in a grand strategic plan of occupying the entire Gulf area, which has long-since been one of her foreign policy objectives since tsarist times. Moscow’s aims can be formulated as follows:

1. To paralyze the highly-industrialized countries of the West (Japan) by being able to control the oil flow from the Persian Gulf; to, in effect, hold the West hostage (“Finlandization”, even “satellization” of Western Europe). Moscow then can trade-off the oil of the Near East for the technology of the West, which is so lacking and primitive in the USSR. Once having obtained greater access to Western technology, the Russians can then concentrate on further developing their heavy and military industrial complex, to be used later in their military offensive against the NATO-bloc.

Hence, the West is placed into a “no-win”, “Catch 22” situation: if it refuses to bargain with Moscow for the oil reserves of the Persian Gulf, then controlled by

Russian occupational forces — then the West risks crippling *its own* industrial complex, which is dependent on that oil — or if it does agree to bargain with the USSR, by trading-off its technological advances for this oil, then it will be digging its own grave by arming the Russian empire with the instrument of its own (the West’s) doom.

2. If Russia were to achieve her historical aim of reaching the Indian Ocean (of which the occupation of Afghanistan is simply the first step), then two factors of great *geo-political* importance ought to be considered:

- a.) the further encirclement and neutralization of China, which directly threatens the south-eastern flank of the USSR, if and when military hostilities break out between the NATO-bloc and the Warsaw Pact. Also, this would amount to a “de facto” establishment of Russian imperialist hegemony in South-eastern Asia;

- b.) after having militarily occupied the Persian Gulf area, Moscow can then exercise greater influence on the political development of events on the African continent, where it is already heavily embroiled, both politically and militarily, whether directly or via “proxy” (Cuba, the DDR, etc.); this will then further paralyze the West which is also partially dependent on the plentiful raw materials of Africa.

3. The oil reserves in the USSR are being depleted at an ever-increasing rate — also, a large portion of these reserves, those that lie under the frozen Arctic, are inaccessible to the Russians, because of their lack in technological expertise. Hence, by militarily occupying the Persian Gulf area, the Russians will then have primary accessibility to these oil reserves and/or they can barter with the

West, by using this oil as a bargaining chip, so as to obtain the Western technology necessary to reach their own Arctic oil reserves.

Above, we have presented several concrete objective considerations in Moscow's strategy vis-a-vis Afghanistan in particular and the entire Near East in general. However, there are several subjective, less-evident quasi-mystical factors, which also had an over-bearing prevalence in Moscow's imperio-colonial aims — this being the organic, historically-determined and expansive nature of Russian imperialism. In short, the imperialism of Russia must, as of a necessity, be expansionist, rather than static, since then it will become internally degenerative — it will not be intrinsically Russian. Hence, Russia's military advance into Afghanistan was also motivated and necessitated by internal imperialistic considerations. We may be voicing controversial views — but, nevertheless, it is our firm conviction that the Russian nation cannot live without shedding the blood of other nations. This is their historically-, organically- and spiritually-determined nature.

Therefore, so as to consolidate and mobilize their own essential and primary imperio-organic Russian forces for the final physical and spiritual annihilation of the subjugated nations, Russia had to let her chauvinistically-inclined nation smell the blood of what was initially thought to be an easy victim, which would then motivate the Russian masses for the slaughter of the subjugated nations. What they did not foresee, however, was that Afghanistan, with its rich moral, spiritual, religious and heroic national traditions, would not allow itself to become an easy prey, as Moscow had calculated.

The essence of the matter is precisely in that the Russians miscalculated the heroic and revolutionary potential of the Afghan nation, which, like a sleeping

volcano, violently erupted against the Russian invader under the holy slogan — “God is great!” (Allah akhbad!).

### **Repercussion of aggression in Afghanistan on the Russian empire**

Demographic changes within the Soviet Union are now occurring at an accelerated rate. The Russians are already a minority in the USSR. Within a decade every third inhabitant of the Soviet Union will be Islamic.

If the revolutionary processes that are presently developing in Afghanistan, where the religious and national ideals have been bonded into a potent revolutionary force, — if these processes become integrated within the societies of the Islamic populations of the USSR, then the implications for the empire are obvious. Hence, by Russia's occupation of Afghanistan, the empire may find itself in the extremely unfavorable and unenviable position of having to lead a war on two fronts: in Afghanistan itself against the heroic Mujahideen, and on the territories of the empire — in Turkestan, Azerbaidzhan, etc.

Furthermore, we would not be engaging in futile fantasy, when we would state, that once these revolutionary processes develop among the Islamic population of the USSR, then it is only a matter of time until the revolutionary liberation ideal gains even greater prominence in the other subjugated nations in the USSR, where the revolutionary atmosphere is quickly ripening, albeit within a political, cultural, moral, religious, and spiritual context. Afghanistan may very well become the spark, by which these revolutionary processes enter a higher plane of an open guerilla war of liberation.

We must also remember, that the troops of the Soviet army currently fighting in Afghanistan are not just Russian troops, but rather they are made up of the members of the various subjugated nations. Hence, would it be inappropriate and



unrealistic to assume, that given the proper conditions, an overwhelming majority of these troops will begin shooting at their own officers and go over to the side of the insurgents? This primary precondition will be the opening of yet another front against Russian imperialism on the territories of each and every subjugated nation. Hence, it would indeed be unrealistic and foolish to assume that the Russian empire will somehow manage to remain intact, as a total system of subjugation, encompassing all facets of life, when its primary integrally Russian imperialist forces will be forced to wage a war on several fronts against the insurgent forces of the subjugated nations.

In this context, the ABN concept of synchronized revolutionary uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations, as the only viable alternative to a thermonuclear catastrophe — gains added significance particularly in the light of the recent events in Afghanistan.

### **Western strategy**

Until now, the political and military strategy of the West had been founded on the reactionary concept of “balance of power”, which on numerous occasions has proven to be a completely bankrupt implement for the establishment of a lasting peace in the world and an international order based on justice, freedom and national independence. The reactionary basis of this policy was especially pronounced with regard to Russia’s invasion of Afghanistan. The historically-unaltered expansionist policy of the Russian empire has repeatedly forced the West to redefine the existing “spheres of influence” in accordance to Russia’s increasingly growing list of imperio-colonial conquests. Of what utility, then, for the maintenance of a stable international order, is a concept, which must be continuously redefined, due to flagrant violations of this concept by one of the protagonists, i.e., the Russian empire?

The only genuine and true basis for a stable, just and free international order is the ABN ideal of a national organization of the world against all imperialist, or quasi-imperialist formulae, i.e., the dissolution of the Russian empire into nationally-independent and sovereign states of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and colonialism within their own legitimate ethnographic boundaries.

Until the United States and the countries of the West take into account this irrefutable fact of international life when formulating their global political strategies, then they can always be maneuvered by the Russians into a reactionary position. The Russians themselves, on the other hand, will continue to pose as the revolutionary force of the world, as the primary promoters of ‘social and national wars of liberation’ throughout the world, however false their assertion may be!

But the tables can be turned: the West must integrate within their foreign policy complexes, as a primary strategic source for waging an ideological, psychological, and eventual military war with the Russian empire, — the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the satellite countries. The United States and the other countries of the Western alliance can then become the revolutionary vanguard force of the Free World against its reactionary adversary — the Russian empire. The West must itself become involved in the revolutionary, national-liberation processes which are threatening to destroy the Russian empire from within, by actively supporting and promoting the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations. Afghanistan would perhaps be the most opportune starting point for initiating such a policy at the present.

### **Our Suggestions**

1. To create centers of psychological warfare with the Russian empire directed to the subjugated nations, founded on the

ideals of the ABN and at the continuous disposal of the ABN. The major objective of these centers would be to promote and propagate the ideal of national liberation. The need for one such center is presently pressing with regard to Afghanistan; it is necessary to promulgate our ideas of national-liberation revolution among the soldiers of the Soviet army present in Afghanistan.

2. Military training must be offered to the Afghan insurgents and the emigré members of the subjugated nations. Other forms of military aid must immediately be given to the Afghan insurgents — the Mujahideen, in the form of anti-helicopter and anti-tank weapons, surface-to-air missiles, mine detectors, radio-broadcasting sets, and the like.

3. On the forum of the United Na-

tions, the West must pursue the matter of having the representatives of the Afghan liberation movement and the representations of the revolutionary liberation movements of the other subjugated nations recognized and rendered status similar to that of the PLO. Concurrently, the West must condemn on all international forums the illegitimate government of Babrak Karmal, as well as the lackey “governments” in the other subjugated nations in the USSR and the satellite countries.

4. The national liberation movements of the subjugated nations must be given access to the modern technical means for promoting the forms and methods of their revolutionary struggle, e.g. printing presses, radio sets, other communication devices, etc.

## Closing Remarks

My name is Peter C. Wytenus. As the elected National Chairman of the Executive Board, it is my honor to address you on this final day of the Congress.

First, we would like to thank all those who have contributed to make the Congress and the Testimonial Dinner a memorable success: the guidance and patience of Mrs Slava Stetsko, the direction of Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko, the endurance of the New York Chapter members, the volunteer workers, and especially our youth. We can be proud of what was accomplished here at this Congress.

Although this Congress ends today, it is the beginning for the new Presidium and Executive Board. We shall continue the tradition of the AF ABN in its fight for freedom and independence to all subjugated nations. We shall seek out support wherever we can find it, throughout the United States. We shall visit the AF ABN chapters. We resolve to combine our efforts with all organizations who will work together in a common effort

to destroy the enslaver of half of the world — Godless Communism.

This Congress vividly reminds me of one of the recent WACL Conferences in Geneva, Switzerland, which my wife Bette and I attended in July 1980 due to the continuance of our journey to Rome, Italy, where we were guests in the Villa Lituana. We transmitted the WACL information to Bishop Marcinkus, President of the Vatican World Bank, who suggested it to be transmitted to the Vatican State Department. A group audience was arranged with Pope John Paul II and we were to speak on the Vatican radio to Lithuania. Our guide to the Vatican was the Head of St. Casimir College, Msgr. Anthony Jonusas.

My purpose in mentioning this trip is to remind us that only by joining together can we harness the power for the ultimate destruction of Imperialist Communism as exemplified by Soviet Russia. Imperialist Communism cannot

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## Reports from the AF ABN Press Conference

*"The News World", Sunday, May 3*

### Anti-Red freedom fighters ask US aid for struggle

A congress of the American Friends of Anti-Bolhevik Bloc of Nations (AF-ABN) meeting this weekend is issuing a series of proposals to the Reagan administration that call for the integration of national anti-Soviet liberation movements into Western military and political strategy.

Representatives of 27 different nationalities, who trace their heritage to countries presently under Soviet subjugation, including Poland and Afghanistan, are calling on the US government to provide representatives of national liberation movements with more military and technological support as well as more access to the US media.

Yaroslav Stetsko, president of the Central Committee of the ABN, told AF-ABN representatives yesterday that "It would seem that the political and military strategy of the West are founded upon the expectation that a miracle will come of and by itself. This real miracle will be the revolutionary uprisings of the subjugated nations."

Mr. Stetsko, former prime minister of the Independent Ukrainian State, read a quote from an essay written by Gen. J. F. C. Fuller entitled "Russia is not Invincible" that said, "the Kremlin is living on a volcano, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the

hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its heels..."

Citing the Polish and Afghan situations, Mr. Stetsko said, "The 1980's will be a decade of volcanic explosions."

L'mere Yonoussi, an Afghan Association of Freedom Fighters committee member, followed Mr. Stetsko's comments by calling Pres. Reagan's recent decision to lift the Soviet grain embargo "a major disgrace and a major setback to freedom fighters all over the world."

L. Yonoussi called on all those attending the congress to get "really serious." We should come up with a strong lobby in this country that would show the US government that our security and interest is not only ours but theirs," he said.

Guest speakers addressing the conference this weekend include US Congressman William Green, R-Manhattan; Barry Farber, News World columnist; Mr. K. C. Dunn, director of the Coordinating Council for North American Affairs-Republic of China; and freedom fighters Sviatoslav and Nina Karavansky (Ukraine), Simas Kudirka (Lithuania) and Gergely Pongracz (Hungary).

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### Radio WNIS

Radio WNIS reported on the AF ABN Congress seven times on the main news item on May 2nd and several times on May 3rd, quoting Mr. Y. Stetsko. Mr. Stetsko stressed the fact that "Russian military forces have become thinly spread all over the world and that the West and national liberation movements should create a Vietnam for Russia in Africa". Radio WNIS also quoted an Afghan freedom fighter who criticised "the US Government's lifting of the grain embargo against Russia".

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continue once we harness the latent power of all subjugated nations. It's as simple as that! Get together, work together, fight together and you can be assured that your fondest hope of Freedom and Independence for all subjugated nations will be realized.

Thank you.

## GREETINGS TO THE AF ABN CONGRESS

### CHRIST IS RISEN!

*Thank you for your kind invitation to attend the National Congress of the AF ABN, which is to be held in New York on May 2nd and May 3rd, 1981. I regret that I shall be unable to attend the Congress. Nevertheless, my warmest greetings and best wishes are sent forth to the National Executive Board and to all of the participants of the Congress for fruitful deliberations and successful resolutions that will greatly assist in destroying the shackles placed by the Bolsheviks upon God-loving and God-fearing nations, thereby, ending the plight once and for all of the subjugated nations and establishing them with their God-given rights to be free people.*

*For your most worthy endeavors, may the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be upon you throughout the Congress and abide with you at all times.*

*In our Lord,*

**Constantine, Archbishop of Chicago**

*Dear Friends,*

*Please convey to the members of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc. my best wishes for a productive and successful National Congress.*

*As one who represents in the New York State Legislature a large Ukrainian community, as well as many people with origins in other subjugated East European nations, I know well the importance of maintaining public concern for the fate of these nations and their peoples. Current events in Poland, as well as the Soviet's continuing attempt to conquer a free Afghanistan, demonstrate clearly the value of this work and this National Congress.*

*In the past, I have supported efforts by the Ukrainian community and other East European communities to keep alive the promise of freedom for those now living in the Russian Empire's captive nations. You can be sure of my continued support and the support of all Central New Yorkers, who are extremely proud of these efforts on behalf of freedom.*

*Kindest personal regards.  
Sincerely,*

**Tarky Lombardi, Jr.  
The Senate State of New York  
Albany**

*Dear Friends:*

*Please accept my best wishes as you convene your annual Conference. During my years in the US Congress, I never ceased to be impressed with the absolute dedication of the Syracuse, New York Ukrainian community as these wonderful people pursued your goal of freedom and self-determination. I implore you to continue your efforts nationally without relent.*

*Sincerely,*

**James M. Hanley  
(former US Congressman)**

PLEASE EXTEND MY WARMEST BEST WISHES TO ALL OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SYRACUSE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY, AS YOU ATTEND YOUR CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK CITY ON MAY 5.

I TOTALLY SUPPORT THE GOALS OF OUR UKRAINE COMMUNITY, PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE TREATMENT OF PEOPLE FROM UKRAINE HAS BEEN INTOLERABLE OVER THE YEARS BY THE COMMUNIST BLOC NATIONS.

HAVE A WONDERFUL CONFERENCE.

**Gary A. Lee**  
**Member of Congress**  
**33rd District, New York**

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

The Byelorussian Central Council warmly greets the National Congress and wishes the Conference the best of success in its work. The Byelorussian Central Council was elected by the Second All-Byelorussian Congress in the capital of Byelorussia, Minsk in 1944. The Byelorussian Central Council continues the struggle of the restoration of freedom and national independence for Byelorussia.

Physically conquered, but not defeated in their indefatigable spirit, the enslaved Byelorussian people continue their struggle against foreign Communist Russian occupation by all means possible. The infamous so-called psychiatric asylums are filled with Byelorussian dissidents who are unfortunately forgotten by the people of the free world. The recent military attack on, and occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet Russia, and the yet continuous bloody pacification of its people, is providing fresh and convincing proof about the rapidly growing danger to the free countries, presented by USSR's expansionism striving for world domination.

The Byelorussian Central Council is in full solidarity with all freedom-loving peoples and countries who are fighting for the liberation of all captive nations from the communist tyranny and for the restoration of their national independence. It also wishes that all free countries, especially the powerful ones, would give active help in our struggle for the liberation of our enslaved brethren. One step

in that direction would be to allow the Voice of America to broadcast the Byelorussian language to the enslaved Byelorussian people, instead of the hated language of the Russian occupier.

Long Live Free and Independent Byelorussia!

With best wishes,

**Dr. Nikander Medejko, President**  
**Vitali Cierpicki, Secretary**  
**Byelorussian Democratic Republic**

Dear Friends,

May I be among the many to welcome you to the "Empire State" and to wish you well in your deliberations this weekend.

Be assured that your activities in New York City will be watched closely by Central New York. As a State Legislator from Syracuse, my constituency includes a large number of Eastern Europeans, particularly from Ukraine and Poland.

They are people with a keen interest in the future of their homeland. They have relatives and friends who remain in the captive nations. As free Americans, we share their concern. We must.

It is especially timely that your conference coincides with the national remembrance of the Holocaust, where three million Poles and untold millions of other Eastern Europeans were slaughtered. It is in their memory that we must pursue freedom — to follow our chosen faith, to speak openly, to live a decent, free life.

Your continued interest in the well

being of those behind the Iron Curtain is important and never more so than today. As Americans, we cannot forget them. Nor shall compassionate humans all around the world forget.

Again, welcome to our state. My best wishes for a productive, enlightening session.

Kindest regards,

**Melvin N. Zimmer**  
Assemblyman  
120th Assembly District  
The Assembly State of New York  
Albany

Dear Sir,

We salute the AF ABN Congress in New York.

In our thoughts, we are with you and in our prayers, we are determined to believe that the issues and activities you will generate will hasten the removal of Moscow's tyranny from this earth.

Very truly,

**V. Zemesarajs, President**  
Latvian Welfare Association of  
Cleveland

Mr. President,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

On the occasion of the forthcoming National Congress of the American Friends of ABN, Inc., the World Ukrainian Liberation Front has a great pleasure and privilege to convey its most sincere greetings to all participants and to extend to you our best wishes for a successful solution of all matters that are on your agenda.

Over many years we have followed with great interest your numerous achievements and we know that they were accomplished thanks to your unceasing endeavours.

We are convinced that the future of our peoples and indeed the future of our world depends on your endeavours and the endeavours of all other people, who

are aware of the true nature of imperialist communism, regarding the Soviet Russian Empire as its principal source and mainstay, and realize that only the total liquidation of the last colonial empire, known as the USSR, and the recognition of the right of its components to a free and independent existence, can solve our world problems and ensure a just and lasting world peace.

We are confident that the tide is now gradually turning in our direction, that the free world — after the most recent Soviet Russian aggression in Afghanistan — will give an active support for the resistance movements of the enslaved peoples and back up their strong desire to be free and independent.

May we join you in wishing the National Congress every success, may freedom prevail and the victory be ours.

Sincerely yours,

**Dr. Roman Malaschuk, President**  
**Wasył M. Bezchlibnyk, Secretary**  
General  
World Ukrainian Liberation Front

Dear Sirs,

Due to my pastoral commitment I am not able to be present at the Congress of AF ABN in New York on May 2 and May 3, 1981.

In this letter I am sending my best wishes to the Congress on my behalf and on the behalf of the ABN members, Winnipeg Branch, which exists since 1955 in Winnipeg, Canada.

I also wish to congratulate the organization of AF ABN Inc., for their dynamic activities in USA.

Especially I send my greetings to the former premier of Ukraine, Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, president of the ABN and Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Editor-in-Chief of the ABN Correspondence.

The present policy of ABN, born on the battlefields of Ukraine in 1943, is morally and ideologically even stronger

than NATO. World peace is possible only if the Russian Empire is destroyed and Ukraine and other countries obtain their independence.

"Freedom for Nations, Freedom for Individuals".

God Bless You all,

Sincerely yours,

**Mgr. Semen Izyk,  
Chairman of ABN, Winnipeg  
Branch**

SENDING OUR SINCEREST BEST WISHES AND CONGRATULATIONS TO ABN FOR THE CONTINUAL EXISTENCE OF YOUR WORK, TO END, ONCE FOR ALL TIME, THE RULE OF BOLSHEVIK/MOSCOW TERROR AND HOPING FOR ALL THREE NATIONS TO ANTICIPATE THE FREEDOM OF OUR UKRAINIAN NATION.

**O.D.F.F.U. Inc. Branch 53**

LOS ANGELES APRIL 25, 1981

TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS.

DEAR FRIENDS;

MUCH SUCCESS IN YOUR DE-LIBERATIONS. WE SUPPORT AND DEFEND ALL THAT WE STAND FOR; FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS — FREEDOM FOR ALL NATIONS.

**Jaroslav Blyschak, President  
The Los Angeles Chapter of the ABN**

To the Presidium and Delegates of the Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in New York, N. Y.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Philadelphia Chapter of the General Taras Chuprynka Society of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) transmits herewith their most

sincere greetings to the Congress of American Friends of the ABN and their deeply-felt assurance of the full support for the noble goals and activities of your Organization.

Thirty-eight years ago, in November 1943, units of the UPA stood guard to provide security for the participants of the First Conference of Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia. The participants in the Conference were the officers and soldiers of the national units of the UPA which fought on two fronts against the Nazi-German invaders and Soviet-Russian enslavers of our nations. These people met at the Conference and, for two days, discussed the necessity and the methods of the common revolutionary struggle for liberation. Our Commander-in-Chief, General Taras Chuprynka participated at the Conference as a honorary guest.

Representatives of 14 different nations enslaved by Bolshevik Russia participated at the Conference: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Georgians, Azerbaidjans, Armenians, North Caucasians, Turkestanians, Tatars of the Volga Region, and others. At present, the liberation front of our nations widened considerably. It includes the Baltic nations: Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians; the so-called satellite nations: Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Rumanians, and the heroic Afghans. The struggle for the liberation of our nations continues, and it will bring the final ruin of the last colonial empire in the world — the Soviet Russian colonial empire. For achievement of this noble goal, now more than ever, we should unite not only all our forces, but also all our hearts.

**FREEDOM TO ALL OUR NATIONS!  
FREEDOM TO THE INDIVIDUAL!**

**For the Philadelphia Chapter of  
General Chuprynka Society of UPA  
Veterans.**

**M. Kowalchyn, Chairman  
B. Kowalyk, Secretary**

Dear Mr. President,

A few days ago the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain received the invitation to the National Congress of the American Friends of the ABN, which will take part in New York on May 2 and 3, 1981, and for which we are most grateful.

Unfortunately, being preoccupied with the Annual General Meeting of our Association, we are unable to send our representative to this National Congress of AF ABN. But being constantly aware of its wide activities both in the United States of America and on the international forums, we would be most grateful and obliged to extend our sincerest greetings to the Presidium and all distinguished Delegates and Guests of the Congress through Your good Office, both in the World Anticommunist Movement, the ABN and also in the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

The ABN in general and the AF ABN in particular have been and are regarded by our Community in Great Britain as one very real and widely promising Movement towards the future of all subjugated nations in the USSR and its satellites in Europe and elsewhere.

Extending our greetings to the Congress, we are convinced that this Assembly will summarise and amplify the dangers of Soviet-Russian Communism and imperialism to all freedom-loving people and states, especially to those unfortunate nations and people who have to endure the inhumanity and all sorts of deprivation under the Soviet-Russian rule. We are sure that this Congress will address itself once again to the President and Governments of the United States, urging them once more to support by words and deeds the struggle of the Subjugated Nations for their national freedoms and independence. The thousands of national Political Prisoners in the USSR would be most grateful to know that the ideal of

Freedom and National Independence are as valuable to-day as they always were in the face of tyranny and oppression.

Yours very sincerely,

**I. Dmytriw, President  
Association of Ukrainians  
in Gt. Britain, Ltd.**

Dear Mr. President,

On behalf of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations' Delegation from Great Britain which unites the national organisations of Byelorussians, Croatsians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Slovaks and Ukrainians, we have the honour to express our best wishes to the Congress of the American Friends of the ABN.

At present our members are deeply perturbed by the increasing policies of Russification in our subjugated lands whose intention is to destroy the national groups within the USSR and replace them with the Russian language and culture.

In its aim at world domination Russian Imperialism knows no limits. An example of this is the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan.

In the face of this bolshevik threat more than just a firm stance by the Free World is needed.

The ABN and the AF of the ABN, in this respect, are highly regarded by our Community in Great Britain as being promising movements for the future of all subjugated nations in the USSR.

We wish you every success for your Congress and we give you our full support to the decisions made by your Congress.

**On behalf of ABN Delegation  
in Great Britain.  
R. Glinski, Chairman  
M. Zacharchuk, Secretary-General**

Dear Mr. Chairman,

Thank you for the invitation to your National Congress on May 2nd and 3rd, 1981 in New York City. American Friends of ABN have been organized by



our American friends in the pursuit of political assistance for those Nations who are members of ABN.

The ABN was originated in Ukraine during the Second World War at the First Conference on November 21st & 22nd, 1943. The main principle and political standing of the First Conference of the ABN was that only through a revolution inside the country the downfall of the last imperium — USSR will inevitably come.

Today the same enemy, i.e. Russian Bolshevism occupies many captive nations for more than 60 years, including Afghanistan, as the latest victim, and introduces red colonialism everywhere.

Our Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, based on the main theses of the Declaration of USA of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, overwhelmingly supports your actions from the beginning of your existence.

On the occasion of your Congress we wish you from the bottom of our heart further useful work against the enemy of all mankind — bolshevik tyranny. We are fully convinced that once ignited the spark will flare further until on the ashes of the Russian Colonial Imperium will flourish free, independent nations.

Very truly yours,

**Lew Futala, Chairman**  
**Ewhen Hanowskyj, Secretary**  
**Headquarters O.D.F.F.U.**

Dear Mr. President,

On behalf of the Byelorussian Liberation Front (London Branch) I send you, Mr. President and the Participants of the nationwide Congress, our best wishes for success in our common struggle for freedom, self-determination and independence of all nations enslaved by the Russian and other communist dictators.

Britain and other countries have granted national independence to hundreds of millions of peoples of their former co-

lonies. Let us now turn to the Russian communist leaders who denounce colonialism and pose as champions of the supposedly oppressed and exploited nations outside the Soviet Union being at the same time today's largest colonial empire. Let us also demand that the Kremlin implement its own written constitutional rights, the international treaties and pledges, including the right of secession from the USSR.

Let us insist that the Russian communists pull down the Iron Curtain and withdraw their armies from the occupied and subjugated Afghanistan.

**On behalf of the BLF (London Branch)**  
**P. Junach**  
**Byelorussian Liberation Front**

Dear Mr. Chairman:

On behalf of the Ukrainian American Youth Association, its sympathizers and supporters, we salute the AF ABN Congress for its efforts in assisting enslaved nations in their continuous struggle against Russian tyranny.

It is our heartfelt wish that the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the ABN, the President of the AF ABN, and the entire leadership of the ABN and the AF ABN maintain the strength and endurance they will undoubtedly need in their difficult struggle to achieve liberty for all nations oppressed by a dictatorial communist regime.

Idealistically-minded Ukrainian youth throughout the USA wholeheartedly support AF ABN policies against the ruinous and bankrupt ideologies of Marxism, Leninism and Stalinism. United in their fight for a common ideal, the AF ABN and the Ukrainian youth will surely be victorious in their fight to preserve the national, political, moral and cultural achievements of the nations of the world.

It is our conviction that a strong anti-communist policy on the part of the leaders of the Free World coupled with a

*wise and effective program advocated by the AF ABN Congress today will persevere in promoting the cause of peace by eliminating tyranny throughout the world.*

*For and on behalf of the Ukrainian American Youth Association.*

**For and on behalf of the Ukrainian American Youth Association.**

**A. Lozynskyj, Chairman**

**M. Harhay, Secretary  
Ukrainian American Youth Association, Inc.**

*Dear Friends,*

*On behalf of the Bulgarian National Front, Inc. I am sending you greetings and best wishes for a successful Convention.*

*The Bulgarian National Front, Inc. has participated very actively in AF-ABN for many years, and will continue to participate with the belief that AF-ABN, as the most active international anti-communist Organization, will successfully lead the struggle for freedom and independence of all the oppressed Nations.*

*Messrs Peter Nikoloff, Triko Gogov and Todor Besev are authorized to and will represent the Bulgarian National Front, Inc. at the AF-ABN Convention.*

*With best regards,*

*Sincerely,*

**Dr. George Paprikoff, President  
Bulgarian National Front, Inc.**

**Honoured Ladies and Gentlemen!**

*We welcome you and all participants, delegates and guests present at your Congress, which is to be held in New York on May 2-3, 1981.*

*Your Congress has always been a significant event not only in the life of the Ukrainian community in the free world but also in all those national communities whose representatives work in the framework of the ABN. The ABN — an organization comprised of the liberation forces of the subjugated nations inside the*

*Soviet Union and the so-called satellite states, which was called into being during World War II, entered the path of consequent work and struggle for the liberation of nations. The great aim which is written on the banners of the ABN continues to be the unchanging milestone not only for those who work and struggle in your ranks but also for all those who place the well-being and freedom of their nations, their free creativity and independent development on the first place. Freedom for nations — freedom for individuals — are brief words, but they incorporate the entire undying contents and lead you and your organization and become the fundament of a new world and a new reality.*

*In your actions for the realization of these great aims and in your struggle we, the Ukrainian Democratic Republic's Government Auxiliary in USA, Inc., not only wish you success but also declare that we will always remain with you. The great cause for which you fight will be victorious because the peoples are with you together with their best sons and daughters!*

*For the Executive Council*

**For the Executive Council**

**S. Bukshovana — Chairman**

**R. Potter — Secretary**

**Ukrainian Democratic Republic's  
Government Auxiliary in USA, Inc.**

*Mr. Chairman,*

*On behalf of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Exile we take the pleasure to greet the effective leadership of the AF ABN and especially the Hon. Yaroslav STETSKO, former Prime Minister of Ukraine and President of ABN worldwide. We congratulate you for your dedication to the noble cause of Freedom of the subjugated nations against imperialism and communism in the shape of Leninism, Stalinism, Marxism or other*

hybrids of these pervert teachings and doctrines.

We hope that the AF ABN Congress will be successful in its noble task to stand for the liberation of all nations subjugated by communism and Russian imperialism for the restitution of independent national states and for ending once and for always Russian colonialism on a world scale.

We wish you success and the election of a strong anti-communist leadership, which will take a strong stand for the ideals of freedom, truth, right and humanity and as well find the necessary coordination of the multinational positive forces of the Free World for the benefit of the subjugated nations.

On behalf of and for the Ukrainian Youth Association in the Free World,

**On behalf of and for the Ukrainian Youth Association in the Free World,  
E. Hanowsky, President  
O. Roshka, Secretary General  
Ukrainian Youth Association**

Dear President,

The Ukrainian Information Service in Great Britain thanks the President and Members of the Executive of the American Friends of ABN for the kind invitation to the National Congress which is to be held in New York on May 2nd and 3rd, 1981.

Not being able to send to the Congress our representative, we take the liberty of sending this letter and extending to you and to all distinguished Delegates and Guests at the Congress our sincerest congratulations for the present activities in the name of Freedom and National Independence for the subjugated nations in the USSR together with our best wishes for the future.

Your Congress is being held at a time when both Soviet-Russian oppression and the Liberation Movements of the Subjugated Nations are in real and constant struggle, which could develop at any

time into the final confrontation. This confrontation will have to succeed, otherwise not only central and eastern Europe, parts of Asia, Africa and Latin American, but all the world will be subjected to the same conditions of life which exist at present in the USSR. We hope that your Congress will underline this dilemma to all concerned and amplify our combined spiritual and political resources for future activities on our respectful national and international levels.

With greetings and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

**J. Chubaty, Secretary  
The Ukrainian Information Service  
Ltd.**

ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR UPCOMING CONGRESS, BRANCH 19 OF ODFFU IN MINNEAPOLIS MINNESOTA SENDS YOU SINCERE GREETINGS IN SUPPORT OF YOUR EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS SUFFERING UNDER MOSCOW IMPERIALISM.

MAY YOUR ADMIRABLE GOALS RESULT IN THE UNIFICATION OF ALL ANTI-BOLSHEVIK ACTIVITIES IN THE BATTLE AGAINST MOSCOW'S YOKE. GOD GIVE YOU STRENGTH.

For the Governing Board of Branch 19 ODFFU,

**B. Lisovic, Chairman  
N. Vanash, Secretary  
Minneapolis**

SINCERE GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES TO ACHIEVE YOUR AIMS FREEDOM FOR NATIONS FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS.

**Association of Ukrainians  
Great Britain**

Gentlemen:

On behalf of the Headquarters of the Byelorussian Liberation Front I wish to convey our most sincere and cordial

wishes and greetings to the National Congress of the AF ABN which is to open on 2nd May, 1981 in New York, USA.

God help you in your work.

Very respectfully yours,

**D. Kosmowicz**  
**President of Byelorussian**  
**Democratic Republic (BLF)**

Dear Friends,

Thank you very much for your kind invitation to the National Congress of the AF ABN, but I will be unable to attend.

I completely agree with the subjects to be dealt with at the Congress, and if America and her Allies choose the neglected power, i.e. the subjugated nations, then the Bolshevik catastrophe for the whole world will be averted. If Russia trains and arms her fifth columns all over the world and proclaims them as "leaders of the Liberation Movements" then America should now start training the real representatives of all oppressed peoples, i.e. the real Liberation Movements and keep them in readiness for liberation of their countries.

The Croatian people will never accept any rule from Belgrade and there will never be peace in that part of Europe until Croatia is a free and independent State. We, Croats, do not fight just against Communism but also against Yugoslavism, as all enslaved peoples in Russia do not fight only against Bolshevism but also against any system which would keep together the Russian Empire. For us, Croats, Milovan Djilas or any other similar person with a Yugoslav concept are not an acceptable solution, just as for the Ukrainians, Baltic and other peoples in the Russian Empire are not acceptable as followers of the Tsars or Solzhenitsyn.

We, Croats, believe in complete freedom for all peoples and all individuals. The remainder of the free world should hear this plea of ours and readjust their policy,

otherwise the Latin proverb: "HODIE MIHI, CRAS TIBI" (What happened to me to-day, will happen to you tomorrow) can become a sad reality, and the whole world will sink into darkness.

God created the light of freedom for all peoples and all individuals. Therefore my message to-day is: FIAT LUX! Let the light of freedom shine for all the world and let us arm and fight for the realization of this light!

With best wishes to everybody,

Yours sincerely,

**Dr. A. Ilic**  
**Croatian Liberation Movement**

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR KIND INVITATION TO THE CONGRESS. FROM THE BOTTOM OF MY HEART I WOULD LIKE TO WISH YOU THE BEST OF SUCCESS FOR THE LIBERATION OF UKRAINE AND OTHER NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY MOSCOW'S COMMUNISM AND IMPERIALISM.

**Ukrainian Committee for the**  
**Liberation of Ukraine**  
**George Hrycyk — President**

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**New Publication**  
**BETWEEN DEATH AND LIFE**

by

Oksana Meshko

This excellent biography of O. Meshko, a 76-year old Ukrainian woman, once again imprisoned by the KGB for her stout beliefs, comes in hard cover and covers 176 pp. This book is a live and vivid recount of O. Meshko's great suffering under the Soviet Russian regime. This biography provides moving and interesting reading, a most valuable source of information — all of which, once begun, must be read from beginning to end.

(Price: \$ 12.50, £ 5.00, 25.00 DM).

STATE OF NEW YORK

The Legislature

ALBANY

LEGISLATIVE RESOLUTION  
Senate No. 467

IN SENATE

By: Senator Knorr

*Legislative Resolution memorializing the Honorable Hugh L. Carey, Governor, to proclaim May second and third, nineteen hundred eighty-one American Friends-Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations-National Congress Days in the State of New York*

WHEREAS, Millions of American citizens have their roots and origins in nations cur-  
in the U.S.S.R. 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 treat-  
ment; and

WHEREAS, Attention should be given to policies which will lead to the national liber-  
ation 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 May second and third, nineteen hundred eighty-one as  
American Friends-Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations-National Congress Days 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 the State of New York; to the President of the United  
States and to each member of Congress from the State of New York.

ADOPTED IN SENATE ON

April 28, 1981

By order of the Senate,



Roger C. Thompson, Secretary



# CITY OF NEW YORK



## Proclamation



WHEREAS: MAY 2 AND 3, 1961, MARKS THE CONVENING OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS WORLDWIDE AT THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS, INC., AT THE HOTEL ROOSEVELT IN NEW YORK CITY; AND

WHEREAS: ORGANIZATIONS FROM ACROSS THE UNITED STATES, REPRESENTING 25 NATIONALITIES SUBJUGATED BY SOVIET FORCES, WILL BE REPRESENTED; AND

WHEREAS: THE DELEGATES WILL DISCUSS THEIR COMMON GOAL OF ASSISTING THEIR ANCESTRAL HOMELANDS IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE; AND

WHEREAS: MEMBERS FROM CANADA, EUROPE, SOUTH AMERICA AND THE FAR EAST WILL JOIN IN DELIBERATIONS REGARDING THE TRUE SITUATION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, ACTIVITIES OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, LIBERATION AS A PART OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND DEVELOPMENTS IN THE POST-WORLD WAR II ERA LEADING TO THE END OF THE SOVIET RUSSIAN EMPIRE; AND

WHEREAS: THE MAIN SPEAKER WILL BE THE HON. YAROSLAV STETSKO, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS AND FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF THE UKRAINE; NOW THEREFORE BE IT

RESOLVED, THAT I, A DULY ELECTED MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK DO HEREBY WELCOME TO NEW YORK CITY THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS, A CONGRESS FOUNDED IN 1950 BY AMERICAN CITIZENS AND ORGANIZATIONS WHOSE MEMBERS TRACE THEIR HERITAGE TO NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I HEREBY SET MY HAND

HERBERT E. BERNAY

23RD DISTRICT, CITY COUNCIL

## O B I T U A R Y

### **Dr. Stanislaw Stankevych — the leader of the Byelorussian emigration has died.**

Dr. Stanislaw Stankevych died suddenly in his sleep in his apartment in New York on November 6, 1980. He was a prominent leader of the Byelorussian emigration, a learned man, a specialist in literature, a journalist and the editor of the newspaper "Bilorus".

He was born on February 23, 1907 in the village of Arlyantach, province of Bilens. In 1933 he finished university with a degree in philosophy, obtaining his doctorate in 1936.

At the beginning of World War II he actively took part in the renewal of the religious life, schooling, military and community organizations in Byelorussia during the German occupation, and after the forming of the Byelorussian Central Council he became its vice-president.

He was for many years an active member of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations at the Munich headquarters.

In 1962 he arrived in the USA with his family. He wrote two books: "Byelorussian Literature in the First Half of the 60's", published in 1967, and "100 Years from the birth of Yanka Kupala" to be published in 1981. Dr. Stanislaw Stankevych actively cooperated with Byelorussian community and other non-Russian nations.

### **Jüri Kukk — Buried on 30 March 1981**

Chemistry professor, Estonian human rights activist...

Jüri Kukk, a quiet scholarly man never wanted any trouble with the authorities. He resigned his Communist Party membership in 1978 because he was disillusioned... He had spent a year in France and seen a different sort of life...

BUT THAT WAS NOT TO BE THE  
END OF IT!

He was dismissed from his job; his family was harrassed. He retaliated by signing human rights appeals, passing them on to Western journalists...

The authorities accused him of "spreading fabrications slandering the Soviet system"...

### **HIS CRIME? — TALKING TO A WESTERN JOURNALIST.**

He started a hunger strike. They tried and convicted him. He died on his way to a Siberian labor camp...

Juri Kukk died last week at an unknown time and of unknown causes... They buried him in Vologda, far from his beloved family and Estonian homeland...

*Baltic Youth for Freedom*  
(BATUN)

### **Jenö Andreánszky de Szentandrás**

A great Hungarian patriot is no longer with us. His loyal heart stopped to beat on April 2, 1981, at the age of 83. He was buried in Freiburg, West Germany, far away from his homeland, from his beloved Hungary.

Jenö Andreánszky de Szentandrás, was Colonel of the Kingdom of Hungary, extraordinary ambassador and plenipotentiary minister in Hungary. Since World War II he lived in France and Germany. He was most active in the Hungarian political and cultural life. He dedicated his whole life to help the Hungarian people in emigration. He was also active in the common anti-bolshevik struggle and whole-heartedly believed that only with united efforts Hungary and other subjugated nations may become free and independent.

## THE NEGLECTED POWER

### Afghanistan — Probably the Beginning of a Great Revolution of Nations in the Empire

(Conclusion)

Peter Scholl-Latour, author of the book "Death in the Rice Field", writes: "In Ukraine, the armed resistance lasted after the Second World War through to 1951, even though the terrain there was less suitable for the Red Army than in Afghanistan." The aim of Russia's occupation of Afghanistan was not to abandon it later. Russia's aim was — one more step on the road to conquering the world. The road — the Persian Gulf and cut-off of the oil fields from Western Europe and Japan. There can be no question of Russia forsaking Afghanistan, unless it be under military pressure from the West, as was the case of Northern Iran and Greece after the Second World War. However, such situation does not exist today. Carter had no intention of using military intervention. and we hope that president Ronald Reagan is seriously considering such a move.

Then, what are the empire's prospects and its armed forces in Afghanistan? Firstly, the principal point — Afghan guerrillas, the so-called Mujahideen, are fanatically defending their land against enemy invaders and atheistic Marxism. For them — it is a holy, national-religious war. Ninety-five percent of the population stand firmly against the Russian invader and the marionette government of the traitor Babrak Karmal, whose office is kept in existence exclusively dependent upon Russian bayonets. Characteristically, original Soviet Union occupational forces consisting of Uzbeks, Turkmen and Tadzhiks were soon withdrawn, due to the fact that they fraternized with inhabitants of the same nationality residing in Northern Afghanistan. Then, in exchange, Russians sent in armed forces consisting of other nationalities, in majority Russians.

The occupational army is fully motorized — consisting of armoured divisions and Air Force helicopters of the modern type (however, lacking infantry and forces trained for mountainous battles), which are to suppress the country. The Red Army, as a result of its shortcomings in the Second World War, today possesses the mightiest armed force in the world, most appropriate for waging an offensive war upon European flatlands, however, one which is most inappropriate for overcoming insurgent-guerrilla forces. In addition, the Red Army logistics are insufficient since, due to a lack of proper infra-structure of its Eastern and Central Asian part, the USSR is obligated to supply its forces, principally by air, all the way from the central portion of the USSR. This hardship has already been reflected in the reduction of supplies to Viet Nam. The Red Army is already faced with a serious problem of parcelling of its forces and supplies, when considering the necessity of supplying its own armed forces and the hirelings of Castro & Company in Africa... The USSR is limited in its resources. Let us not forget that during World War II the Eastern Front was saved only by the massive supplies of the US.

It is true that the insurgents (Mujahideen) are using primitive, home-made armaments of the last century, although recently they received partial aid from



some Arab countries and even secret help from Iran. The insurgents (Mujahideen), on the other hand, feel completely at home in the mountainous terrain of Afghanistan and have full support of the population, when the traitor Karmal is being kept in office only by Russian tanks and bayonets, his "army" having completely disbanded — whole regiments, with their arms, going over to the side of the Mujahideen, the freedom fighters. The guerrillas fight in the mountains and insurmountable terrain, possessing perfectly hidden caves and other hiding places dug out by nature in rocks and mountains, which are impossible to even approach with tanks or helicopters. The Russians are attempting to "smoke out" the guerrillas, using gas and bacteriological weapons, however, this proves to be a double-edged sword, since this manner of waging a war simultaneously destroys parts of Karmal's troops.

The Russians have a one hundred thousand member force, the insurgents approximately fifty thousand. The majority of Karmal's forces have disbursed; presently, under the "protection" of the Russians, Karmal has at his disposal only about twenty to thirty thousand soldiers, hopeless and completely incompetent for waging an anti-guerrilla war, being fit for only police and terrorist functions. The experts agree that in order to overcome guerrilla forces, it is necessary to have a military ratio of ten to one, thus the Russians would need to possess an army of half a million upon whom they could depend. As a matter of fact, a similar situation existed in Viet Nam, against the Viet Cong. In the mountainous terrain of Central Asia (Hindu-Kush is 5,143 meters high), with deep ravines, broken mountain passes, it is without comparison more difficult for the Red Army to fight than the difficulty it experienced fighting against the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), or even the difficulty the US experienced fighting the Viet Cong, since the South Vietnamese forces were not disorganized and there were no mass desertions, as is prevalent within Karmal's forces, which would disburse within one day if not for the "protection" of Russian occupational army.

Thus, Russia has a hard nut to crack. Quick victory over the Mujahideen cannot be counted upon, as was envisioned by Moscow as well as by the West, which was waiting for a "pacified" Afghan country, enabling it to take part in the Moscow Olympics! Currently, the Russians are focussing their attention upon securing cities and communication lines, fighting the insurgents with military helicopters and hunter planes, as well as gas and double-edged bacteriological weapons, against which, sooner or later, will revolt Karmal's hired army and possibly also he, in order to save himself from being strangled by his own country. In Viet Nam, the Americans were also using similar, principally military-technological weapons, but never gas or bacteriological weapons. And, they were unable to overcome the Viet Cong due to a false political conception, contrary to the plans of Diem and Thieu.

The West and the Arab world must supply the insurgents, through Pakistan or Iran, with ground-to-air missiles, which are indispensable for successful defense against Soviet MIG-24s. But, sad to say, the Americans only talk, protest, and consider it sufficient to boycott the Moscow Olympics or small economic sanctions, however, do not supply the Afghans with sufficient indispensable military aid. In spite of the above, Moscow does not possess any prospects for quick victory in Afghanistan. Afghanistan will probably be a Rubicon of failures,

which will conclude with a second Konotop for Russia. (Ukrainian Hetman Vyhowsky defeated Russia at Konotop, 1659.)

There is no clearly defined borderline between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Both sides of the border are inhabited by a warlike nation of Pashtunis. Around a million escapees from Afghanistan are currently in the Pakistani part of Pashtunistan and they, together with the Pashtunis of Pakistan, will continue the liberation struggle. The Mujahideen have their camps and their back-up bases in Pashtunistan. The Russians will be faced with the question of whether to cross Southward the "Durand" line, formerly established by the British, in a similar manner as Nixon crossed into Cambodia, instead of liberating Hanoi. The Russians will, allegedly, focus their attention on destruction of Pakistan, creating there a favorably inclined toward Russia autonomous Baluchistan, in order to, in this manner, obtain access to the Indian Ocean, which access was in fact the original aim of Russian occupation of Afghanistan.

It seems that the Egyptians, possibly with US support, are supplying some aid to Afghan insurgents. However, it is most likely, that the strongest incentive for the Afghans is the national-religious motive, which prompts their belief in their final victory. Obviously, Russians are proceeding very cautiously, because separation of Baluchistan from Pakistan and transformation of Baluchistan into a pro-Russian state formation, which will result in the opening for Russia of a corridor to the Persian Gulf, may provoke US military reaction. Thus, it could be assumed that the Russians will for quite some time continue to trudge about in place, fighting the Afghan insurgents, and not as yet interfere in Baluchistan.

As the present situation may be viewed, Moscow faces a persistent and long-lasting conflict in Afghanistan, because a strike against Pakistan will create a state of war with the US and, on the other hand, a possibility of armed conflict with Red China, which currently is in the possession of ballistic long-range missiles, with a reach of over ten thousand kilometers, causing a change in global strategy. The new Red Chinese intercontinental missile has the volume and spaciousness capacity larger than the American Titan 2 or Soviet SS-9. The construction, over three years ago, by Chinese engineers of a multimegaton hydrogen bomb attests to the fact that Red China pays more attention to nuclear potential than to ballistic one. Long-range and atomic arms must develop simultaneously, since, for this reason the super-bomb constructed by Red China four years ago would constitute a failure without a carrier. Thus, the USSR, at present, must seriously take under consideration the danger from Red Chinese side, whose CSS-X-4 missiles are able to reach the entire territory of the USSR.

In the event that the USSR will involve itself for much longer in Afghanistan and will be compelled to send there additional hundreds of thousands of soldiers, without sufficient equipment, considering the indefatigability of Afghan freedom fighters, the danger of complications within the empire itself will become ever increasing. This will also create ever increasing mobilization against Russia not only of Islamic nations of the free world, but also the entire Third World and nations of the West, Japan and China. The longer the Afghans hold out in their armed war of liberation, the worse will become world and internal political situation of the Russian empire. In the event the US will increase its pressure upon the USSR and not try to achieve harmony, but firmly attempt to strengthen the isolation of the empire and its collapse

from inside, Afghanistan will become a prologue to another Konotop. In the event Russia decides to march into Baluchistan, there will be definite danger of armed conflict with the US. In the event Russia will not risk such a step but will continue to trudge about in Afghanistan, and if the free world would aid Afghanistan with modern arms and instructions in the use of same, then the empire would become systematically exhausted and its internal complications would grow. Let us not forget that militarily France won the Algerian war, reducing the Algerian insurgents to about six thousand guns, yet this did not prevent the final political victory of Algerian liberational revolution.

Removal of Russian troops from Afghanistan is unrealistic, since it would mean immediate liquidation of Karmal's regime and declaration of military theocratic Islamic republic as victorious over the atheistic, usurpational, occupational Russian yoke. It is hard to imagine that Russian divisions would depart North through Amu-Daria, since these territories are populated by Turkmen, Tadziks and Uzbeks, who also inhabit part of Northern Afghanistan. There is no doubt that Afghan victory would create a great echo of encouragement within all enslaved nations of the USSR, beginning with the fifty million Muslims. If the US and other Western nations *do not* help to save the empire (as happened more than once before), then Afghanistan, namely supported courageous war of the Afghans, may become the beginning of the end of the Russian empire. Russians have every opportunity to be defeated by the same weapon which they used till now against Western empires, and not only empires — by the weapon of insurgent guerrilla war. By a boomerang.



*Panel during the AF ABN Congress on the situation behind the Iron Curtain. At the rostrum stands Dr. Nina Karavanska, recently released Ukrainian freedom fighter. Translator — Borys Potapenko. At the table — national representatives of the subjugated nations.*

### Insurgent-Guerrilla War

The unchanged, successful liberational conception remains, particularly in consideration of thermonuclear stalemate, the conception of insurgent-guerrilla war. It is strange that Austrian Chief of Staff, General Spannocky, undertook the development of this specific defense strategy for Austria. As a basis of war against occupational armoured divisions, he envisioned the conception of a "porcupine with tens of thousands of spikes", — this is an anti-tank weapon called "anti-armour porcupine", consisting of thousands of steel spikes, which sink into the ground and cannot be removed, in the event the enemy wishes to do so in order to enable its armoured divisions to move forward. One such "porcupine" costs only 4,000 Austrian schillings. Austria already is producing tens of thousands of such "porcupines". All strategic bridges, streets and roads are barricaded by movable obstacles.

In addition, the Austrians are building hundreds of bunkers from ready-made concrete parts for setting up into a four-sided construction containing anti-tank artillery guns. These bunkers will be placed underground wherever there is a likely terrain for enemy strike and will be ready for automatic action whenever the enemy drives unto said terrain. This system should be taken under serious consideration by an enslaved nation in its insurgent war. The employment of Spannocky's "porcupine" "with thousands of steel spikes" and "underground bunkers with fire-ready anti-tank artillery guns" — is a most interesting defense tactic for a country incapable of any other defense than principally a guerrilla system of defense, a system also most favorable to Austrian mountainous terrain.

We have already previously sufficiently analyzed the role of insurgent-guerrilla strategy in the contemporary era of the development of modern military means and modern methods of waging a war. Our prognosis was justified. With the development of military technique, the importance of a sufficiently armed country increases. Simultaneously with the growth of the means of mass destruction, there enters upon the stage of international relations, inclusive of military, with ever increasing importance, the "primitive" military strategy, in which again a leading role is played by an *individual hero*, and not by an unknown intellectual-homunculus, who pushes some secret, obscure to anyone not privy thereto, almost "mystical" buttons, which unleash mass destruction. Through God's will, simultaneously with this process, an *individual human being*, in his heroic greatness, through pathways of multinational uprisings and guerrilla strategy, again steps upon the stage of decisive developments.

With the growth of civilization, *ethics and morality* must also grow, in order for a human being not to turn savage! The tragedy of contemporary humanity can be found precisely in the fact that the tempo of development of civilizational and technical accomplishments did not proceed in unison together with the strengthening of morality, but specifically to the contrary. Morality and cultural development declined, which led to savagery in relations among nations and among individual human beings. The conception of an armed nation and uprisings again pushed forward into the limelight — an *individual hero*, who will stand up for truth and sacrifice his life for it, openly and directly, together with wide masses of his countrymen, having been inspired by ideals of freedom, justice and national independence.

It is completely illusory to dream about the end of the epoch of wars. We all wish it, but it is unattainable, at least in our time. War is an ancient, probably spontaneous, emergence among nations and peoples, and it is a delusion to hope that it could be avoided in our time. In the Third World, before our eyes, wars are constantly being waged; there were wars between Israel and the Arab countries, there are wars in Southeastern Asia, as well as in Africa.

The essence is in the fact that, when atomic weapons are not being used, wars are still fought before our eyes. Maybe, with time, in other centuries, nations will find a way out of this situation, maybe they will manage to master this *elemental upheaval*, which can be typified as a flood, a storm. *But the initial prerequisite to the solution of this problem of problems — is the dissolution of the Russian empire of all colors!* We all realize that Russia strives to rule the whole world, to conquer and enslave the whole world, thus war has to come in order to topple the empire. What is the essence of this? *The difference between our position and the official Western position lies in the fact that we believe that the road to the accomplishment of this aim constitutes national liberational revolutionary war* inside the empire with an all-around support of the West and anti-Russian East. The West, through the road of *détente*, is driving toward a World War, which can be escaped by placing its cards upon national liberational wars — revolutions inside the empire!

It is wrong to think that a World War may be eliminated due to, they say, the danger of use of thermonuclear weapons. *There are new kinds of weapons constantly being developed — outside of nuclear ones — which create a probability of war.* It is fooling oneself with an illusion that war may not occur in an atomic age. Although there existed a possibility of use of chemical and bacteriological warfare, World War II did erupt and was being waged without gases or bacteria!

Russia will strive toward the Persian Gulf, because, as experts state, it will already have run out of oil in the eighties. The economic situation of the empire is worse than it was fifteen years ago. Economic growth, in reality, has not only deteriorated, but actually is speedily decreasing — technologically the USSR is way behind the West. China constitutes a grave threat to Russia. Ideologically Russia is on the defensive. Moreover, Russia is losing its positions in the world. Russian victory is characterized by brutal military force. However, America has every potential to quickly catch up to Russia and surpass it also in this regard. From the view of totality of its capability, America, with its tempo of arms production will surpass the USSR under any circumstances, and the USSR cannot compete. Relative Russian military superiority of recent years will disappear with increased US arms production. Therefore, there exists a serious possibility that Russia will attempt to utilize its temporary military superiority for blackmail and gain of additional strategic positions, as well as for economic advantages (oil). There also exists a possibility of further Russian aggression in Asia with the help of Russia's modern "cavalry" — massive armoured weaponry, in order to conquer Asian countries, particularly including countries encircling the Persian Gulf!

Western Europe slept the sleep of the pure, believing that through its sea-ways, it will safeguard for its own use for all eternity the oil of the Near East, forgetting that land forces have the advantage of interior roadways and

the definite danger existing from Russia closing-off the oil fields by way of land, if the US does not decisively declare its hard line — which declaration would be of particular interest to Western Europe — namely, the US stating that the Persian Gulf region belongs to the complex of US vital interests. It is naive to believe that Russia possesses a defensive strategy only, as was stated by H. Wehner, Chairman of the Socialist Party in the German Parliament (SPD). General Sydorenko, in the concise encyclopedia published for Red Army officers, writes: “Soviet military doctrine, in its essence, is offensive”. Or, Marshall Shaposhnikov, who in his book “The Brain of the Army” writes as follows: “War is the highest form and the most important part of politics. Yesterday’s as well as tomorrow’s peace is nothing else but the continuation of struggle for conquest through other means”. Let us not forget that in the year 2,000, every third citizen of the USSR empire will be a Muslim. Moreover, let us remember, that over two hundred USSR military advisors were killed by Muslim freedom fighters!

The USSR has twenty divisions (of which ten are armoured) stationed in East Germany (DDR), two in Poland, four in Hungary, five in Czecho-Slovakia! Ten thousand tanks of middle and heavy weight categories are stationed in the above mentioned countries, of those, six thousand on the territory of East Germany, not counting the East German army. Obviously, the USSR has the power to attack Western Europe and occupy it. However, for the time being, Russia is attempting to politically separate Western Europe from the US and turn it into its “client”.

In addition, it should be underlined, that the variant of USSR “defense strategy” is based upon a so-called “defense on foreign territory” — “forward strategy”, which is simultaneously a ruse, since how can such be defined, when and who is in danger? Hitler provoked a “defense” by diversionary groups of SS, who carried out assaults upon Germans in Poland and even on bordering German territory, and under the cover of “assault” by Polish soldiers upon a German radio-station, organized the basis of aggressive war. The offensive Russian strategy is being preserved by it even in its conception of so-called defense against “aggression”.

This means that even so-called defensive strategy is offensive, more so, realizing that the West will never upon its own initiative become an aggressor, Russia deceitfully formulates its strategy as a “forward defense upon foreign territory”. This is calculated upon fraudulent justification (against illusionary danger from NATO) of Russia’s possible attack upon Western Europe in a particular situation, which will, whenever it decides, constitute Russia’s last chance to utilize its temporary technical and military superiority. Thus, we cannot exclude such a situation, moreover, although Russian chiefs acknowledge the priority of politics, in Politbureaus of all Communist Parties of the Russian bloc sit generals and marshalls. The military doctrine of this so-called bloc is one — Russian, because the governments of satellite countries and their Communist Parties are conducting *Russian* policy!

Nevertheless, the main attention is centered upon the complex of the Near East, where presently will be waged the basic struggle!

Upon the toughness and decisiveness of the US depend the further develop-

ment of events and, obviously, Russia's lack of success in separating Western Europe from the US.

In the meantime, at the front of the struggle stand the Afghans, who, if supported by the West as well as the East, may play the role of a prelude to a fall of the empire into an abyss of collapse... The role of Ukraine, the key country among the enslaved nations, is growing ever greater!

### Tomorrow's Perspective

Our analysis of the international political situation pertains exclusively to its actual status, current direction of Western governmental policy, particularly the US, which flowed, until now, from the conception of balance of power in the world and the policy of *détente*, both having revealed themselves as completely bankrupt. Simultaneously with this systematically dying political process, new powers in American and other world nations are ripening, said powers are advancing toward the conception, which we have ascertained. These new powers are being born in suffering and hardship, as was always the case. Our ideas are finding ever more understanding in the world, our views and propositions are even being partially adopted by official factors. In October, 1979, and even before that, we proposed, for example, the boycott of the Olympics in Moscow, and we gained victory in the US, West Germany and a chain of other world countries! A string of resolutions on the part of the United Nations about decolonization, namely collapse of world empires — is also the result of our actions. Just a reminder that the *Captive Nations Resolution* passed by the US Congress (1959) regarding the collapse of the Russian empire — again our idea! Until now, said Resolution has not become the goal of the policy of the US Government, but, being the law of the country, which fact we are constantly relying upon, it will sooner or later be declared as an obligatory foreign relations political line of the US. In the West, laws of parliaments are not ignored, although sometimes said law may, in a particular external political situation, be temporarily tabled or considered as a moral and not lawfully political obligation. The fact that Russian imperialists of Solzhenitsyn's type are currently attempting to accomplish changes in this Resolution, or at least to include therein Russian nation as an *enslaved* nation and not as an enslaver — speaks for itself. In the Congressional law, Russian nation is not enumerated as one of the enslaved nations!

The echo of our actions amidst public opinion and mass media of communication is quite noticeable. Travels of our spokesmen throughout the US with lectures and press conferences had positive results; demands for Olympic boycott, acknowledgements of rights due to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the United Nations similar to the rights enjoyed by the PLO, demands for support for the collapse of the Russian empire — all enjoyed appropriate propaganda effect. The world public opinion is changing to our advantage, including that of Jews and the Islamic world, both of which realize the danger to them posed by Russian imperialism. In the West, novels were published about the meaning of Ukraine, Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — “Banderists” — in their struggle for collapse of the empire, for example, “The Devil's Alternative”, and a movie produced about the murder of Stepan Bandera, aired on British

BBC Television, which presented our struggle in a favorable manner, as well as tens of thousands of publications in connection with said murder have appeared. Or, in the US a book was published, by a British author, entitled "The Executioners", about the KGB, where the murder of Stepan Bandera is presented in detail, underlining his aims and the path of his struggle, as well as the description of Russia's preparations for the assassination of Yaroslav Stetsko, containing distinctive notations about the role and meaning of the OUN in liberational revolutionary struggle of Ukraine. Thus, our idea and the liberational revolutionary conception are becoming popular in the West, in the above mentioned forms as well. It is expedient to also note the book by British General Hackett entitled "The Third World War", which has become a best seller, and whose central theme is the role of Ukraine in the collapse of the Russian empire. Or, the book by David Grant "Moscow 5000", relative to the Moscow Olympics, whose main theme too is the role of Ukrainians fighting against Russia for Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State.

All this — constitutes an attestation of the fact that public opinion in the West is beginning to realize the meaning of Ukraine and the logical necessity of collapse of the prison of nations. Therefore, there are no bases for pessimism, but to the contrary, our time is nearing and we in Ukraine, in the empire and in the world must be prepared for the active participation of the creation of the new and just world order. Perspective may only be seen clearly from a retrospective view of past failures and downfalls.

*(Translated from Ukrainian by Zena Matla-Rychtycka)*



*President Reagan accepting the Croatian cap during his electoral campaign.*



## LIBERATION OR HELSINKI?

The current pre-revolutionary tensions in the Russian-dominated countries within the USSR and in the satellites, the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, and the explosive situation in Poland, further underscore the farsical nature of the so-called "Helsinki process" — particularly in that which pertains the implementation by Moscow and its satellite regimes of national and human rights. If nothing else, then the events in Poland and Afghanistan shocked the world into a realization that the process of "détente" as embodied by "Helsinki" has been turned into a mere Kremlin-made ploy to cajole the rest of the world into a false sense of security.

While the West and the Third World grapple with its "uneasiness" and "disillusionment" with "détente", and Moscow tries fanatically to salvage its "Helsinki master plan", it again becomes apparent that the only viable alternative to such a wholesale speculation and horsetrading with the fate of entire nations (including Ukraine) and hundreds of millions of individuals under Soviet Russian and Communist domination is a firm policy of national liberation and state independence for those nations.

The role of Yaroslav Stetsko, other OUN and ABN officials, members of the various Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front (OULF) and representatives of the nation-members of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) present in Madrid was intended to emphasize this basic policy position so vital for the survival and political future of Ukraine and other nations under Soviet Russian domination, and, in the last analysis, of the rest of the free world. This position, in effect, was the cornerstone of the political activities of OUN, ABN and members of the OULF in Madrid. In their numerous memoranda, position papers, documentation

and public pronouncements made available to the governments of the Western and Third World countries, the non-communist delegations to the CSCE, the media and the interested public in general, the OUN and the ABN presented the non-communist world with a policy alternative to the political vacuum and defeatism created by "détente" and the Helsinki fiasco. The main points of this policy are as follows: 1. The plight of nations subjugated by Soviet Russia must no longer be considered as the "internal matter" of Moscow, but must be recognized as an issue central to the resolution of world problems. 2. Recognition of the fact that the implementation of human rights in the countries dominated by Soviet Russia can only be achieved through national liberation and the re-establishment of independent democratic states of those countries. 3. The countries of the Western and Third Worlds should institute a policy of legal recognition of and assistance (including military) to the national liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia and communism, and apply all political, economic and diplomatic sanctions necessary to pressure Moscow to withdraw from all the countries it now dominates, stop its russification and genocidal practices, and release all political prisoners. 4. The UN Declaration of Decolonization, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (and other similar documents) should be made into internationally binding covenants and become an integral part of the foreign policy of countries in the Free World.

In addition to such statements of policy the activists of the OUN and ABN distributed thousands of copies of more than fifty items of Ukrainian *samvydav* and other documentation in testimony to Soviet Russian oppression in Ukraine and

the Ukrainian liberation struggle. Most of the said material was issued in Spanish, English, French and German. Judging by the response from government officials of many countries, delegates to the CSCE, the European media and even private citizens from as far as Sweden, this forceful campaign in the form of demonstrations, hunger strikes, press conferences, information meetings with officials, etc. carried out by the representatives of the OUN, ABN and OULF in Madrid resulted in a remarkable political achievement for our national cause. Spanish dailies such as "Pueblo", "El Pais", "Ya", "El Alcazar", "ABC", etc., "The London Times" and other European newspapers, the Canadian French-language paper "Le Devoir" of Montreal, radio and TV, carried numerous reports, feature articles about Ukraine, and photos covering the above-mentioned activities.

The mood of national liberation sweeping the world today touched Madrid as

well, and was forcefully dramatised on location by the OUN and ABN actions.

The issue of the implementation of human rights in a country occupied by a foreign power must never be equated with their implementation in most countries of the Third or Western World. This should also be clearly understood, because, under conditions of national independence and sovereignty, the implementation of human rights amounts to a democratization of the existing *national* political and social systems, or, as in the case of the Western democracies to a due process of the law. On the other hand in Ukraine, a nation under *foreign occupation* dominating all walks of national life, neither "democratization" nor a "due process of the law" is possible prior to national liberation and state independence. Such was the message that the OUN and the ABN successfully conveyed in Madrid.



*Hon. K. C. Dunn, Director of Coord. Council for North American Affairs (Rep. of China) addressing the AF ABN Congress, May 2-3, 1981.*

## A Letter from Soviet Labor Camps

In September 1980, ten men who are imprisoned in Soviet labor camps for their membership in Helsinki-monitoring groups sent an appeal to the Madrid Conference. In their appeal, which just recently reached the West, the ten men — eight Ukrainians, one Russian, and one Jew — ask that the thirty-five signatory states of the Helsinki Accords agree to a general amnesty for political prisoners in their countries and remove from their criminal codes all articles that allow governments to repress their citizens on political or ideological grounds.

The style of the appeal leaves no doubt that it was written by the Ukrainian poet and futurist Oles Berdnyk.

The following Helsinki monitors, presently incarcerated in labor camps in the Mordovian ASSR or Perm Region (both are in the Russian Federation) signed the appeal:

Members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords (also known as the Ukrainian Helsinki Group):

— Oles Berdnyk, writer, sentenced to 6 years' labor camp, 3 years' exile;

— Levko Lukyanenko, lawyer, 10 years' camp, 5 years' exile;

— Myroslav Marynovych, engineer, 7 years' camp, 5 years' exile;

— Mykola Matusevych, historian, 7 years' camp, 5 years' exile;

— Bohdan Rebryk, teacher, joined Group while in Mordovian labor camp;

— Mykola Rudenko, writer, head of Group, 7 years' camp, 5 years' exile;

— Oleksa Tykhy, teacher, 10 years' camp, 5 years' exile;

— Danylo Shumuk, worker, writer, joined Group while in Perm Region camp.

Members of the Moscow Public Group to Promote (Moscow Helsinki Group);

— Yuriy Orlov, physicist, head of Group, 7 years' camp, 5 years' exile;

— Anatoliy Shcharansky, computer specialist, 3 years' prison, 10 years' camp.

The full text of their appeal to the Madrid Conference follows.

### An open Letter to the Madrid Conference of Countries that Signed the Helsinki Accords

Brothers!

This appeal comes to you from political prisoners in Mordovian and Perm camps of the USSR — Oles Berdnyk, Levko Lukyanenko, Myroslav Marynovych, Mykola Matusevych, Yuriy Orlov, Bohdan Rebryk, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Danylo Shumuk, Anatoliy Shcharansky.

Bereaved, deprived of elementary human rights, cast down into the very depths of the planetary hell, we send to you a sincere message of warning and sympathy.

This is a time of peril! Mankind is balancing on a sword's edge above a thermo-nuclear abyss. Realizing this, you have

assembled in order to find the way to disarmament, coexistence and a common platform of being.

But do not be deceived by the shell of signed bits of paper and political compromises. What disarmament, what treaty can lead to the goal, if the arsenals of human hearts are filled with that most terrible of weapons, the weapon of hate?

Ideological confrontation is an everyday phenomenon of our era. It is precisely the war of ideologies that gives birth to the insane arms race, so it is imperative to disarm hearts and souls. It is imperative that a single criterion of being be established which would be above divisions accord-

ing to race, nationality and religion. These are exactly the issues that you should discuss, but, first of all, the main problem, the problem of putting an end to ideological confrontation. This sickness incubates within states and countries, then spreads later to international relations.

We have in mind the persecution of free thought, dissent, and the yearnings to independence in many countries of the world.

Our bitter experience as political prisoners shows what a bottomless pit of fearful malice the punitive machine of our country is capable of, a machine which on the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Accords directed its entire arsenal of violations of the law, cruelty, denigration and torment against people whose only fault lies in their honest, open expression of critical ideas.

We do not bring this up in order to elicit sympathy for ourselves. Carrying our cross to Golgotha, we do not care for ourselves, but for the fate of mankind, which is destined for eternal conflict, as long as ideological persecution exists inside any country.

Settle immediately the issue of a general

amnesty for political prisoners in your countries. Ratify a pact on the elimination of articles concerning persecution on ideological and political grounds from the criminal codes of all your countries. Let the term "political prisoner" — a term unworthy of man in the cosmic era — disappear from the dictionaries of the Earth. Such a step will simply and naturally lead to trust within countries, and, from there, to trust among peoples. For is it possible to trust states that wage ideological war against its citizens?

The country in which you have gathered stands as a wonderful example of an evolutionary transition from tyranny to democracy. May this example inspire you!

Mankind has grown weary of bits of paper and empty, false treaties. It is time to lift from its head the Crown of Thorns that has been bleeding for millenia. It is time to open the Gate of the Heart!

Brothers! Listen closely to the alarming appeal by those who have been neglected and driven, those who walk the Via Dolorosa!

This is a time of peril!

*September 1980  
Mordovia/Perm, USSR*

*H. Kassajep (North Caucasus)*

## **Russian methods in conquering Islamic countries**

Peter the Great was not the first to extend his hand towards Islamic property, but the best known. Known too was his political testament saying Russia must seek and follow the way to India. One of his heirs, tsarina Catherine II., named the Great, continued Peter's work by imprisoning the North Caucasian hero, Sheich Mansur, who fought for freedom, and let him perish in the sealed fortress. At the beginning of 1722 there was no end to the fights in the Caucasus. Not only there did the Mohammedans struggle to free their country from the Russian invaders, but

also south and east of the Russian empire, everywhere where they bordered with Islamic territory, such as Crimea, the nomad steppes of Kazakhstan, Kirgizistan, Tadjikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaidjan.

The similarity of nature, history, religion with Afghanistan and the strong national feeling of the Afghans, prompts to comparison between the two peoples. The North Caucasians also fought heroically on great mountain heights under their leaders Ghasi Mohamed, Hamsad Beg, Imam Shamil and Hadji Murad, for

the freedom of their country up until 1864. The cruelty of the Russians under the notorious general, Yermolov, knew no bounds, just as today we know from reports about the Russians wiping away whole villages and their inhabitants with napalm. With his army amounting to 80,000 men, armed with heavy artillery, the like of which had not yet been seen in North Caucasus, Yermolov led a war against women, children and old people in order to get at their men who caused him great trouble by continually coming down on his soldiers in narrow, unpassable mountain paths. Perhaps North Caucasus would have remained an independent Islamic country had Persia, Turkey and England kept their promise to help with arms and troops. But it never went further than vague assurances and half-hearted deals which were not followed by deeds. And so just as before, the small numbered, brave peoples of North Caucasus were left to their own devices in valleys, creeks and mountain passes, making their own pistols, sabres, and Kindjals — much feared by the Russians. Whether tsarist or communist Russia, there is no difference in aim, tactics and cruelty in the wars of subjugation from the North. Whether Afghanistan is the last Islamic country which will be forced into Soviet tyranny is an unanswered question. We, Mohammedans, who have managed to escape from Russian domination, know well the tsarist as well as the Soviet methods. Once in Russia's claps, a country can never become free. Among Mohammedans, lack of unity and understanding is unfortunately very frequent, so that unity of action, so important in a fight against a common enemy, is lacking. This, Islam's weak point with its consequences, has always been and will always be successfully taken into account by the Russian aggressor. Almost all Russian victories in Islamic countries are based on weaknesses. Unless a miracle happens, Afghanistan will sooner or later

become a Soviet Autonomous or a Soviet Republic. More than what they are already doing cannot be expected from the simple Afghan brothers in religion and arms. In spite of inefficient arms, inadequate clothing, lack of food and continual exposure to the hard climate of their country, they face the Russian invader with admirable courage. These invaders want to crush their religion, freedom and nationality, just as they did 100 years ago in all the Soviet ruled regions of today, where fifty million Mohammedans are living. Of course Russians were brought to settle in these territories, so that today almost 60% of the population in most of the Mohammedan provinces, all the way down to Azerbaidjan, is made up of these uninvited strangers from the North, Soviet invaders, who moreover have the nerve to call the brave Afghan fighters for freedom "Afghan bandits". The tsarist invaders too, gave the name of bandit and alike to all North Caucasians resisting and fighting against them. It would be much fairer and to the point, to call the Russians themselves bandits and thieves. Today just as they were more than 100 years ago.

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#### **General meeting of WACL-Denmark**

As a result of the death of Hon. Ole Bjorn Kraft, the board of directors summoned the executive committee of WACL-Denmark in order to elect a new chairman and board of the organization. The meeting took place in Copenhagen on April 5 and Mr. Eril Dissing was unanimously elected chairman of WACL-Denmark.

The board of directors consists of:

Mr. Erik Dissing, chairman

Mr. O. B. Kaysing, vice-chairman

Mr. P. Hartvig, secretary-general and secretary of information

Hon. H. Lindholt, legal adviser Royal Navy Commander

John Arentoft, M. P.

Rev. Hakon Svane

Mr. Henning Jensen

## Estonian Youth Demonstrations

### Estonian Intellectuals Express their Views on Causes of Recent Demonstrations in Open Letter

*Introduction:* There were a number of student demonstrations, mostly by high school youth, in Estonia last fall. The demonstrations prompted members of the Soviet Estonian intellectual elite to write "An Open Letter from the Estonian SSR" to *Pravda* and the Party newspapers in Estonia (*Sovetskaya Estonia and Rahva Hääl*). Dated October 28, 1980, the letter has not been published in the USSR. Three quarters of the forty signers of the letter can be identified. They include prominent younger generation writers, poets, scientists, artists, and actors. Most of them are in their thirties and forties. The following is a translation of the text of the letter from Estonian into English.

#### Open Letter from the Estonian SSR

On October 14, 1980, an ETA (Eesti Telegraafiagentuur) announcement headed "In the Public Prosecutor's Office" appeared in the Soviet Estonian press: "The Public Prosecutor's Office has instituted criminal proceedings against the authors and instigators of the serious disturbances of the peace that have taken place in Tallinn in recent days. These disturbances, which involved groups of youngsters, have invoked the justifiable indignation and dissatisfaction of the workers. Legal action will also be brought against criminal hooligans involved. The circumstances will be subjected to close scrutiny in their entirety, after which the culprits will be brought to justice as the law prescribes."

This forty-eight-word (in Estonian) text is the only item that has appeared in the Soviet press to date concerning the political actions taken by young people in Tallinn and elsewhere in Estonia. In addition to the ETA dispatch, the occurrences have been discussed in schools and other institutions. As the events were witnessed by

a fair number of visitors from our fellow republics, various rumors spread throughout the entire Soviet Union. All that has taken place of late compels us to write this letter.

The violence associated with events in Tallinn is cause for concern. There have been subsequent calls for more of the same. The use of force is an indication that perilous splits have formed in our society, splits indicative of antagonism between the teachers and those they teach, of conflict between the leaders and the led. The stresses are aggravated by an unwillingness to tolerate the inconsistencies between what is purported to be reality and life as it actually is.

We find that such a situation is dangerous and cannot prevail without bringing dire consequences to Estonia and all who live here. Aggravation of the circumstances cannot be pardoned, but by the same token it would also be unforgivable to ignore the deeply rooted causes that have given rise to the present state of affairs. Consequently, we feel compelled to direct your attention to the following matters.

It is not likely that demonstrations involving thousands of young people took place as a result of prompting by individuals. It seems to us that these manifestations were in fact an unexaggerated reflection of the dissatisfaction of numerous older Estonians. We are dealing with a social problem of significant size, the resolution of which will prove impossible without the participation of everyone in our society. The first step in that direction calls for informing society of the problems involved.

Dissatisfaction has deepened in recent years, but the factors responsible for fomenting this discontent have been taking

shape for a much longer span of time. This dissatisfaction has come into existence as a result of numerous socio-economic problems hitherto unresolved. Hardships in our way of life (waiting lines in stores, shortages of food and consumer goods, and inconsistent distribution of these goods) form the backdrop for conflicts that foster alcoholism, criminality, instability in family life, and a host of other damaging phenomena. The disarray that characterizes the state of people's rights in Estonia serves to compound the aforementioned conflicts.

Other problems have been given public exposure to a greater or lesser degree, but it seems to us that problems occurring in the sphere of nationality questions have only been pigeonholed under the label of hooliganism up to the present. Therefore we are focusing in this letter above all else on the national aspect of social conflicts. Conflicts developing out of nationality questions are particularly grave in nature, owing to the fact that their causes have not been discussed publicly with adequate candor — something illustrated by the ETA communiqué cited earlier in this letter. In our opinion, the insecurity and, in some cases, even the fear about national identity that exists in the two largest nationality groups in Estonia, the Estonians and the Russians, is the source of the conflicts and stresses between nationalities in Estonia. Fear motivates irrational, frequently overt and aggressive behavior.

Insecurity and fear exist because of a number of factors, both objective and subjective in nature. These factors cannot be divorced from one another when they are being considered. They must be weighed together: events of an objective nature in the realms of economics, demographics, and culture are inevitably seen and interpreted through the prism of nationalism. The uncertainty Estonians feel about their future is caused by the following conditions:

— the rapid proportional decline of the

Estonian segment of the population, particularly in Tallinn, where Estonians are becoming a minority nationality group;

— the circumscription of the use of the Estonian language in business, everyday matters, science, and elsewhere, a trend that has been characterized by the compulsory presentation of theses about Estonian language and literature in Russian, and by the exclusive use of Russian at the festive gathering marking the fortieth anniversary of the Estonian SSR;

— the growing scarcity of Estonian-language journals and books, especially insofar as materials pertaining to the indigenous culture are concerned, and the inhibition of research in the field of native culture;

— the hyperbolic and inept propaganda campaign pushing the teaching of Russian in schools and kindergartens, partiality shown in history lessons, at the expense of other peoples, to the contributions made by Russians;

— immoderate and overtaxed development of industry by the All-Union Council of Ministers, with a blind eye towards the accompanying damage to the ecological balance;

— unilateral propagation of bilingualism among Estonians, without a similar effort being made among aliens, a circumstance that deepens a feeling in the Estonian community that its mother tongue is regarded as a second-rate language, and the non-existence of a periodical analagous to *Russkyy yasyk v estonskoi shkole* for the purpose of teaching Estonian in local schools;

— the appointment of persons with inadequate knowledge of Estonian culture and a lack of interest in it to responsible posts and to positions concerned with national and socio-cultural problems.

Decisions that distress Estonian national feelings are usually rationalized as being economically necessary. Nevertheless, it seems to us that the bitterness evident in Estonians cannot but exert a detrimental

effect upon the efficiency of the economy and the quality of work. It may be surmised that Russians, Ukrainians, and Byelorussians, along with other non-Estonian ethnic groups residing in Estonia, experience difficulty in establishing an ethnic identity. They are of diverse national, geographic, and social backgrounds. The psychological differences between Estonians and other nationalities have remained completely unexamined up to this point.

The extent of equality that has thus far been achieved is frequently overrated. Conflicts between nationalities often develop because people do not understand the behavior of others and as a result fall prey to false interpretations. It is of utmost importance to find out more about the social, ethnic, and cultural problems of immigrants in Estonia and to establish how these problems interrelate with similar difficulties faced by Estonians.

Likewise, we should without fail probe, discuss, and write about the types of attitudes and behavior of Estonians that disturb others. Distrust is evident between the two primary nationality groups, serving as fertile ground for preconceptions, stereotypical false images, and rumors, leading us back once again to the need to establish and disseminate objective information about the situation. When truth falls in short supply, we find ourselves faced with the type of scarcity most fraught with danger.

Certain facets of Estonian national consciousness are easily offended, and failure to recognize this can have grave consequences. The hypersensitivity of Estonians, particularly on the subject of their language, can be explained in light of the fact that the Germans, who were overlords here for centuries, held the Estonian language in contempt. In past centuries, the Germans attempted to convince the Estonians of the impotence, uselessness, and even the detrimental nature of a culture relying

on the Estonian language as a keystone. The tsarist government that followed took the same tack. Estonians formed a culture based on their own language in spite of the pressure and gibes of the German landowners and the tsarist government, thereby giving the Estonian language a symbolic meaning for Estonians that serves to remind them of a hard-fought battle for human dignity. Only a person who speaks Estonian or at least displays a discernible respect for it stands a chance of establishing close relations with Estonians. A person who lives for years in Estonia and shows no deference to the Estonian language and culture, whether wittingly or not, insults the Estonian sense of dignity. Attitude towards the Estonian language is a key question in the development of relations between Estonians and other nationality groups in Estonia.

The above does not pretend to be an exhaustive analysis of the circumstances that have strained basic relations between nationality groups in the Estonian SSR. We only wish to point to some of the basic problems — above all, to the need to really resolve nationality questions. They have to be honestly and thoroughly examined, discussed at all levels, beginning with strictly academic discussions and extending to comprehensive discussions in the press, radio, and television and in schools and businesses.

To preclude the repetition of the events that took place in Tallinn and to relieve existing tensions between the nationalities, something should be done to alleviate the doubts of Estonians about the security of their present and future and to guarantee that the native inhabitants of Estonia will always have the final word on the destiny of their land and people. The question of Estonia's future should not be decided solely by All-Union Councils of Ministers or by central boards or other offices. All significant socio-economic undertakings,



such as the establishment or expansion of large industries, should be preceded by analysis of possible social, psychological, and ecological consequences and also by public discussion.

Since the revolution, the Estonian language has been backed by constitutional guarantees, and it has been used throughout Estonia as the official language in all aspects of civil life. Every Estonian within the boundaries of the Estonian SSR possesses the self-evident right to an Estonian-language secondary and higher education and to use Estonian in spoken or written form in the conduct of business. We think that a legislative confirmation of this principle by the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR would go a long way towards normalizing the present unhealthy situation.

Nationality conflicts can easily lead to distrust and escalation of hate and make the peaceful evolution of society impossible. Such evolution is only viable as the result of cooperation among every nationality group here. We wish for Estonia to become and remain a land where not

a single person will suffer insults and handicaps because of his or her mother tongue or ethnic origin, where understanding prevails in the absence of hate among nationality groups, where cultural unity reigns amidst diversity, and where no one feels any injury to his national pride or endangerment to his national culture.

*Tallinn-Tartu, October 28, 1980*

**The signatures of the following persons are appended to the document:**

Priit Aimla, Kaur Altoa, Madis Aruja, Lehte Hainsalu, Mati Hint, Fred Jüssi, Aira Kaal, Maie Kalda, Tõnu Kaljuste, Toomas Kall, Jaan Kaplinski, Peet Kask, Heino Kiik, Jaan Klõseiko, Kersti Kreisman, Alar Laats, Aare Laht, Andres Langehets, Marju Lauristin, Peeter Lorents, Vello Lõugas, Endel Nirk, Lembit Peterson, Arno Pukk, Rein Põllumaa, Paul-Erik Rummo, Rein Ruutsoo, Tõnis Rätsep, Ita Saks, Aavo Sirk, Mati Sirkel, Jaan Tamm, Rein Tamsalu, Andres Tarand, Lehte Tavel, Peeter Tulviste, Mati Unt, Arvo Valton, Juhan Viiding, Aarne Üksküla.



*Latvian youth from Münster, W. Germany, staging a demonstration in front of the Soviet Russian Embassy, May 1981. The huge placard reads "Russians Out of Afghanistan, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Armenia and other subjugated countries!"*

## CUNNING VS. TRUTH

“Nothing now is further removed from the Russian soul than militant nationalism. *The idea of a world empire is foreign to Russia*” — in such a manner, with great conviction and cunningness, the great Russian writer Solzhenitsyn attests in the magazine “Die Welt” of March 1, 1980.

In his view, Moscow’s imperialism is purely a communist, and not a Russian, phenomenon. “What is communism? Ask a cancerous cell why is it spreading? Because it cannot do otherwise”.

What an idyll! Until 1917, inhabitants of the Moscovite Princedom quietly and peacefully remained inside their borders, and then suddenly there appeared on the horizon some kind of communists, who, contrary to the Moscovite’s will, drove them out to conquer the world. Of course, Moscovites never invaded Kazan and Astrakhan, Novgorod and Ukraine, Siberia and Caucasus, Turkestan and the Baltic States, Finland and Poland, they never expanded their territories, until those communists spoiled everything...

But, maybe even beforehand, the ruling power was hostile to the people, in the same way cruelly smothering national insurrections, enslaving the people and driving them to conquer other lands? Since Solzhenitsyn does not acknowledge such (but, to the contrary, idealizes the pre-revolutionary Russia), let us take a minute for his hypothesis and attempt to find those spokesmen of the Russian soul, who opposed the imperialism of the ones in power.

Pusckin? “Suvorov rose from his grave and envisioned the plunder of Warsaw...”. Lermontov? “Submit, you Chechen! It is likely that the West and the East will soon take everything from you. Years will pass and you yourself will say: I may be a slave, but a slave of the Tsar of the whole world!”

Gogol? “A Tsar is rising from Russian soil, and there will be no power in the world that will not bow to Him.”

Dostoyevski passionately greeted the invasion of Turkestan and nurtured dreams about conquering Istanbul. Non-Russians are widely intertwined in his, as well as in L. Tolstoy’s novels, but said non-Russians are almost always reminiscent of Soviet newspaper caricatures. No matter who the non-Russian may be — German or French, Jewish or Polish. Russian geniuses seem to be unable to perceive a non-Russian as a human being. In their creative works, the worst and the most corrupt Russians are endowed with understanding and sympathy, but non-Russians almost never. Theoretically, they consider everybody human, but emotionally they perceive as equal and similar to themselves all Karamasovs, without distinction, but never any “Polaks” or even Napoleon.

Tyutchev? It is worth mentioning that he wrote about “the boundless frontiers of Russia”. As yet, even communists’ appetites are somewhat more modest.

This gallery of spiritual imperialism may be continued almost indefinitely. But, why waste paper. I will only mention in addition the Russian national poet Yesenin:

*“I will glorify with my wholehearted nature of a poet  
One-sixth of the entire earth bearing the short name of “Russ”.*

To anyone who is a little familiar with geography, it is understandable

that this sixth portion of the world encompasses around two hundred nations, which are denied by "Russ" even the rights to call themselves by their own national names.

As can be clearly surmised, the communist power absolutely has no need to "dream" about "harnessing Russian nationalism to its imperialistic wagon". It has been so harnessed, thoroughly and unequivocally, for five hundred years, from the very beginnings of the Moscovite Principdom, whose entire history consisted of an uninterrupted "drang" (march) into all parts of the world. Russian pre-communist expansion, as far as the range thereof is concerned, is almost without precedent, with the exception of Jenghiz Khan, from whose empire Moscow inherited its governmental structure.

Did the communists occupy such nations as Murom or Perm, the only remains of which are their geographical names? And a whole string of such names can be pointed out.

Solzhenitsyn attempts to prove that Russians are the principal mass of slaves in the USSR, that they are in the worst situation. Why then, the fact that non-Russians are registering themselves as Russians is a massive phenomenon, and never to the contrary? Why do Russian schools and other institutions exist in the remotest parts of USSR, but other nations cannot attain such even in their own lands? Finally, why, in the most important governmental organs — Party Bureaucracy and the KGB — did the Russians secure for themselves a decisive majority? What other interests governed their actions, if not essentially nationalistic?

Let us try to understand Solzhenitsyn in this way — although Russians in the past were imperialists, however, today they have grown wiser and have renounced this idea. Well, for almost thirty years I lived in the USSR and possess wide experience in observing the Russians. But, the fingers of my one hand would be enough to count those Russians who are against the forcible conquering of non-Russians. The normal reaction of a Russian from the "people" to Lithuanian, Georgian or Hungarian patriotism is embodied in the sacred phrase: "Kill all of them and populate their land with our own! What I conquer — is mine!" Seven years of my life I spent in prisons and concentration camps for political prisoners. I met thousands of persons who were incarcerated for the ideal of separation of their particular country into a national independent state. But among them — not one Russian could be found! If the imperialistic policy of those in power is so very foreign to the Russian spirit, then, in a nation of one hundred and thirty million, there should be found at least one who would oppose this so-called coercion over his soul! There does not exist even one! Moreover, among political prisoners about ten percent are Russian (in the empire, they constitute half — where is their opposition to enslavement?), but the majority of said prisoners hold firm with the same militant imperialism, which, according to Solzhenitsyn, is so very "foreign to Russian spirit". Where is it hiding, this mysterious spirit? Maybe among the emigrés? Even here, in the West, the tiny group entitled "For Russia Without Colonies" is boycotted by the whole Russian community, provoking against itself said community's flame of uncontrollable hate.

Are all of the above facts unknown to Solzhenitsyn? No, they are very well known to him. I declare that Solzhenitsyn is consciously leading the West

astray, because he himself is an imperialist. In his purely theoretical reflections, there can be found a lot of noble phrases, but as soon as a need arises to touch upon reality, his imperialism immediately rises to the top from the secret depths of his soul. In his "Archipelago", he lays himself out for theoretical rights of other nations, but when mentioning the Brest-Litovsk Treaty (Treaty that recognized the Ukrainian National Independent State), he, with indignation, notes that said Treaty "cut-off part of Russia's body". It becomes manifest that for him other nations constitute inalienable parts of Russia, since at no time did the Brest-Litovsk Treaty touch upon Russian ethnic territories!

Therefore, his oratory against imperialism — is only a demagogy, the exact same kind as the "anti-imperial" demagogy of the communists. Communism is the lawful child of Russian colonialism and its savior. Through its savagery, without regard for anything, Russia, in these anti-colonial times, compels the enslaved nations to opposition, but, on the outside, it procures fifth columns through modern leftist delusions.

Instead of trying to make fools of the West, Solzhenitsyn should better try to repress imperialism in the souls of the Russians themselves, openly, consistently and honestly demanding the withdrawal of Russia into its own ethnic boundaries. If he believes in his own phrases about the "anti-imperialism" of the Russian soul, he has nothing to fear from adverse reaction.

If such is not accomplished by the Russians themselves, then the day is near, when the whole colonized and endangered world will rise and declare a slogan, terrible in its nakedness: "Death to the Russian invaders!"

There is no nation on earth that does not desire independence; there is no nation that wants foreign occupation, no matter under what color of flag. The Russians, after having foresaken the enslavement of other nations, might even learn to respect each other and might even understand that there exist other kind of relations, outside of arbitrariness and terror.



*National leaders of the AF ABN Detroit Chapter after the Conference Meeting in December 1980.*

## The Frontiers of Culture

*(Translation of the document recently smuggled from Ukraine)*

### Part 5

Russians, including the Russian youth are widely and quite objectively (from the Russian point of view) familiar with the history of their nation and in particular of the history of the current empire, and most importantly this history is not profaned or desecrated. They are aware of the political line, of the programme and activities of all the parties and their activists from the time of the November Revolution to the present day. The external and internal imperial politics of czarism — apart from some undistinguished invasions — are completely sanctioned and have been prolonged into the present. True, ideology has been altered, and the tempo of change and some other nuances have also been affected. However, the practice of these policies is without precedent in its cynicism, crudeness, cruelty and perfidy. Firstly, in reference to the Ukrainian nation, the nation itself, its territory, economy, human resources and talents and also its historical process and autogeny — is seen as a threat to the existence of the empire, and from this fear, stem the policies of the regime.

### **National culture reduced to a provincial level**

The Russian occupier is striving to reduce our classic culture — particularly that of the XIX century and of the present century — to a peripheral, regional provincial level. It does this by enforcing falsely fast tempos, through a system of mass terror and prohibitions. After destroying millions of people, the occupier strove (and strives) to destroy our national culture. Little effort was required to retain culture at a very base level during the 1940's and 1950's as the majority of cultural activists were liquidated during the 1930's — and those activists who were not removed in

the purges, were taken by the war. Only in Halychyna, Volyn, Bukovina, Dnipro's right bank, are there signs of opposition. However, the system of mass terror is such, that it could well succeed in reducing the national cultural character of Halychyna to a general all-Ukrainian level. The effect of this terror is that it is accepted as a norm. Thus it has become a norm for writers and acts as a measure of the value of all publications — whether they be propagandistic leaflets, novels or academic studies.

The psychology of fear dictates that this be done "sincerely" — but how memorable the pre-war wars are! Skrypnyk, Kurbas, Zerov, Dray-Khmara, Khvylovy were destroyed. Dovzhenko was brutally abused. Ostap Vyshnya suffered the physical and moral deprivations of concentration camps. Kotsyubynsky lost his life in prison. This same fate greeted thousands more Skrypnyks, Zerovs and the best of our cultural activists and also greeted millions of ordinary Ukrainians. The memory of fear is especially long lived in people's psychology — and today that memory imbues every cell of the artist, teacher, academic and thus affects every cell of the national organism. It affects every school, every educational establishment, every newspaper and magazine, every publisher, each scientific and artistic organisation, and thus paralyzes national dignity, and thus any work along national lines. Even before a single line is written by an author, he is affected by fear: his work is then subjected to censorship and either his work will be published or "arrested" in its original draft form. Should the author's work suffer the latter fate, he can only expect victimisation, or inevitable punishment: he will lose his job;

his name will be struck from publishers' lists and he will thus be deprived of his livelihood or he will lose the mass of privileges guaranteed by party membership and will be forced to languish in a concentration camp for many long years. Finally, he will be so paralyzed with fear that he will succumb and will produce that which is required of him by the party — for not only will he be freed of repression; not only will he achieve peace in his life and human happiness; he will also gain fame, albeit of dubious value, but still fame brings its own success and material rewards. The fear that is inspired by the occupier and the instinct of self-preservation dictate the so-called "artist's sincerity" and takes precedence before even human and national dignity. The maintenance of this subservient position helps ensure the life of the empire. And this is the reason why the occupier continuously attempts to reduce the intelligentsia (and particularly the cultural intelligentsia) to a conformist, collaborating body, and why the teacher, the artist, the social scientist are allocated the worst functions in life. However, recognising the deep patriotism of the absolute majority of this section of the intelligentsia, the occupier deliberately makes them an accomplice to its own evil acts, and thus lays blame on them, which makes this intelligentsia feel guilt before our nation, and gives them an inferiority complex. Moreover, the occupier continually reminds this intelligentsia of its role as "accomplice". Thus the intelligentsia compromises itself before our nation and depreciates the value of its work for our national culture and devalues its own authority in playing a leading role as an opposition and as a true national element.

### **The falsification of history**

However, the first priority is the falsification of history, beginning from the earliest times — from the cultural of

Kyivan-Rus', and ending with our modern liberation struggles against the Russian yoke. Each tragic event in the history of the Ukrainian nation, and in particular those events which led to its present captive states — such as the annexation of Ukrainian lands, the liquidation of autonomy, the ruin of the Zaporizhian Sich, the pogroms, assimilation, the resettlements of Ukrainians beyond Ukrainian territory, the aggression towards the Ukrainian National Republic, the re-occupation of Ukraine, the colonial economic policies, the destructive effect of the genocide of the 1930's, the destruction of national relics and so on and so on — is described as part of Ukraine's "liberation" or as the "brotherly aid of the Soviets". And this is the interpretation that modern historians, cultural activists and others are forced to give "sincerely". This, while all national aspirations, all attempts to achieve national liberation and sovereignty are decried as "criminal" acts, as a "betrayal" of the construction of the (Soviet) fatherland. Similarly all our great political and national activists — Ivan Mazepa, Symon Petlyura, Mykola Hrushevsky, Andriy Sheptytsky, Yevhen Konovalets, Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko, V. Vynnychenko, M. Khvylovy, U. Samchuk and many others who dedicated their lives to the cause of Ukraine — are accused of being "traitors of their nation".

Further the Ukrainian national spirit is compared to the Russian nation in all branches of social science and creative work and thus the very essence of Ukrainian culture is falsified. Priority is given to secondary events and to secondary activists of Ukrainian culture, while the spirit of our classical heritage is reduced to something commonplace and is thus mutilated. The most vital elements of our history are contested and discredited: the inviolable and inalienable right of self-determination is denied even now. Ho-

wever, this denial of our history and our historical role comprises only one aspect of this question.

### **Captive peoples are forbidden the knowledge of history**

The reality is much more complex than has been outlined above. We shall briefly outline only one more element from the myth of the "blossoming" of Ukrainian culture. The unrestricted attempt to achieve the destruction of the Ukrainian nation — only one part of Moscow's global plan — shows no interest in the vast values bequeathed by our cultural heritage — created in relatively free periods by our talented artists, academics, political and cultural activists both in the past and in the present, and both in Ukraine and abroad. However, the words "the coloniser is not interested" do not nearly reflect the reality, in as much that the occupier does not limit this "lack of interest" to purely passive methods. In order to safeguard the existence of the empire its captive nations are deprived of the knowledge and memory of their past. This is why the classical heritages are subjected to especially severe imperial censorship, and not only are ordinary people not allowed access to their history, but also the intelligentsia is forbidden access to this knowledge. Thousands of authors are banned; thousands of books are removed from public, academic and private libraries and collections and are simply destroyed. Only a very small number are retained, but then these are subjected to severe publication limits as are for example the work "The History of Rus", while the historical works of Kostomarov, Kulish, the academic works of Maksymovych and Sreznevsky, Markovych, Bantysh-Kamensky, Yavornytsky. Drahomanov, Podolykovsky, Ziber, Pavlyk are banned. One is simply not allowed to mention Antonovych, Yefremov, Hrushkevsky, Doroshenko, Mikhnovsky, Don-

tsov, Ohiyenko, Yurkovych, Shelukhin, Lypa, Chyzhevsky, Malanyuk, Pasternak, Small-Stotsky, Mirchuk. Nothing is heard of the works of Konysky, Chuzhbynsky, Hrinchenko. Vynnychenko, Lepky, Samchuk and thousands of other cultural activists' works are prohibited. And they are not only banned, but a knowledge of their works could deprive a Ukrainian of his freedom and he could find himself languishing in a concentration camp for many years.

It is a crime to silence these aspects of our existence. We, as a nation who are threatened with extinction, must find the courage to voice these facts outloud to the whole world. We must bring the Ukrainian problem to the front of the international arena as an actual political problem that demands immediate attention and resolution, and that demands to be brought as a matter of priority to international forums. In order that this be accomplished the questions that have been raised here demand to be developed more fully and comprehensively. However, in the meantime we can only present the pressing reality of Russification and political and cultural repression being conducted in our land now.

### **The press and periodicals**

The state of the Ukrainian press and periodicals also demands attention. For example, the newspaper "Literaturna Ukraina" exists to discuss the present literary process but is reduced to the level of a backwater. For over ten years discussions have been proceeding concerning its size. However, how can its size be discussed when there is not even enough literary material to fill four pages (that is an indication of how poor literary life is at present) and while the editors (hired by the KGB) fill the columns with materials not even connected with literary or artistic matters, not to mention national problems. Since the beginning of

the 1970's not one article has appeared that merits any attention, or is worthy of literary criticism. Similarly every "central" Kyivan paper has a provincial appearance. Deprived of the right of having their own foreign correspondents and their own press services, they can only obtain their information from one source — the centralised imperial agency. And further, they receive strict instructions concerning the publication of materials concerned with national issues that trouble the Ukrainian community. The editorial boards are determined by the party and the KGB and thus are composed of planted, faithful and experienced ideological functionaries.

An analogous situation is found in the editorial boards of magazines and publishing bodies. The majority of publications are of low artistic and academic value, although they are impregnated with communist ideals. On the other hand, items of high artistic value but imbued with the Ukrainian national spirit are arrested by censorship and transferred to the relevant bodies, which are the starting point for the harassment and repression of the artist concerned. This is one reason for the generally low standard of our literature. Even the official authority — L. Novychenko, a well-known critic well acquainted with the present literary process, was forced to admit to the low artistic level in current Ukrainian literature in one of his recent works. However, Novychenko is encouraged to ignore the better elements that can be found in Ukrainian works, and is unable to explain the objective reasons and the regularity of this phenomenon, — this must be the task of the opposition forces. However, facts cannot be disputed. We shall not dwell on many dramatic statistics and thus facts that speak for themselves. We shall merely tell the reader that 50 million Ukrainians are forced to be content with five thick art periodicals printed in very small numbers,

while 120 million Russians have ten times more this number and which are not subjected to any printing limits. Indeed most Russian periodicals are printed in numbers of over 100,000 and one third in numbers of 300,000 to 2.5 million. Thus, for example, "Novy Myr" which is printed in numbers as high as 250,000 has a higher circulation than all Ukrainian periodicals together. Moreover, recently the turnover of Ukrainian periodicals was reduced even more by the replacement (so-called) of most Ukrainian historical periodicals by the revival of an organ of an academic institution — the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. This is a further illustration of the attack against Ukrainian social life by the imperial forces, which was renewed at the beginning of the 1970's with mass arrests and repressions conducted against the Ukrainian intelligentsia and by the removal of the moderate P. Yu. Shelest from his party post. It has to be noted that the organ of the Institute of History, that replaced so many periodicals, ignores the very essence of their original purpose and acts as a parody, a joke of the occupier at the expense of Ukraine's history.

These are the conditions which destroy our artists, social scientists, cultural activists — among whom there are talents that deserve universal recognition. But deprived of creative freedom and forced to work in an atmosphere of constant national, moral and physical pressure, they, understandably, are unable to develop their talents to the full. As a result of this the standard of our present literature, drama, theatre, cinema, social sciences, social thought — culture as a whole — is lower than it could potentially be, and indeed — is on the verge of complete decline. The true picture of the state of our culture will become even fuller, when completed with the statistics of the numbers of talented people who have been forced to leave Ukraine. (*to be continued*)



# Ivan Kandyba reveals the truth about Russian unlawfulness in Ukraine

(Conclusion)

**“I will not change my beliefs at any cost — even my life”**

And so such administrative surveillance may be continuously extended until the end of official conviction of its necessity or forever. Paragraph 8, Article 55 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian SSR states the following in connection with this matter:

“If persons sentenced to ten or more years of imprisonment (as was I — I.K.) do not commit new crimes during the eight years following the completion of their sentences (original and additional) and if the court establishes that said person has reformed, then said person’s conviction may be lifted.”

Therefore, if during eight years after my release from imprisonment I do not “reform”, namely change my views and beliefs, then the court will not lift my conviction even after said eight years and I will be burdened by it for the rest of my days. And since it is so, then the administrative surveillance over me may be continued for the rest of my life in accordance with Article 8 of the “Statute encompassing administrative surveillance”.

Most likely such will happen because I will never go against my conscience for some gratuity from the KGB and, quoting our genius poet-martyr, Taras Shevchenko, “I suffer, endure, but do not repent!”, I will not change my views and beliefs, whatever the pressure upon me, whatever rewards from the KGB, or whatever cost — even my life.

I always followed my own views and beliefs, I am doing so now, and until the end of my days, I will follow only my own views and beliefs. If, during the process of my life, I will find some of my views and beliefs inaccurate, I, will change them only pursuant to the demands of my conscience and in accordance with my own individual desires.

Therefore, I wish to conduct myself in accordance with my personal views and beliefs and have the right to freely express them. Such international judicial documents as UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 10, 1948, the Pact covering the socio-political rights of 1966, and the Helsinki Accords of August 1, 1975 have bestowed upon me the right for this kind of conduct, namely life in accordance with my personal convictions.

The principal positions of said documents are as follows:

## **I. United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights**

Principle 2 — Every person possesses all the rights and all the freedoms, without any differentiability, proclaimed by this Declaration, such as . . . political or other convictions . . .

Principle 4 — No person shall be kept in slavery or in a status of bondage.

Principle 13 — Every person possesses the right to freely move about and travel, as well as choose his place of residence inside the borders of any country.

2) Every person possesses the right to leave any country, including said person’s own country.

Principle 19 — Every person possesses the right to his own personal convictions and free expression of said convictions; this right includes free and

unrestricted right to hold such convictions, freedom to search, receive and disseminate information and ideas in whatever manner, regardless of any political or territorial borders.

Principle 20 — Every person possesses a right to free non-violent assembly and association.

Principle 21 —

1) Every person possesses a right to take part in the running of the government of his country, either directly or through his elected representatives.

2) Every person possesses the right of equal access to any governmental agency of his country.

Principle 23 —

1) Every person possesses the right to work, free choice of employment...

4) Every person possesses the right to establish professional or labor unions and to join existing professional or labor unions for the purpose of guaranteeing the security of said person's interests, or for any other purpose.

## **II. The Pact covering the socio-political rights**

Statute 2 (1) Every country taking part in this Pact is obligated to respect and secure for everyone who lives within its borders and under its jurisdiction, all the rights, without any differentiability, contained in this Pact.

Statute 8 (3a) No person may be forced or obliged to labor or work.

Statute 12 (1) Every person who legally resides inside the territory of whatever country has the right to freely move and travel through said country and the unrestricted choice of place of residence.

2) Every person has the right to leave any country, including his own.

Statute 19 (1) Every person has the right to unrestrictedly hold his own personal views and convictions.

2) Every person has the right to free and unencumbered expression of his views; this right includes free and unrestricted right to search, receive and disseminate all kinds of information and ideas, regardless of political or territorial borders, verbally, in writing or through print, or artistic forms of expression, or through other means of his choice.

The Soviet Union has acknowledged the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and joined its signatories, and ratified the International Pact covering the socio-political rights on September 18, 1973, which took effect on March 23, 1976, and which through this ratification became the obligatory law for practical application in the USSR.

At various international forums, the Soviet Union always staunchly defends the above mentioned documents, and calls for their implementation into practical use.

So, for example, the Soviet Union, together with other nations-signatories of the above documents, pledged to uphold them at the Helsinki Conference. On page 7, paragraph 1 of the Helsinki Accords there is written:

“In the sphere of human rights and personal freedoms, the nations-signatories are to act responsibly in accordance with the aims and principles of the Statute of United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They will also be obligated to execute their pledges in accordance with international declarations and agreements in this field, including among them the 'International Pact covering the socio-political rights', if said nations are associated therewith.”

The Soviet Union is associated with said documents and thereby is obligated to implement them in practice.

In addition, the Soviet Union is even an author of a project, in which it demands the implementation of all human rights in accordance with the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Pact covering the socio-political rights, and other international agreements and documents.

In accordance with the proposal of the USSR, the United Nations General Assembly adopted on December 20, 1977, the "Declaration for Deepening and Strengthening of Alleviation of International Tensions", which states the following in its Article 8:

"Encouragement and assistance in implementation of human rights and basic freedoms for all in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other appropriate international agreements and documents, including international pacts covering human rights, is to be extended".

I just mentioned briefly the particular human rights which are secured by international legal documents and which are actively defended and upheld by the Soviet Union at various international forums.

#### **Universal Declaration and other International Pacts do not pertain to the Soviet Union**

However, a completely contrary policy is being practised by the Soviet Union internally. For example, often it could be found in the Soviet press that the above mentioned Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international pacts do not pertain to the Soviet people, since Soviet people for a long time have had the advantages of all the rights enumerated and guaranteed by said documents in connection with human rights. The only reason that the Soviet Union joined in the adoption of said documents was for the purpose of solidarity with nations not possessing the advantages of such human rights, existing under colonialism or hardships of dictatorial regimes.

Similar notions could be found in an article by I. Melnikov, entitled "In the name of peace and happiness of men", citing portions of declarations of the Soviet Union at sessions of the Human Rights Commission, appearing in the newspaper "Pravda" of October 25, 1978. Below I am citing a section thereof:

"The Human Rights Commission is continuing its session in the Geneva Branch of the organization of the United Nations. During today's morning session, the Soviet delegate spoke about the Soviet success of introducing into practice in the Soviet Union the postulates of the International Pact on socio-political rights.

"Five years ago, the Soviet Union was first to ratify this important document. Let it be known as an outstanding fact about the Soviet justice that the ratification of this treaty by the Soviet Union in 1973 and its implementation in 1976 did not require any changes or additions in the laws of our country.

"According to existing policy, the Soviet Union presented this case to attorneys from eighteen countries, members of the Commission. In this presentation, the Soviet Union showed very precisely how, in Soviet laws, the social and personal rights described by the above mentioned international treaty are safeguarded and guaranteed."

What contradiction! "...the Soviet delegate spoke about the Soviet success of introducing into practice the postulates of the International Pact..." and

simultaneously this “success” is declared null and void, because it has never taken place, since “...ratification of this treaty by the Soviet Union... and its implementation... did not require any changes or additions in the laws of our country”.

These statements do not conform to reality, but on the contrary — it is absolutely imperative to implement changes in and additions to Soviet laws in order for at least the laws themselves to comply with International Pacts covering the social and political rights, since even the laws (of course, completely ignored by the authorities) do not reflect many of the provisions of such documents.

For example, nowhere in the Soviet law can there be found a provision prohibiting the authorities from forcing anyone to work. To the contrary, in the Soviet Union work is obligatory and not working is punishable under criminal processes, as for parasitic way of life, sponging, begging, etc. I was accused of “continuously refusing to work”.

Nowhere in the Soviet law can there be found a provision that every Soviet citizen has a right to not only his or her own views and beliefs, but to a free and unencumbered expression of said views and beliefs, through receipt and disseminating of various information and ideas, regardless of national border, verbally and in writing through printed word. To the contrary, expression of a person’s views and beliefs which do not comply with the official ideology and policy of the USSR I considered as being hostile and qualified as anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, punishable under criminal processes.

Nowhere in the Soviet law can there be found a provision allowing any Soviet citizen to freely emigrate or leave the USSR.

Nowhere in the Soviet law can there be found a provision that every Soviet citizen has a right to free assembly, to freedom of association with others, including the right to establish free (not governmentally controlled) professional unions and to join such unions for security and protection of individual rights. In the USSR, such actions are considered unlawful, punishable under criminal processes.

Above are just some, certainly not all, instances, which prove conclusively the inaccuracy and falsehood of Soviet representatives in the Commission of Human Rights.

From the above, it could be concluded that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the International Pact covering the socio-political rights are in fact dead.

The International Pact covering the socio-political rights, which was published in the “Register of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR”, No. 17 for the year 1976, was placed in the archives where it gathers mould and dust, and in this way its mission is considered accomplished.

The fate of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is even sadder. I have no knowledge whether said Declaration was published in the USSR as part of an official process for public consumption. I only saw said Declaration typed in private or in handwritten texts. In addition, it should be remembered that said Declaration was confiscated from me and others every time it was found. It was confiscated from me three times in places of incarceration, namely on December 6, 1966 in concentration camp No. 11 (Yavas), on November 2, 1973 in concentration camp No. 36 (Ural) and on the day of my release, January 20, 1976. Concentration camp and prison administrations confiscated said Declaration also from other political prisoners. Bibles were also confiscated.

To our inquiries as to why said Declaration was being confiscated, concentration camp and prison administrators as well as prosecutors advised us that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights does not possess the strength of a law and that it only reflects "good intentions", that it was not adopted for general use, but only for negroes. No matter how far-fetched, it still might be understood, why said Declaration was confiscated in concentration camps or prisons, a lot more severe harm was being done there. But how could it be understood and explained when said Declaration was being constantly confiscated in freedom.

On December 13, 1977, namely on the date of the arrest of member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Lev Lukyanenko, my quarters and my person were thoroughly searched by Lviv KGB officers Senior Prosecuting Major Yaresko and Captain Shumeyko, together with Chief of Pustomyty KGB Captain Polishchuk. The report containing the purpose of said search read in part as follows:

"It was proposed to Kandyba, Ivan Oleksiyovych, that he deliver all documents of *anti-Soviet and slanderous contents* in forms of manuscripts, typewritten publications of so-called 'samvydav' (self-publishing), photographic films, photographs, as well as other forms, together with any dynamite of firearms, etc."

But what in fact was confiscated from me? The confiscated documents consisted of a few personal, intimate letters and handwritten text of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Therefore, it seems that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an anti-Soviet document. How else can the above be explained?

Since such attitude is taken with respect to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, then certainly similar attitude is held by representatives of Soviet power in connection with the International Pact of socio-political rights, which reflects many of the provisions and legal norms of the Declaration. This is most likely, since "... its implementation in 1976 did not require any changes or additions in the laws of our country."

In this manner, Soviet citizens are deprived of the opportunity to use all the rights which are contained in the above mentioned documents. Their rights to freely express their views and beliefs and to disseminate them, if such views and beliefs do not comply with the official ideology and policy, are considered as crimes of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda or slander, and are punishable by long years of harsh incarceration.

In the event such a person, during his or her long years of incarceration, did not change his or her views and beliefs, such a person remains most dangerous and it is impossible for such a person to escape the further punishment of administrative surveillance, as in mine and other cases. For example, in only the one republic of Ukraine, there is an unbelievably high number of persons under administrative surveillance. Here are some of them who have completed their punishment by incarceration and are suffering under administrative surveillance: Nina Strokata-Karavanska, after serving a four year sentence, was for close to three years under administrative surveillance; Vitaliy Kalynenko, after serving a ten year sentence, is presently starting his fourth year under administrative surveillance in the village of Vasylivka, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast (both of the above mentioned are members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group); Vasyl Ovsyenko, after serving a four year sentence, is presently starting his third year under administrative surveillance in the village of Lenin, Zhytomyr Oblast. Administrative surveillance was established even over Dmytro Basarab, who a few months ago was released after completing a twenty-five year sentence, and is presently living in Stryj, Lviv Oblast. After being released in

October, 1978, Yuriy Dzyuba, residing at 346 A Klochkivska Street, Apt. 16. Kharkiv, was placed under administrative surveillance.

Therefore, from the above, it could be concluded that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and International Pact covering the socio-political rights endow me with numerous rights and privileges of which I am in actuality deprived.

So, with what rights does the Constitution of the USSR endow me? As a sample, let's peruse some of the Articles thereof:

"Article 1. USSR is a socialist multi-national country, which expresses the will and interest of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, the toiling members of all nations and peoples of the country."

However it might be, but with certainty the USSR does not express my will or interest as a dissident, but to the contrary persecutes me and places me under various repressions.

"Article 34. Citizens of the USSR are equal before the law regardless of descent, 'race' or nationality . . . and other circumstances."

Above I enumerated many instances where I, as a dissident, was persecuted and discriminated against in my choice of place of residence, employment, etc. In the matter of emigration from the Soviet Union, citizens of Russian nationality are able much more easily to leave the USSR, as compared to members of any other nationalities.

"Article 39. Citizens of the USSR have all the social, economic, political, individual and personal rights and freedoms."

I am deprived of the right even over my own person.

"Article 40. Citizens of the USSR have the right to employment . . . including the right to choose their employment or profession in accordance with their ability, talents, professional experience and education."

I have the right to work where directed by the KGB.

"Article 48. Citizens of the USSR have the right to take part in the conduct of governmental and administrative affairs of the country . . ."

I am certain that I am guaranteed the right to conduct such affairs with a shovel, measuring gauge, crow bar and similar implements.

"Article 49. Each citizen has the right to contribute to governmental organs and social organizations his or her proposals with respect to improving its activities, or criticizing its failures in the performance of their functions."

"Article 50. Pursuant to interests of the people and with the aim of strengthening the development of socialist order, the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedoms of speech, print, assembly, meetings, street demonstrations . . ."

For me as a dissident, the guarantee of such freedoms, with the particular pre-condition, means deprivation of such freedoms.

"Article 51. Pursuant to the aims of Communist progress, citizens of the USSR have the right to unite into social organizations."

Such pre-condition upon my right of joining any organization, as a dissident, means that I am deprived of such a right.

"Article 55. Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed the inviolability of their places of residence . . ."

In December, 1960 (before I was arrested), a KGB agent, illegally, in my absence, entered my Lviv residence at 57/38 Dekabrist Street, where he was discovered. Many similar incidents occurred in connection with quarters of other dissidents.

“Article 56. Secrecy and privacy of correspondence, telephone conversations . . . are protected by law.”

Previously, I have already explicated that for the KGB no secrecy, nor privacy, nor any laws exist.

“Article 57. Respect for the individual, defense of the rights and freedoms of citizens — are the obligations of all governmental organs, social organizations and officials.”

I have already mentioned above how my person is being respected and how my rights and freedoms are being protected.

“Article 58. Citizens of the USSR have the right to appeal the actions of officials, governmental and social organs.”

The result of my using such a right was clearly explained above.

“Article 72. Each Soviet Republic has a right of free secession from the USSR.”

My attempt to put this right to a test has already cost me fifteen years of incarceration in concentration camps and prisons and more than two years of virtual enslavement under administrative surveillance.

### **Accused deprived of the right to a defence**

“Article 158. An accused has the right to a defence.”

In matters of political nature, accused, as a matter of fact, are actually deprived of such a right. An accused does not possess the right to employ a defense counsel not only from outside the USSR, but not even from a judicial consortium of the USSR of his choice; such accused may only employ a counsel from a group of ten or fifteen attorneys, who are certified to defend such suits by the Party Oblast Committee. They are, as a rule, members of the Communist Party and their “defense” of a “traitor” is only a mere formality. Such an attorney looks upon his “client” as an “enemy of the people” and his defense is pure hypocrisy. This has been proven to me in my own case.

From the above, it can be clearly concluded that the USSR Constitution deprives me of the fundamental rights and freedoms due to my heterodoxy.

Therefore, taking under consideration that I am deprived from actually benefiting from such fundamental rights as are proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by the International Pact covering the socio-political rights, the USSR Constitution in fact deprives me of such rights, and the law of criminal processes and other judicial acts are gravely violated by the militia, the KGB, prosecutors and courts — I find myself in reality outside any laws.

What enormous price I have to pay for my views and beliefs. Having been imprisoned for long years and having been kept under constant administrative surveillance with house arrest, in addition, I am forced, for God knows how long, to submit to persecution, discrimination, blackmail, cruelty, insults to my human dignity, and political and ideological terror. I am placed completely outside any socio-political life and am limited to a minimum of spiritual, cultural and socio-economic life.

As a result, my life here in “freedom” differs very little from the one I was leading in concentration camps and prisons, it might even be considered harder to bear.

For example, I was forced to live inside zones in the different places of incarceration, and similarly I am forced to live inside a zone consisting of the village of Pustomy in “freedom”; when incarcerated, I was not allowed to

remain outside my barrack from 10:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m., and similarly here I am not allowed to remain outside my quarters from 7:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m. — there during eight hours and here during twelve hours out of every twenty-four, namely here, in “freedom” my house arrest was increased by four hours; in concentration camps, the camp officials have the right anytime to enter and search the barracks, and here the militia has the same right as far as my living quarters are concerned; in concentration camps I was deprived of the right to work in my profession, I am also deprived of that right here in “freedom”; during incarceration, my correspondence was censored by the authorities, and here it is being censored by the KGB. In concentration camps or prisons, the authorities always informed me about a letter that was confiscated, here in “freedom” my letters simply get “lost”; in concentration camps I was allowed to see my family when they came to visit me, here in “freedom” I am also allowed to see my family only when they come to visit me — I am not allowed to visit them. There are many more parallels that could be pointed out, however, I believe that the ones above mentioned clearly indicate the circumstances of life created for me and for others like me here in “freedom”.

My life in my own country became unbearable, but I did not consider the question of emigration from the USSR immediately upon my release from imprisonment. For me, my fatherland was dearer than anything and I believed that I will have a chance to acquire a right to life in freedom. Therefore, about two months after the establishment of administrative surveillance over me, namely March 7, 1976, I transmitted a lengthy statement to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union asking it to direct the appropriate authorities to lift from me the illegally established administrative surveillance, because in the event that such administrative surveillance were not lifted or revoked, I would be forced to consider emigrating to one of the countries in the West, since I would be deprived of life in freedom in my own fatherland.

On July 3, 1976, Assistant to the Chief of Oblast Administration of Interior Affairs Rehurskyj arrived in Pustomyty and transmitted to me the answer to my statement to the Politburo. He said that the administrative surveillance over me was established lawfully and added that, if I continued to write similar statements, I will wind up back in the place where I came from, namely concentration camp.

Thereafter, I decided to use all my resources to emigrate from the Soviet Union, since it became clear that I will not be allowed to live freely in my own country.

I started to ask different persons in the Soviet Union as well as in the West to aid me in my quest.

The authorities found out about my inquiries and gave me to understand by different methods that they were against my leaving the Soviet Union, as evidenced by the following instances.

For example, during the above mentioned search of my living quarters, which took place on December 13, 1977, Captain Shumeyko stated, “See, he (namely I) is trying to get to the West, regardless of the cost, in order to reach the easy life”. This is how my hopelessness is being explained, the hopelessness that is forcing me to leave my enslaved and unfortunate fatherland, because such Shumeyko and his “brothers” Polishchuk, Poluden, Horbulko, Rudenko and others deprived me of my inherent rights and freedoms in my own country.

On January 30, 1978, I was called in to see Captain Polishchuk, who informed me that two Austrian citizens appealed to the government of the Soviet



Union to allow me to leave the USSR. He asked me whether I knew them and whether I asked them for their intervention on my behalf. He suggested that I write a statement to the effect that I did not know them and did not ask them for anything. I declined to write such a statement.

In practice, it is almost impossible for dissidents to emigrate from the USSR. During the last ten years, only Nadia Svitlychna was allowed to leave the USSR, as a result of a request-invitation which she received personally, through unofficial channels, since the authorities never transmitted to her the numerous invitations she received previously, nor even informed her thereof.

After two years, I also received a request-invitation through unofficial channels.

The authorities will not even transmit these kinds of invitations to us, but confiscate them on the spot.

Here it should be noted that, as soon as the authorities found out about my being in possession of a request-invitation and that I was making arrangements for preparation of documents for emigration from the USSR, I was called in on November 16, 1978 to see Lviv Oblast Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko (with whom I had dealings on September 23, 1977, mentioned above). Two KGB representatives, Major Ruzhynskij and Captain Cherniak were also present. The conversation started with a comment by Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko to the effect that I am looking for a second fatherland. Then the conversation continued about my four letters, which were taken by force from recipient Oksana Meshko during a search of her quarters by representatives of Kyiv KGB in April of 1978. During their searches, the KGB representatives believe everything they find to be anti-Soviet. For example, during a search of my residence on December 24, 1976, the KGB confiscated a photograph of six year old Yarema (son of Nadia Svitlychna) with his godfather Opanas Zalyvakha — a painter and former political prisoner.

So, my four letters to Oksana Meshko were conveniently remembered at the time when I was attempting to obtain a permit to leave the USSR, in order to blackmail and frighten me. Maybe afterwards I will change my mind about emigrating. It is possible that I might have changed my mind about emigration if only the authorities would have lifted the administrative surveillance over me and allowed me to live freely with all the rights and freedoms of a fully-fledged citizen. But not so. They have only one method — power, blackmail, terror. Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko then picked up a copy of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and advised me that my letters constituted a violation of Article 62 of the Code, namely anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, that in the event I did not cease such correspondence, I will have only prison to look forward to, and in the event I do not change my views and beliefs and become a Soviet person, I will remain under administrative surveillance for the rest of my days. Further, with a raised voice, he proclaimed that persons such as I constituted only a miserly group which could be mercilessly crushed pursuant to a whim of such as he. At the conclusion, he advised me to think carefully about my fate and use my brains.

As can be clearly seen, everything is decided from the position of power, not according to law.

However, completely contrary attitude of the authorities is found in connection with emigration from the USSR of persons of Russian nationality, particularly Moscovites. Almost all Russians who request such are given permits to leave the Soviet Union, pursuant to invitations from the West. In addition, there were many instances when the authorities suggested, proposed or even demanded that a Russian leave the Soviet Union. Some of such Russians were

my acquaintances, therefore my information is accurate. I do not envy them, I am glad that they have had the opportunity to pursue better lives in the West.

However, we Ukrainians do not have any choices. We are forced to live either outside of the protection of the law, namely under illegal administrative surveillance, or in concentration camps or prisons.

Therefore, I have no faith in my being allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union, because I realize that Soviet authorities still consider me gravely dangerous and will do anything to allow me to emigrate to Siberia, Mordovia or the Volodymyr prison, in lieu of the West. I have already heard many innuendoes to that effect.

It certainly will take minimal effort on their part to fabricate a violation of anti-Soviet agitation or propaganda or slander provisions in connection with me — just a few false documents.

If they want to make a greater effort, they can also, through provocation, fabricate the crime of hooliganism, assault, attempted rape, possession of firearms (planted), possession of foreign currency or other compromising materials, and in this manner “prove” me a “criminal”.

I proclaim herein that my aims were not and are not the violent opposition to Soviet authority, regardless of the fact that I dislike it and do not agree with its policy. I only, through lawful means, request the return to me of the rights and freedoms, which are my due in accordance with the law and of which I was groundlessly and illegally deprived.

During my entire life I did not commit any crime, and am not violating any laws presently. My participation and membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and the authorship of the Declaration of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group I do not consider as crimes against Soviet authorities. Through these actions, I am only attempting to be endowed with my rightful social and political rights and freedoms in accordance with domestic and international laws, of which I am in reality deprived.

Through my conduct and actions I will not commit any crime in the future. Any anti-Soviet acts were, are and will be against my nature and beliefs.

Therefore, in the event that the KGB, the militia or prosecuting authorities were to accuse me of any crime or violation of proper conduct, then such accusation will only be the result of conscious fabrication or provocation on the part of the KGB against me, constituting their revenge upon me for not submitting, for remaining a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, for my authorship of the Declaration of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, and for my adherence to my views and beliefs.

Knowing the nature of the KGB, I expect their revenge to take the form of strengthening of the administrative surveillance over me, blackmail, discrimination, cruel treatment, fabrication of materials with the aim of compromising me (such as took place in 1977), inclusive of physical abuse and torture with the help of various KGB undercover agents.

I admit that even during my youth I was critical of Soviet authorities and their Marxist-Leninist ideology. For this reason I never truly considered myself a Soviet person. After my and others' arrests and so-called “trial”, I came to consider Soviet authority and its Marxist-Leninist ideology not only foreign but hostile.

To date, I consider myself formally a citizen of the Soviet Union, but in reality I never felt like one. I always considered and presently consider myself a citizen of Ukraine, not Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The fact that I never attempted to resign my citizenship of USSR (including my Ukrainian SSR citizenship) was because I never actually saw the possibility of realizing such a question.

Therefore, the Soviet government is alien to me and it considers me a hostile alien also. In such circumstances, I consider it imperative to emigrate from the USSR and establish permanent residence in the United States, pursuant to the request-invitation of my first cousin Maria Zarytska, residing at 26019 Canindham Street, Warren, Michigan, 48091, United States of America.

In the event I will not be allowed to realize my desire to emigrate, I will have no choice but to attempt the final act — starvation until death. I would rather die than continue living until the end of my days under total persecution, discrimination, cruel treatment, insult to my human dignity, and ideological and political terror, all resulting from absolute lawlessness and arbitrariness.

January, 1979

(signed) *Ivan Kandyba*  
(Translated from Ukrainian by  
Zena Matla-Rychtycka)



*Prince Charles, heir to the British throne, visited the Ukrainian community in Derby, Great Britain, in February 1981, and successfully attempted the "prysidky" with members of the SUM dancing ensemble "Hoverla".*

## Yuriy Shukhevych

I, Nina Strokata, former political prisoner of the USSR, testify to the following:

Forced to leave Ukraine in September 1971, I settled in the town of Nalchyk in Kabardyn-Balkar in northern Caucasus. Here at that time Yuriy Shukhevych, who had already spent 20 years in camps and prisons, was serving his term of exile. In Nalchyk, Yuriy Shukhevych married, had two children, and worked as an electrician in a local furniture factory. As godmother to Yuriy's son Roman, I was in contact with the young Shukhevych family and know that from 1970 to 1971 Yuriy Shukhevych was periodically visited by KGB officials from Ukraine, among them KGB major Lytvyn. From my talks with Yuriy I know the aim of those visits: It was proposed, again and again, to the son of the great UPA commander, that he censure his father's actions in return for being allowed entrance to a university.

As is known, Yuriy often heard such propositions during his 20-year imprisonment. As is also known, Yuriy never consented to such proposals during his imprisonment. He continued to do the same during his year of freedom (1968—71). In the summer of 1971 he tried to gain admittance to the university in the towns of Ordzhonokidze and Groznyy. During the entrance examinations he was given an unsatisfactory grade in the French language, a language which Yuriy knew perfectly, possibly even better than the examining Soviet professor. This failure during the entrance examination was the first sign of danger. A KGB co-worker quickly visited Yuriy at home and again began to talk about earlier KGB promises. Yuriy, as formerly, remained the son of his famous father. In December of 1971 I suggested to Yuriy that he and his family move into my apartment in Nalchyk, which was more comfortable than the unsatisfactory one

in which Yuriy lived with his wife and two children. On December 2, 1971. Yuriy's daughter became ill, and Yuriy's wife Valya went with her to the hospital. Yuriy stayed home with his son, although it was necessary to go to work every day. I also worked, and, in order to better take care of his son, Yuriy agreed to move into my apartment with his son and belongings. On the morning of December 6 the investigation from Kyiv and Odessa arrived with a warrant from the procurator of Ukraine authorizing a search of mine and Yuriy's apartments and belongings. During the search a student notebook was found in the pocket of Yuriy's suit; seven pages of the notebook consisted of Yuriy's writing under the title of "Thinking Aloud." In addition, among Yuriy's belongings was also found a *samvydav* collection of poems of the then repressed Ukrainian poet Mykola Kholodny. Also confiscated were such "criminal" possessions as a few pages torn out of a historical work, published in Poland in 1969 and dedicated to the events in Ukraine during the forties and fifties. Yuriy kept those pages because his father was mentioned in them. After the brutal search on December 6, 1971, I was arrested and later sentenced. Yuriy was "humanely" allowed to stay home that day with his son, the officials probably having noted that there was no one with whom the young child could be left since, as I have said, Yuriy's wife was then in the hospital with a sick daughter. I repeat that Yuriy was not arrested on the day of the search because it was planned to pressure him again into condemning his father.

In the court proceedings against me there was added material from the search and materials from Yuriy's interrogation of December 1971 and from January to March 1972. This made it possible for me to know what was happening to Yuriy during this time. Then the materials from

the previous proceedings in Yuriy's case were separated into yet another case. This meant that a third court proceeding was begun against Yuriy Shukhevych. This was the case of the seven pages of the unfinished notebook manuscript and of a few names from the Ukrainian samvydav and from some official Polish texts.

In June 1972 I was interrogated by the KGB prosecutor Karavan within the walls of the Odessa KGB. From his remarks I understood Yuriy to have been moved to Kyiv for investigation. From the prosecutor's remarks I also understood that the KGB was attempting to collect evidence to the effect that Yuriy and I had supposedly discussed what Ukrainians should do after the Czecho-Slovakian events of 1968. It is very possible that my conversations with Yuriy were spied upon when he and I took walks on the street so that his children could get some fresh air. The turn of the prosecutor's remarks makes me believe that Yuriy was pressured not only by threats about his father's name but also by threats against his children and friends. Prosecutor Karavan did not receive the information he expected from me or from Yuriy Shukhevych. The KGB, not expecting to succeed in convincing Yuriy to provide the kind of information it needed, removed him to Nalchyk.

In 1972, after a series of provocative actions against Yuriy and his wife, the supreme court of Kabardyn-Balkaria sentenced him to 9 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile. Furthermore, Yuriy was eventually incarcerated in the ill-famed Potma in Mordovia. He was held in a deportation prison longer than is usually the case. Then he was sent back and sentenced once again because a piece of cloth was found on his person on which there was some half-legible writing. It is known that the prosecutors judged this text to be anti-Soviet and as further evidence of guilt.

On the basis of this "new" material there

was a review of the case and instead of 9 years, which Yuriy had received in 1972, he was given, in 1973, 10 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile. It is known that Yuriy's lawyer in Nalchyk said that Yuriy Shukhevych received such punishment only because he conducted himself like a hero. It is also known that the head of the court who sentenced Yuriy was later disqualified because of his immoral actions in the past.

It is also known that during his present term of imprisonment, Yuriy has again been taken to Ukraine, as was done during his first and second periods of incarceration.

Yuriy Shukhevych's address:

422950 Chystopol  
Tatar ASSR  
uch. UZ — 148/st. 4

Address of Yuriy's children:

Nalchyk  
Kabardyno-Balkarska ASSR  
Sovetskaya 83 kv 13  
Trotsenko Valentyna Mykolaibna  
Children — Roman and Iryna

Yuriy is serving his term under the name of Berezinsky-Shukhevych. His children were registered under the same name. It is not known whether they have kept this name upon entering school. The son Roman has extraordinary mathematical abilities. The boy was 2 years old when his father was arrested. In a period of 8 years he saw his father only once during a visiting period in 1978 to which the KGB "invited" Yuriy's wife and two children. I know that the meeting with his father, whom Roman had forgotten, made a deep impression on the child.

Yuriy suffers from stomach ulcers. He works and takes part in prisoner protest actions. He has won for himself a special authority and love among the prisoners.

*Nina Strokata, New York,  
On the eve of Yuriy's birthday*

## For the Right to be Ukrainian

Statement by: Sokulsky Ivan Hryhorovych, Dnipropetrovska obl.,  
m. Dnipropetrovsk, vul. Myru 3.

(incomplete text of the document from behind the Iron Curtain)

I am not a politician (that is not my vocation) and I have no political program. I want only one thing — to realize myself as a person. A human being has to be destined for some other purpose in the world, besides the “one and only correct role” in the social program, which prior to one’s birth, has been assigned to each of us by the party and its bosses! Who has the right to take away from a human being his greatest purpose in life — his personal calling, his spiritualism, even in the name of the highest ideals?! Who (it is beyond one’s wildest imagination) can forbid me to be myself, to be an individual?

In a society where *everyone is under obligation* to be a spiritless appendage, even of a large goal, where every person is obligated from the time of his birth to adopt unquestioningly atheism (Godlessness) as a necessary pre-requisite for further communist education, there is no (nor can there ever be) place for personality in the full sense of the word.

In a society where everyone, to the end of his days, is obligated to remain a cog in the wheel of the massive bureaucratic machine, a machine whose goal is not to serve mankind, but the reverse, man is a slave to that society’s goal. In every instance there’s moral desolation and demoralization, a terrifying spiritlessness in all areas while this is all called “healthy conformity.” In a society where being a human with a soul has long been in question — there can be no room for personality and individualism, assuming it could break through the bars of totalitarianism.

A society where all the forces of the political party apparatus are thrown at the individual. A bureaucracy whose sole purpose is the desolation of the individual,

permitting an historical triumph, by totally crushing the infrequent shows of individualism (try speaking out against them.) This ideological goal is seen as being more important than economic tasks. This societal atmosphere can not permit me, as an individual, even the most elementary privilege — That of Being!

The first and most elementary condition for my existence, as a personality *is the right to be Ukrainian* with all its emerging consequences. All of my conscious and subconscious life testifies that this right, the right to a Ukraine, I did not and do not have. When after 25 years, I first started to peer through the bureaucratic thicket of my Russified surroundings, to my actual Fatherland (in which I felt the roots of my soul, and my individualism) I was automatically saddled with the title of a “Bourgeois Nationalist.” Thrown out of the university, I was later, as one would with a criminal, thrown into a Mordavian prison and then into the Volodymyrskyj prison. Based on my own experience, I came to the conclusion that to be Ukrainian, even a triple Marxist Ukrainian, meant nothing more than prison or psychiatric hospitals.

I have no right to a private (intimate) life — every step I make, breath I take is monitored.

I have no right to keep a diary — it is always confiscated no matter what is written in it.

I have no right to permit my ideas to conflict with official Soviet doctrine. I must profess agreement to the one and only true philosophical system and doctrine — Marxism — otherwise I will be accused of working against the government.

I have no right to write creatively in any form (the question of having my

works published has long been a dead issue.) Any attempts at writing will be met with a strictly prepared statement filled with insinuations by Soviet authorities, that I am making false remarks about the Soviet way of life and its ideologies.

I have no right to a job based on my qualifications or my needs. One *should* have this in a country which officially professes job freedom.

I have no right in the Russified city of Dnepropetrovsk to speak in my native Ukrainian language, it is not spoken on the streets nor in any places of business.

I have no right to be a father. How can one call himself a father, if he can not give his child the most basic and rudimentary of things — a Fatherland. When your child cannot go to a Ukrainian kindergarten (there is no such thing!) and in time to a Ukrainian school (which in our territory is also non-existent) then, of course there can be no thoughts of higher education in Ukrainian.

A citizen of any Soviet Republic has only the right to propagate, and at that, to only produce people to add to the labor force rather than to produce any intellectuals. An anonymous bureaucrat trains, teaches, and looks at a child only as an object for social manipulation, and plans for these children to grow up to become members of the future totalitarian community. There should be nothing else in a Person. All the principles of educating these children should be diametrically opposed to any training from their parents. When the attack on a person's spiritualism begins in childhood (in kindergarten), and continues non-stop to his dying day, then it comes as no surprise that one sees a deep moral downfall and primitiveness everywhere. This is especially noticeable in the elementary rights of humans, modeled after the new "constitution to build and expand communism." However, what can one truly expect from a constitution, in which triumphantly ingrained, is an anti-

constitutional act — the pronouncement which states that the governing party, choosing itself, would be the governing party in perpetuity.

Consequently, based on this pronouncement, all citizens of the Soviet Union automatically became slaves of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. After all, the power or reign of the Communist Party over its people via the constitution, is insured forever. "Triple Boorishness," would be the opinion of Ivan Franko about such a constitution.

"Finally! You have arrived," one would like to say to these slave drivers of the 20th century.

Where else is there to go?!

"Our goal is communism!" forceably scream in my face, the signs and placards which are everywhere. They have even signed by name to some of them! But then who would bother to ask for the real ideas or thoughts of a slave, even if he had the nerve to have ideas of his own?

That's how communism is built up. If it eventually conquered all — its triumph would mark an end to all things, and especially to people as spiritual thinking entities. There will be no need to go further.

This glorification of communism and its continual forced growth, I see, not in tall buildings, new machines or in new factories. I see this build up in the most vital area of life, one that is in the forefront — the effect on Human Beings. Human Beings, who become more and more downtrodden by the constant increase of technology and bureaucracy, which are supported by the boundaries of ideological regimentation of orthodox sovietism (which is nothing other than modernized Stalinism.) This ideology has so minimized the worth of the individual, that soon we can eliminate individuality in the name of this great goal. It is in this way, that the orthodox communist bureaucrat views the purpose of communism. All problems can be truly re-

solved once and for all when, without interruption, we can manipulate the masses just as we manipulate the marionettes of a puppet show... For the leaders of the communist party this is the ideal method of achieving absolute power.

For me, as an individualist, this type of society is like a knife pointing at the throat. To tell the truth, I cringe at this glorification of your Communism. I view it as a glorification of barbarism, a spiritless primitivism, an apocalyptic end. For me the communism we are now offered and an apocalypse are one and the same.

One can remain silent on issues that do not apply to oneself, but when it comes to basics, to undermining our spirit, to be or not to be an individual — then silence on our part is treason to ourselves and cowardice on the field of battle!

- There can be no further withdrawal!
- Further — I go alone!

Backing away from my rights as a citizen, I stop being myself and the only

thing left to do is go backward, to become once again, the degraded cog in the wheel and to give up my one valuable — individualism. For regressing, I probably would be rewarded in some way (at least I would not be imprisoned.) However, if in return for not being imprisoned, I must pay with my dignity and honor, by being a traitor to myself and to Ukraine, then I refuse this reward.

A part makes up a whole. Into individualism fit spiritualism, nationalism, and then all humanity. Therefore, in defense of my human rights, guaranteed by the Declaration of Human Rights (which was ratified even by the Soviet government), I knowingly, within the limits of my ability, would help my twice enslaved Fatherland because, a human being in addition to all other things, is a social being. The gains of one become the gains of everyone, just as the degradation and demoralization of the self is reflected in the degradation of the community.



*Mr. Roman Zwarycz, moderator, opening the youth panel at the AF ABN Congress, May 2-3, 1981.*



# News and Views

## **The mass media about the OUN and ABN Action in Madrid**

*(Spanish and other press)*  
*PUEBLO (10. 11. 1980)*

“(In Ukraine) there is neither individual nor national liberty. Religion is persecuted. The country is covered with a thick network of prisons and concentration camps... The country is subjected to a relentless campaign of russification...”

“The rulers of the Kremlin and their viceroys in Soviet Ukraine do not think even remotely about fulfilling the Helsinki Accords. They propose disarmament, they propose dates and places for two new Conferences — one in Warsaw and the other in Bucharest — but do not wish to discuss the subject of human rights, which to them it seems trivial and without any transcendence. For this reason several dozen Ukrainians have come to Madrid from Canada, the United States and England with the purpose of giving live testimony of what is happening in their homeland. The former Prime Minister of Ukraine and a former prisoner of the Germans, has also arrived [in Madrid]...”

19. 11. 1980

“On the occasion of the Madrid Conference, the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations has made public a Memorandum in which the republics integrated into the Soviet Union are described as subjugated nations. They [ABN] demand from the Western nation to defend the national rights of nations and to press for the independence of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, and other republics of the USSR. The said organization urges to ‘support the armed struggle of the nations subjugated in the USSR for their

self-determination, freedom and national independence’. Also, they ask that the provisions relevant to the ‘recognition of the status quo of the Russian conquests, the inviolability of the boundaries of the Russian-bolshevik empire, and the commitment of the free world to non-interference in the ‘internal affairs’ of the said empire be declared null and void”.

“Yesterday, the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations addressed a Memorandum to the Western nations represented at the CSCE in which it asks that those provisions which recognize the current borders of the Soviet Union be annulled. In a long list of nations ‘subjugated within [and outside] the Soviet Union’ the said Bloc includes the following: Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, [the region of] North Caucasus, Croatia, Czechia, Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and East Germany.”

### **La Vanguardia (11. 11. 1980)**

“The most spectacular event of the protests held today was caused by Maris Kirsons of Latvian origin. He appeared before the Palace of Congresses and, in protest of the situation in his country oppressed by the USSR, cut two small veins in both of his arms and for about two minutes has been spilling blood on a Soviet flag he had placed on the ground...”

“Finally, it should be added that about fifty Ukrainians, Latvians, Bulgarians, Rumanians [and others — ed.] have demonstrated at noon today through the streets near the Palace of Congresses and Exhibitions where the CSCE is being held.

“The demonstrators carried their national flags, and also placards with such inscriptions as “Long live Free Ukraine”,

“Down with Soviet tyranny”, “Independence for Slovakia”, “Free Rudenko”, and other similar phrases. They also carried photographs of the Polish union leader Valesa. According to the pamphlets that were distributed, the demonstrators ask for freedom for the countries under Soviet domination and freedom for the individual. Several of the participants have announced that in the next few hours they will begin a hunger strike to protest the situation in their countries.”

**11. 11. 1980**

**(Report on the ABN press conference)**

“A press conference called by the ABN (Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations) took place yesterday in a Madrid hotel. The ABN is an organization which, since its foundation at the height of World War II, coordinates the resistance struggle of the nations occupied today by the USSR inside and outside of the boundaries of the Soviet State.

“This press conference, and the facilities which this organization has been enjoying in Spain, have been possible due to the support of the Alianza Popular.

“The press conference was presided by renown representatives of Ukraine, Bulgaria, Slovakia and Rumania. At the same time that a call for solidarity with the nations invaded and occupied by the Soviet armies was issued, it was announced in a press release that today at noon, in the square of Sagrados Corazones, a demonstration would take place followed by a hunger strike in which a group of Ukrainian patriots will participate.

“It was stressed at the said press conference that within the boundaries of the USSR alone, out of a total of 250 million of inhabitants, 140 million are deprived of their national rights to sovereignty and independence.

“In answer to a question from a media person, an ABN spokesman stressed that although the absence of representatives of

Russian groups of resistance is regrettable, Russian imperialism is the main enemy that must be vanquished. That is to say, the ABN promotes the withdrawal of the USSR to its natural, exclusively Russian borders.

“Finally, upon mentioning the coincidence of the [ABN — ed.] action with the official opening of the Madrid Conference, one of the assistants [of the organizers of the press conference — ed.] of Polish nationality pointed out that nothing positive can be expected from any treaty with the USSR, because — according to him — the Soviets systematically violate and breach those pacts from which no advantage can be derived for the Moscow Government.

“The ABN is composed of dissidents [i.e. representatives — ed.] of the following countries and regions: Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, North Caucasus, Croatia, Czechia, Slovakia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Siberia, Slovenia, Turkestan, and Ukraine”.

**El Diario (12. 11. 1980)**

“Dissidents of all the nationalities that form the USSR and Warsaw Pact met yesterday in Madrid to take part in protest acts of all types, while many others like the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations demanded that the West end détente between East and West.

“To counter the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, some forty Ukrainians, Latvians, Bulgarians, Slovenians and Rumanians demonstrated yesterday through the streets near the site of the Conference and demanded ‘independence for the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism’.

“Simultaneously with this demonstration a Latvian Pastor, Maris Kirsons, who lives in the American City of Philadelphia, cut his veins over a Soviet flag in protest against the russification of his homeland...

“The protest actions will continue today in the area of the Palace of Congresses and

Exhibitions with a hunger strike by Ukrainians at the Square of Sagrados Corazones.

"Members of the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations asked yesterday at a press conference held in Madrid that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe proclaim a 'Carta Magna of independence for the nations subjugated within the USSR and for its satellites'.

"The press conference, which was organized with the assistance of the Alianza Popular, was presided by the last Prime Minister of the free Ukrainian Government and President of the ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko. The press conference was attended by dissidents [representatives — ed.] of Ukraine, Bulgaria, Slovenia and Rumania, and also members of the Polish Government in exile.

"The representatives of ABN stated that the Helsinki Accords of 1975 'have not only failed to improve the situation of the oppressed nations, but have made it worse.' According to what they said, the non-communist countries that have signed the Helsinki Accords 'have dealt a hard blow to the national liberation struggle of the peoples and nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and communism by adhering to the 'status quo' of the Russian territorial conquests'.

"They asked the non-communist countries to declare the Helsinki Accords void and to compel Russia to withdraw its occupational forces [from the oppressed nations — ed.], stop the mass deportations to Siberia, abolish the concentration camps and psycho-prisons, free all political and religious prisoners, and to put an end to the assassinations and persecutions of dissidents.

"Mr. Stetsko pointed out that the concept of the balance of power is already history. 'The essential difference between the forces of the West and those of Russia — he said — is that the former strive for peace, and the latter for world con-

quest. It is impossible to speak about a balance of military power, because, in its technical aspect, Russian might is superior. For this reason, the policy of détente cannot last'.

"He added that 'the alternative is a perfect coordination [of the struggle — ed.] of all the subjugated countries, which represent more than half of the population in the USSR.

"The ABN is composed of dissidents [representatives — ed.] of the following countries and regions: Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, the Baltic States, Byelorussia, North Caucasus, Croatia, Czechia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkestan, and Ukraine [and others]."

#### **El Alcazar (12. 11. 1980)**

"Yesterday, on a street near the Palace of Congresses, a group of people said something that the Soviet Union stubbornly refuses to listen in the spacious halls of the Madrid Conference. Ukrainians, Estonians, Lithuanians, dissidents, exiles, and refugees... men and women who managed to escape the varied but implacable forms of Soviet Bloc terror took to the streets their placards, banners and flags, and their national symbols.

"The following were their demands: 'Long live Free Ukraine', 'Down with Soviet Tyranny', 'End Soviet subjugation of Bulgaria', 'Freedom for Slovakia', 'Free Ukrainian political prisoners'... A Latvian who resides in Philadelphia, after stepping on a flag of the USSR, cut his veins in protest of the Soviet occupation of his country. The police arrested eight people...

"Nevertheless, the fact that the USSR was not prepared to tolerate that its continuous outrages against human rights be subjected to a verdict of world public opinion at the Madrid Conference was constantly gaining in strength...

"While the clock remained quiet, static, on the brink of midnight, down on the

street a group of people — people who had experienced on their own flesh Soviet domination — tried to say to the Madrid Conference and the 35 nations represented there what Moscow has refused to hear...

“The USSR has again turned a deaf ear. Will the rest of the world be an accomplice to its silence?”

#### **YA (12. 11. 1980)**

“About fifty dissidents from Eastern countries have threatened with a hunger strike in front of the Palace of Congresses. The Soviet Union has failed to observe the commitments of the Helsinki Final Act signed by Brezhnev in his own handwriting. It is legitimate that the Madrid Conference ought to deal with the lack of freedom within the Soviet Union, and the danger to European and world security the invasion of Afghanistan has entailed.”

“A many-sided protest, and yet, uniform in its composition and objectives denounce the USSR as a dictatorial regime set against the ideologies and nations which yearn for freedom. Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Afghans demand to be free.” (From a photo caption depicting an ABN demonstration).

#### **El Pais (12. 11. 1980)**

“Shortly before 10 a.m. a 39 year-old lutheran pastor, married, born in Latvia and residing in Philadelphia (US), positioned himself in front of the building where the Conference is taking place and, stepping on a Soviet flag, he introduced some hypodermic needles into his forearms in order to spill his blood in protest of the oppression that his country of origin suffers under the domination of the Soviet Union. The pastor was taken away by elements of the national police who took him to a hospital where he was treated and afterwards released...”

“A group of some forty persons who belong to the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Na-

tions (ABN) demonstrated from the Square of Sagrados Corazones to the Palace where the Conference on Security is taking place. Under the catchphrase of ‘Freedom for all nations, freedom for the individual’ the participants carried placards demanding freedom for Ukraine and the various East European countries. While demonstrating around the square, they also distributed leaflets demanding ‘liberation of the subjugated nations as the only political alternative to a nuclear war’.

“Another group of people of Latvian origin belonging to the World Federation of Free Latvians burned a Soviet flag in order to denounce Soviet violations of the provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. The demonstrators wanted to publicize the violation of human rights in their countries of origin and the non-recognition of the principle of self-determination for its inhabitants. A large sign alluding to this theme was put up on the second floor level of the main facade of the Real Madrid Stadium. Members of the national police took the sign down a while later.

“Several of the participants in the demonstrations who were born in East European countries declared their decision to stage a hunger strike for the same reasons.”

#### **Le Devoir (12. 11. 1980) Montreal, Canada**

“On their part, the World Federation of Free Latvians denounced the constant violation of human rights in Latvia — ‘colonized, exploited and pillaged by the Russians’. It demands the rights to self-determination for the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian people.

“The Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations headed by the last Prime Minister of the free Ukrainian Government [June 30, 1941], Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, with the participation of Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Slovak, Armenian dissidents [representatives — ed.], and members of the Polish

Government in exile, demanded from the delegates to the CSCE to declare their support for the independence of 'the nations under the yoke of the USSR and [the independence] of its satellites'.

"According to Mr. Stetsko, the concept of the balance of power belongs to history now, because while the Western countries strive for peace, the USSR strives for world domination."

**The Times (12. 11. 1980) London,  
Great Britain**

"While diplomats wrangled inside Madrid's Palace of Congresses about the agenda for the European Security Conference today, a man lay in a pool of blood on the pavement outside.

"He was Mr. Maris Kirsons, a Latvian exile who chose the dramatic and dangerous expedient of slashing his wrists in order to call attention to his people's

demand for freedom. He was taken to hospital, where he was later reported to be out of danger...

"About 70 Latvians marched through the centre of Madrid at midday, calling for independence for their small Baltic country which has been a part of the Soviet Union since 1940. They set fire to the red hammer and sickle flag, sang songs in their own language and dispersed peacefully...

"In the afternoon, about a dozen Ukrainians began a two-day fast to call attention to their demand for Ukrainian independence...

"A spokesman for the Ukrainian nationalists said: 'Human rights guarantees signed in Helsinki have meant little more than a cruel farce for defenders of national and human rights in the countries occupied by the Russians.'"

NEW PUBLICATIONS

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).

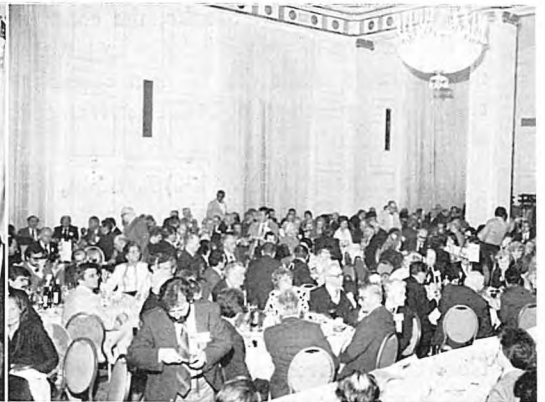
Russian Unlawfulness in Ukraine. The Life of a Martyr — by Ivan Kandyba. Price \$ 3.00 (£ 1.25, 5.00 DM).

Ucrania en la lucha por la soberania nacional — by Yaroslav Stetsko. Price \$ 3.00 (£1.25, 5.00 DM).

El Camino Hacia Una Victoria Ideologica Sobre el Marxismo y el Bolchevismo — by Yaroslav Stetsko. Soft cover, 79 pp. Price \$ 3.00 (£ 1.25, 5.00 DM).

Revolutionary and Reactionary Forces in the World — by Yaroslav Stetsko. Soft cover, 15 pp. covering AF ABN Congress, New York City, May 2-3, 1981. Price \$ 2.00 (£ 1.00, 4.00 DM).

## AF ABN Congress in New York, May 2-3, 1981



**Top photo left: Mr. B. Fedorak, outgoing AF ABN chairman, opening AF ABN Congress;  
Middle photo: ABN President, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, addressing the Congress;  
Bottom photo: Mr. Charles Andreanszky, master of ceremonies, opening the banquet of the  
AF ABN Congress;  
Photos on the right: views of the AF ABN Congress.**

# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



July 15, 1981 — Members of the US Congress meeting with the former Prime Minister of Ukraine and the President of the ABN — Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko in the offices of Hon. T. O'Neill, the Speaker of the House, on the occasion of the recent Congressional commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Re-establishment of Ukrainian Statehood in 1941.

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On front cover from left to right: Congressman E. Derwinski, Mrs. T. Caryk, Cong. F. Annunzio, Cong. C. Zablocki, Cong. W. Bromfield, Cong. Mario Biaggi, Cong. D. Ritter, Miss N. Caryk, Dr. L. Dobriansky, Cong. S. Stratton, Cong. R. McGrath, Hon. Y. Stetsko, Speaker T. O'Neill, Mrs. S. Stetsko, Cong. R. Dorman, Mrs. J. Dobriansky, Chaplain C. Ford, Cong. C. Pepper, Mr. T. Caryk, Cong. Larry McDonald.

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## **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

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## UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY IN AMERICAN CONGRESS

### Address to the members of the Congress of the United States

I would like to begin by thanking the Congress of the United States for adopting the Captive Nations Resolution on July 17, 1959 and for reaffirming your commitment to the principles therein over the course of the last 22 years. I am particularly pleased that the resolution was adopted unanimously and I expect that this resolution, which remains in the interests of not only the subjugated nations but also the entire free world, will be an integral component of the United States foreign policy.

Allow me to express my heartfelt appreciation to the Hon. Edward J. Derwinski, the Hon. Samuel Stratton and to Dr. Dobriansky for organizing today's commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Declaration of the Reestablishment of the Independent Ukrainian State. I would also like to convey my sincere gratitude to the Hon. William Green for introducing a resolution in the House of Representatives designating June 30, 1981 as Ukrainian Independence Day. The future will justify the support that you are demonstrating today for the liberation of Ukraine by commemorating the latest period of Ukrainian statehood which began with the Reestablishment of the Independent Ukrainian State on June 30, 1941 and lasting through 1951.

It is my conviction that the events of June 30, 1941 were of historical significance not only for my own nation, but also for all other subjugated nations. The proclamation of the Restoration of Ukrainian Statehood of June 30, 1941 marked the beginning of a period in our history known under international law as the *Ukrainian Underground State*. As a result of this proclamation the Ukrainian nation launched a two-front war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia — two of the greatest imperialistic, totalitarian and military powers of the twentieth century. The act of June 30, 1941 and the subsequent struggle to consolidate the renewal of Ukrainian statehood are a manifestation of the unshakable will of the Ukrainian nation to achieve the restoration of its freedom and independence.

The Ukrainian government, created following the proclamation of independence, included not only representatives of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, but also national democrats, socialists, social revolutionaries and individuals not affiliated with any party. On the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists a parliamentary body was formed under the chairmanship of Dr. Konstantyn Levytskyj, a national democrat and former prime minister of the western Ukrainian national republic of 1918. The present patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, cardinal Josyph Slipyj, was a leading member of parliament, while metropolitan count Andreas Sheptytskyj was elected honorary president. Both the primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and metropolitan Polikarp Sikorskyj of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church issued pastoral letters in support of the newly formed government. The new Ukrainian government enjoyed the total support and loyalty of all strata of the Ukrainian nation. This was the only democratic government and parliament in continental Europe at that time.

The ideological and political foundation upon which Ukrainian statehood was restored in 1941 was contained in a manifesto issued in 1940 by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which stated: "We Ukrainians have raised the banner of struggle for the freedom of nations and man... we struggle for the dignity and freedom of man, for the right to openly profess one's beliefs, for freedom of all religious demonstrations and full freedom of conscience... we struggle for the right of the working man to openly profess his political convictions... for freedom of assembly and the establishment of political, social and professional organizations..." Furthermore, the manifesto called upon the revolutionaries of other subjugated nations to join forces with the Ukrainian nationalists in the struggle to destroy the Soviet Russian empire. This was the origin of ABN. It also stood as a challenge to Nazi Germany at the time when both totalitarian powers, having divided Europe between themselves, were at the zenith of their might.

The newly-formed government had the support of the Ukrainian nationalist military formation and numerous insurgent units throughout Ukraine, which immediately engaged the Soviet army on the field of battle. Having secured the main radio station in Lviv, the revolutionary government informed the nation of the restoration of Ukrainian statehood. Upon learning of these momentous developments, the Ukrainian population openly and enthusiastically endorsed the new government at mass assemblies in towns and villages throughout the country.

Consequently, the Nazis were forced to divulge their imperio-colonial aims. Following a period of tempestuous activity of consolidation of the newly-formed state, myself and other members of our government, as well as several leading members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, including its leader Stepan Bandera, were arrested by the Gestapo and sent into the concentration camps. Later, the Gestapo murdered three members of the government. Subsequently, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists went underground to continue the struggle for Ukraine's independence.

On behalf of our government, I sent my last letter of protest against the Nazi military occupation of Ukraine to the German Reich's chancellor in October 1941 from the police prison in Berlin. In that letter I warned that Germany's war in the East would be lost within three years, resulting in the Russian communist occupation of vast areas of central Europe. Despite this projection, I openly stated that Ukraine and the other freedom-loving subjugated nations would never cease their just struggle for liberty and independence.

On three separate occasions I was confronted with an ultimatum from the highest levels of the German Reich to revoke the declaration of Ukrainian state independence, to resign as Prime Minister and to dismiss the government. Each of these demands were adamantly rejected.

A state of war existed between Germany and Ukraine. Many thousands of Ukrainian nationalists and other patriots were executed upon capture, hundreds of thousands were put in prisons and concentration camps. A two-front war against the Russian and German occupiers of Ukraine was fought by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Operating underground, the Ukrainian supreme liberation council continued the work of the arrested government.

By autumn of 1941, thousands of members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists were executed, many more thousands were imprisoned by the Nazis who were acting on orders from Berlin such as these:

From the  
Service Command of the  
Security Police and of  
the Security Service S/5

Headquarters  
November 25, 1941

To the advanced posts of  
Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk,  
Rivne, Mykolaiv, Zhytomyr  
and Vinnytsia.

Subject: Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists  
(Bandera Movement)

It has been ascertained that the Bandera movement is preparing a revolt in the Reichscommissariat which has as its ultimate aim the establishment of an independent Ukraine. All functionaries of the Bandera movement must be arrested at once and, after thorough interrogation, are to be secretly liquidated as marauders.

Records of such interrogation must be forwarded to the service command C/5.

Heads of commands must destroy these instructions on having made a due notice of them.

(Signature illegible)  
SS-Obersturmbandfuhrer

The Ukrainian underground state and the mass armed struggle continued from 1941 to 1951. The Ukrainian supreme liberation council, as the natural extension of the Ukrainian government, exercised national authority for a decade on various parts of Ukrainian territory. The sovereignty of revolutionary authority was preserved through the military underground of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The scope of the struggle had even been acknowledged by the Russians and Germans alike. For example, Nikita Khrushchev wrote in his memoirs that, and I quote: "During the second half of the war he (Stepan Bandera, leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement — Y.S.) fought against both us and the Germans. Later, after the war, we lost thousands of men in a bitter struggle between the Ukrainian nationalists and the forces of Soviet power."

A German general, Ernst Koenig, also reported that, and I quote again: "The military organization known as the Ukrainiska Povstanska Armiya (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army) was formed with the aim of establishing an independent Ukraine, controlled neither by Moscow, nor by Germany... When western Ukraine was recaptured by the Red Army the OUN and the UPA called upon the Ukrainian masses to fight against the Bolsheviks — the Russian enemy. German officers who fought their way back to us in 1945 reported that the plight of the Red Army was similar to ours: It controlled only the towns and the main communication routes, while the country itself remained in the hands of the resistance movement."

The contemporary international situation is particularly grave. The expansion of Russian imperialism is well known to us all. Policies of friendship, appeasement, containment, convergence and détente have proven to be useless in stemming the centuries-old brazen Russian imperialism which aims at complete world domination.

But the West must realize that within the Russian empire there exists a new ideological and political revolutionary superpower — the subjugated nations, which is destroying the empire from within. The processes of the disintegration of the Russian empire are at different stages in the various subjugated nations: Afghanistan, Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Turkestan, among others.

Taking this factor into consideration, the following points should be included in western political and military strategy:

- 1) The Free World should engage Soviet Russia in the struggle of ideas and ideologies by recognizing the liberation movements of the subjugated nations as the legitimate representatives of these countries at all international forums including the United Nations;

- 2) The West should provide access to the national liberation movements to the various forms of mass media to facilitate communication with their countrymen behind the Iron Curtain on a mass scale;

- 3) Assistance should also be provided in the form of military training as well as other political, material and technological means of support;

- 4) All of the nations of the Free World should proclaim a Great Charter of Independence for all of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

The danger of nuclear holocaust cannot be negotiated away. Soviet Russia has skilfully exploited western fears of nuclear war by blackmailing the West into meekly acquiescing to ever-increasing conquests. Our strategic alternative is based on the knowledge that the subjugated nations within the Russian empire represent a vast untapped force, which in a common front with the nations of the Free World provides the strategic *raison d'être* for defeating the last remaining empire. Synchronized national liberation revolutions within the Russian colonial empire are the only alternative.

I would like to end my address to you, ladies and gentlemen, with the words of an unforgettable personal friend of mine and an outstanding British military thinker, major general J. F. C. Fuller, who wrote: "Only the unity of the western nations and their agreement with the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain can ensure final victory... the reason should be obvious. It is that the Kremlin is living on a volcano, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel..."

Washington, D. C., July 15, 1981

*(Text published in Congressional Record, July 28, 1981)*

## WASHINGTON POST ON UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

*By Maria Riccardi*

### Yaroslav Stetsko and Ukrainian Nationalism

The small, thin man introduces himself simply as “Stetsko, prime minister of Ukraine.”

Nearly 40 years ago, at the age of 28, Yaroslav Stetsko and other members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists seized Lviv, then capital of Ukraine, from the Soviets, and convened a national assembly. The assembly appointed Stetsko prime minister of the new independent government. But on the day he took office he knew what awaited him. Two weeks later, because of his lack of cooperation with Hitler, he says, the Germans arrested him and put him in Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

Stetsko spent the next three years in “the bunker” — the prison he says the Germans reserved for “the serious cases.” Slowly and carefully, he describes the solitary confinement, the physical and mental torture. “I was alone with only my spirit telling me to continue,” he says, shaking his head. “I couldn’t give up no matter what happened to me.”

The prime minister and his wife, Slava, were in Washington last week for the 23rd observance of Captive Nations Week, celebrating the 40th anniversary of renewed Ukrainian statehood. “It is something so important to us,” says Slava Stetsko, who was imprisoned for nine months by the Nazis. “We have dedicated our total selves to our country.”

They return to stories of the war, their voices at times shaking with emotion. In the concentration camp, Stetsko says he refused to resign his office even when he knew that 65 of the 70 prisoners in that camp had died. He couldn’t give up, he explains. His troops were still fighting for Ukrainian freedom.

Once the war was over, he says, “The one thing in my mind was to conquer that Communist empire.”

In 1946 he became president of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations, and still holds the office. Today 33 subjugated countries, including Poland, Lithuania and Afghanistan, belong to the group. He is also head of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

His involvement in these organizations, he says, has placed him in danger. In 1959, the man who admitted to the murder of Stefan Bandera, Stetsko’s friend and chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, said he was about to assassinate Stetsko in Munich, which is his home.

“There is always someone on our heels,” says Slava. “We have to travel in such secrecy. We cannot live openly. We cannot live secure lives because of what we believe.”

They travel widely, visiting Ukrainian emigrants and gathering moral and political support. When the Ukrainian nationalist army “was completely crushed” in 1951 by the Soviets, Stetsko says the country was defeated only physically. “It was not a moral defeat,” he insists. “We can’t be squashed. We are fighting for the great ideal — the liquidation of the Soviet supremacy.”

He sighs deeply. For a moment, the 68-year-old man’s eyes sadden. He picks up a copy of the speech he gave to members of Congress at a luncheon. Suddenly,

his energy returns. "Synchronized national liberation revolutions within the Russian colonial empire are the only alternative," he reads aloud with power in his words. "Soviet Russia has skilfully exploited western fear of nuclear war by blackmailing the West into meekly acquiescing to ever increasing conquests."

Another pause. He has faith that the youth of subjugated countries will carry on this war against communism. "In our country, the younger generation has found strength in the graves of our heroes," says Slava. "They take pride in our great historical past."

The Stetskos do not have children. "We have put all of our strength to Ukraine," the woman says, fingering the gold cross around her neck.

"I have given everything," her husband adds, "and I will continue to fight until my death."

**Hon. E. J. Derwinski includes Y. Stetsko's address and Washington Post article (July 21) in Congressional Record July 28, 1981**

*Hon. Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois in the House of Representatives*

Mr. Derwinski: Mr. Speaker, in 1941, Yaroslav Stetsko and other members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists led a revolt against the Soviets, and convened a national assembly. The assembly appointed Mr. Stetsko prime minister of the newly independent government. Two weeks later, because of his lack of cooperation with Hitler, he was arrested by the Nazis, and jailed in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

Now a resident of Munich, Mr. Stetsko recently visited Washington, D.C., and addressed Members of Congress at a luncheon held in honor of Captive Nations Week and the 40th anniversary of this Ukrainian national state. I include his address along with an article that appeared in the Washington Post July 21: —

It is important for the United States to continue to champion the rights of national, cultural, and religious freedoms for all peoples held captive. I have introduced a resolution (H. Con. Res. 123) which urges diplomatic action in helping to restore the free exercise of religion in Ukraine. The Soviet rulers continue to ruthlessly suppress the freedom of religion as a method to diminish the spirit and longing for independence among Ukrainian nationals. From the viewpoints of human rights, religious genocide, and US interest in the largest non-Russian nation in Eastern Europe, this resolution has considerable significance. The Senate companion measure, Senate Concurrent Resolution 18, recently passed the full Senate, and it is my hope that the House will act in the same manner.

I join with my colleagues in sharing our hopes that Raisa and Mykola Rudenko will one day be free and their country will no longer suffer under Soviet domination.

In closing, I wish to insert a pastoral letter by the patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Yosyf Cardinal Slipyj on the occasion of the recent commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the act of restoration of the Ukrainian independent state.

## Ukrainian Patriarch's Pastoral Letter in Congressional Record

Hon. Don. Ritter — For a Brighter Era for the Ukrainian Nation

During the recent observance of Captive Nations Week, I had the pleasure of meeting with Yaroslav Stetsko, who served briefly as the president of Free Ukraine in 1941 and who now is president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Mr. Stetsko and his wife recounted to me the suffering and oppression that is common in Ukraine today. He left an inspiring and heartfelt message from the patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Yosyf Cardinal Slipyj. As we think of the suffering of the Rudenkos, I would like to share this patriarchal message with my colleagues which holds freedom for Ukraine dear and hopes for a brighter era for the Ukrainian nation. I would ask this message be placed at the end of my remarks in the Record.

Ukraine is a country of nearly 60 million people with traditions and culture independent from the dominant Soviet state, who long for freedom, who one day will have it, and perhaps through the valiant efforts of my colleague from Philadelphia, will approach a step nearer that freedom.

The material I previously mentioned follows:

*Pastoral Letter by the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Yosyf Cardinal Slipyj, on the 40th Anniversary of the Act of Restoration of the Ukrainian Independent State.*

In the first half of the troubled twentieth century the Ukrainian nation twice found itself in the midst of dreadful wars which shook the world, changed its political face and created new and complicated circumstances with tensions and crises in the economic, cultural and even church life. Empires and states fell, small humbled people rose, ruling social classes vanished, new both healthy and damaging trends and ideologies came into being. This, in fact, is the image of man who has gone through history carrying the burden of the wound of the original sin while with his troubled heart searched for the highest good, which is God. But, unfortunately, man frequently substituted God for his theories, selfishness, and dreams about a paradise on earth.

After two centuries of existence on their land under foreign and enemy occupation, the Ukrainian people in those two wars could say in the words of priest Mattathias, the father of the famous Maccabees: "Is there a nation that has not usurped her sovereignty, a people that has not plundered her? She has been stripped of all her adornment, no longer free, but a slave" (I Mac. 2:10-11). It is for this reason that on the stormy sea of history because of wars, our people wanted to secure a free harbour of their own, a state on their own land with their own Church and their own rights, and based on their own truth and will — just as it is with other nations. This is why, like other neighbouring nations, our nation courageously plunged into the vortex of events ready to sacrifice the life of its sons in order to secure its own statehood.

The struggle for a nation's statehood has its roots in the natural law of man, who was created to lead a community life. The state has its roots in human nature which, in turn, has an inborn propensity to unite into larger communities for the purpose of safety and public order, for the progress and

development of man. The state, as a need of human nature, is a requirement of that eternal moral law that the Creator instilled in the human heart and which we call the Natural Law. This is why the state and its respective authority do not derive from some casual circumstances, but rather from the Natural Law. In this context the Church teaches that both the state and the state authority come from God, the Creator of the Natural Order. Man as a person existed before the state and has his natural rights. This is why the individual cannot be discarded in a state organism because the state is neither an end in itself nor is it a goal for man. Rather, the goal and mission of the state is the welfare of the individual person, the defense of the natural law, moral principles and the observance of the Ten Commandments.

A state is for a people what home is for a family. The state is a spiritual edifice where a nation rears itself, leads a free life, fulfills freely and with dignity its duties with respect to God and fellow men, happily and justly arranges its earthly life and peacefully contributes its spiritual and material share to the coexistence of all the peoples of the world. Statehood is both a dream and a right of every nation. In the history of our salvation we see how God cares that a nation, through whom God's design for salvation was to be realized, has a land of its own, has a free existence in its own state for the observance of God's Commandments and God's word.

The worth of a nation can be judged precisely by this healthy desire to have its own home, its own state. Even the great nations in history fell and perished when they lost that will to be themselves and live a free life on their own land in peace and justice. How numerous are in history those peoples who became extinguished for having led a nomadic life of pillage living at the expense of others without ever thinking about a state of their own, about peace with other peoples, and about justice! Our nation, who, having been given by God a fertile and rich land, lived on that land, defended it, and always yearned to be its sovereign master. It is for this reason that when our nation became subjugated it defended its liberty and its land with courage and selflessness and built its state whenever it managed to secure it. However, not always such endeavours met with success. This happened not only because of man's historic wickedness and greed for the riches of others, but also because we ourselves lacked high and noble statesmanly Christian qualities which resulted in our historical humbling and which, nevertheless, God turned to our advantage: "It is good for me that I have been afflicted; and I might learn thy statutes" (Psalms, 119:71).

This year we observe the fortieth anniversary of our nation's second attempt in this century to regain and secure its own state with the Proclamation of Restoration of the Ukrainian State in June 1941. Those were hard times and the circumstances were cruel. But we did not surrender ourselves to a soulless drift on the waves of events hoping for man's pity. As soon as the right moment came we courageously declared before history and the world our desire for statehood. We proclaimed this statehood in order to emphasize our rights and our place amongst the nations of the world. That was a bold step taken by a nation whose spirit never perished during its long bondage. At the time when mad theories about race, "new Europe" and a "new world" with one people ruling over all others were on the march to enforce by fire and sword such



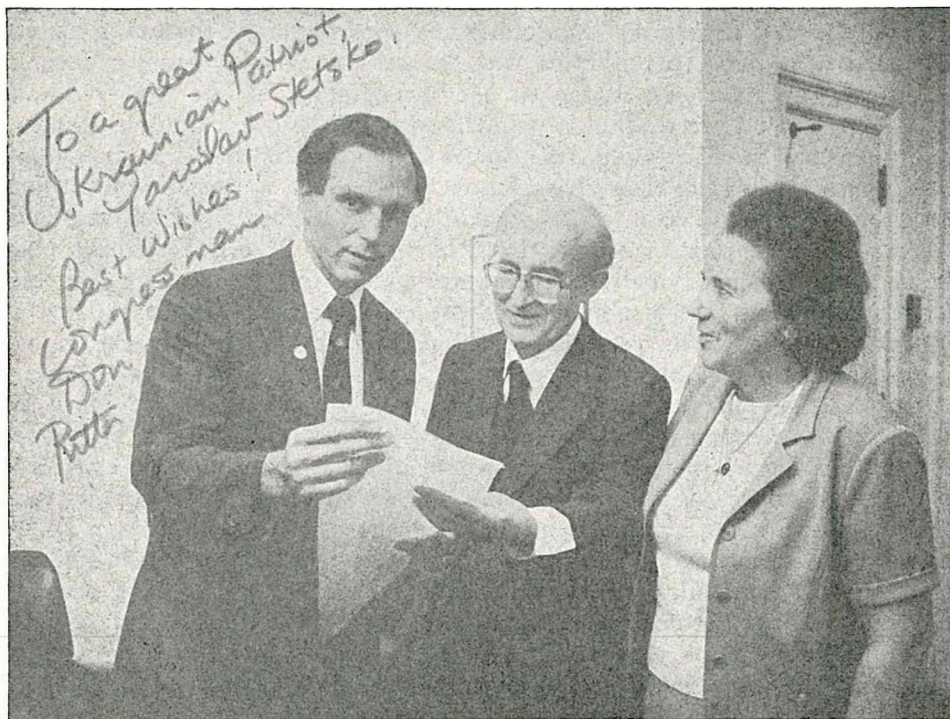
an ideology, and on the other side the greatest tyranny in history oppressed our land and was implementing its godless and inhuman order at the cost of millions of victims of famine and terror, our nation proclaimed its natural right to independence and statehood. This is a great act which should educate us and make us better regardless of our personal thinking or different political beliefs. A nation ought to want a state of its own; a nation in bondage ought to think about it and strive for it if it wants to join the "community of free nations", if it does not want to be constantly a slave of its stronger or more clever neighbours.

Let us remember this event of the Restoration of our statehood in 1941 with gratefulness towards God who guarded us in the midst of menacing historical events and kept us for His great designs according to God's principle that "My strength is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor. 12:9). Let us remember those great sons of our Ukraine who laid their lives so that the entire nation may be free. This is a great offering of love and self-sacrifice. Let us remember in our prayers also those of our sons who in prisons and exile continue this great testimony on behalf of freedom, truth and justice, wishing only one thing — that we may be free.

May the observance of this event give us unity and a common wish to be a free nation in the family of free nations for the glory of God.

May God bless you.

*Yosyf, Patriarch and Cardinal*



*Hon. Don Ritter, US Congressman, with Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko*

## **FOR A NEW US FOREIGN POLICY**

**Address at the AF ABN Congress, New York, May 2-3, 1981**

Thank you very much for inviting me to be part of your program today. I am honoured that you choose to hold your Congress within my congressional district and indeed that your headquarters are in my district. We Americans are a funny lot at times — on the one hand as a country very much in science and technology, with possibilities of change and very rapid change, and very rapid change is something that we live with every day and is very much a part of our national character. We are a very fast and bustling people! On the other hand, when it comes to a perspective of world history, perhaps in the scope of history we are a relatively new nation, we do not seem to have that same kind of perspective on things and there is the same tendency of Americans to assume that what exists today is what was there all along and what is going to be there all along and what is going to be there tomorrow. We sometimes, therefore, do not anticipate the opportunities for change, the fact that just as there has been some change throughout human history so there will be change today and change tomorrow, and the world really has in an historical perspective many more opportunities for change than we average Americans think. It is those opportunities obviously, as they pertain to the Soviet Union — the Soviet empire, the satellite countries and the peoples within the Soviet Union proper, whose fight for freedom I would like to address myself today.

Then this in a sense is an historic moment, with respect to the Soviet Union, one that is very important in terms of the concerns to which you are addressing yourselves. That historic change in the demography of the Soviet Union is changing and we are reaching a point in terms of the overall Soviet population where the Russians within the Soviet Union are for the first time going to be a minority within their own country. But I think, as one reflects on that fact, its significance in terms of not what is going to happen tomorrow morning, but in terms of a view of history that looks at what is going to happen over the decades perhaps or over the next century, that is a very striking fact, one that United States foreign policy should be aware of, reflect upon and try to capitalize on. We see this year that the people behind the Iron Curtain are not content with the way things are there. It is unfortunate that it takes events like the East Berlin riots of 1953, the Hungarian uprising in 1956 or the brief burgeoning of freedom of speech in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, then their subsequent crushing by the Russians, to remind us that these things do exist. But the fact of the matter is that they do exist and we are seeing in Poland that they continue to exist. But this is something also that the American foreign policy ought to be recognizing and trying to find ways to help as a process behind the Iron Curtain. The point I am basically trying to make is that I think that we, as a country, have not done all we could even in terms of the Voice of America or Radio Free Europe to try to help these peoples who aspire to freedom, because certainly one of the great problems of the people sitting in the Kremlin is the fact that they in essence are trying to subjugate a vast area, most of whose peoples do not want to be under their rule, whether it be the captive nations

of Eastern Europe, the Ukrainians or groups in the eastern part of the Soviet Union about whom we have done very little to inform ourselves and with which our intelligence community has done very little to keep in touch. There is an enormous potential there to stimulate the demands for freedom and eventually to stimulate the centrifugal forces within the Soviet Russian empire, which ultimately must lead to its breakup.

Someone has commented, and I think it is a fair commentary, that our intelligence effort, perhaps again being typical of the United States, is scientifically by far the most advanced in the whole world. There is no question that our satellite capacity to view things going on behind the Iron Curtain, our ability to detect submarines and other such scientific matters, our intelligence communication is outstanding and there is no question that we are far ahead of any other country in the world. People in intelligence, people reaching out to people, — we put very few dollars into that kind of effort and we do not, I think, begin to compare with the kind of efforts that the Soviet Union puts into reaching groups in Africa and Asia, and places that are not in the Soviet Russian empire — South America even. I think it is about time that the United States began to develop more of that capability. I cannot go into numbers, or things of that sort, because those are classified. They are made available to the Congress of the United States on a highly classified basis for those of us who choose to take advantage of the access we are offered to those documents. But I think I can say to you that we put very little money into that kind of people intelligence activity at the same time as we are putting enormous amounts of money into the scientific and mechanical kind of intelligence capability of which we are at the forefront.

The message I want to bring to you today is that I think there is more potential there than the United States has yet realised for moving along the time frame in which the Soviet leadership in the Kremlin is going to start to feel some of these pressures from groups who want liberty. One thing which is very clear is that the movement for liberty which expressed itself in the revolution of 1848 which effected so many of the Eastern European countries, that are now behind the Iron Curtain, the kind of movements for freedom and national self-realization that we have seen in so many parts of the world, these attitudes are not foreign to the peoples who are behind the Iron Curtain. But on the contrary, as I pointed out, we have seen that from time to time they have very dramatic expressions even in situations where the odds may appear hopeless. I think it is important for the government of the United States and the peoples of the United States to understand that these aspirations do exist behind the Iron Curtain and to do more about trying to encourage them in a responsible way than we do now. Again I do not want to suggest that we should be urging every group anywhere in the Soviet Union to go into revolt against hopeless odds. That is not what I am suggesting at this point. But I think there is a potential as the years unfold that the Russian leaders in the Kremlin, — and the Kremlin leadership is very much Russian, rather than representing all the nationalities within the Soviet Union, — that the Russian leadership is going to find it harder and harder to contain the aspirations of the many different peoples behind the Iron Curtain, but to reach, to attain the freedom and na-

tional self-expression — that I think is very clear, that all of these peoples ultimately want to achieve.

And so, I think, that you, as the largest international organization, comprised of liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism, perform a very important role in meeting here today and reminding the people of the United States that this potential does exist. We dedicate ourselves to human rights, as part of American foreign policy. That human rights effort should not exclude those behind the Iron Curtain, as it so clearly did in the Carter Administration. In fact the peoples behind the Iron Curtain are a very rich area in which to be advancing a foreign policy based on human rights. And so I hope that the statements by President Reagan, when he met with the US consul on the holocaust earlier this week, that human rights has to be part of our foreign policy in dealing with all nations, that speech really means a great change and a great watershed in American foreign policy. I hope that we will see that pledge put into action as the years go on. I am confident, as confident as I am about anything in this world, that the ideals of the liberation movements that you speak for ultimately, in the course of human history, must be realised.



*L-R: Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Hon. Philip Crane, Hon. Robert Crane, US Congressmen, Prof. L. Dobriansky, Chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee, at a US Congress reception on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the re-establishment of Ukrainian independence, July 15, 1981.*

## **A WARNING SIGNAL**

I am delighted to be here this morning and in particular to bring greetings from the Greater Buffalo Community to this Convention. They send their warmest regards and assure all here present that their work continues unabated, they move forward with every confidence and we grow stronger with each passing year rather than diminishing. As some of you may know, in the Greater Buffalo area we organized the first committee in the United States to observe the Captive Nations Week in accordance with the requirements of Public Law 86-90. It was my privilege to be back in my home city of Buffalo at that time. I have been taking a short leave from the Federal Government to be the first chairman of that committee and it has continued and grown stronger with each passing year. A year ago I returned to the chairmanship of the committee and continue to serve in that capacity. I can tell you everywhere on the front here the committee is known, it is highly regarded by all of the media and public officials at the state, county and city level.

Our activities over the year encompass a number of things beyond the Week's Observance. For example, this current year that we are just moving out of, there was held at the state university college a ten-month seminar on ethnic heritage. One of the categories of ethnic heritage there was attending teachers from the secondary and elementary level particularly 7th and 8th grades. It took to form more or less teacher preparations and teacher enrichments to programme in the fields of general history. This provided a splendid opportunity, a magnificent opportunity to talk about the nations and peoples harrassed and enslaved by Russian imperialism. I had the privilege of speaking on two separate occasions before the institute to outline some of the historical considerations from the US diplomatic point of view and political point of view, as well as to examine with the teachers and public administrators present some of the contemporary developments, particularly that which has developed since the observance of the bi-centennial of this great republic since 1776. I think it was a great undertaking on the part of the federal government and the state government to undertake this seminar. I hope that we can keep it on a permanent basis that there is a continuum of education and enrichment in the field of knowledge passing to our teachers in the public and private school, so that those teachers in turn can acquaint this new generation of Americans about the world around them, the threat to their liberties and what they must do to preserve those liberties and their basic freedom. And so I think that Buffalo, it is my home city and I am accordingly very proud of it, but I do believe it is more active or at least as active as any city in this great nation of ours.

We are a nation, obviously that takes its strength and cultures from all parts of the world. The City of Buffalo has long been known as the city of many cultures, the city of many ethnic origins. We are almost like a league of nations. You could mention almost any country known to the history of man and there will be some good people from that country whether they be first, second, third, fourth or fifth generation Americans, who are proud of that heritage from one end of this world to the other.

Now more recently we have taken an interest in a development which I desire on this occasion to bring to your attention. Some months ago, shortly after the new administration was brought to office, that President Ronald Reagan was to head, there developed a new organization called "Coalition for a free Russia". This calls for a lot of curiosity. What is this thing? Well, I took a personal interest in it because of my very long concern about the Russian problem in America. We've got it, believe me. Of all the peoples who have come to our great nation there are no exceptions to what I am about to say. The Russians alone are the only ones who have failed to organize a committee for the national liberation and independence of their homeland. Think a moment about it. Isn't that a startling thing? Here in the land of liberty where the conception of national independence was born, where there were stamped the roots of entire imperialism, when we threw the British out, physically threw them out, we have said we are an independent nation, again here, yes there is not on this scene one single sign, not the smallest sign that this great enthusiasm, this great gift that belongs to people of all origins has not touched the heart or soul of the Russians living here in a free atmosphere.

I could not help but be reminded when I first heard about this of World War I. I have spent this past year, which is quite cold up in our great city of Buffalo, doing a lot review. Fortunately my private library contains all the printed reports and publications in the field of foreign affairs of the government of United States from 1914 to the present. I concentrated on relations with Russia, that is to say, the Russian empire, World War I, their speech conference what followed thereafter, the establishment of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1933, and since spending this time I was obviously concerned looking for even the tiniest bits of evidence that would change my mind on what to do about the Russian problem. I could find none. But I did find all kinds of warning signals about the unchanging condition of the Russian mind. Look at World War II. Vlassoff? A committee for a free Russia? Do they stand for the independence of any of the non-Russian nations of the now Soviet Union or Central Europe? Not at all. A so-called united Russia and they had some phoney promises about a degree of self choice, they called it — self-government, but what they were offering in fact was something that would be national in form and Russian in substance. You know and most of you are aware that the Lenin/Stalin doctrine was a solution to the national question. It ends up with this formula: — "Give them the semblance of national independence. Let them have a flag, let them call themselves by their true historical name, but keep in captivity their soul". Everywhere I look I see this tactic. Now I see it arising again on the American scene. I must say to you it concerns me terribly. Why after we have shut the damper on it in years past and exposed them, why would a new administration coming in to the all of a sudden pop and appear under the phraseology of coalition? One has to ask — a coalition of what? A free Russia? and to raise the very basic question — how could you have a free Russia if first you didn't recognise the right of all the non-Russian peoples to national self-denomination? This is not a complicated question. It is the most fundamental of all political questions in any age. And so I have raised on behalf of my contemporaries in Buffalo and my associates throughout the United States a warning signal. What is this? I hope

the ABN will make to us American Friends a thorough look into this and launch an exposé campaign to tell exactly what they are and raise the question which I have been doing for these past minimum 20 years: How is it that on the American scene, where every captive nation in the world has a committee formed proclaiming its national independence and demanding self-determination, that the Russians alone have failed to do this? Answer that question is what we must say to them — why is this?

(AF ABN Congress May 2-3, 1981)

## **Free China Gained Greater Strength**

*Address by Hon. K. C. Dunn, Director of Coordination Council for North American Affairs, at the Banquet of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.*

I am deeply grateful for your invitation to address this memorable banquet of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in this great city. I would like to take this opportunity of extending to you, Mr. Chairman, and all members, my sincere congratulations and best wishes for the success of the National Congress to be held in New York today. What I appreciate most of all is the opportunity this affords me to meet the representatives of the Congress. My contacts with your members have been one of the warmest and most rewarding experiences I have enjoyed since coming as the Consul General of the ROC in 1978.

I need not tell this audience that Free China today is passing through difficult and troublesome times. We are waging a hard and perilous struggle against Communism, not only for our survival but for the future of Asia. Since the Second World War the principle of freedom and independence, so strongly upheld by the people of the ROC, has been repeatedly challenged by the evil of Communism which poses serious threats to and causes great devastation in the countries in Southeast Asia, an area that should be of great concern to freedom-loving people such as your members.

In the turmoil of the passing years, the ROC has been attacked but, by firmly holding onto the spirit of freedom and independence, it has withstood a number of international storms and gained greater strength. For example; when we broke diplomatic relations with the US, two and a half years ago, many people believed that we would be isolated from then on. But actually, instead of being isolated, we have grown stronger. This is proof that only by upholding freedom and independence can one bring prosperity and well-being to the nation and people. The rapid progress made by the ROC in recent years is a good case in point.

I do not wish to take up too much of your time, but I propose to tell, in brief form, the story of what actually happened to Free China. For the last 31 years, our Government and people have endeavored to develop freedom and democracy, provide progress and prosperity, and assure a life of stability, peace and happiness. We have tried to make this a blueprint for reconstruction of the whole country, to present a unified new China of wealth, strength and liberty. Thanks to the hard work of our people at home and encouragement and support of the overseas Chinese, the ROC has recorded outstanding achievements in

political, economic, social and cultural undertakings. Our compatriots on the mainland have envied us for these achievements.

In contrast, the socialist construction of the Chinese Communists, carried out on the mainland, has suffered one failure after another in the same 31 years. The root cause of the current poverty and backwardness on the mainland is the implementation of Communism. The Chinese Communists can succeed in modernizing China only by relinquishing Communism, restoring human rights and freedom to the people and adopting the experience of successful development in Taiwan. They must make sweeping reforms in organization and ideology. This is the import of "learning from Taipei in politics".

Ladies and Gentlemen, safeguarding freedom and independence is an important factor in protecting security and peace, improving the livelihood of the people and brightening up the future prospects of the country. This is also the common objective of the Free Chinese and the freedom-loving people. I only hope that freedom-loving people in the world would work for closer cooperation and make greater joint efforts in strengthening freedom and independence and international justice so as to usher in a golden era for all mankind.

### Workers in Kyiv strike and win

*Kyiv factory workers have staged three successful strikes in protest against higher work quotas and poor living conditions, according to an authoritative Soviet dissident journal.*

*Although strikes are illegal in the Soviet Union, the authorities conceded the strikers' demands after stoppages lasting less than two days in each incident. The strikes were organized by the factories' Communist Party and trade union officials.*

*The first strike at the machine building factory of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Livestock Breeding in Kyiv, took place at the beginning of April, according to the Soviet civil rights chronicle Archiv Samizdata No 4354, a copy of which has now reached London.*

*The strike was called in protest against higher work quotas arbitrarily introduced by the factory management without higher rates of pay. After a stoppage lasting a day and a half, the old work quotas were re-introduced, according to the civil rights chronicle.*

*A more contentious second strike at the same factory later that month was in protest against chronic water shortages in*

*Kyiv's Kyivo-Svyatoshinsky district, where the factory is situated. When the workers, led by their Communist Party officials, refused to report for work for the second day running, the local authorities carried out long-delayed waterwork repairs.*

*After the settlement of the strike, the factory's manager was dismissed and the party and union officials involved in the stoppage were swiftly replaced. The chronicle had no information as to whether the workers involved had also been punished.*

*The third strike, at a factory producing reinforced concrete elements in the Ukrainian capital, was called against a high-handed introduction of higher work quotas by the factory management. "This strike too was crowned with success", the chronicle said but gave no further details.*

*Arkhiv Samizdata, which reported these local labour troubles, chronicles without comment, political trials, KGB excesses, infringement of socialist legality, illegal arrests and other political events which the party-controlled Soviet press does not see fit to publish.*

The Times, July 29, 1981



## Before the Great Crash

### The Eighties: The Decade of the Holy Wars

In 1921 Lenin said: "Western Europe and America have closed their eyes to the facts and reality and will support the Soviet war industry with the materials and technology that we need to defeat them."

In 1973 a member of the USSR communist politburo stated in Prague: "With détente we achieved in a short time, more than in all the years of political confrontation with NATO. Comrades, through détente we will be able, by 1985, to attain a position that we consider indispensable."

A few years ago Brezhnev said to the President of Somalia, General Mohammed Siad: "We must acquire the two things that mean life or death to the West: the oil of the Persian Gulf and the minerals of southern and northern Africa."

On November 15 of last year the General Secretary of NATO, Luns, stated that Russia has a free hand to militarily intervene in Poland if necessary. NATO, as a defence treaty, has no interest in opposing such a move. This is a clear invitation to the Russians to crush Polish resistance. Let us remember Hungary in 1956, Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, or Afghanistan in 1980.

Does this not remind us of the West's silence at the time of the uprisings of our Ukrainian prisoners in the forties and fifties, and of that magnificent book by the Jewish author, Sholmer, in which he describes the Vorkuta uprisings and notes that the prisoners expected food, arms, and medical supplies from Western parachutists. The prisoners' goal was the destruction of the empire and the re-establishment of independent states of all the subjugated nations.

And what about the uprising of the German workers? The Berlin Wall? The intermittent unrest in Poland? The West has not only always remained silent but has given the Russians a free hand in crushing

such revolts. As Luns is acting, so Eisenhower acted during the Hungarian revolution. It was no different with Czecho-Slovakia when President Johnson stated his lack of concern with events there. Only after a silent agreement with the US did the Russians invade. It will be the same with Poland as with Afghanistan. NATO (and the US) will not raise a single rifle to help Poland, a Poland which they handed over to the Russians after supposedly having begun a war over it (in reality, a war for their own interests which they failed to achieve.)

The Russians do not conceal their goals — the world domination. They state them openly and at every opportunity, Lenin did so; Brezhnev does so. Khrushchev also did so, shouting, "We will bury you." But the West thought, and thinks so still, that the Russians are either hysterical Khrushchovites or aged Leninists with their theory of world revolutions, or perhaps even "realistic" Stalinists dreaming of building communism in one country. The goal of Russians is always the same — ruling the world.

The stronger the growth of revolutionary liberation movements, the more intensively do the Russians press their foreign expansion in order to divert attention from the weaknesses of their internal empire and in order to always have a pretext for the destruction of those fighting for freedom and independence. Such destruction is justified by pointing to foreign threats against the Soviet "Worker-peasant's state", which is, in reality, a Russian imperialist nation which advances by means of historical Russian imperialism to conquer the world.

#### **Weakness of the Prison of Nations**

Afghanistan was a well-regulated step on the road to oil and the strengthening of roads to the mineral wealth of Africa.

At the end of the eighties the Russians will have exhausted their oil reserves. They will have to have the oil of the Middle East and thereby the key to the satellization of the rest of Europe. Demographic changes are occurring at a quicker rate: Russians are already a minority in the USSR, and after a decade every third inhabitant of the USSR will be Islamic.

Moscow knows that it can buy anything for oil — electronics, technology, bread — and it is therefore ridiculous to think of it giving up Afghanistan. Afghanistan is the key to oil, and oil is the key to mastering by a primitive Russian state economy, all the indispensable products of the highly developed industrial West. When there is oil, it will be easy to buy, or trade for, everything from the West. Such a simple truth would not have to be explained to a discerning West, but how can one show the way to a blindman?

It is meaningless to conclude all these SALT II, III treaties. In reality this is simply a disarmament farce in which the West arms the USSR. This comedy takes place in the following way: The West supplies the Russians with electronics, technology, grain, various economic aid, and even conventional arms in modified form. The West thus creates a base for rocket, atomic and conventional arms and, through its senseless yet assiduous economic and trade policies, aids the Russians in concentrating on their heavy arms industry, indeed, even strengthening it.

The West removes from the tottering Russian economy the fears of the Russian occupiers about light and heavy industry, an indirect accelerated arms buildup, and production of foodstuffs, the availability of the latter also aiding the Russians in their arms production in case of war or in supplying Russian satellites in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

It is laughable to think that the USSR can “catch up” with the US, or even with Western Europe or Japan. In 1979 the

USSR accounted for 9.8% of the gross product of the whole world, whereas the US accounted for 24.4% and Japan for 10.6%. The USSR will not only not “surpass” but, as well, it will not even “approach” either the US nor Western Europe, let alone “surpass” Japan and the combined strength of the former. Even the Czar’s horses would have laughed at this. Let us not forget that on the borders of the empire are the Chinese masses. The empire finds itself in a fatal pincer lock and convulsions. It is a rotting structure which is being propped up by the West.

The USSR cannot win an arms race with the West. But it is not necessary to create tragicomic situations — with one hand to arm the USSR and with the other to beg the Russians for “arms parity at the lowest level,” while at the same time creating the groundwork for a maximum arms buildup. Western capitalists indirectly, even directly, arm the USSR while their governments are at the same time conducting disarmament talks. At the end of the eighties the empire will be at the end of its technological armament potential and will be in the midst of an oil crisis. Hence, our suggestion — to stop all technological, electronical, commercial and economic trade with and aid to the USSR and its satellites.

Let them compete with the West, with Japan and China according to their own resources and, most importantly, in the face of the seething hatred against them by the subjugated peoples who thirst for freedom and liberation. Let the Russians compete, if they want to, in the arms race with the whole free world, but without the aid of the free world. Specifically, the West should not give them anything; then we will see whether, after three or four years, they will not come begging to the West because the prison of nations is toppling.

Has the world forgotten how millions threw away their weapons and gave themselves up to the Germans in the first days of the War? The bolshevik empire was

saved by the politically ignorant and greedy German Nazis and the naive Atlantic alliance. Instead of opposing both tyrannies, the West threw in its lot with one of the pigs. It slaughtered, as Winston Churchill said, only one, but should have slaughtered both, for "both were the same", the only difference being that bolshevism was the teacher and the dumb student was Nazism.

How can the West pursue a reasonable policy when the German chancellor, for example, even now does not know that the USSR is an empire in which Russians are in the minority.

What kind of military and political strategy can NATO develop when its leaders lack such basic knowledge about the USSR? The bolshevik empire is 100 billion German marks in debt to the Western nations — and this is strength? This is a colossus? It stands on clay feet, thanks to the ignorance of the West, which persists in choosing its own hangman.

To summarize, in the arms race, without the help of the West, the Warsaw Pact bloc cannot hold its own against the West but would burst like an inflated bag if only Japan and the West stop directly helping to

arm it. That is why all SALT treaties should be thrown into the trashbasket, all economic aid and cooperation should be stopped, the development of Siberian industry should not be pursued by the West. Then let the comrades with their planned socialist economies, the terror, concentration camps, the domination of over half of Europe, a great part of Africa, Asia and Cuba — let them try to sustain themselves in power when the subjugated peoples rise up.

Afghanistan has added to the tottering of the empire. The well-known expert on partisan warfare, Peter Scholl-Latur, writes in his book "Death in Rice Fields": — "Armed opposition in Ukraine after World War II lasted well into 1951, even though the terrain for the Red Army was more favourable there than in Afghanistan." Chancellor Schmidt should read about the role of Ukraine and the subjugated nations (for example, in General Hackett's book "The Third World War"). This would be very helpful to him.

#### **The Events in Poland: What Next?**

The world is excited and surprised by the events in Poland, but does not want to



*Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko delivering his address in the US Congress. To his right: Hon. J. Derwinski (US Congressman) and Prof. L. Dobriansky.*

know that all this has happened before. The forties and fifties were teeming with strikes and uprisings of Ukrainian and other political prisoners, slaves of the forced labour camps. The fifties saw numerous workers' strikes in Ukraine — in Donbas, Odessa, Novocherkassk, and other cities and provinces in Ukraine.

In 1962 over 5,000 workers in Novocherkassk were killed by the MVD, who crushed the strikes and uprisings of the workers after the commanding officer of the Red Army refused to give the order to fire at the workers and shot himself instead. Strikes, clashes with the militia, and deaths occurred in Kyiv, Krasnodar, Sevastopol, Krivyy Rih. The worst strike-uprising of coal and steel workers in Soviet history occurred in Donbas in 1962.

In the seventies there were strikes in Dnipropetrovsk, Dniprodzerzhynsk, Kyiv, Rostov-on-the-Don, and many other cities in Ukraine, accompanied by bloody clashes with the armed Russian occupation troops. There were also student demonstrations in many Ukrainian cities, protests against russification, and various forms of struggle and resistance of different strata of population, which characterised the liberation processes in Ukraine.

All this has already happened in Ukraine. It is just this joining of the working class to the revolutionary liberation processes that will be the deciding factor in the worldwide national liberation struggle; the participation in the struggle of the rural population has long been known to Ukrainians. The workers and the urban guerilla force are a new factor of great importance.

Yet Ukraine's position has been and is a difficult one because it is isolated from the world. The thousands who were murdered in Novocherkassk, Donbas, and Dniprodzerzhynsk are known to no one. The geopolitical position of Poland is without doubt better than that of Ukraine. The world knows about the present struggle of the Polish workers. Television, radio and the

press are filled with news of this, but who has heard of Novocherkassk? Poland has the Pope, the great Polish patriot Zbigniew Brezinski, the complex situation in Afghanistan and the USSR, and a whole host of other objective factors on its side. Everything that is happening in Poland is in the eyes of the world.

Nevertheless, it is not to be expected that without synchronized actions in other enslaved nations and without the help of other nations in the empire, Poland will be able to attain independence. Without a sovereign and independent Ukraine there can be no sovereign Poland.

The essential fact is that the communist system is a system of Russian occupation and this is its indissoluble, constituent factor. It is impossible to have free and independent trade unions, for example, and at the same time keep and honour an intact occupational system which has been instituted in an occupied nation by Russian armies and the KGB. The communist party is an agent of foreign occupation and its inevitable and concomitant agent. This occupation is made possible not only by Russian troops but by the communist terror apparatus, the party and its administrative organs and various sub-branches. The party and its apparatus of terror are not the creation of the Polish people but have been imposed by the occupant whose henchmen and parasites are the party apparatchiks who, having sold themselves, take advantage of the exploitation of their own people under the shadow of the occupant's military might.

Co-existence and co-operation are impossible between the communist party and the trade union "Solidarity", which is trying to solve the many problems of all aspects of the nation's life — the peasantry, freedom of education, artistic creation, and literature; freedom to express oneself freely to organize and to strike; and the freedom for the right to possess private property, which is a guarantee of the independence of the indi-

vidual no less than of the other rights of free individuals. All this signifies nothing less than the dissolution of the Russian occupying power.

The church also has a leading role in this process, because religion is also in opposition to the Russian system of occupation, which is propped up by a militant atheism similar to the Soviet socio-economic model and that of the national and political totalitarian Russian system. These revolutionary tendencies, roused in all the spheres of life, will exert increasing pressure resulting in a radical change of the whole system, including the expulsion of the occupying forces.

Poland alone is not strong enough either to sustain its independence or to achieve it. Moscow counts with certainty on other satellite communist parties and on their systems of KGB cells and agencies which support intervention in order to keep not only their power but to extend it. The most blatant examples are East Germany's Honecker and Husch who condemn with all their might the events in Poland, a fact which proves their role in carrying out Moscow's wishes. It is only thanks to Moscow that they remain in power,

We repeat our main contention: The destruction of the empire and communism within it automatically leads to the destruction of the communist satellite regimes, including Rumania, created by foreign bayonets.

A compromise between the free development of life and culture and the communist system is contradictory in itself, the more so because such a system is sustained by Moscow's military power. Hopes based on the co-existence of two antithetical systems — freedom and slavery — are illusory. Either the independent unions, representing the beginning of a free development of life and culture, will be undermined from within by the organized efforts of the satellite KGB network and their "mother" KGB in Russia so that the movement will be

destroyed or will become an instrument of Moscow's policies, or they will, parallel with efforts to infiltrate to terrorize them, be liquidated by Moscow through armed intervention in various forms and will become subservient to the will of the occupying power.

Such results are inevitable unless the process of synchronizing the revolutionary liberation struggle will not be strengthened in other subjugated nations along the lines laid out by OUN and ABN, that is, planned and simultaneous uprisings. Unless this occurs, the end of the empire and its system will not have begun in the crucial decade of the eighties.

The empire is on a volcano and only if it is rescued by the West can it survive, as it was rescued in the past in moments of its gravest disintegrative crises. The revolutionary, national-liberation processes in Ukraine, Poland, Afghanistan, Lithuania, Georgia, Turkestan and the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism will undoubtedly lead to the dissolution of the Russian empire!

The situation within the empire is so complicated that any attempt on its part to resolve its crisis is dangerous; a military occupation of Poland in an attempt to destroy the liberation processes there can only lead to a Russo-Polish war with all the consequences of such. Yet, if the liberation processes are further tolerated and allowed to develop, then this will most surely lead to a total breakdown of the one-party system and the existing power-base of Moscow's secret police in Poland. In any case, in the 1980's the empire will continue to stagger on the brink of its own dissolution into independent and sovereign nation-states. Any move on the part of the Russian imperialists to somehow deal with their presently pressing crises will only lead to even more disastrous consequences.

## Bulgaria forced into submission to Russian colonial domination

### The role and extent of general terror

#### *The role and extent of general terror*

Prejudices still exist among certain circles of the Western world concerning Bulgaria and her incorporation into the Soviet Union sphere of colonial domination. These prejudices exist in the sense that the Bulgarian people owe their racial, namely slavic, relationship to Russia; that the Bulgarian people are obliged and forever in debt to Russia for once "liberating" her from the Turkish yoke; and that Bulgaria's pro-Russian attitude and conversion into Moscow's satellite are rooted historically, relatively painlessly, and maybe even with the silent approval of the Bulgarian people.

Similar absurd prejudices, sometimes purposely encouraged by Bulgaria's "interested" neighbouring countries, are all very convincingly refuted. It is not only a historical fact that at the beginning of Bulgaria's liberation (turn of the 19th century) the Bulgarian people decidedly revolted against Russia's annexation efforts: a Donaugovernment, but also that the circumstances of World War II allowed the Soviet Union to subjugate Bulgaria and crush the Bulgarian peoples' desire for national freedom and independence by means of an unbelievable, yet legalized, bloody terror. As proof of this indisputable historical fact, it is sufficient to quote the following documented facts:

On September 5, 1944 the Soviet Union broke off her diplomatic relations with Bulgaria. Although Bulgaria had retained strictly neutral relations towards Moscow, the Soviet Union nevertheless declared her

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#### *Editor's footnote:*

*This report is based, without exception, on documented material gathered and systemized by the author and kept in the Bulgarian Historical Archives Office.*

war. Immediately afterwards Soviet troops crossed the Danube and occupied the country.

On September 9, 1944 there followed a coup d'état. This coup was supported by the Russian occupation and put a radically left-wing coalition into power. This coalition was dominated by the Bulgarian communist party (BKP) and called the "National Front" although it represented not more than 10-15% of the entitled voters. This pseudo-"National Government" was established in power with the aid and protection of the Red Army's bayonets and panzers.

It could only stay in power by means of a general terror. This terror was legalized by so-called "Peoples' Tribunal Courts" so that an immediate and united communist dictatorship was achieved. Even prominent communist leaders were not spared the terror of these legalized judgement courts. Subsequently, coalition members could be counted among the victims. For example, the Politburo member of the BKP and vice-minister president, Traitsko Kostoff, was condemned to hang when he attempted to loosen the country from Moscow's complete control over Bulgaria's economy.

The legalized terror in Bulgaria began immediately after the coup d'état on September 9, 1944. The physical extermination of not only definite anti-communists, but also of all potential adversaries of the regime was started under the guise of the hypocritical slogan "Death to Fascism, freedom to the people." On the very first day after the coup, the Minister of Internal Affairs gave the starting signal for the wave of terror. He made the following proclamation before gathered communist partisans: "Up until yesterday you were

the game which was shot upon. Take up your arms and shoot at all those who, up until yesterday, shot at you!"

Ten thousand of former municipal and civil servants fell victim to the vindictive communist partisans. At the same time, a singular official "Jurisdiction" came into action. This jurisdiction stood in opposition to the elementary principles of justice and law and in truth only presented a parody of it: it camouflaged the bloodshedding terror by leaning on "legal groundwork" in order to destroy nearly the entire political and spiritual elite.

A government decree was issued in order to achieve this aim. It set up more than 60 pseudo-"Peoples'Tribunal Courts" which in turn went into action as revolutionary tribunals throughout the country. Moreover, only active communists and their coalition party members, as well as former revengeful partisans and political prisoners were appointed as judges. Most of these "judges" completely lacked law degrees since the duty of these "courts of law" consisted entirely of passing the corresponding sentence. This sentence was, in fact, already contained in the accusation and stood in complete contradiction to the classical rules of jurisdiction: the disallowance of retroactive post facto sentences. In this respect, this Peoples' Court decree, issued by the communist dominated government in Bulgaria, was very typical: private and domestic persons were arbitrarily accused of past acts and sympathies which at the point of their perpetration were not only legal but also obligatory. Furthermore, the very procedure of these "Peoples' Judgement Courts" was an absolute mockery of any true criminal procedure.

The legal proceedings were pressured by ear-piercing demonstrations which demanded the death penalty. The courtrooms were guarded by armed militia. The defence and witnesses for the defence were faced with threats and often prevented to give

witness. Court proceedings were even held against dead persons, victims of the communist terror groups, in order to legalize these murders and proceed with the confiscation of the victim's property. The pronounced sentences were final and subject to no appeal.

A further example of this "justice" consisted of determining the number of death sentences and imposing them on the "Peoples' Courts". Consequently, the latter only determined the distribution of the sentences among the accused. The executions were carried out in unknown places and the burial grounds kept secret. The condemned persons were forbidden any contact with a priest and family members were deprived the right to exchange words of farewell. In many cases, families of the condemned were confined to prisons in the north of the country.

Although the complete records about the activities of these extraordinary "Peoples' Courts" and their sentences are missing, the following evidence will suffice to justify this statement: Bulgaria was particularly harder hit by the legalized communist terror than any other Moscow satellite country. There is documentary evidence that out of a population of 6 million people, the number of accused and condemned amounts to no less than 7000. The verdicts were distributed as follows:

2.003	— 40%	death sentences
1.093		life imprisonments
2.793		various prison terms amounting altogether to 22.525 years.
185		deaths during trial proceedings
150		suspended sentences.

Simultaneously with the verdicts, confiscations of property were made in 3.493 total and 2.678 partial cases. Fines amounting to 6.619, 180, 100 Levas were raised at a time when the entire state budget of Bulgaria amounted to only 75 billion Levas.

A complete picture of this parody of justice, done in the name of freedom and democracy, is best given by the following concrete examples:

**The First Tribunal of Sofia**, dealing with regents, ministers and Court Chancery Counsellors. The following verdicts were passed: 34 death sentences, 5 life imprisonments, 9 various prison terms amounting in all to 40 years, 44 confiscations of entire property — fines amounting to a total of 194 million Levas.

The executions took place in the cemetery of Sofia immediately after the verdicts were pronounced. The night of 1-2 February 1945 is remembered as "Bloody Thursday". The following people were shot: Prince Kyril Preslavski, regent, aged 49, born in Sofia; Prof. Bogdan Filoff, regent and brother of the late King Boris and former Prime Minister, (61) b. Sofia; Gen. Nicolas Mihoff, regent and former Minister of Defence, b. Veliko-Tarnavo; Alexander Dimitroff Stanicheff, former Minister of the Interior, (58) b. Kukushe; Alexander Zanolff Stalyski, former Minister of Justice, (51) b. Vidin; Boris Ivanoff Yotzoff, former minister, (50) b. Vratza; Boris Borisoff Koltcheff, former minister, (54) b. Yambol; Vassil Nikoloff Mitakoff, former minister, (64) b. Dolno-Kamartzi; Georgi Dimitroff Handjieff, former Court Chancery Counsellor, (49) b. Plovdiv; Dimiter Georgieff Gentcheff, Court Chancery Counsellor, (52) b. Vidin; Dimiter Christoff Kutcheff, former minister, (46) b. Polikraichte; Dimiter Ivanoff Chichmanoff, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, (56) b. Sofia; Dimiter Vassileff Ivanoff, former minister, (55) b. Chumen; Dobri Boyiloff, former Prime Minister, (61) b. Kotel; Dotcho Christoff Nikoloff, former minister, (47) b. Sevlievo; Ivan Bogdaniff Goranoff, former minister of Justice, (53) b. Sofia; Dr. Ivan Kiroff Vasoff, former minister, (53) b. Stara-Zagora; Dr. Ivan Boykoff Dunoff, former minister, (49) b. Dolni-Dabnik;

Ivan Ivanoff Bagrayanoff, Prime Minister, (55) b. Razgrad; Yordan Anastassoff Sevoff, former Court Chancery Counsellor, (53) b. Targovichte; Konstantin Yotoff Partoff, former Minister of Justice, (51) b. Vratza; Luven Christoff Lultcheff, former Court Chancery Counsellor, (53) b. Kneya; Nicolas Zacharieff, former minister, (46) b. Lessitcheri; Dr. Peter Kostoff Petroff, Court Chancery Counsellor, (51) b. Svichtov; Peter Dimitroff Gabrowski, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, (46) b. Razgrad; Pavel Sineonoff Grueff, former Court Chancery Counsellor, (65) b. Koprivchtiza; Parvan Bratanoff Parvanoff, former minister, (54) b. Lom; Gen. Russichristoff Russeff, former minister, (53) b. Gabrovo; Gen. Rafael Kaneff, former Court Chancery Counsellor, (53) b. Kotel; Svetoslav Konstantinoff Pomenoff, former Court Chancery Counsellor, (57) b. Sofia; Slavtcho Zagoroff, former minister, in absentia, (54) b. Lovetch; Gen. Teodosi Petroff Daskaloff, former Minister of Defence, (54) b. Lovetch; Ing. Christo Petroff Doytchinoff, former minister (56) b. Lovetch;

The deceased: Ing. Wassil Minkoff Radoslavoff, former minister; Ivan Popoff, former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Slavvevko Vassileff, former minister;

**The Second Tribunal of Sofia**, dealing with members of parliament, pronounced the following 126 verdicts: 68 death sentences, 22 life imprisonments, 27 various prison terms, amounting to a total of 795 years, 7 sentences in absentia, 126 verdicts of total property confiscations, 126 verdicts of partial confiscation of property amounting in all to 510,900,000 Leva.

The executions were made at the same place as those sentenced by the First Tribunal of Sofia. The following were executed: Alexander Zoloff Zankoff, in absentia, aged 66, born in Orchovo; Alexander Simoff Gigoff, (58) b. Russia; Alexander Christoff Radoloff, (61) b. Ferdinandovo;



Alexander Vassileff Zagoroff, (47) b. Varna; Angel Dimitroff Sivino, (62) b. Popovitz; Boris Petroff Popoff, (45) b. Assenovo; Dr. Boyko Yordanoff Kovatchevski, (44) b. Küstendil; Bojil Peroff Prachiloff, (55) b. Kamen-Breg; Vassil Petroff Tchobanoff, (50) b. Samokov; Vassil Zvetkoff Vassileff, (45) b. Butan; Velizar Christoff Bagaroff, (61) b. Sofia; Dr. Georgi Lipovanski, (49) b. Vratza; Georgi Rafailoff Popoff, (47) b. Tchirpan; Georgi Dimitroff Chilkoff, (61) b. Kniajevo; Dimiter Valtcheff Martcheff, (56) b. Karnobat; Dimiter Nikoloff Ikonomoff, (57) b. Dupnitsa; Dimiter Kiroff Toneff, (50) b. Tatarevo; Dimiter Vario Noff Andreeff, (46) b. Pleven; Dimiter Atanassoff Arnaudoff, (58) b. Sliven; Deltcho Todoroff Gugoff, (54) b. Krivo-Pole; Denj Kostoff Nedkoff, (46) b. Vidin; Dennyo Zenoff Tcholakoff, (47) b. Drenovo; Krum Nikoloff Mitakoff, in absentia, (57) b. Enyo Georgieff Klianteff, (58) b. Aytos; Jiko Petroff Standjeff, (59) b. Kula; Ivan Borissoff Batenbergski, (40) b. Russia; Ivan Vassileff Petroff, (58) b. Vidrare; Gen. Ivan Atanassoff Russeff, (72) b. Chumen; Ignat Ilieff Haidutoff, (46) b. Pleven; Ivan Stavoff Kermektchieff, (58) b. Yambol; Ivan Popoff Gankoff (44) b. Kneya; Kyril Georgieff Minkoff, in absentia, (48) b. Planinez; Kyril Konstantinoff Arnaudoff, (54) b. Tchirpan; Kossyo Christoff Aneff, (52) b. Suchindol; b. Sofia; Lazar Marinoff Popoff, (47) b. Russia; Marin Ivanoff Tutendjeff, (59) b. Marach; Michael Yovoff, in absentia, (58) b. Plovdiv; Mileti Natchoff Petkoff, in absentia, (44) b. Grumchia; Marko Dimoff Sakarski, (50) b. Naboyne; Nikola Christoff Minkoff, (40) b. Ichtiman; Nikola Ivanoff Vassileff, (50) b. Tran; Nikola Pertoff Logofetoff, (65) b. Novo-Selo; Najden Andreeff Stroitchkoff, b. Malachevtzi; Nikola Ivanoff Gradeff, (53) b. Elena; Najden Rajnoff Marinoff, (50) b. Radomirtza; Nikola Vassileff Sultanoff, (44) b. Yambol; Peter Savoff Velitchkoff,

(48) b. Kotel; Petko Dimitroff Karcheff, (57) b. Elena; Russi Ivanoff Marinoff, (47) b. Galabaovo; Rachko Atanassoff Atanassoff, (60) b. Tarnovo; Stefan Ivanoff Boyilovv, (38) b. Radomir; Stefan Hadji Karaivanoff, (40) b. Karlovo; Stefan Radionoff Jossifoff, (51) b. Lovetch; Spas Marinoff Popovski, (52) b. Borovan; Spas Ganef Raytcheff, (56) b. Sliven; Stoyan Christoff Nikiforoff, (57) b. Lovetch; Simeon Andreeff Naumoff, (41) b. Dolen-Tchiflik, and others.

**The Third Tribunal of Sofia** rendered the following 166 verdicts between March 15 and April 21, 1945: 47 death sentences, 36 life imprisonments, 75 various prison terms amounting to a total of 795 years, 8 deaths during proceedings, confiscations amounting to a total of 250 million Leva. Following are the verdicts in detail:

Gen. Assen Stoeff Karoff, aged 48, born in Kamenitza; Gen. Assen Nikoloff, (48) b. Sofia; Gen. Anton Baltakoff, in absentia, (55) b. Sofia; Lt. Angel Radeff, (29) b. Karaissen; Lt. Alexander Stoyanoff, (31) b. Sofia; Col. Alexander K. Apostoloff, (45) b. Sofia; Gen. Boris Ivanoff, (49) b. Sofia; Officer Boris Tasseff Pavloff (50), b. Radomir; Col. Vassil Moneff (50), b. Varna; Major Geno Ivanoff Kuzaroff (41), b. Kotel; Col. Ivan Rogozaroff, in absentia (45), b. Sofia; Col. Ilia Todoroff Yontcheff (50), b. Sofia; Col. Ivan Stefanoff Popoff (51), b. Kaloyanovo; Gen. Konstantin Lukach (49), b. Plovdiv; Lt. Luben Stoyanoff (26), b. Sofia; Gen. Nikola Kotcheff Nakoff (53), b. Vratza; Col. Nikola Kostoff, in absentia (46), b. Vratza; Nikola Stoykoff Kanasirski (39), b. Sofia; Col. Peter Ganef Pentcheff (47), b. Gradez; Gen. Rafael Banoff; Gen. Simeon Grigoroff Simoff (49), b. Vratza; Col. Stefan Savoff Nedeff (48), b. Kanavtzi; Stefan Ilieff Spasoff (31), b. Vidin; Cpt. Dimitroff Gortchiloff (39), b. Sofia; Lt. Boris Genkoff Marholeff (32), b. Sofia; Bogdan Petroff Nikoloff (38), b. Sofia; Lt. Valko T. Valkoff (39), b.

Sofia; Commanding Officer Georgi Gentcheff, in absentia, (41), b. Sofia; Lt. Dimiter Ktzaroff, b. Tanture; Commanding Officer Dimiter Kokochkoff (56), b. Samokov; Commanding Officer Yordan Grozdanoff (45), b. Sofia; Col. Kyril Kisselitchki; Gen. Nikola Chekoff, in absentia (72), b. Sofia; Gen. Nitcho Georgieff (50), b. Russia; Dr. Nikola P. Nikolaeff (47), b. Sofia; Lt. Peter Ivanoff Amsel (50), b. Tarnovo; Stoyan Angeloff Uzunoff, b. Dividiadovo; Major Todor Chekoff, in absentia, (35), b. Sofia; the deceased: commander-in-chief, Boris Vatkoff, Prof. Georgi Nenkoff, Cpt. Dimiter Radeff, Gen. Peter Zankoff. At the same time the properties of 50 accused were confiscated in unknown quantities.

**The Fourth Tribunal of Sofia** pronounced the following 105 verdicts on March 22, 1945: 50 death sentences, 30 life imprisonments, 24 various prison terms amounting to 272 years, 1 accused dead, 94 cases of total confiscation, 8 partial confiscations, fines amounting to a total of 419,220,000 Leva. The following were sentenced to death: Anton Nikoloff Kozaroff (51), b. Kazanlik; Athanase Ivanoff Milinkoff (46), b. Sliven; Andrey Ivanoff Pramataroff (43), b. Stara-Zagora; Alexander Ivanoff Sankoff (32), b. Vratza; Anton Dimitroff Antonoff (39), b. Izvor; Assen Nikoloff Ryazkoff (32), b. Sofia; Alexander Alexandroff Brauner (52), b. Russia; Assen Dimitroff Madrechieff (32), b. Plovdiv; Andrej Yordanoff Kumanoff (36), b. Russia; Atanse Stavreff Yanatchkoff (38), b. Zaribrod; Borislav Popchristoff (34), b. Küstendil; Boris Takkoff Ilieff (36), b. Dupnitsa; Vassil Zvetkoff Zankoff (42), b. Tarnovo; Vesselin Ivanoff Donkoff (36), b. Gorno-Slivov; Vassil Ivanoff Popoff (46), b. Sarigrad; Vladimir Jossifoff Keralski (40), b. Ressen; Georgi Ivanoff Mieff (46), b. Yeravna; Georgi Kozeff Pechoff (32), b. Sofia; Georgi Stoyanoff Georgieff (30), b. Kostilovtzi; Dimiter Atanassoff Georgieff (47), b. Lessovo;

Dimiter Georgieff Todoroff (45), b. Sofia; Dimiter Pavloff Petkoff (29), b. Dolna-Bechivitza; Ivan Vassileff Tcherгарoff (25), b. Saranzi; Ivan Simeonoff Ivanoff (29), b. Sevlievo.

**The Fifth Tribunal of Sofia** gave the following 78 verdicts on April 4, 1945: 15 death sentences, 13 life imprisonments, 74 prison terms amounting to 269 years, 3 deaths during proceedings, 22 total confiscations of property, 16 partial confiscations of property, fines totalling 40,602,000 Leva. The following were executed: Prof. Alexander Zoloff Zankoff, in absentia, former Prime Minister, Prof. Assen Kantardjieff, in absentia, leader of the National Party "Ratnik", Bogomil Zvetkoff, Vsevolod Levacheff, in absentia, Dr. Dimiter Valtcheff, in absentia, leader of the Bulgarian National Legions, Ing. Dimiter Klimentoff Krasteff, in absentia, Ivan Dotscheff, in absentia, leader of the Bulgarian National Legions, Yordan Badeff, in absentia, Konstantin Ovtcharoff, in absentia, Kliment Dalkalatcheff, in absentia, Prof. Lubomir Vladikin, in absentia, Marko Vassilieff Medhlemoff, in absentia, Methodi Makaroff Aisseff, in absentia, Gen. Nikola Chekoff, in absentia, former Commander General of the Bulgarian Army in World War I and honorary member of the Bulgarian National Legions Headquarters; Peter Georgieff Atanassoff. The deceased: Gen. Christo Lukoff, former Minister of Defence and leader of the Bulgarian National Legions; Danail Kraptcheff; Rayko Nikoloff Alexieff.

#### **Editor's annotation:**

The ABN editorial staff is in possession of a list of no less than 7,000 names of people who have been sentenced to the heaviest penalties by the Peoples' Tribunal Courts of Bulgaria: mostly active party politicians, publicists, former officials in national and regional service, in particular former police officials, officers, clergymen, civil servants, etc.

## Ulana Celewych-Stetsiuk



We would like to share with all freedom-fighters of the subjugated nations the painful message that on August 18, 1981 in Chicago, Ill. (USA), after a long and tortuous illness, Ulana Celewych-Stetsiuk passed away. The deceased was a member of the Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, a leading figure in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and one of the most exemplary Ukrainian political and community activists.

The deceased was born in Chicago in 1915. At the age of 10, as a small girl she left for Ukraine with her parents where she later completed a teacher's seminar in Stryj, attended high school in Drohobycz and began studying history at the University of Lviv. While yet attending high school, she became active in the underground nationalist movement, for which she was persecuted by the Polish occupational

regime. She was the leader of the youth organization "Sokil" in Stryj. During the Russian occupation of Western Ukraine she was forced to resettle in Lemkivshchyna (a far western province of Ukraine), where she greatly mobilized nationalist sentiment and activity. At the outbreak of war in 1941, she became a participant of the "Marching Brigades" of the OUN — a Political Army of the Courageous in the rebuilding of Statehood — and was sent into Eastern Ukraine. At this time she was captured by the Germans. Subsequently she worked as the organizational coordinator of the women's section of the aid division for prisoners, the sick and the injured. After she lost her husband, she and her daughter, Lyaryssa, undertook the long journey to a camp for displaced persons in Germany, where as an American citizen she played a key role in convincing the military authorities to cease deporting people back into the hands of the bolsheviks.

Throughout all her life, the Deceased was a great woman with a revolutionary character, with the faith of Neophytes, without a shred of egoism, which was typical of the epoch of the 1930's, when it was most necessary to re-educate the entire nation in the spirit of heroism in life, with a faith in one's own truth and in the eternity of the ideals of Ukraine.

The Deceased was most happy when working and fighting for the liberation of her Fatherland. She was one of the oldest members of the OUN from the homeland. She was an unparalleled organizer of women's cadres and, above all, an untiring, inventive worker and a most talented international and political activist, a propagator of the idea of an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State and of the dissolution of the Russian empire into national independent states of all the subjugated nations. She was one of the best organizers of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations, a propagator of its ideals in the USA — the most powerful country in the world. For over 20 years she was the Head of the ABN in Illinois. She was also a long-time head of the Women's Organization for the Defence of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine, moulding this institution into a most active political organization on the US foreign policy front.

We have lost one of the most prominent figures of our movement — a woman with extraordinary leadership qualities, with an unbreakable, resolute character and with the struggle of an exemplary freedom fighter. Even during her incurable illness she tirelessly continued her work, although physically weak. The tragic death of her only daughter did not break her will, but with even greater strength she met her duties with the dignity of a true nationalist.

The OUN and the ABN have both suffered a great loss. But the example of her sense of self-sacrifice, dedication to the cause and fortitude will always exhort the younger generations to follow in her footsteps.

## The Frontiers of Culture

*(Translation of the document recently smuggled from Ukraine)*

Part 6

### **The Scientific and Cultural Intelligentsia: the mainstay of the Opposition**

The scientific-technical intelligentsia is taking an ever more active role in the activities of the opposition movement, and represents a reliable source of help to the above mentioned groups, of which it could well become the leading power. The present level of urbanisation, the level of the development of science, technology, economy — all dictate that the totalitarian regime either decentralise these spheres of human activities, and thus allow substantially more freedom for the scientific-technical intelligentsia: otherwise totalitarianism shall hinder the further development of science and economics, which would lead to increasing stagnation, with the Soviet Union lagging far behind the West in key branches of economics — which has become notably obvious within the last decade, and thus serve to increase the dissatisfaction felt by the intelligentsia.

It should be noted that, among other things, the effort to find a way out of the progressive stagnation has become one of the most significant reasons for the so-called thaw. The regime can become either more liberal or more repressive. The captive nations will benefit from either alternative. The first will stimulate the development of the opposition movement, and the second will stimulate wide dissatisfaction — which again will activate the opposition movement. Dissatisfaction and opposition is not only directed at the regime, but already the Russian technical intelligentsia — a powerful driving force — is gradually pushing out the party bureaucracy from governing the empire — at least in the area of economics. The failures that were caused by increasing centralisation led to the growth and development of many scientific and exemp-

lary centres within the boundaries of various economic regions run on Western principles, which has in turn led to the updating of economic theories which place less emphasis on Marxist dogma. On the basis of this modernisation, economic relations and calculations have borrowed structures and models from the West — and are proof of the centrifugal forces of Russian economic leaders and the scientific elite desiring to free themselves from the control of the party caste: proof of their desire for freedom of action — and it is finally proof that it shall be impossible for the party bureaucracy to fully control the development of science, technology and economic in the future; this development can also be seen in the sphere of politics, where the Russians are desperately trying to enforce their superiority — however, this is simply the devaluation and the erosion of communism as an ideology, which serves to highlight the growth of a Russian opposition.

### **Advice for the younger generation**

We would advise the younger generation that is gradually joining our movement to rely on the Russian opposition movements as an ally with great caution. For example it has come to light that some people who had implicitly trusted their contacts within the Russian opposition had passed them Ukrainian underground documents intended for publication abroad. However, these documents were never transmitted and were in fact destroyed.

However, we shall continue with our previous line of thought having given this warning. Moscow, having realised the extent of revolutionary change that could be achieved by the activation of the technical intelligentsia is trying to suppress not only them but also the activities of the

cultural intelligentsia. For this reason we are witnessing the (forced) mass emigration of our national intellectuals and talented people, and also the forced emigration of potential oppositionists to the imperial regime from the Ukrainian homeland, from the Ukrainian atmosphere — from all those factors that could potentially stimulate their involvement in the movement.

The territory of the Soviet Union and the dynamics of the economic process are conducive to this: hundreds and thousands of Ukrainian scientists, economists, technologists are forced to work outside Ukraine, where they are separated, isolated, forced to mix with many other nationalities and as such they no longer present any threat. On the contrary they are completely ready for assimilation — and once they have been “re-educated”, they become trojan horses on the territories of the other captive nations — i.e., they act as assimilators.

#### **A million-strong opposition**

The absolute complement of the regime — realised through the party, administrative and economic bureaucracy and maintained by the KGB, the militia, the army, the fifth column — by the 15 million strong Russian population — represents the strategic position and also the support of the regime. For the effective realisation of its colonial politics and for the denationalisation of the Ukrainian population on its motherland, the occupier employs a complete arsenal of different tactical methods. And while our artistic creativity, art, social sciences are oppressed through the falsification of history, through the mutilation of the nation spirit, the discrediting of our task, the denial of our right for sovereignty, a denial of our heritage, through a strict control over all our publications, the sphere of scientific-technical work is flooded by millions of Russians who occupy all the key positions in the towns and whose language dominates 90% of scientific works, technical monographs, text books — in a word all

technical publications are printed in Russian. But language is one of the most important components of a culture. And in enforcing the Russian language in the technical sphere it effectively destroys the development of a Ukrainian technical language, and this forms just one basis for the assimilation of the colonial nations of the Soviet Union, which as each year passes, lag further and further behind in their development. And the talented members of these nations, and in particular of the Ukrainian nation, are forced to work beyond the frontiers of their motherlands. Their places are taken by Russian chauvinists — who will only print their works in Russian which acts only to enrich the Russian culture and language, thus acting to speed the process of Russification in Ukraine. Those Ukrainians who do remain in their motherland and work there, find themselves deprived of the possibility and opportunity to work for the good of the nation, because of the lack of any material printed in their mother tongue.

The state of the publishing houses is even more oppressive. They are forced (in accordance with the state plans) to print all Russian literature first, and the fact that once a work is in printed form means that it can reach international forums, encourages writers to write in Russian. In this way the process of Russification reaches out and embraces all branches of science, technology, and is transmitted from the elite down to the masses, and as a boomerang, is returned from the masses back to the elite.

The economic system of Ukraine is also developing according to the plans of the colonisers in Moscow. The major industries in Ukraine are such that they will soon starve Ukraine of her natural resources, and as all branches of the economy are mutually dependent on other branches in the empire, this acts to deprive Ukraine of her economic independence.

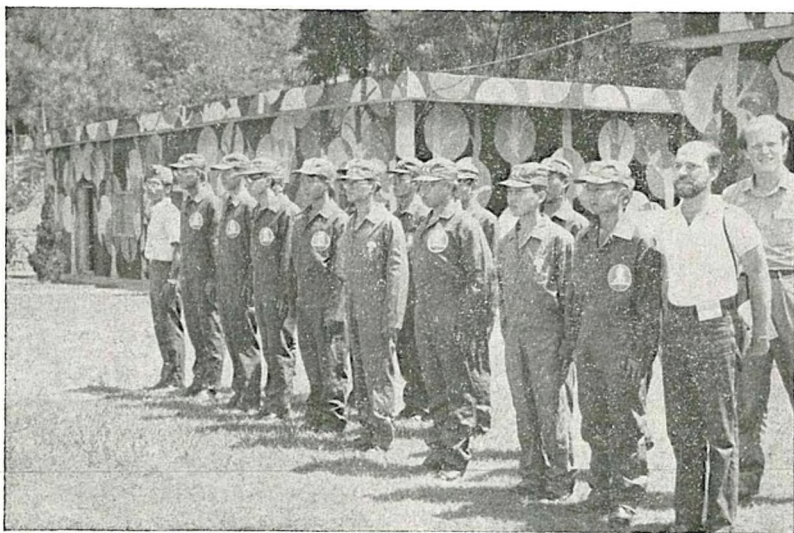
Although Ukrainian science seemingly

has a broad horizon, it is, as a whole, peripheral. Exemplary fields exist but these are adapted to suit the local character and are not independently selected and are limited in their resources. As such Ukrainian academics are considered to be of a lower calibre and its students and teachers, researchers and professors are not allowed to have any independent contact with their fellows abroad. The status of their academic and scientific institutions does not allow them to send autonomous delegations to take part in international forums of any sort; normally, as an unspoken rule, this honour is bestowed on Russians, thus lowering the standing of Ukrainians even further in the field of science. Indeed the candidates themselves are especially selected in Moscow and the criteria for participating in either international or domestic conferences is not talent, but loyalty to the regime and nationality. Thus the status of both Ukrainian scientists and science is worse than colonial: Ukraine does not have an independent science nor does she have enough cadres to work in this field of human activity.

### **The unitary phenomenon of the Ukrainian soul**

If the activation of the opposition movement in Ukraine, and in particular the activation of the technical intelligentsia, is still in its early stages, then the same cannot be said of the world of the soul: great devaluation of communist values is taking place, there is great disillusionment with the practical matters in which every day life is conducted. This is particularly felt by youth and leaves a great vacuum in everyone's lives, which desperately needs to be filled. Thus there is a great desire to learn of other philosophical and social systems, of other values to fill the vacuum and to give fulfilment of the soul. Thus at present there is a rebirth of religion, of belief in God, a rebirth of Ukrainian traditions and customs.

When talking of Ukraine this phenomenon of a renaissance has become recognised as a norm and is proof of the unitary Ukrainian soul, of its need for God and of its unique psychology. It is also proof of the indestructibility of the Ukrainian national soul and of Ukrainian



*Mr. B. Potapenko and Mr. R. Zwarycz visiting the military fortress at Quemoy, Rep. of China.*

individualism. It also represents a form of protest, which is on the one hand a conscious matter and on the other a protest against the regime's prohibition of worship of God, and its control over spirituality. Thus the faithful — regardless of the creed of their faith — represent another faithful ally in our opposition. God and the nation are inseparable concepts, and have been such for our nation for thousands of years, and form part of the Ukrainian national character, and it is the sacred duty of the opposition to defend the two great Ukrainian churches — the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox — from destruction.

### **Traitors and collaborators**

The total implementation of propaganda, the skilful utilisation of local people prepared to compromise themselves in order to strengthen their own positions, the consolidation of the imperial regime, the camouflaging of the politics of colonialism, Russification and of deceit, the attempt to appease the masses with the aid of gangs of collaborators of all types — all these factors enable the Moscow regime to give its full attention to national problems. With this as an aim, a large, and efficient system of propaganda has been constructed. In the history of the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for her independence, neither the betrayal of national ideals nor collaboration have had any lace in our relations with the occupier (although similar examples can be found in the critical moments of other nations). It is only in the recent bolshevik period of our history that traitors of our nation have emerged from the ranks of our national intelligentsia and who infiltrate the liberation movement, the cultural movement, our history faculties (in an attempt to falsify our annals), the Church and party and attempt to disfigure the aims and ideals of the Opposition Movement; to disparage the activists of the national-liberation movement. These factors now are more or less, an ordinary feature of our society.

Betrayal occurred as an exception once in the past: with Halan being the "founder" of this "school" of shame and its most typical representative. This Ukrainian Judas left in the Ukrainian field a poisonous family of degenerates — "microhalans", various Helnychuks, Tsokhs, Kychs, Myhal, and so on. Similarly, Myhal was a typical representative of a repulsive gang. This degenerate, alcoholic collaborator was, at the beginning of the 1960's, entrusted, with others such as he, with 'cultivating' Ukrainian political prisoners in one of the Mordovian concentration camps and obtaining their "recantations". This is a testimony to his degenerate activity. When, on an improvised stage set up in the dining hall, a group of our political prisoners appeared. Myhal, thinking that he was about to be punished for his betrayal was so scared that he began to lament: "Brothers — I'm with you, I'm with you. It was the Russians, the communists who brought me here and forced me to act against Ukraine, against you". But when he was sure that he was not going to be subjected to physical punishment, he reverted to his former self — a prostrate traitor. The behaviour of these base beings could be disregarded if it were not for the fact that they are encouraged by the party centres and by the KGB and if their activities did not lead to the repression of members of the Opposition Movement. However, the fact that these degenerates have been encouraged to climb out of their holes, testifies to the fact that the national-liberation struggle is now activated, that the Opposition Movement has become much stronger, but most importantly, it testifies to the silent support and concern of wide masses of the population for our national problems.

In the last ten years, as a result of many factors, already noted here, the ferment of the population and the government actions to quell this ferment has taken on an ever more dynamic appearance, which has been influenced by the need for objective in-

formation about world affairs, and thus the role of Western sources of information, and in particular "Radio Liberty", have played a vital part within the confines of the empire and within Ukraine especially. They have filled the vacuum created by communist ideology and the mistrust felt towards government information and propaganda. The regime, in an attempt to prevent the vacuum being filled by the samvydav (and thus its growth, the stimulation that it provides and its development) and by the transmissions of Western radio broadcasts mobilises Ukrainian collaborators. Their word carries more "authority" in this struggle where the coloniser's primary target is to prevent any activity on the part of the Opposition Movement (in as much that any information that it manages to print on the national question, can only serve to stimulate further interest in this matter, and the strength of its attraction is incredibly powerful).

In these conditions of massive hypocrisy, the value of the official word is devalued to its least possible level. However this does not present a threat to the Opposition Movement as regards its beliefs nor can it quell our national patriotism or change our views in favour of the occupier, as the absolute majority of the literate population that is concerned with these problems is able to distinguish and judge where the right lies, and to take an objective internal stance. This is why the publication of the works of, for example, Yevdokymenko, Rymarenko, Cherednychenko, Danylenko, and so on, although in principle are less damaging than the press or other written propaganda, are unable to "fill" the existing vacuum they are of a poor quality, pseudo-educational and completely false. The treachery of collaborators such as Halan and his "heirs" — all sorts of Melnychuks, Myhalivs, Kyckivs, Tsokhs, (who do not even deserve to be mentioned by their Christian names), Dmytrukivs, and so on, can merely await a relentless vengeance to be taken by

us in thunderous words, because such betrayals and such disparagement of Ukrainian patriots cannot be left unanswered and demands to be exposed.

In the second place, because the exposure and distribution of such literature and material as the samvydav and also the materials translated by the editorial of "Radio Liberty" (it is rare to find a family in Ukraine, and in particular those from educated backgrounds, who do not listen to these broadcasts) help create a wider interest in the national-liberation movement, and especially important, many of these people, from all classes of society, will then actually take an active role in this movement.

Thirdly because this exposure (one of the methods of work used by the Opposition Movement) either produces an even stronger reaction from the imperial propagandistic apparatus and its collaborators, and thus serves to awaken the masses, to overcome their inertness and stimulates their engagement in matters of national interest. It encourages the polarisation of different groups, and thus such exposure will act as one of the catalysts in the development of an active opposition movement; or otherwise, the imperial administration shall continue its present practice of silencing burning national questions and eliminating the existing Opposition Movement. This is the reason why the initiative for action lies with an active opposition which has to dominate and disperse itself and its works within the nation, as happened with Dziuba's popular book "Internationalism or Russification?" and the materials printed in the samvydav. If this course of action is not taken, the existing vacuum shall become reinforced. It is thus the duty of the Opposition Movement to fill this vacuum with its own information, with broadcasts from "Radio Liberty" and other mediums which will in the long run have analogous or even greater results. These, are then, the nuances of the given question. *(to be continued)*



## 14th CONFERENCE OF WACL

Taipei, Republic of China, August 2-7, 1981

With the re-emergence of concern in the world with the Communist Russian threat as a backdrop, the international anti-communist movement concluded its 14th Conference by calling for... "firm support to the Polish workers' struggle for freedom and to the subjugated peoples of Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia and others in their struggle for national independence". The conference was convened under the auspices of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and was held in Taipei, Republic of China, on August 2-7, 1981. It brought together 358 anti-communist leaders from 105 countries and territories to adopt a common strategy for "attaining the final victory of freedom over communism in the decade of the 1980's".

Encompassing the full spectrum of national, cultural, religious, social, economic and geo-political diversity, the delegates found common ground in their commitment to stem the tide of Communist Russian imperial expansion and to work together to roll back the Iron Curtain until no nation would ever again be faced with an imperialist threat from Russia or any other communist center.

This overriding commitment, which permeated all committee meetings, plenary sessions and behind the scenes discussions, was also due in large part to the efforts of the large Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and Ukrainian delegations at the Conference. These successes reflect the long term efforts over the past 14 years of WACL by ABN, Ukraine and other members to crystalize the mission of WACL toward the subjugated nations as the single most powerful force and threat to the continuance of the Soviet Russian empire and communism.

The ABN has been recognized as a re-

gional alliance of subjugated nations. Ukrainians at the Conference included: Mrs. Slava Stetsko — chief delegate of the ABN, Mr. Roman Zwarycz — chief delegate of Ukraine with Mr. Jarema Kelabay and Mrs. Daria Stepaniak as members, Mrs. Maria Shkambara — League for the Liberation of Ukraine, Mr. Borys Potapenko — Organization for the Defence of Four Freedoms For Ukraine, Prof. Lev Dobriansky — Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Mrs. Dobriansky, Mr. Chopiowsky, Mr. Badynsky, Mrs. Chopiowsky and Mr. Y. Rosola from the Captive Nations Week Committee. The Bulgarian delegation was represented by Dr. Kyril Drenikoff, the five-member Rumanian delegaton was led by Dr. Alexander Ronnet, the Lithuanian delegation by Mrs. Elizabeth Wytenus (Mr. Peter Wytenus was a member of the ABN delegation) and the Croatian delegation was led by Mr. F. Lovokovic.

The ABN delegations held extensive consultations with numerous delegations and succeeded in establishing bilateral programmes of cooperation in many areas of mutual interest. During private meetings the Ukrainians distributed background documents and materials such as: ABN Correspondence, July/August 1981, booklet on the restoration of Ukrainian independence in 1941, booklet on Yuriy Shukhevych who, as the son of General Roman Shukhevych, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), has spent over 30 years in Soviet Russian jail, News From Ukraine, Revolutionary and Reactionary Forces in the World, Ukrainian nationalist — interview by Yaroslav Stetsko published in the Washington Post, press cuttings reporting Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko's speech in the American Congress on July 15, 1981, excerpts from Con-

gressional Records on the AF ABN Congress May 2-3, 1981, and others. Consultations were held with: Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Philippine, Mexican, Brazilian, Guatamalan, Australian, American, Canadian, Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Swiss, German, French, Belgian, Turkish, Liberian, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, New Guinea, and other delegations. Members of our delegations were invited to the reception given by Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of National China, where they also met members of parliament and foreign state representatives at these official receptions (United States, Japan, Philippines, Paraguay, Brazil). Furthermore, Mrs. Stetsko, Dr. K. Drenikoff, Mr. P. Wytenus, Mr. F. Lovokovic held interviews with television and press representatives.

As a regional representative in WACL the ABN report was presented to the Conference at the Second Plenary Session by Mrs. Slava Stetsko. It consisted of an exhaustive analysis of most recent repressive actions by Communist Russia and the resistance efforts in Afghanistan, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Croatia, Georgia — of the 23 nations that form the ABN. In her presentation of the ABN report, Mrs. Stetsko emphasised that “the ABN is not an emigré organization of national communities in exile. ABN continues its struggle in and outside the Soviet Russian prison of nations and receives frequent appeals from patriots to wage the liberation struggle in a common front.” Mrs. Stetsko cited examples of ABN activities in the Free World, including actions at the Madrid meeting of the CSCE — Helsinki review conference, mass demonstrations in Ottawa, Canada, London, England, United Nations Headquarters in New York, the USSR Mission in New York, activities at the World Women’s Congress in Copenhagen, as well as contacts with

government leaders and parliamentarians who introduced wide-ranging resolutions in defence of the subjugated nations and political prisoners. The programatic position of the report was incorporated into the ABN sponsored resolution. The resolutions introduced by ABN members (Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Croatian, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Belorussian, and Cuban) were unanimously adopted by the Conference.

The ABN national members delegations were satisfied that the 14th WACL Conference embraced the most fundamental tenants of their struggle.

The danger of nuclear holocaust cannot be negotiated away. Soviet Russia has skilfully exploited Western fears of nuclear war by blackmailing the West into meekly acquiescing to ever-increasing conquests. Our strategic alternative is based on the knowledge that the subjugated nations within the Russian empire represent a vast untapped force, which in a common front with the nations of the free world provides the strategic raison d’être for defeating the last remaining empire. A global strategy, based on the concept of synchronized national liberation revolutions within the Russian colonial empire, is the only alternative.



*Hon. Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, WACL Honorary Chairman, addressing the delegates of the XIV WACL Conference, held in Taipei, ROC on August 2-7, 1981.*

## JOINT COMMUNIQUE

### 14th WACL, 27th APACL & 3rd AYACL Conference

The 14th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), the 27th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) and the 3rd Conference of the Asian Youth Anti-Communist League (AYACL) jointly took place in Taipei, Republic of China, on August 3-7, 1981. The 358 delegates and observers from 105 countries and territories throughout the world discussed ways and means to promote justice and to attain the final victory of freedom over Communism in the decade of 1980s.

A thorough examination of the current international situation was made. The participants agreed that President Ronald Reagan's staunch stand against Communism and Soviet Russia serves to cement free nations toward greater unity and cooperation against Communist aggression.

The policy of playing off Red China against Russia is simply illusory, but, on the contrary, leads to a repetition of the catastrophic Yalta history, since both Soviet Russia and Red China aim ultimately to conquer the world. Therefore, the Conference unanimously agreed that Communist aggressions must be thwarted.

The participants have further resolved to appeal:

— to all the free nations to organize themselves into a strong alliance against Communism for the purpose of restoring world peace.

— to the United States to work out a global anti-Communist strategy which will make the best use of the military power, technology and natural resources of the free world and enhance defense arrangements and regional security against Communist infiltration and aggression.

— to the free nations to refrain from supplying arms and equipment to the Communists and, more recently, to the Chinese Communists.

— to all the free nations in Asia and Oceania to improve their defense capabilities in order to share in the responsibility for regional security.

— to all the free African nations to strengthen their unity against Communist expansion and proxy wars of Soviet Russia.

— to the free Latin American nations to reinforce anti-Communist measures and to support the free Cuban struggle against the Castro regime and support for Nicaraguan and other freedom fighters who are fighting against Communist tyranny.

The participants unanimously express their firm support to the Polish workers' struggle for freedom, and to the subjugated peoples of Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia and others in their struggle for national independence. The North Atlantic Treaty must be revised and strengthened to be able to ward off various forms of offensives, including possible military invasion of the Eastern European countries by Soviet Russia.

The participants call upon the free world to create centers of psychological warfare throughout the world, patterned after Quemoy, so as to strengthen the global struggle against Communism.

The participants strongly support the heroic fighting by the Afghans against the Soviet Russian aggressors. They also appeal to all the Middle East nations to overcome religious and racial differences to achieve unity against Communist aggression in this strategically important area.

The participants urge the free nations not to harbour any illusion of lucrative markets in trading with Communist countries, but, on the other hand, to develop mutual trade and economic cooperation among themselves. Positive steps should be taken to defeat the Communist economic united front offensive so that free world economy may grow more prosperously.

The delegates and observers warn all free nations not to be misled by the deceiving moderate line pursued by the Chinese Communists as a camouflage of their internal power struggle in order to mitigate crises. Free nations are urged to recognize the ardent desire of the Chinese people on the mainland for freedom and democracy, and to extend support to their endeavor for unification. In this way, a quarter of the world's population can effectively offset the Soviet Russian menace.

The participants strongly denounce the north Korean Communists for building up a dynasty to perpetrate agitation, murder and infiltration, and warmly support Korean President Chun Doo Hwan's persistent efforts at preventing recurrence of war in the Korean Peninsula.

The participants also condemn the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia and Laos and support the courageous resistance against the Vietnamese Communist forces by the Khmer People National Liberation Front, the National Laotian Resistance and the

Vietnamese anti-Communist resistance group inside Indo-China area.

The participants of the Conference demand that all concentration camps, political prisons and psychiatric asylums in the USSR and elsewhere must be abolished.

The participants strongly support the governments and armed forces in Latin America struggling against subversions perpetrated by Soviet Russia and its agents in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, under the disguise of international socialism, supported by left wing governments in Europe.

The participants also expressed their hope that the UN Human Rights Commission and the Organization of American States ask the government of Nicaragua to grant a safe conduct pass to Chester Escobar, Chairman of World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL), who is presently living in asylum at Guatemalan Embassy in Nicaragua.

All the participants wish to express their profound gratitude to the China Chapter and, in particular, to Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, WACL Honorary Chairman, for the



*Group of delegates at the 14th WACL Conference, Taipei, Rep. of China.*

gracious hospitality and the most effective arrangement which made this Conference a great success.

The next General Conferences of WACL and APACL will be held in 1982, and the sites and dates will be announced later.

### **WACL for Assistance to National Liberation Movements**

— Whereas the policy of “détente” has proven to be an unequivocal failure and significant setback for the Free World, it has not only weakened the resolve of the citizens of free countries to resist Russian aggression, but has also proven to cause division and disharmony among various members of Western-based alliances;

— Whereas the concept of “balance of power” is reactionary and therefore can never become a means for achieving a free and just international order, on the contrary, the Russian empire has consistently utilized this concept to buttress and advance its own imperialist interests throughout the world, forcing the West to continuously redefine the existing “spheres of influence” after each new Russian imperio-colonial conquest;

— Whereas the policy of “containment” has proven itself to be a complete failure in light of Soviet Russian organized aggression directly or by “proxy” and its efforts to legitimize violence as a means for advancing its imperialistic interests in Central and South America, the Middle East, Africa, South and Southeast Asia;

— Whereas the false notion of the Soviet Union being a nationally monolithic state, shared by many strategic thinkers in and out of government in the West, has negated the fundamental importance of the national liberation forces of the subjugated nations within the Soviet Russian empire;

— Whereas with virtually no support from the governments of the Free World, the liberation movements in Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Georgia, Hungary, Poland, North Caucasus, Turkestan, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Serbia, Czechia, Croatia, Slovenia, East Germany,

Cuba, Idel-Ural, Vietnam, North Korea, more recently Afghanistan, and other subjugated countries, have demonstrated their commitment to cast off the Russian colonial yoke, these liberation movements should be the cornerstone for a policy of rolling back and ultimately dissolving the last remaining colonial empire in the world into nationally independent and sovereign states. Their struggle represents the missing organic link for the strategic interests of the West;

— Whereas Soviet Russia has consistently and unabashedly pursued and is today advancing its colonial ambitions on all continents of the globe, and whereas Russia has skilfully exploited Western fears of nuclear war to blackmail the West into meekly acquiescing to its ever increasing conquests;

— The 14th WACL Conference calls upon the United States, its allies and all free nations to reject policies of “détente”, “balance of power”, “containment” and “appeasement”;

— Further, WACL Conference extends the following proposals as modest and yet significant measures integrating the national liberation movements into Western military and political strategy;

— The United States and its allies should engage Soviet Russia in the struggle of ideas and ideologies by calling for the recognition of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations as the legitimate representatives of these countries at all international forums, including the United Nations;

— The Free World should provide access for representatives of national liberation movements to the various forms of mass media to facilitate their ability to com-

municate with their countrymen behind the Iron Curtain on a mass scale.

Such a communication center would serve to enable the national liberation ideal to permeate through all levels of the social strata of the subjugated nations;

— Assistance should also be provided in the form of military training, transport and arms, as well as other political, material and technical means of support for the national-liberation forces in Afghanistan, Angola, Cuba and extended to all legitimate representatives of revolutionary national liberation movements in the USSR and satellite countries;

— National liberation movements of the subjugated nations should be allowed access to the necessary technological means for waging a revolutionary liberation struggle;

— We believe in the universal principles that every nation and every individual seeks freedom, justice and national independence. Therefore, the subjugated nations within the Soviet Russian empire represent a vast untapped force, which in a common front with the nations of the Free World provides the strategic *raison d'être* for defeating the last remaining colonial empire, thereby ridding the world of this threat to national independence, freedom, culture and human survival.

*Freedom for Nations!  
Freedom for the Individual!*

### **In Defense of the Catacombic Churches**

Whereas, the Russian occupational-colonial regime, in the footsteps of Russian tsarism, continues to persecute the Catacombic Ukrainian Church, its faithful and priests, even murdering them (e.g. Rev. Lutskyj and Rev. Luchkiw) and

Whereas, the Russian Orthodox Church of "patriarch" Pimen, which serves the atheistic communist regime, is in fact, only a bulwark of Russian imperialism, by furthering and buttressing the oppression of the Catacombic Ukrainian Catholic Church

and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, after the forceful incorporation of both Ukrainian Churches within the official Russian Orthodox Church, and

Whereas, the Vatican is leading an ecumenical dialogue with the Church of Pimen, which only serves the communist regime and Russian imperialist aims and is also demanding the recognition on the part of the Vatican and the World Council of Churches of the forceful incorporation into the Russian Orthodox Church of the Catacombic Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, therefore:

— the XIV WACL Conference condemns the brutal persecution of religion by the atheistic Russian communist regime, in particular of the Catacombic Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church;

— the XIV WACL Conference also condemns the Russian policy of murdering the faithful and Ukrainian priests, as well as the solidarity of the official Russian Church of "patriarch" Pimen with the atheistic regime and its active cooperation with the Russian imperialist regime in the continued persecution of both Ukrainian Churches;

— the XIV WACL Conference supports an ecumenical dialogue with the Catacombic Churches, with those who are persecuted for their faith in God, and appeals to the Vatican and to the World Council of Churches to terminate any dialogue with the official Russian imperialist church of "patriarch" Pimen and with those religious denominations which only serve the atheistic communist regime and/or collaborate with it;

— the XIV WACL Conference fully supports the Catacombic Ukrainian Catholic Church and its Patriarch — a martyr of Russian prisons and concentration camps for over 18 years — His Beatitude Cardinal Josyph Slipyj, and also calls for an initiation of an ecumenical dialogue with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church through the Catacombic Ukrainian Catholic Church and its Pa-

triarh Cardinal Slipyj, as well as with all Christian denominations within the Russian-Bolshevik empire, who are pursuing an active struggle against Communist atheism and national subjugation;

— the XIV WACL Conference with profound respect extends its greetings to His Beatitude Patriarch Cardinal Josyph Slipyj, a great martyr of God's faith, and supports his concept of ecumenism with the Catacomb Churches, with the heroic Christianity of their martyrs;

— the XIV WACL Conference with profound respect extends its greetings to the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II in his noble attempt to give support to the Catacomb Churches, regardless of the difficulties to be overcome on this honorable path;

— the XIV WACL Conference supports the national-liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation for the re-establishment of an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State through the dissolution of the Russian empire into national independent democratic states, which will then create the only possible pre-conditions for a free development of the religious denominations of all presently subjugated nations and for a just ecumenical dialogue with free Churches.

#### *The Delegation of Ukraine*

#### **National Independence for Lithuania**

*Whereas*, the national liberation movement in Lithuania is affirming itself with an even greater vivacity in all strata of socio-political, cultural and religious life, despite relentless efforts undertaken by the Russian neo-colonial regime to eradicate its every vestige, and

*Whereas*, in their efforts to forcibly transform the Lithuanian nation into an artificial appendage of the Russian nation the Russian imperialists have been systematically implementing a brutal policy of Russification, mass starvation, genocide, deportation and incarceration into prisons,

concentration camps, and psychiatric asylums, and

*Whereas*, the Russian imperio-colonial atheistic regime has employed much energy towards liquidating all forms of religious life in Lithuania, and

*Whereas*, all basic individual freedoms are continually trampled upon in Lithuania, which has led to a considerable depletion of the Lithuanian nations' cultural, political, social and academic resources, and

*Whereas*, despite such brutally oppressive imperio-colonial policies, the Lithuanian nation continues to aspire to national independence, and

*Whereas*, these rightful aspirations have been heretofore ignored by the West, which, although posing as the bastion of freedom in the world, nevertheless becomes a signatory of many agreements with the USSR — the Russian empire, (eg. the so-called Helsinki Accords) by which the territorial integrity of the empire is "guaranteed",

Be it therefore resolved that:

The XIV WACL Conference reaffirms its support of the Lithuanian nation in its struggle to achieve national independence.

The XIV WACL Conference calls upon the Free World to render all possible political, moral and, when need be, military aid to the Lithuanian national liberation, revolutionary movement.

The XIV WACL Conference demands that the Helsinki Accords be declared null and void on the grounds that they are unjust and self-contradictory with regard to the Soviet Russian empire and the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

The XIV WACL Conference calls upon all of the UN member states of the Free World to render recognition to the Representatives of the Lithuanian national liberation movement on all international forums, in particular the United Nations.

The XIV WACL Conference calls upon the nations of the free world to exert a maximum amount of pressure on Moscow,

demanding the immediate liquidation of all political prisons, concentration camps, psychiatric asylums and the like, and also demanding the immediate release of all Lithuanian political prisoners, in particular Vytautas Skuodis, an American citizen born in Chicago, who was sentenced in December, 1980 to seven years incarceration and five years of internal exile for professing his national and religious beliefs, and in June, 1981 proclaimed a hunger strike to focus the attention of the world on the "Spiritual Genocide of the Lithuanian nation."

### **On the 40th Anniversary of the Re-establishment of Ukraine's Independence**

Whereas Ukraine, after enduring a long period of subjugation by tsarist Russia, proclaimed its independence in 1918, and

Whereas in 1921, the Independent Ukrainian State became the first victim of Communist Russian imperialism and colonialism, and

Whereas after 20 years of Communist Russian colonialism, totalitarianism, terror and genocide — resulting in the extermination of over six million Ukrainians in the years 1932-33 alone — the Ukrainian nation re-established an Independent National State, and

Whereas June 30, 1981 marks the 40th anniversary of the re-establishment of the Independent Ukrainian State.

The Conference of the WACL resolves:

1. WACL greets the Ukrainian nation on its 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the re-establishment of Ukrainian sovereignty on June 30, 1941.

2. WACL salutes the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) for its heroic struggle on two fronts of battle against Nazi Germany and Communist Russia during World War II and, after the World War, against Communist Russia until 1953.

3. WACL also greets the Ukrainian national liberation movement with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) at the head, which was the initiator, organizer and leading power of Ukraine's liberation war against Nazism and Bolshevism.

4. WACL with profound respect, greets the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, the Prime Minister of the Independent Ukrainian State in 1941 and who is today the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Chairman of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

5. WACL believes that by the heroic example of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the whole Ukrainian nation during and after World War II, the nations subjugated by Communist Russia have drawn strength and faith in their own liberation struggles and that together with the Ukrainians they will finally rid the world of this last remaining colonial empire.

6. WACL pledges to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Ukrainian nation and all nations struggling to cast off the colonial yoke of Communist Russia.

### **On National Independence for Ukraine**

*Whereas*, the national-liberation revolutionary struggle of Ukraine, in a common front with other subjugated nations in the Russian colonial empire — the USSR and the satellite countries, is constantly growing, notwithstanding the brutal policies of genocide, economic exploitation and Russification; and

*Whereas*, the Communist system of ideas and way of life have proven to be completely bankrupt, as it is made evident by the liberation processes in the subjugated nations such as Ukraine, Poland, Afghanistan, Lithuania, Georgia, Hungary, Byelorussia, and others; and

*Whereas*, the insatiable Russian imperio-colonialism is creating for itself ever more enemies by their relentless quest for terri-



torial expansion and overt or covert aggression; and

*Whereas*, the irreconcilable contradictions within the USSR are becoming ever more acute, also because the population of the subjugated nations has become a majority and is increasing in proportion to the Russian population; and

*Whereas*, the 1980's will be decisive in the struggle of the Free World over the world of tyranny, resulting in the final dissolution of the Russian empire and its Communist system; and

*Whereas*, the slogan of the XIV WACL Conference — "Victory over communism" — reflects the real possibilities for achieving this victory, therefore the XIV WACL Conference RESOLVES:

1) to reaffirm its full support of the heroic national-liberation struggle of Ukraine and other subjugated nations for national independence and sovereignty within their ethnographic boundaries, as the only possible alternative to a thermo-nuclear war;

2) to call upon the Free World to proclaim a GREAT CHARTER OF INDEPENDENCE for the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism;

3) to call upon the nations of the Free World to create a worldwide network of centers of political and psychological warfare against the Russian empire and to form a "Department of Insurgent Warfare" within NATO;

4) to call upon all non-communist UN member states to grant the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) legal status in the United Nations — for which a precedence exists;

5) to call upon all nations of the West to declare the so-called Helsinki Accords null and void, since they affirm the territorial indivisibility of the Russian empire and the inviolability of its boundaries;

6) to call upon the Western powers to grant political asylum to defectors and prisoners of war from the Soviet army in Afghanistan as one of the means of political warfare against Moscow;



*Mrs. Slava Stetsko delivering the ABN report at the 14th WACL Conference, Taipei, Rep. of China.*

7) to condemn the imperio-colonial policy of forced Russification, national oppression, ethno-lingual-genocide, and exploitation of the human, technological and mineral resources of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations;

8) to condemn the Russian imperio-colonial policy of incarcerating fighters for national and human rights and appeals to the governments of the Free World to exert a constant and concerted pressure upon the Russian imperialist regime, calling for the liquidation of concentration camps, political prisons and psychiatric asylums, for the release of the members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and all national, political and religious prisoners. Among others: Yuriy Shukhevych, Wasyl Pidhorodetsky, Ivan Hel, Levko Lukianenko, Father Wasyl Romaniuk, Danylo Shumuk, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Petro Sichko, Wasyl Sichko, Mykola Rudenko, Oles Berdnyk, Oksana Meshko, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Wasyl Stus, Iwan Kandyba, Zinovij Krasivskyj, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Iwan Svitlychnyj, Oksana Popovych, Oleksander Serhiyenko, I. Badzio, Dmytro Verkholyak, Maria Palchak, Wasyl Malozhenskyj, O. Tykhyj, V. Strilciw, I. Sokulskyj, M. Plakhotniuk;

9) to condemn the new Soviet Constitution because it negates all rights of the subjugated nations by reserving all sovereignty to the dominant Russian nation by creating the myth of the so-called "Soviet people". This in effect creates the "Russian super nation" — a racist conception;

10) the XIV WACL Conference supports the resolution submitted by US Congressman William Green on the floor of the US House of Representatives under H. J. Res. 280 designating June 30th, as UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY, as on June 30th, 1941 the Ukrainian nation proclaimed the Re-establishment of an Independent Ukrainian State, which subsequently led to a war of liberation on two

fronts against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. With this Act, another link was added to the ongoing struggle for independence of Ukraine.

### **On the Independence of Byelorussia and on the defense of Byelorussian political, cultural and religious prisoners**

*Whereas*, two hundred years ago Moscow destroyed the Byelorussian state;

*Whereas*, the real Byelorussian Democratic Republic, which was proclaimed on March 25th, 1918 by the Council of the First All Byelorussian Congress and restored by the Second All Byelorussian Congress in Mensk in 1944;

*Whereas*, Moscow in 1944 conquered again Byelorussia;

*Whereas*, about half of the Byelorussian ethnographic territory is annexed to the Russian SFSR;

*Whereas*, the Moscow Government using terror, during the years of its rule, annihilated over six million of the Byelorussian population;

*Whereas*, because of the defense of the individual, national and religious rights, the Government of the USSR imprisons Byelorussians, deports them to concentration camps and psychiatric asylums — such as: Michael Kukabaka, Eugen Buzinnikau, Iwan Karejscha, Halina Wilczynskaja and others;

*Whereas*, Moscow is exploiting the Byelorussian people and its economic and material resources;

*Whereas*, the fight of the Byelorussian people for freedom and independence continues;

*Therefore the 14th WACL Conference resolves*: to give its unchangeable support for the liberation fight of the Byelorussian and others nations subjugated by Moscow imperialism and communism;

— to demand that Soviet Russia withdraw her occupation troops from Byelorussia and all the subjugated countries in the USSR and its satellites;

— to appeal to the UNO and to the Governments of all Free Nations in the World, to express their disapproval of Soviet Russian colonial and russification policies in Byelorussia and in other enslaved countries in the USSR;

— to use all efforts to obtain the release of Byelorussian political prisoners, fighters for national, religious and human rights of the Byelorussian people, such as Michael KUKABAKA, Eugen BUZINNIKAU, Iwan KAREJSCHA, Halina WILCZYNSKAJA and others.

### Support for Croatian Nations

*Whereas*, the Yugoslav communist government continues with the brutal oppression against Croatian, Bulgarian and

Albanian people in the socialist federative Republic of Yugoslavia,

*Whereas*, the Yugoslav communist government using its army and police has again committed unprecedented atrocities against Albanian nationals living in Kosovo province,

Therefore the 14th Conference of WACL held in Taipei, ROC,

— Condemns the government of the socialist federative Republic of Yugoslavia for the violation of all human rights;

— Expresses its total and unconditional support to the Croatian nation, and the Bulgarian, Albanian and other national groups subjugated in communist Yugoslavia, and struggling for Freedom and National Independence.



L-R: R. Zwarycz (Ukraine), Mr. F. Lovokovic (Croatia), Mrs. S. Stetsko (Ukraine), Mr. K. Drenikoff (Bulgaria), Mr. J. Vassallo (Malta), delegates to 14th WACL Conference, Taipei, 2-7 August, 1981.

# From Behind the Iron Curtain

## Azerbaijan

### Miscarriage of Justice

A plenum of the Nakhichevan regional Party committee, reports the Russian-language newspaper 'Bakinskiy Rabochiy' in Azerbaijan, heard a report by K. N. Ragimov, first secretary of the committee, and noted that "serious shortcomings and gross errors are occurring in the work of the autonomous republic's ministries of justice and internal affairs, and the procurator's office and the Supreme Court".

We leave it to the readers' imagination what kind of consequences have to face both innocent people and those who violate existing laws in the legal atmosphere.

## BYELORUSSIA

### Executions in the USSR Continue

A court in Mogilev, Byelorussia, has recently tried three natives of Byelorussia and one Ukrainian from Dnipropetrovsk region for alleged collaboration with the Hitlerite invaders during the last war. "On the basis of paragraph 1 of article 61 of the Byelorussian SSR Penal code", reports 'Sovetskaya Belorussia', "the court sentenced T. S. Korniyenko to the supreme penalty — execution by shooting — and the other accused to long terms of imprisonment."

Some 35 years after the end of the last war the Russian occupiers of Byelorussia and other non-Russian countries spill human blood. But when will the hordes of the ChK-NKVD-KGB murderers of millions of innocent people be brought to justice and get the deserved punishment?!

## Estonia

### Estonian Youths Said to Protest Soviet Presence

Stockholm — Some 2,000 students have demonstrated in the Estonian capital of Tallinn, demanding freedom for Estonia and the departure of all ethnic Russians.

The students, aged from 15 to 18, carried banners with the Estonian colours of blue, black and white. On two separate occasions last week they tried to reach government buildings in the centre of Tallinn, but police cordoned off the area, the sources said.

About 150 youths were arrested but most were released after identification. Many of the demonstrators were beaten in scuffles with the militia and security police.

Estonia was annexed by the Soviet Union along with other Baltic states in 1944. As many as half a million of Estonia's 1.4 million inhabitants are estimated to be Russians.

Some students also marched under school-related banners, demanding such things as "better school lunches" and "better temperatures in class rooms."

*The Associated Press*

## GEORGIA

### Shortcomings, Problems

According to 'Zarya Vostoka' ('The Star of the East'), Communist Party organ published in Tbilisi, a plenary meeting of the Abkhaz regional committee of the Communist Party in Georgia discussed "what must be done to insure that we work better today than yesterday and better tomorrow than today".

The report says, i.a., that "the plenum noted that there are still considerable shortcomings in the autonomous republic's economic, cultural and social development. Targets are not being fulfilled for the production of many important types of industrial output, the assimilation of funds for the building of housing and municipal services objectives and the commissioning of fixed assets. The work of transport, means of communication and the services sphere does not meet requirements. A lagging behind has begun to show in agriculture in meeting the five-year plan targets for the production of grain, tobacco, fruit, grapes, eggs, etc., and in establishing perennial plantations."

"The plenum participants spoke with special concern of the fact that public order and socialist legality are still being violated in the autonomous republic. There are serious problems and omissions in educational work."



### Shortcomings and Plan Failures

Commenting on the fulfillment of the State plan for the national economy development in Latvia during the first half of 1980, an official of the central statistical administration in Riga said, among other: "Serious shortcomings in the work of some ministries, production associations and enterprises must be noted. In the first six months the plans for output and for raising productivity of labour were not fulfilled by the Ministry of Forestry and Timber Industry. The plan for marketing of goods produced was not fulfilled by 21 enterprises, while 35 enterprises failed to fulfil the labour productivity growth plan. Both of these most important tasks of the plan were not fulfilled by 13 enterprises... Because of this the national economy did not receive the planned quantities of wood, sawn timber, chipboard,

paper, wall-building materials, bricks, drainage pipes, minibuses and so on."

"Many of the industrial enterprises violated agreements for the delivery of products of the required ranges; 160 enterprises failed to supply their customers with products in the agreed assortment to the value of 63,000,000 Roubles... As compared with last year, the number of enterprises which failed to fulfil agreements has not decreased."

### List of individuals arrested, sentenced or put in psychiatric hospitals in the Soviet occupied Baltic States during the CSCE meeting in Madrid 1980/1981

Veljo Kalep, arrested 20 Oct. 1980 in Parnu, Estonia.

Tiit Madison, arrested 20 Oct. 1980 in Parnu, Estonia.

Teovils Kuma, sentenced to 3 years imprisonment, Oct. 1980 in Riga, Latvia.

Allan Sepp, arrested Oct. 1980 in Tallinn, Estonia.

Viktor Niitsoo, arrested 4 Dec. 1980 in Tartu, Estonia.

Rein Arjukene, arrested 4 Dec. 1980 in Tartu, Estonia.

Mart Niklus, sentenced 8 Jan. 1981 in Tallinn, Estonia to 10 years in special regime labour camp and 5 years internal exile.

Juri Kukkk, sentenced 8 Jan. 1981 in Tallinn, Estonia to 3 years ordinary regime labour camp.

Antanas Terleckas, sentenced 21 Sep. 1980 in Vilnius, Lithuania to 3 years imprisonment and 5 years internal exile.

Julius Sasnauskas, sentenced 21 Sep. 1980 in Vilnius, Lithuania to 5 years imprisonment.

Ona Vitkauskaitė, sentenced 25 Nov. 1980 in Vilnius, Lithuania to 1½ years labour camp.

Genovaitė Navickaitė, sentenced 25 Nov. in Vilnius, Lithuania to 2 years labour camp.

Povilas Buzas, sentenced 26 Nov. 1980 in Vilnius, Lithuania to 1½ years strict regime labour camp.

Anastazas Janulis, sentenced to 4½ years strict regime labour camp, 26 Nov. 1980 in Vilnius, Lithuania.

Vitas Abrutis, sentenced 28 Nov. 1980 in Vilnius to 2½ years labour camp.

Vladislav Zavalniuk, placed in a psychiatric hospital in Riga, Latvia, 11 Nov. 1980.

Rev. Leonas Sapokas was tortured to death during the night from October 10th to 11th 1980 in Lithuania by "unknown criminals".

Rev. Andrejs Turlajs was found murdered September 1980 by "unknown criminals" in Latvia.

During the student demonstrations in Estonia, Oct. 1980 at least 150 students were arrested, but at least 6 persons are still detained in Central prison in Tallinn. Four of them are schoolchildren and two are older persons. Until now only the name of Allan Sepp, born 1963, a pupil at a technical school in Tallinn, is known.

### **Crimes against Rev. Zavalniuk**

*Letter to the USSR Procurator General.*

On October 18, 1980 Rev. Vladislav Zavalniuk sent a letter to the Catholic Committee to Defend the Rights of Believers and described his difficulties.

It seems that on the night of October 11, 1980 unidentified criminals tried to force their way into Rev. Zavalniuk's apartment (Varaklani, Madonas raion, Latvian SSR). They did not succeed in breaking into the apartment. Then one assailant threatened in Russian: "Comrade Zavalniuk, get out of here or the fate of Turlajs awaits you." (In September 1980 the body of Rev. Turlajs was found in a lake. The post mortem examination showed that he had been murdered, and then thrown into the lake, since he had head wounds, but no water in his lungs.) Rev. Zavalniuk fell and seriously injured his

head. Having reached his room he fainted. The next evening, around 9, criminals broke into the apartment of Rev. Zavalniuk's mother. She hid herself in the attic, while the burglars ransacked the apartment; however, they did not take anything with them. Later they forced open the door of Zavalniuk's garage, kept starting the car, and, having sounded the horn several times, drove off.

After the robbery, the militia took no steps to find the criminals. For this reason, Rev. Zavalniuk, in protest against the militia's indifference towards the criminals, announced a hunger strike. Soon the automobile was found, but not the criminals. On November 4, while travelling to Daugavpils, Rev. Zavalniuk became seriously ill and was placed in the Daugavpils hospital. His relatives informed us that on November 11, according to orders from Riga, Rev. Zavalniuk's medical history was removed and without his consent he was placed in the 4th psychiatric ward. As if that were not enough, they took away Zavalniuk's registration certificate so that he would not be able to perform his priestly duties.

We know Rev. Zavalniuk personally; he is a fine, very diligent and psychologically completely healthy individual. Therefore, we consider his commitment to a psychiatric hospital as a revenge against a hard working priest. When Rev. Zavalniuk was forcibly placed in a psychiatric hospital it was suspected among the believers that there was a real connection between the tragic death of Rev. Andrejs Turlajs, the attack on Rev. Zavalniuk, and those who placed him in a psychiatric hospital.

This year similar crimes were committed against priests in Lithuania. We have informed the procurator of the Lithuanian SSR about these cases.

We ask you, Procurator General, to answer about these crimes against Rev. Zavalniuk, to order his release from the

psychiatric hospital, to return his registration certificate, and demand that the Latvian Ministry of Internal Affairs takes measures to unmask the criminals.

Members of the Catholic Committee to Defend the Rights of Believers:

Rev. Leonas Kalinauskas, Rev. Vaclovas Stakeinas, Rev. Sigitas Tamkevičius, Rev. Jonas Kauneskas, Rev. Alfonsas Svarinskas, Rev. Vincus Velavičius, Rev. Algimatas Keina.

November 25, 1980.

## Book Reviews

### **The USSR Unmasked by Osyp Diakiv-Hornovy**

In this brilliantly written, extensively documented work, the author delves into every aspect of life in the Soviet Union from 1944—1947, and puts into historical perspective the wide gap between the theory and practice of Communism in the USSR. Writing from the perspective of a member of the intelligentsia fighting for a free and independent Ukraine, Mr. Diakiv-Hornovy declares that “the Bolsheviks brought to the Ukrainian people, as well as to the other peoples of the USSR . . . a chilling catalogue of oppression, enslavement, terror, pillage, exploitation, hunger, and other miseries”.

How so-called free elections are rigged in favour of the Russians; how speech and press are thwarted from expressions of truth; how courts function to trample on, rather than pursue, justice; how workers are transformed into slaves; how terror is methodically used as a political and social stabilizing force by the ruling elite: these are only some of the shocking specifics of life and work in the USSR that are vividly described in this book.

“The complete enslavement of the peoples of the USSR did not come about all at once”, Mr. Diakiv-Hornovy writes. “It came on stealthily and gradually”. For readers who want to perceive the reality behind the illusion, this book, written by one who has seen it all firsthand, cannot fail to be anything short of an eye-opening experience that will not soon be forgotten.

### **About the Author**

Osyp Diakiv-Hornovy was born in 1921 in Western Ukraine, then occupied by Poland. After completing his high school education in Bereshany, he took correspondence courses in journalism and economics at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

At the age of sixteen, he joined the underground Ukrainian Liberation Movement (OUN) struggling against the Poles, against the Russians in 1939—41, against the Germans in 1941—44, and since 1944, again against the Russians. In 1942 he joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and in 1950 he became vice-premier of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Government (UHVR). On November 21, 1950, Osyp Diakiv-Hornovy fell in battle against the armed forces of the KGB.

His political writings, published and distributed among the population of the USSR by the Ukrainian underground organizations, are of great value to readers as well as a firsthand report about the real situation inside the USSR. In his writings he discusses the problems of the captive nations and their continuous struggle for liberty and independence, the problem avoided by the Russian dissidents.

### **Guide to the Gulag**

A former Soviet prisoner of conscience, Avraham Shifrin, has written a sardonic guide-book for foreign tourists wishing to visit the USSR's hundreds of prison camps,

jails and KGB-run "special" psychiatric wards.

In a foreword to the book, which is entitled "Travel Guide, USSR", and is published in Geneva, he writes: "There is no Soviet law prohibiting visits to labour camps and prisons. Ask the administration of every detention centre for permission to visit a political prisoner. You will probably be refused such a meeting but the rumour of your visit will reach the prisoners and give them moral support".

The book contains many addresses of Soviet penal institutions, maps, drawings and tips for foreigners contemplating taking photographs in the USSR.

The reader is told how to try to visit Moscow's Lubyanka prison and the equally notorious Vladimir jail. There are also travel instructions for would-be visitors to Tallinn prison in Estonia (take tram number one or two to the Sur-Patarej stop).

Many of the penal institutions mentioned are very difficult to reach. For example, four camps are located in the Altai mountain range in Central Asia, and a huge "strict regime" camp is near Okha, on Sakhalin island, north of Japan. Many of the camps are in areas closed to foreigners.

**The Romanians in America and  
Canada: A Guide to Information  
Sources**

This guide is not only the first but also the finest and most comprehensive information source on Romanians in America and Canada. It remedies the lack of information on the Romanian ethnic group despite its recorded presence of more than two centuries on the soil of North America, and its numerous individual and collective experiences and contributions.

The work is divided into two parts. The

first part consists of annotated bibliographies covering general reference works, humanities, social sciences, history and related areas, pure and applied sciences. The second part, a "directories addendum", encompasses organizations, institutions, churches, periodicals (active and retrospective), publishing houses, libraries and special collections. Altogether, both parts contain more than 900 annotated items culled from both English and Romanian sources.

The author has also provided a helpful introduction. He is Senior Librarian on the professional staff of the Brooklyn Public Library, has been involved for several years in numerous ethnic projects on Eastern European immigrants to America and their contributions, and previously published *Romanians in America, 1748—1974: A Chronology and Fact Book* (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana, 1975) as well as similar books on Ukrainians, Russians and Armenians.

*Dr. Aleksander Sokolyszyn*  
Senior Librarian

*Brooklyn Public Library, New York*

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**Captive Nations Week, 1981 by the President of the United States of America  
A PROCLAMATION**

Twenty-two years ago, by a joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), the Congress authorized and requested the President to proclaim the third week in July as Captive Nations Week.

Last January 20, saw again a change in Administration under our Constitution, the oldest written document of its type in continuous force in the world. The peaceful and orderly transfer of power in response to the sovereign will of our people is sometimes taken for granted by Americans. Yet events in some other areas of the world should remind us all of the vital, revolutionary ideal of our Founding Fathers: that governments derive their legitimacy from the consent of the peoples they govern.

During Captive Nations Week, Americans should realize our devotion to the ideal of government by consent, a devotion that is shared by millions who live in nations dominated today by a foreign military power and an alien Marxist-Leninist ideology.

This week, Americans should recall the series of historical tragedies — beginning with the broken promises of the Yalta Conference — that led to the denial of the most elementary forms of personal freedom and human dignity to millions in Eastern Europe and Asia.

In recent years, we have seen successful attempts to extend this oppression to Africa, Latin America and Asia — most recently in the brutal suppression of national sovereignty in Afghanistan and attempts to intimidate Poland.

During Captive Nations Week, we Americans must reaffirm our own tradition of self-rule and extend to the peoples of the Captive Nations a message of hope — hope founded in our belief that free men and women will ultimately prevail over those who deny individual rights and preach the supremacy of the state; hope in our conviction that the human spirit will ultimately triumph over the cult of the state.

While we can be justly proud of a government that is responsive to our people, we cannot be complacent. Captive Nations Week provides us with an opportunity to reaffirm publicly our commitment to the ideals of freedom and by so doing maintain a beacon of hope for oppressed peoples everywhere.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning on July 19, 1981, as Captive Nations Week.

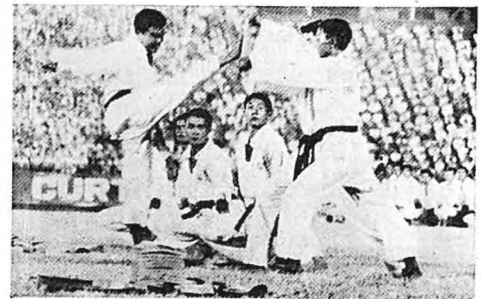
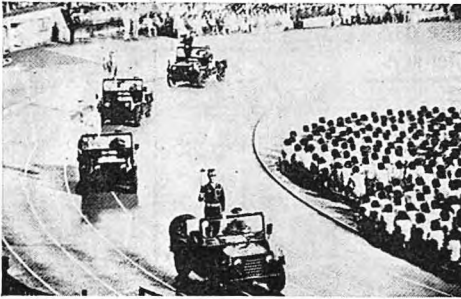
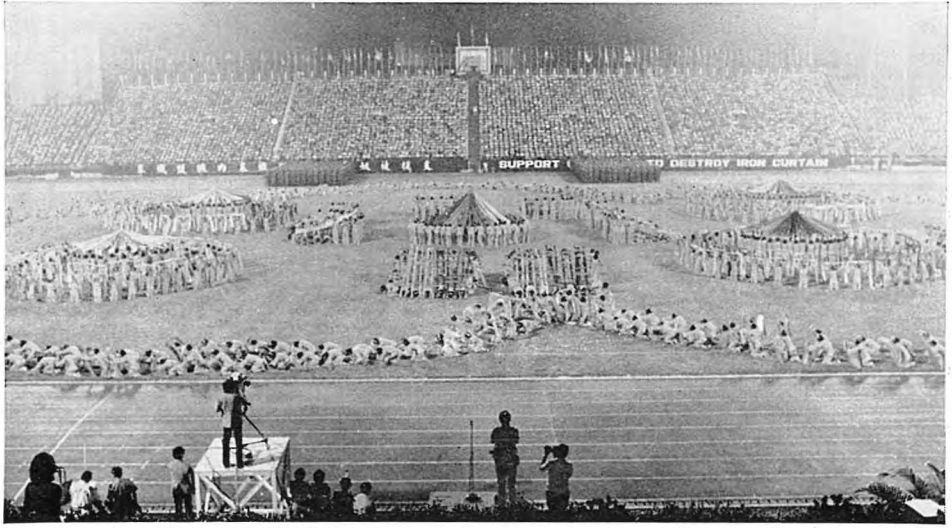
I invite the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities and to reaffirm their dedication to the ideals which unite us and inspire others.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this thirtieth day of June, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifth.

*RONALD REAGAN*

**“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**



Taipei, August 6 — Captive Nations mass rally — 50,000 participants greet WACL delegates — magnificent ceremony and youth performances.

# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



**“The ABN commemorates the 25th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution and simultaneously condemns the bloody Russian suppression of the struggle for national independence of the Hungarian nation”.**

**(extract from the Congressional Record, June 4, 1981)**

Compliments of the season and sincere wishes  
for a merry Christmas and a happy and prosperous New Year  
to all our friends and readers of the ABN-Correspondence  
CC of the ABN

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## AN APPEAL

to all the Representatives of Democratic Countries to the Madrid Conference.

(UCIS) The ability of the well-regulated Soviet propaganda machine to conceal from the world the truth about the real position of the individual in conditions of so-called realistic socialism is well known. Hence, the Soviet ideologues intended to remold the Madrid Conference into yet another propagandistic rostrum. By speculating on the desires of peoples to live in peace, they intended to confine any attempt at a concrete and thorough review of the implementation of the Helsinki Accords by observations about non-interference in "internal affairs" and later to drown all meaningful discussions in a barrage of statements about disarmament, which absolutely do not hinder their escalation of military might.

One would like to believe that this time the free countries of Europe and North America will not allow themselves to be deceived and will be able to pursue a discussion in principle as to the implementation of all parts of the Final Act, including those obligations dealing with humanitarian matters — the free exchange of ideas, academic and cultural achievements, the freedom of movement and emigration, real guarantees of democratic rights of the citizens of the signatory countries.

Upon an analysis of the situation of human rights, I believe that one cannot disregard the fact that political repressions in the USSR in the period between the Belgrade and Madrid Conferences have worsened in quantitative terms from the preceding period between the Helsinki and Belgrade Conferences. I will not recount lists of repressed Soviet rights activists, since such lists will probably be at your disposal in Madrid. However, I would like to direct your attention not only to the quantitative, but also to the qualitative aspects of the new repressive campaign in the USSR. First of all, the main brunt of the attack was directed against the members of the citizen's groups for the review of the implementation of the Helsinki Accords on the part of the Soviet Union. The most severe repressions were directed against the Ukrainian and Moscow groups. Secondly, the repressive machine of the KGB, in light of the aggravated international situation, has revealed its true face, and has ceased to be concerned with maintaining a pose or with any type of legal decorum. The entire world was outraged by the deportation-without-trial of A. R. Sakharov, a laureate of the Nobel Peace Award. The world community, however, is not as well acquainted with yet another "harmless" practice in the repressive arsenal of the KGB — the fabrication of criminal cases against political oppositionists, together with the presentation of false charges in common and ordinary crimes.

In fact, this practice is not new, as it was also used in the past. What is new is that in the repressive atmosphere of the past few months, this practice is being utilized on a mass scale. For example, in 1979-80 almost the entire membership of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and several of its co-workers found themselves in camps and prisons, after being condemned as hooligans, drug addicts, thieves or rapists, who had nothing better to do. The aim of

such vile practices is obvious: first, it was necessary to reduce the number of political prisoners in the country; second, to compromise the political oppositionists by pinning on them labels of criminal offenses; third, to disperse the political prisoners separately into the numerous criminal camps and prisons of the Soviet Union, so as to hamper their individual-collective resistance.

I can present an example from my own personal experience. I am well-known in the human rights movement in the USSR. For the last 10 years I have been very active in the political opposition. I was sentenced at two completely separate political trials in 1967 and 1973; I have edited an uncensored journal of the rights movement; I am the author of several books which were distributed by the "samvydav" and later printed in the West (the latest was published this year and, together with my membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was the real reason for my present arrest); I have spent 8 years in prisons and concentration camps and an additional two years in exile. One would think that after all this, it would not be quite that simple to brandish me as a common criminal. Yet in the atmosphere of the total, pre-Olympic and post-Afghanistan purge of Soviet society the improbable became possible. At the beginning of April 1980 the KGB, with the aid of its specially trained agents, sent from Ukraine to Yakutia, where I was serving my term of exile, carried out an unpleasant provocation and incarcerated me for five years in a concentration camp in this same Yakutia, 8,000 kilometers from my Fatherland, accusing me of attempted rape. One need only be peripherally acquainted with my "criminal" case, without any further inquiries or legal preparation, to become convinced of the unceremonial and juridical negligence with which this falsification was perpetrated in the isolation of Yakutia, ignoring the most elementary procedural norms of investigation. The unusual "injured" party became completely confused during her cross-examination, not only by fouling up the circumstances of my "crime", which were contrived during her consultations with the KGB, but also by muddling the details of my own "biography". The "witnesses" to my "crime" were several militiamen, who memorized their testimony from the same torn notes and whose written statements later proved to be identical to a previous inquest, with the same grammatical errors. The chief witness of the prosecution was a captain of the militia — Kovalczuk, who, fulfilling the instructions of the KGB, thought up a number of unbelievable charges against me. Supposedly he heard the "rapist" Chornovil voice the following bizarre threat: "you know that I am an adherent of Sakharov? Therefore, if you scream, I will cripple you!..." (This, you see, is the kind of gang of rapists, thieves and hooligans, that are under Sakharov's leadership). Finally, once it became clear in court that the false testimonies were coming apart at the seams, the judges themselves began to falsify the evidence presented by the witnesses, even resorting to doctoring the minutes of the hearing. The prosecutors, witnesses and judges need not fear that this atrocity over jurisprudence would be exposed. After all, they all knew very well that my arrest and sentencing, as well as entire series of analogous court cases against other Soviet rights activists, were sanctioned on the highest levels, including the Politburo of the CPSU and its member — the chief of the KGB, Yu. Andropov. They also knew that the documents of my case would be buried behind several locks and that no one, except for some special admissible people,

would ever see these documents, so that no extraneous person was able to hear even one word of my trial, which formally was a closed trial (which did not stand in the way of these falsificators to declare in the records that the case was heard openly...)

After I was thrown into a remote sector of the Soviet Union, in a foreign, often inimical environment, they tried at first to murder me, by utilizing the fact that I had announced a hunger strike from the moment of my arrest. The chieftains of this camp, with cannibal-like frankness, told me that upon my death the entire Soviet government will be relieved and they promised to bury me alongside a known religious activist, Shelkhov, who was helped to his grave in this very same camp in 1980. When this attempt to quickly get rid of me failed, I was assigned to very difficult physical labour, despite medical reports attesting to my poor state of health, which also meant that I would soon be liquidated by means of a slow death, in circumstances of near hunger and frost, where the temperatures fall to 60 degrees below zero.

I have presented my case not because it is unique, but precisely because it is typical for many other victims of the latest repressive policies of the CPSU.

At one time, due to the efforts of world public opinion, the politically-motivated practice of incarcerating healthy people into closed Soviet psychiatric asylums, psychiatric prisons, was convincingly exposed and condemned. This mass campaign achieved the following result: the sinister practice of transforming dissidents into lunatics was either completely discontinued or, at least, it was considerably diminished and more carefully applied. However, they managed to dig up a vile practice from the Middle Ages: to declare free-thinkers criminal delinquents. And so, the KGB stated its new "word". Now it is up to you people of good will from the entire world to speak up and to have the representatives of democratic countries, gathered in Madrid to review the implementation of the Helsinki Accords, to also speak up. Demand an effective legal system of control by delegated international commissions, whereupon they would at least be able to acquaint themselves with fabricated "criminal" cases (concerning the entire scope of affairs, rather than certain tendentious cases.) Organize a planned and continuous campaign in our defense. Reject the deceitful doctrine of L. Brezhnev concerning "non-interference in internal affairs", which does not prevent the USSR from such interference, even in military matters, and which is then brought to the forefront, when it becomes necessary to hide from the world such compromising events, as the next stage of escalation of repressions against any rays of free thought in the society of "realistic socialism".

I would like to ask all rights activists, who are members of either the Moscow or Kyiv Helsinki Groups and who come across my appeal, to include to this appeal hopefully a full text of those individuals, who for political reasons were accused of "criminal" acts and who are, therefore, political prisoners.

September 1980, the concentration camp of Tabola in Yakutia.

**Vyacheslav Chornovil**

*member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, honorary member of the section of the Pen-Club, laureate of the English journalistic award, political prisoner.*

## **Russia conquers Turkestan to gain control over Afghanistan**

Turkestan has always had for many years cultural, political, economic and friendly relations with its neighbouring country — Afghanistan. Thus the grave of Babir, who came from Samarkand and was later King of India, lies in Kabul and one of the local streets is named after him. The town of Herat in Afghanistan is an ancient Turkestanian centre of culture and this is where the famous Turkestanian scholar, Ali-Sher Navai, is buried.

Today 6.2 million Turkestanis, that is Uzbekistanis, Tajikistanis, Kirgistanis, Kazachstanis and Turkmenians too, fight together with the Afghans against the Red Army. The invasion area of the Russians in North Afghanistan lies in their settlement region. Some of these Turkestanis are descendants of the Turkestanian Basmachi who in 1917 had fought against the Red Army and during the following years had repeatedly fled across the frontier to Afghanistan.

The present struggle for freedom in Afghanistan and the developments there resemble in every way the Turkestanian fight for freedom of 60 years ago. The Turkestanis too receive no help from abroad. The indifference of the rest of the world could lead Afghanistan to the same destiny as that of Turkestan.

To gain control of the route to South India and Afghanistan and to the raw materials of Turkestan, Tsarist Russia led a merciless 200 year-long fight against Turkestan until 1895. Against this Russian conquest the people rose in countless rebellions which were brutally crushed, and towns like Djisach were completely devastated (1916).

After the Russian October Revolution in 1917, two national governments were formed in Turkestan, but these were liquidated in terrible fights through the inter-

vention of the Red Army. These battles over Turkestan and the conquest of the country by the Red Army are today referred to in the press, school books and radio as "help" to the "revolutionary people" to whom "brotherly help" cannot be denied. So, in the Party Press Organ — "The Soviet Uzbekistani" of November 21, 1969, the following was to be found: "As the peasants of Buchara and Chiva asked us for help, we had no right to refuse".

As in 1918, the national governments were liquidated. The Turkestanian freedom-fighters, called "Basmachi", which means bandits in Russian, just as they call the Afghan freedom-fighters today, withdrew into the mountains and steppes to wage a 14 year-long battle, lasting until 1931-32, against the Soviet-Russian domination with the aim of freeing Turkestan from Russia.

In 1924, Turkestan was divided into five Soviet Republics: Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan and Kirgistan. Through these measures Russia raised the Turkestanian clans to peoples and nations, so as to destroy the national unity of Turkestan. Shortly afterwards, the Arabic writing was replaced by the Cyrillic and thus contact to the neighbouring Islamic peoples was disrupted. At the same time persecution of the Islamic religion and rigorous russification took place beginning in the kindergartens, with Russian being taught as the second mother tongue.

From that time until today all important posts such as the army, administration, police, etc. are perpetually in the hands of the Russians. The Red Army, hastening to help 60 years ago, is still stationed in Turkestan and it is entirely with the help of this army that Soviet Russia



succeeds in keeping Turkestan in her power, just as she keeps all the other non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union.

But how little the russification and communist upbringing of the people of Turkestan has succeeded is already shown during World War II. Moscow sent 2 million Turkestanis as soldiers to the front who took every opportunity to run over to the Germans. Within two months the National Turkestanian Unity Committee (NTEK) had about 180,000 — 200,000 volunteers under arms to fight against Russia. Elder Turkestanis were put into Working Battalions behind the lines. The NTEK was recognised as the national government and the legionaries as the army of Turkestan. It is striking that these young men were born during or after the Russian Revolution and raised entirely under communist and atheistic propaganda.

This national and religious strength of the people and the struggle for liberation from Russia has not been broken to this day. Thus the farm workers and the intellectuals let their children be circumcised in the Islamic ritual and celebrate big weddings true to Islamic tradition. They pray, fast, celebrate Ramasan and Kurban ceremonies, the dead are buried by priests and they keep to their old customs and traditions. In villages kolkhoz prayer houses are built and the kolkhoz managers lend even kolkhoz cars to bring pilgrims to Holy Places. According to statistics, no Turkestani women marry Russians and there is no interbreeding.

Moreover, poets and writers, especially the younger ones, are criticised by the government officials because they get their inspiration out of old national or other oriental sources instead of Russian literature. They are forever being rebuked and suspected of pursuing nationalist and separatist aims and praise in their works the great Turkestani poets such as Fitrat, Tsholplan, Elbek, Sandjar and

others... who were executed as nationalists more than 40 years ago. These young men wrote works like "The never disappearing lines", "The voice from the grave", "Belated remorse and expiation", works which appeared even in the state publications. The Uzbekistan Writers' Union criticised these poets in its newspaper "Shark Yuldisi" of March 29, 1969 and October 1972. Their works were confiscated and a Party Trial was held. The seriousness of the situation was shown by the fact that even the First Party Secretaries officially expressed their opinion about it. Sh. Rashid, First Party Secretary of Uzbekistan declared: "Such a situation is the cause of great worry to us". (October 20, 1974, Soviet Uzbekistani). Jusopoli, First Party Secretary of SSR Kirgizistan rebuked the young Kirgizistani poets for idealizing their people's past instead of the present of the Soviet Union. (Sov. Kirgizistan, June 27, 1973). At the Writers' Congress of the SSR Tajikistan 1971, disapproval of separatism, local patriotism and nationalism was expressed (Sov. Tajikistani, June 26, 1971). The same matter was discussed again in July 1980 in the "Shark Yuldisi", the mouthpiece of the Uzbekistani Writers' Union.

It went so far that on March 1, 1973 a special conference was appointed for the Party Activists in order to consult, besides other issues, the tendency to nationalism and national separatism among the intellectuals. The First Party Secretary of Uzbekistan, Sh. Rashid, considered it a very serious problem for the Party, (Uzbekistan Kommunisti, July 1973). The party and government once again took all the necessary measures and on September 29, 1974 the "Soviet Uzbekistani" announced that in Uzbekistan alone 430,000 propagandists and agitators had been set to work among the workers and peasants to spread the communist party ideology, and the "harm" of Islam and nationalism, etc. In 1980 in the Audidshan region

alone, 14,000 propagandists and 5,700 spies were at work among the population.

In the last few years a new form of resistance to assimilation, through Russian language and terminology, has been observed. In the press and in the books, Arabic, Persian and Latin terms are used instead of Russian. In just one short article in the Party newspaper "Soviet Uzbekistani" of August 28, 1980 as many as 30 Latin words were used.

At the same time the importance of one's culture and language are very cleverly hinted at. At the present moment the 1000-year anniversary of the birth of the famous Ibni Sina in Buchara is being

celebrated throughout the whole of Uzbekistan. The attitude of the Turkestanis towards the Russians is decidedly cool. Whereas the exiled Ukrainians, Balts, Crimean Tatars, Germans and others, settled in Turkestan, consider themselves as their equals in their misfortune.

Very little is known abroad about the situation in the Soviet Republic of Turkestan because the foreigners, owing to the language problem, can hardly get into contact with the Turkestani people. In the Russian newspapers there are no reports at all about the matter.

*Extracts from ABN Press Statement,  
Madrid (Spain), November 1980*

### An Historic Encounter



*In the US Congress: (standing from left to right) — Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, Senator Charles Percy — Chairman of the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Mr. Bohdan Fedorak — Chairman of the National Council of the AF ABN, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Mr. Ignatius Bilynskyj — Executive Vice-President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (far right).*

## Kukabaka's Defense Speech

The Byelorussian dissident worker Michal Kukabaka, who is still in prison, was denied the right to have a defense lawyer of his choosing at his trial in the city of Babrujsk on June 20-21, 1979. Michal defended himself. The following excerpt from his speech was read in Byelorussian and English by Mr. George Kipel and Ms. Vera Zaprudnik at the demonstration in New York on June 21, 1981, marking the second anniversary of Michal Kukabaka's unlawful trial:

"Comrade Prosecutor:

I maintain that the testimony against me has been fabricated. No, I don't consider myself guilty. I categorically reject my indictment. My beliefs and my articles are a result of my life experience and deep reflections of what's going on in our land. As far back as 1970, I was subjected to repressions for beliefs and spent seven years in confinement. For refusing to collaborate with the KGB I was called

insane and incarcerated in a special psychiatric hospital.

To understand one's actions means to have beliefs. And you understand yourself that a man who spends his entire life in prisons for his beliefs cannot be a criminal.

Let me point out that the trial against me contradicts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Let me call your attention to the fact that in 1977 I made the grave decision to leave the Soviet Union. Long ago I came to the conclusion that Communism is a system of coercion and general destruction. All communist leaders, from Lenin on, have carried on a policy of interference in the internal matters of other nations, with the purpose of imposing upon them a dictatorship similar to theirs.

The Muscovite rulers are able to go as far as starting a new war. This is evident from the continuous militarization of the

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*A recent demonstration in defense of Michal Kukabaka — a Byelorussian national rights activist — in front of the United Nations Building in New York.*

# Georgian Demonstrations

## New Document Gives Details of Georgian Demonstrations

An anonymous *samizdat* document that was recently received in the West contains a more detailed account than has hitherto been available of the demonstrations that are reported to have taken place in Georgia in the spring of this year.<sup>1</sup>

The opening paragraph of the document summarizes the background to the demonstrations in Georgia. In June, 1980, the document states, 364 representatives of the Georgian intelligentsia addressed an open letter to Leonid Brezhnev and to the first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party, Eduard Shevardnadze, demanding the defense of the state status of the Georgian language and an improvement in the teaching of Georgian history in the republic's schools. In January, 1981, the document claims, a group of over one

hundred members of the Georgian intelligentsia dispatched an open letter to Brezhnev and Shevardnadze protesting the "oppression" of Georgians living in the Abkhaz ASSR.<sup>2</sup> It also says a previous protest had been made by Georgians in Abkhazia in April, 1980.<sup>3</sup> The document goes on to state that "Abkhazia, north-west Georgia, has always been an organic part of Georgia, like Kartli, Kakheti, Imereti, etc.," adding that "the government has artificially created problems for the Georgian population of Abkhazia." In March, 1981, according to the document, "national disturbances" began in Georgia. These disturbances are then described chronologically.

The first, a demonstration by up to one thousand students, is said to have taken place outside the rector's office at Tbilisi State University on March 23. The document reports that the students demand-

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<sup>1</sup> See *AFP*, Moscow, April 4, 1981; *AFP*, Moscow, April 6, 1981; *Le Monde*, April 7, 1981; and *Reuters*, Tbilisi, April 21, 1981. See also RL 149/81, "Expressions of Official and Unofficial Concern over the Future of the Georgian Language," April 7, 1981.

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<sup>2</sup> The Georgians are the largest ethnic group in Abkhazia, outnumbering the Abkhaz by more than two to one. Lengthy articles stressing the centuries-old friendship between the Abkhaz and Georgian peoples in *Pravda* and the Georgian Russian- and native-language press in the late summer and autumn of 1980 suggest that, despite the considerable cultural and economic concessions granted the Abkhaz in 1978 in response to demands by the Abkhaz minority for secession from the Georgian SSR and incorporation into the RSFSR, relations between Abkhaz and Georgians are still less than harmonious. See RL 125/78, "Kapitonov on 'Nationality Relations in Georgia,'" June 1, 1978; RL 141/78, "Recent Events in Abkhazia Mirror the Complexities of Nationality Relations in the USSR," June 26, 1978; and RL 294/80, "Continuing Tension in Abkhazia?," August 20, 1980.

<sup>3</sup> Neither the April, 1980, protest nor the open letter of January, 1981, has yet reached the West.

land, indoctrination of the people in a military-patriotic spirit, the universal military draft, various children's games, and the like. And the government strives to destroy the slightest opposition to its plans within the country.

Because I have renounced the communist ideology, I decided to leave the USSR. I consider living in this country to be immoral. For anything that I do makes me an accomplice of its policies, its campaign of militarization; because each ruble I earn by my work is spent on this militarization which I renounce."

*Michal Kukabaka*

ed the resumption of a course of lectures given by the literary critic Akaki Bakradze<sup>4</sup> and that it was agreed this demand would be met.

Then, on March 30, the opening day of the Ninth Congress of the Union of Georgian Writers, the document states, students and members of the intelligentsia congregated at 10:30 outside the government building where the congress was taking place.<sup>5</sup> The demonstrators are reported to have carried placards with the slogans "Stop the persecution of Georgians in Abkhazia" and "Free Markozia." The document points out that Arkadi Iulianovich Markozia was one of the representatives of the Georgian movement in Abkhazia and that he was arrested by the KGB in February, 1980, on a trumped-up charge (the KGB planted a firearm in his car). The demonstrators are also said to have called for an improvement in the teaching of history in Georgian schools, claiming that only one quarter of the total time devoted to the study of the history of the USSR in Georgian secondary schools is given to the history of Georgia.

The document enumerates other demands made by the demonstrators — namely, that monuments to outstanding Georgian historical figures be built, and that an improvement in the situation of Georgians in Saingilo (historically part of southeastern Georgia and now part of the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR) be made. The plight of the Saingilo Georgians was highlighted in Georgian *samizdat* as early as 1976. In 1980 they addressed open letters both to the local authorities and to the central government protesting national and re-

ligious persecution and attempted forced assimilation. More recently, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, one of the acknowledged leaders of the human rights movement in Georgia until his television confession to anti-Soviet activity in May, 1978, addressed an open letter to Brezhnev and to the Twenty-sixth Congress of the CPSU drawing attention to the predicament of Georgian Christians in Azerbaijan. This is the first indication since the pardon of Gamsakhurdia, at his request, by the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR<sup>6</sup> that he has resumed his human rights activities, although he is quoted as having said at his trial that he did not renounce his humanitarian and patriotic activities and intended to resume them after serving his sentence.<sup>7</sup>

The document states further, that Shevardnadze was obliged to leave the Writers' Union Congress in order to speak to the demonstrators. It also reveals that attempts by the police and the KGB to disperse the demonstrators by force led to a number of persons being detained and gave rise to a counterdemonstration, into which numerous passersby were drawn, swelling the total number of demonstrators to around one thousand. The crowd's demand that those detained earlier should be released is said to have eventually been met.<sup>8</sup>

In the document, Shevardnadze is reported to have agreed to meet with the demonstrators at Tbilisi State University between April 15 and 26 for the purpose of discussing their complaints and also the question of the status of the Georgian language in Abkhazia, which had been

<sup>6</sup> *Pravda*, July 7, 1979.

<sup>7</sup> Hal Piper, *The Baltimore Sun*, August 27, 1978.

<sup>8</sup> The document states that "in all, the demonstration on Rustaveli Square lasted four to five hours." Rustaveli Square is half a mile away from the government building, which is situated on Rustaveli Avenue.

<sup>4</sup> Akaki Bakradze, a literary critic and a director of the Rustaveli Theater, was one of the signatories of the Georgian open letter of June, 1980, to Brezhnev and Shevardnadze.

<sup>5</sup> The congress was scheduled to begin at 10.00 a.m. (see *Kommunisti*, March 28, 1981).

touched upon in the two open letters. A deputy minister of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, A. Kavtsadze, is likewise reported by the document to have agreed to meet with the students on the following day (March 31). According to the document, a large number of students showed up for the meeting with Kavtsadze, but it was brought to an abrupt end when Soliko Khabeishvili, the head of the Department of Organizational-Party Work of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, categorically refused to allow the reading of a petition about the Georgian question in Abkhazia. The students then walked out in protest, the document goes on to say, and subsequently some of them were told on the street by highly placed officials that the petition would be read and answered at Shevardnadze's promised upcoming meeting at the university.

It is claimed in the document that another result of the demonstration was the release of Markozia. On April 10 the Georgian-language paper *Komunisti* carried an unattributed announcement to the effect that the Supreme Court of the Abkhaz ASSR had reviewed the case of Markozia, charged under Articles 186, 188, and 238 of the Criminal Code of the Georgian SSR with abuse of his official position, negligence, and unauthorized possession of a firearm, and had passed a suspended sentence of three years deprivation of freedom. It was further stated that Markozia was required to make recompense for the damage caused to the state, although none of the three articles under which he was charged makes provision for this.<sup>9</sup>

The anniversary of the demonstration of April 14, 1978, after which it was publicly announced that Georgian would be designated as the state language of the republic

<sup>9</sup> *Ugolovnyi kodeks Gruzinskoï Sovetskoi Sotsialisticheskoi Respubliki*, Tbilisi, 1969, pp. 82, 83, and 102-103.

in the new Georgian SSR Constitution, was, the document discloses, commemorated publicly for the first time this year by a religious gathering at the cathedral of Svetitskhoveli in Mtskheta, some miles north of Tbilisi. As the document relates, in spite of attempts by the KGB to prevent this gathering (students were sent out of town, traffic on the main northbound highway out of Tbilisi was suspended, and all northbound trains save one failed to stop at Mtskheta that day), some 300 students congregated at the cathedral. Plans to play tape-recordings of Georgian liturgical chants were, the document continues, thwarted first by the interference of a member of the so-called "Red Clergy" (i.e., a KGB agent), and then by the cutoff of the electricity supply to virtually the whole town. The police and the KGB are also reported to have refused anyone admission to the Sioni Cathedral in Tbilisi on April 14, although an evening service is regularly held on Tuesdays. A group of over 100 students subsequently signed a letter addressed to Shevardnadze protesting the attempts to prevent the demonstration of April 14, and a further student protest is said to have been addressed to the Georgian Patriarch Ilia II demanding the expulsion from the church of the "Red Clergy" representative.

The authorities were so unnerved by the demonstration, the document claims, that on the following day (April 15) up to 100 policemen moved in on a group of a few students outside the opera house and demanded that they disperse. The document also tells how two students (named Chkheidze and Koshkadze) who raised the question of setting a date for Shevardnadze's promised meeting — first with the rector of Tbilisi State University, Vazha Okudzhava, to whom they suggested April 20, and then with the secretary of the university Party committee — were informed by the latter that the meeting would take place whenever and wherever they suggested.

When no confirmation of the April 20 date was received, however, the document adds, the students and the Party committee agreed that the meeting should be postponed for several days. Then the Party committee is said to have informed the two students on April 18 that the meeting would in fact take place on April 20 as they had proposed but that Shevardnadze would agree to meet only 50 to 60 persons to be selected from a list that the students were to provide. The students not only categorically refused to provide such a list, according to the document, but declared that the conditions set for the meeting were unacceptable and requested that the Central Committee change them. On April 19, the document says, the students were informed that this request had been turned down and that, since they did not want the meeting with Shevardnadze, it would not take place at all.

On April 20, nonetheless, Shevardnadze appeared unexpectedly at Tbilisi State University.<sup>10</sup> As the document reports it, the initial plans that Shevardnadze should meet and talk with a handful of hastily summoned students in order to create the appearance that the promised meeting had taken place were abandoned in favor of a "discussion" with members of the university staff in the assembly hall. This "discussion" is described, however, as having been interrupted by a group of up to 100 students who had learned by chance of Shevardnadze's presence in the building and who demanded that Shevardnadze set a precise date for the meeting with them. When both Shevardnadze and the university rector, Okudzhava, tried to reject this demand, it is reported, the students walked out in protest. The secretary of the university Party committee was apparently called upon to mediate at this

point. Shevardnadze is alleged to have been extremely alarmed: he refused to return to the university and instead proposed a meeting at the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, to be attended by a limited number of representatives who would be selected from a list submitted beforehand. The students are said to have rejected this proposal as being no substitute for the open discussion that Shevardnadze had promised would take place.

The news of the transfer to the Dnipropetrovsk Psychiatric Hospital of the Georgian physician and historian Nikolai Samkharadze<sup>11</sup> who was arrested on September 23, 1980, for "freely expressing both in writing and orally his opinion of the situation in Georgia," gave rise to widespread concern in Tbilisi, according to the document, and students and members of the intelligentsia added to the list of their existing demands a call for Samkharadze's release. (Samkharadze, who is sixty-six, is married with three young children.)

A demonstration by students and representatives of the intelligentsia was scheduled for the morning of May 18, the document states, describing the event as follows. Demonstrators were to assemble with banners on the grounds of the university, and they planned to submit their demands in written form to Shevardnadze. That morning, however, the three students who were to provide the banners and written petition (they are named in the document as T. Chkheidze and M. Koshkadze, both students of the history department, and M. Bagdavadze) were arrested by the KGB en route to the university. Although numerous other prospective demonstrators were also picked up and detained by the KGB until the evening, between 100 and

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<sup>10</sup> For an uninformative account of Shevardnadze's visit to the university, see *Zarya Vostoka*, April 21, 1981.

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<sup>11</sup> Samkharadze was a member of the Georgian Action Group for the Defense of Human Rights.

200 people gathered as arranged, but they were set upon by a sizable KGB contingent before they could read their demands. Some were separated from their colleagues and taken to police stations. The document charges that Chkheidze, Koshkadze and Bagdavadze, together with a girl student, N. Kakabadze, who had also been picked up, were held until the evening at a police station and then driven to the town of Telavi, approximately 100 kilometers east of Tbilisi. There they are said to have been held in isolation in an evacuated Intourist hotel for the duration of Brezhnev's visit to Tbilisi for the celebrations of the sixtieth anniversary of what the document terms "the conquest by invading forces of Soviet Russia of the Georgian Independent Democratic Republic." It is mentioned that the first secretary of Telavi raikom, A. V. Kobaidze, told the students they would be permitted one hour's exercise outdoors per day, on condition that "what happened in Tbilisi" should not reoccur in Telavi.

According to the document, some 100 persons signed a letter to Shevardnadze protesting the arrest of the four students and demanding their immediate release; had they not been permitted to return to Tbilisi on May 24, the day of Brezhnev's departure from Tbilisi,<sup>12</sup> the document states, their fellow students would have demonstrated on their behalf. A copy of the students' demands — i.e., a halt to the persecution of Georgians in Abkhazia and Azerbaijan, defense of the state status of the Georgian language, the immediate release of Samkharadze, and a halt to the alleged "mass persecution of students and citizens that began in March, 1981" is reported to have been presented to the government by Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

<sup>12</sup> *Pravda*, May 25, 1981.

The concluding paragraph of the document divulges that almost everyone who participated in these demonstrations has been subjected to harrassment, interrogation, and threats. "The most active representatives of the movement" are said to be under constant surveillance by the KGB, with three of them having been fired from their jobs and M. Koshkadze having been expelled from the university.

*Elizabeth Fuller*

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**She will be Missed by All of Us**

*It was with deep regret that I learned of the passing of Mrs. Ulana Celewych.*

*She was a most active and respected leader of the Ukrainian Women's Organization of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in the United States.*

*During the past twenty-five years She had worked very closely with the Bulgarian National Front, Inc. and this has been greatly appreciated by all members of our Organization.*

*Her aid was invaluable to us, as She contributed to the close understanding between the Bulgarians and the Ukrainians.*

*The one tribute we can all pay to Her is to follow Her example of full dedication to achieving cooperation among the nations for the success of the struggle to regain the freedom and independence of all captive nations.*

*She will be missed by all of us and we join the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in mourning Her.*

*Sincerely,*

*Dr. George Paprikoff, President  
Bulgarian National Front*



## Underground Leaflet in Lviv (Ukraine)

It has long been recognized that tensions between Ukrainians and Russians have been more pronounced in the western oblast of Ukraine than in other parts of the country. The roots of this problem are largely historical. Like the Baltic states, Western Ukraine was not integrated into the USSR until after the war, and even then this process was hampered by the active resistance of an armed underground movement that was not diminished until the early 1950s. Throughout the nineteenth century and during the first four decades of the twentieth century, the development of Western Ukraine had a distinctly European political orientation.<sup>1</sup>

This problem of what may be termed "differential development" is taken into account by Soviet-Russian policymakers, particularly in the sphere of ideological work. Characteristic in this respect is the evaluation of the special situation in the Lviv Oblast made by the regional Party first secretary, Viktor F. Dobrik, at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party earlier this year:

"Taking into consideration that because of certain historical conditions, the Lviv Oblast, like all of the western oblasts of the republic, was late in taking the path of Socialist transformations and that foreign bourgeois nationalist and Uniate centers actively attempt to influence a certain part of the population, Party committees devote unremitting attention to propagandizing the Soviet way of life, to the international and patriotic upbringing of the toilers, and to atheistic work."<sup>2</sup>

Nonetheless, and in spite of such efforts, it seems that national consciousness is firmly entrenched among the Western Ukrainians, at times giving rise to *both anti-Soviet and anti-Russian* sentiments of one sort or another.

An interesting insight into precisely this problem is provided by a lengthy two-part article in the Lviv Oblast newspaper *Vil'na Ukraina* entitled "Instead of an Epitaph at the Lair of a Polecat: An Answer to a Malicious Blind Man." The article was written by Iosyp Ts'okh, dean of the Department of Journalism at the Lviv University, and was published in the issues of the newspaper for March 22 and 24, 1981.<sup>3</sup> It is an extraordinary document in the sense that it represents a semi-official response to an anonymous leaflet that presumably was and perhaps still is circulating in the Lviv region. One can only conclude that the leaflet must have had a fairly wide circle of readers in order to necessitate a sharp rejoinder in the oblast press.

From the text of Ts'okh's article, it is clear that the leaflet's main focus is the problem of Ukrainian-Russian relations. Addressing its anonymous author in the familiar form, Ts'okh writes:

"Regardless of how malicious and stubborn you may be, unless you have totally lost your senses, you must come to the conclusion that in the fraternal family of Soviet peoples Ukraine is flourishing and thriving, and its people are happy.

But the friendship of peoples is a bone in the throat of the polecat. His scribbling reeks of malicious hatred for the fraternal

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<sup>1</sup> For a characterization of Lviv's Western outlook, see the impressions of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung's* Moscow correspondent Leo Wieland, "Lwow, Lemberg, Lwiw: In der alten Hauptstadt des Grenzlands Galizien," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, January 17, 1981.

<sup>2</sup> *Radyans'ka Ukraina*, February 11, 1981.

<sup>3</sup> I. Ts'okh, "Zamist' epitafii na nori tkhora: Vidpovid' ozloblenomu sliptsyu," *Vil'na Ukraina*, March 24, 1981. The first part of the article is presently unavailable.

Russian people, its culture and language, and it is filled with all kinds of demographically falsified verbiage.”

Ts’okh then goes on to provide an outline of Ukrainian history intended to demonstrate that Ukrainians could not have survived as a nation without “the great Russian people.” He begins with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, citing the threat posed by Poland and Turkey. “In this difficult time,” he writes, “when the fate of the independent existence of the Ukrainian people was being decided, the blood-related (*yedynokrovnyi*) Russian brother came with help.”

More of this kind of “help” was forthcoming during the period of the Russian revolution and “civil war.” “The sincere and selfless aid of the Russian brother,” explains Ts’okh, “saved Soviet power in Ukraine from destruction and its people from enslavement.” Finally, during the war “once again the Soviet peoples and, above all, the sincere and faithful brother — the great Russian people — came with help.” The lowest form of national self-denigration is reflected in Ts’okh’s citation of the Western Ukrainian writer and publicist Yaroslav Halan to the effect that:

“to love Russia, to love Moscow means to love humanity, to believe in it, to believe in its future and to work for it, to struggle, and if necessary — to die in the struggle. To hate Moscow is to be an enemy of humanity, an enemy of its greatest aspirations, an enemy of future generations.”

It should be noted that it is rare to find this kind of crude propaganda in the Ukrainian central press, which is much more restrained in its paeans to “the great Russian people.”

Another theme raised by Ts’okh is the role of the Russian language in Ukraine. This is a direct response to a complaint in the leaflet about the clearly felt presence of the Russian language in (presumably) Western Ukraine:

“You polecat, your black soul is being nagged because you frequently hear the Russian language, because it is readily studied, and because it is wonderfully mastered by both children and adults. But, after all, this is the language of a great people whose opinions are considered by the entire world, and who unite in common ranks the fighters for peace and happiness of millions of peoples of our planet! This is the language of the immortal Lenin!”

Ts’okh then proceeds to enumerate the reasons why knowledge of the Russian language is so imperative:

“Because to know the Russian language is not only to sincerely respect a great people and its culture, which is an invaluable contribution to the treasurehouse of world culture, but also to gain the opportunity of communicating with all the people of our country and of the entire planet, and to have entree to the sources and treasures of their spiritual attainments. To know the Russian language is not to pay tribute to fashion, and it is not a result of coercion. It is an organic need of every individual who aspires to share in culture and knowledge. And it is being studied willingly, in response to a call from the heart, because it is a vital necessity everywhere — in our country, in the countries of the Socialist commonwealth, in the developed Capitalist countries, in those countries that have liberated themselves from the Imperialist yoke, and in those that are struggling for their freedom — in all of the continents of the universe.”

Towards the end of the article, Ts’okh suggests that the author of the leaflet shed his anonymity, maintaining that no harm would come to him because “you are not a danger to anyone.” He concludes, however, that:

“you are afraid of the light and do not crawl out of your lair. You prefer to faint

and gasp for air in your own stench. There you will languish until you die. And you will remain anonymous, and your anonymous lair will be overgrown by thistle. So, instead of an epitaph I lay this pamphlet at your lair.”

The extremely harsh tone and invective of the article may be explained by the fact that Ts'okh is characterized in the leaflet by name as a propagandist and critic of “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism.” Specifically, the anonymous author is cited as having argued that neither he, nor many other people, nor even Ts'okh's own mother would agree with the views that Ts'okh propagates in the Russian colonial press in Ukraine.

Almost ten years ago, on October 7, 1971, the Central Committee of the CPSU adopted a decree “On Political Work among the Population of the Lviv Oblast,” which revealed Moscow's serious concern for the ideological “reliability” of the local population and called for a fundamental improvement in all work related to “internationalist upbringing” in the region.<sup>4</sup> One of its stipulations, according to a *samvydav* source, was an increase in the number of Russian-language schools in the oblast.<sup>5</sup> The *samvydav* journal *Ukrain-s'kyi visnyk* later reported that Vasilii S. Kutsevol, who was first secretary of the Lviv Oblast Party Committee at the time, was threatened with dismissal at the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU in November, 1971, and was saved only by the intervention of Ukrainian Party leader Pyotr Shelest. Kutsevol was finally removed from his post in November, 1973, following disturbances at the

Lviv University by students protesting the regime's russification policies, and was replaced by the incumbent Dobrik. Shortcomings in ideological work in Lviv came to the surface again at the end of 1977 and were reflected in the decree “On the Fulfillment by the Party Committees in the Lviv Oblast of the Decisions of the Twenty-fifth Party Congress and of the Resolutions of the Central Committee of the CPSU on Increasing the Efficiency and Coordination of the Activity of the Mass Information Media and Propaganda” adopted by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Party in December of that year. To judge from Ts'okh's article in *Vil'na Ukraina*, inter-ethnic relations in Western Ukraine continue to pose a problem for planners of Soviet-Russian imperio-colonial nationalities policy with regard to the subjugated nations. Indeed, the fact that clandestine leaflets are capable of being disseminated among the population and that their author remains unknown to the authorities suggests a problem of rather serious proportions.

<sup>4</sup> The decree is published in abridged form in *KPSS o formirovanii novogo cheloveka. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov (1965-1976)*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury, 1976, pp. 129-135.

<sup>5</sup> Yurii Badz'o, *Vidkrytyi lyst do Prezydii Verkhovnoi Rady Soyuzu RSR ta Tsentral'noho Komitetu KPRS*, New York, Vydannya Zakordonnoho predstavnytstva hrupy spryannya vykonannyu Hel'sinksykh uhod, 1980, p. 53. It should be pointed out that in 1970 Russians constituted 8.2 percent of the population of the Lviv Oblast.

**„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**

## The Trial of Vytautas Skuodis

A geologist claiming American citizenship was sentenced by a Soviet-Russian court to 7 years strict regime camp and 5 years internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

The trial of Vytautas Skuodis, also known as Benedict Scott, who was born in Chicago, March 21, 1929, took place in Vilnius, Lithuania, December 15-22, 1980. The US Consul in Moscow requested permission by the USSR to attend the trial.

The trial is reported in the samizdat *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania No. 46*, which recently was smuggled out of Lithuania to the West.

Skuodis was charged under Article 68-1 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code of systematically listening to foreign radio broadcasts, of producing the samizdat journals *Perspektyvos (Perspectives)* and *Alma Mater*, of authoring a 300-page manuscript entitled *Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania*, and of writing appeals to then President Jimmy Carter and to the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act allegedly distorting the "reality of Soviet life".

The *Chronicle* reports that Skuodis refused legal counsel, saying his state-appointed lawyer, a member of the Communist Party, would be unable to represent him objectively, in a political trial such as his.

On October 1, 1980, he requested a lawyer from the US, but to no avail.

During the proceedings, Skuodis defended his work *Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania* as a scientific study, not anti-Soviet propaganda. It concludes that the academic level of atheistic literature in the USSR is very low and unscientific.

During preliminary interrogation and during the trial itself, Skuodis is said to have refused to answer questions about his involvement in samizdat activity, especially his role in *Alma Mater*, geared

to students of the 400-year old University of Vilnius.

In a defense speech lasting six hours, Skuodis stated: "I have not transgressed against the state. There is a personal conflict between me and the Party, which places itself above the State.

"Expression of opinion on economic and political questions cannot be treated as a criminal offense. The Constitution of the USSR guarantees every citizen the right to free expression of opinion and to criticism."

Skuodis emphasized that he was not allowed to consult with a lawyer in advance and that his notes for his own defense were confiscated and used against him by the prosecution.

The Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights, a group of seven Roman Catholic Lithuanian priests (Lithuania is predominantly Roman Catholic) announced the day Skuodis was sentenced, that he had been accepted as the first lay member.

Sentenced with Skuodis under Article 68-1 for alleged anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda were Gintautas Iesmantas and Povilas Peceliunas.

Iesmantas, a 51-year old journalist, was convicted of writing allegedly anti-Soviet poetry, listening to foreign radio broadcasts, duplicating and disseminating samizdat, and propagating secession of Lithuania from the USSR in his articles, mainly in *Perspectives*. He was sentenced to 6 years strict regime camp and 5 years internal exile.

Povilas Peceliunas (pronounced Pech-e-LYOO-nuhs), a 53-year old high school teacher of Lithuanian language and literature, was sentenced to 3 years strict regime camp and 5 years exile for writing articles allegedly slandering the Soviet system and for allegedly editing *Perspect-*

ives, where they appeared. The journal professes to publish articles which cannot appear in the official press.

Profile of Vytautas *SKUODIS* — Prisoner of Conscience.

FAMILY: Skuodis' wife, Irena Skuodiene, and two daughters, Giedre and Daiva Skuodyte, reside at Vandentiekio g. 44-4, Vilnius, Lithuania, USSR. His mother, Elzbieta Skuodiene, lives on Gogolio g. 65-2, Panevezys, Lithuania, USSR.

March 21, 1929. Benediktas Vitautas Scott Skodzius (Vytautas Skudis) born to Peter Scott Skodzius and Elizabeth Markeviciute in *Chicago*, Illinois (Certificate and Record of Birth Registered No. 13870. Certificate of Baptism at Our Lady of Vilna Church, 2327 W. 23rd Place, Chicago Ill. 60608).

1930. Skuodis' family emigrates to Lithuania.

1953. Vytautas Skuodis graduates from the University of Vilnius.

1953-69. He works in his field as a supervisor of important geological surveys and hydroelectrical projects in Lithuania, Latvia and Siberia.

1969. Joins the faculty of the *University of Vilnius* as a lecturer of *hydrogeology and geological engineering*. His scholarly articles appear in various professional journals. An environmental protection group is founded and chaired by Skuodis at the University.

November 24, 1979. KGB agents conduct an eleven-hour search at the Skuodis residence in Vilnius. Skuodis' uncompleted manuscript *Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania*, notes, samizdat, two typewriters and a tape-recorder are confiscated.

November 25, 1979. Skuodis issues a world-wide appeal to religious believers and offers his services to the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in Lithuania. He is subjected to a three-and-a-half hour interrogation.

November 27, 1979. Security police question Skuodis.

November 28, 1979. Skuodis claims American citizenship in an open letter to President Jimmy Carter.

November 29, 1979. Skuodis joins the *Lithuanian Helsinki Group*.

December 6, 1979. In an open letter to L. I. Brezhnev, Skuodis demands implementation of rights guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution.

December 31, 1979. Skuodis is dismissed from the University faculty under Article 287-3 of the Lithuanian SSR Labor Code for "amoral conduct".

January 9, 1980. The Skuodis' home is searched again. After the search, Skuodis is ARRESTED.

January 1980. The Lithuanian Helsinki Group issues an appeal to L. I. Brezhnev on behalf of Skuodis.

January 14, 1980. United Press International reports the arrest of Skuodis based on information supplied by human rights advocate Andrei Sakharov in Moscow.

December 22, 1980. Skuodis is sentenced to 7 years strict regime camp and 5 years internal exile under Article 68-1 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". *The Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights* announces that Skuodis has been accepted as the first lay member.

#### **Suggested Action on Behalf of Vytautas Skuodis**

1. Write to your Senators and Congressmen. Acquaint them with the case of Vytautas Skuodis. Ask them to contact the US Department of State about the status of this US citizen.

2. Encourage Congresswoman Cardiss Collins (D-IL, 7th Congressional District) to continue her campaign on Skuodis' behalf on Capitol Hill. Your letters of support should be sent to: The Hon. Cardiss Collins, 2438 Rayburn House Office Bldg., Washington DC 20515.

→

## Poet in Exile and the National Identity of his People

*Beside the streams of Babylon  
we sat and wept  
at the memory of Zion,  
leaving our harps  
hanging on the poplars there.*

*For we had been asked  
to sing to our captors,  
to entertain those who had carried us off:  
"Sing," they said,  
"some hymns of Zion."*

*How could we sing  
one of Yahweh's hymns  
in a pagan country?  
Jerusalem, if I forget you,  
may my right hand wither!*

*May I never speak again,  
if I forget you!  
If I do not count Jerusalem  
the greatest of my joys!      Psalm 137*

For thousands of years the 137th psalm has embraced not only Christians and Jews with its source of hope and power of pain — they listened to it with reverence, while sitting in their houses of God — but also anyone else, who has anything to do

←

3. Appeal for the unconditional release of Skuodis to public opinion. State your objection to the pattern of violations which the Skuodis case represents: the denial of freedom of press and speech and the right to profess religion as guaranteed under Art. 50 and 52, respectively, of the Soviet Constitution. Mention that the imprisonment and abuse are contrary to the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Helsinki Final Act.

with the era of Western Civilization. At the same time this psalm is a symbol for an exile poet at any time and place. But regardless of how much the psalm's words mean to us, they cannot affect us as deeply and fatally as they do the people for whom it was composed; composed in exile among strangers for a people who — also in exile — were burning in love for Jerusalem.

All literature is translatable to a degree. The same goes for poetry — however, poetry is the branch of literature that is based on the living word. The existence of the whole of civilization, as such, is based on the living word — both spoken and written.

But those people who have been born with the God-given features of a people, speak their own language — the poetry that makes them a nation can develop only in this language. About ten years ago, I had the opportunity to converse with Queen Juliana of the Netherlands who fluently speaks several languages. With deep conviction she said: but poetry can be written only in your mother tongue. The 137th psalm is also saying that.

But it also addresses freedom. Man strives for various kinds of wealth. But none of them hold any worth if the nation must live without freedom — without freedom that the ancient poet bemoans.

How many poets have not left their country and ventured through storm and darkness into exile? Let us mention the famous Philipino poet Jose Rizal who, for a while, found refuge in Germany. Or not to forget the last Nobel Prize winner, the great Polish poet Czeslav Milosz, who had to leave his beloved Poland and seek freedom in USA. But the heart of the exile poet, that has decided for freedom over all values, is a raft between this freedom

and yearning for his Homeland. Now let us mention an anonymous song entitled "My Grief on the Sea". It is about immigrants and refugees coming to the land of freedom-America, translated from the Irish by the first president of the Irish Republic, Douglas Hyde. To illustrate, a few lines:

*My grief on the sea,  
How the waves of it roll!  
For they heave between me  
And the love of my soul!*

*Abandoned, forsaken,  
To grief and to care,  
Will the sea ever waken  
Relief from despair?*

*My grief and my trouble!  
Would he and I were  
In the province of Leinster,  
Or county of Clare.*

*Were I and my darling  
O heart-bitter wound  
On board of the ship  
For America bound.*

A poet's ties with his land and his people are unbreakable. His yearning for his homeland is endless. If this homeland is not Jerusalem it can be any land we live in. According to Nobel Prize Laureate Heinrich Boell this is a century of exiles.

Among the noted poets of today that I have met is the Chinese poet Yu Kwang-



Toronto, June 28, 1981 — Observances of the 40th anniversary of the reestablishment of Ukrainian Statehood in 1941 — the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, delivering his address. Seated from left to right: Mr. O. Kowal, Mrs. L. Burachynska, Mr. W. Bezchlibnyk, Mrs. O. Leliuk, Hon. M. Leliuk — the Canadian minister representing the Prime Minister of Ontario, Hon. W. Davis, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, H. E. Metropolitan Maksym Hermaniuk, Dr. R. Malashchuk, H. E. Bishop Isidore Boreckyj, Mr. T. Buyniak, Dr. S. Halamay.

Chung. His poetry is as multi-colored as the human soul. He always valued freedom over everything else. With pain and faithful hope he loves his people and country above all else.

Here are a few lines from his poem "When I am Dead", taken from the book "Acres of Barbed Wire".

*When I am dead, lay me down between  
the Yangtze*

*And the Yellow River and pillow my head  
On China, white hair against black soil,  
Most beautiful O most maternal of lands,  
And I will sleep my soundest taking  
The whole mainland for my cradle, lulled  
by the mother-hum that rises on both sides  
From the two great rivers, two long, long  
songs*

*That on and on flow forever to the East.  
This the world's most indulgent roomiest bed  
Were content, a heart pauses to rest  
And recalls how, of a Michigan winter night  
A youth from China used to keep  
Intense watch towards East, trying  
To pierce his look through darkness for  
the dawn of China.*

Here is a poet that belongs to the thousand-year culture of Asia. A poet who again attests to this culture with pain and pride — creating in his people only — through gloomy depression and the power of faith.

The great Estonian poetess — Maria Under recently died in Sweden, her land of exile. Her poem "Remembrance and Pledge" is a testimony of the same pain and pride which could be found in the poem by Yu Kwang-Chung.

*Now let us stand with bowed and naked head  
Remembering what is left and what is dead.  
All we have lost and death dividing wall —  
There give us strength that nothing can appal.  
Our homeland's wrongs shall make our  
patience bold:  
Let us defend her wall-like young and old  
Love of this earth passes from heart to  
heart —*

*Earth of our dead in which we each have  
part.*

*Much else has perished, yet these are not  
dead —*

*Our pride and rage: let stand with lifted head.*

I am a Latvian, born in Latvia, now living in exile. My nation at one time encompassed all of Northern Europe, as this is described with wonder even by Russian scholars. So I also belong to the oldest living cultural nation in Europe.

My nation has lost her freedom as well. Many of our poets, loving freedom, have become exiles. But the thousand-year-old roots in our homeland that are inbred in our sub-conscious, cannot be severed. The love for one's land and people also cannot be severed.

If I may, I would like to conclude this brief characterization of the Exile Poet and his mission, with the words of my countryman, Andrejs Eglitis, which he wrote in his land of refuge, Sweden, and which does not differ from the psalm from the lines of Yu Kwang-Chung.

Just as the Jewish poet, the Irishman, the Chinese and the Estonian poetess, the Latvian sings in his own language to his own people. Regardless of how non-Latvians have held in esteem translations of his work into various languages, his songs are calling out to his own people and Latvian homeland.

*Weave me into red-white-red,  
Weave me into our flag.  
Then, as heaven weaves white morning flax  
And the evening plaits its blood red tresses,  
Let us gather flags, more flags, more flags  
than we are  
To be carried in the hands of all our dead,  
Flags to flutter in the smiles of our unborn.  
Weave me into our flag  
Our red-white-red,  
Our sacred home.  
It is there we dream  
In thinking of that, we wake.*



## Capitalist Russia versus the Workers

*The author is a Ukrainian worker from Kyiv now serving a second term of imprisonment for campaigning for workers' rights. This account of his case has been received by Amnesty International in London in the form of an open letter to the Ukrainian Human Rights Committee and the United Nations' Human Rights Committee. It was written last November in a penal colony at Bucha in Ukraine.*

It is no secret that fundamental human rights have been consistently trampled on in the Soviet Union. The flouting and complete disregard of human rights is felt most acutely by the workers who are powerless to counter political and socio-economic oppression.

My life and my so-called "slandorous activities" may well serve as examples. I am presently serving a second term of imprisonment. In 1975 I was charged under Article 187 and sentenced to three years' imprisonment by the Kyiv Oblast Court. In 1979 I was charged under Article 206 and sentenced to five years' imprisonment by the Kyiv People's Court.

As a worker relegated to the lowest rung of the Soviet social ladder, I personally have experienced economic, socio-political and national oppression. Understandably, I could not help but give thought to the real reasons for this oppression. With time I realised that my fellow workers were also victims of exploitation and that this exploitation was greater the lower one found oneself on the social ladder.

I came to the conclusion that ultimately it is the state which is the exploiter along with the State-party bourgeoisie which is in its service and which is the one wielding the real power in the country. The socialism and internationalism of which one so often speaks in the Soviet Union is nothing more than a smokescreen for a means of production and distribution of material goods which is not in the least socialist.

In short, I have come to the conclusion that our country is actually a State capitalist society with a totalitarian form of government.

In informal conversations with fellow

workers, I expressed some of my views regarding Soviet reality. I saw nothing wrong in so doing. Specifically, I noted that the real causes for our impoverished condition are to be found not in mistakes committed by the administrative apparatus but in the very system of production which, in actual fact, is capitalist.

In my conversations as well as in the leaflets which I wrote and then posted throughout Kyiv on bulletin boards, buses, monuments, etc (for having posted my leaflets on a statue of Lenin, I was charged under Article 206 with hooliganism), I showed that Soviet labour unions (i.e. state party organisations) neither constitute a separate autonomous organisation nor do they represent the rights and economic interests of the working class.

They are, in fact, an integral part of the party-State apparatus whose principal aim is to extract the utmost from the worker while keeping the working-class in blind obedience, checked and ensured by a system of meting out at first minor and then ever greater benefits. The dispensation of benefits depends on such factors as good behaviour, success in meeting the designated quotas and loyalty to the State.

Those workers who express dissatisfaction, be it outrightly or indirectly, are demoted to the lowest-paying jobs, lose any privileges and are put under the "care" of Soviet penal authorities. All this is done with no objections raised by the labour union.

I believe that I am not alone in my endeavour, that the situation in the Soviet Union is ripe for the founding of independent labour unions (as opposed to party-state ones) which would prove effective in solving the problems with which

the working class is faced. I explained to my fellow workers that we not only have the right to talk of independent, labour unions but the right to organise them.

Throughout the course of my so-called "slandorous" activity, I came to see that similar views are held by many workers who, as a rule, may be characterised as independent-minded. I became aware that their numbers are growing daily.

And even though the ruling class will go to any length to check independent-minded workers whose protest is born of spontaneity, repressions will no longer be able to suppress that awareness which has been awakened in the consciousness of the people.

The recent events in Poland have shown

that the working-class is capable of leading the struggle for its rights and freedoms, for a feasible improvement of its well-being. The effectiveness of the struggle waged depends on the degree of solidarity of the working-class, on the degree of self-organisation.

This, in short, is the extent of the "slandorous" activity for which I am being "rehabilitated" behind barbed wires.

I ask that the Ukrainian human rights group make my letter known to the people of the Soviet Union and to world public opinion. But foremostly, to the labour unions throughout the world. Let them be the ones to determine who the real culprit is and what his true motives are.

Mykola Pohyba

## In the US Congress



Flanking Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko and Congressman William Green are Prof. Lew Dobriansky — President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (far left) and Mrs. Slava Stetsko (far right).

## New Russian Techniques of Anti-Ukrainian Terrorism

*Statement of Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavansky — former political prisoner of the USSR and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.*

Moscow has implemented new methods of repression in dealing with political prisoners. We have learned that the Russians have found the standard charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (Article 62) to be counterproductive, since the West now views any person so charged as a Prisoner of Conscience.

The politically oriented charges formerly used against Ukrainian activists are being replaced by fabricated criminal charges. Such methods of discreditation and fabrication are being widely applied in the attempted destruction of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group charged with criminal acts:

TYKHY, Oleksa, sentenced to 15 years in 1971 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." This sentence includes one year's imprisonment for the criminal charge of possession of a firearm (rusted World War II rifle).

VINS, Petro, sentenced to 1 year in 1978 for "parasitism" (not being able to find a job).

OVSIIYENKO, Vasyl, sentenced to 3 years in 1978 for "resisting the militia."

HORBAL, Mykola, sentenced to 5 years in 1980 for "attempted rape" and "resisting arrest."

LESIV, Yaroslav, sentenced to 2 years in 1980 for "possession of narcotics."

ROZUMNY, Petro, sentenced to 3 years in 1979 for "illegal possession of a weapon" (a hunting knife).

STRILTSIV, Vasyl, sentenced to 2 years in 1979 for "violation of internal passport regulations."

CHORNOVIL, Vyacheslav, sentenced to 5 years in 1980 for "attempted rape".

Four of the activists accused of membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

were also charged with "slandering the state" (Art. 187-1)

ZISELS, Yosyf

SICHKO, Petro (father)

SICHKO, Vasyl (son)

HEYKO-MATUSEVYCH, Olha

Although this charge appears to be political in nature Soviet law specifies criminal penalties.

Since the standard political charges were deemed inadequate these twelve members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were sentenced on trumped-up criminal charges.

At least three members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were threatened with psychiatric torture during their pre-trial period:

RUDENKO, Mykola

SICHKO, Vasyl

MESHKO, Oksana

VASYL STUS, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was subjected to severe physical torture during a pre-trial investigation in 1980.

The circumstances and cause of death of MYKHAYLO MELNYK remain unexplained (suicide?).

In the most recent news concerning the repressed members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group we must direct special attention to the fact that the wife of the first chairman of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Mykola Rudenko, has mysteriously disappeared. We must express our grave concern about the fate of RAISA RUDENKO, especially in view of the murders of artists Alla Horska, Rostyslav Palecky, Victor Kindratyshyn, and composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk, and taking into account the brutal attacks on the father of Ivasiuk, on Mychaylyna Kociubynsky, on Leonida Svitlychna, on Mykola Plakhotniuk and on other Ukrainian activists.

## RAISA RUDENKO

Raisa Rudenko is the wife of imprisoned Ukrainian poet and writer, co-founder and first chairman of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group Mykola Rudenko. Since April 14, 1981, she has not appeared at pre-arranged meetings with friends and acquaintances. A member of her family who unexpectedly appeared at her apartment in Kyiv is unable to explain her disappearance. All of the past, as well as the present on-going atrocities directed at Ukrainians by Moscow give us just cause, not only to be concerned about the fate of Raisa Rudenko, but also to list her as another victim of the planned and programmed internal terrorism in the USSR.

Address of Raisa Rudenko in Kyiv:

Raisa Rudenko  
252084 Kyiv - 84  
Koncha-Zaspa, 1, Apt. 8

Address of Mykola Rudenko in detention:

431200 Barashevo  
Tehushevsky Rayon  
Mordovian ASSR  
uch. zhk. 385/3-4

Address of the USSR Ambassador to the USA, from whom concerned American citizens have the right to demand information about the fate of the Ukrainian missing woman from Kyiv — RAISA RUDENKO.

Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin  
Embassy of the USSR  
1125 16th St. N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036  
(202) 3471347

### **Countless Ukrainian Women are subjected to Terror**

Here in Madrid, the country responsible for life-denying prison sentences aimed against the Helsinki Groups, as well as 34 other countries that signed the Helsinki Final Act, are now meeting for their follow-up conference. Can anyone dare assert that the Free World will finally find

the will to condemn Moscow's aggression against the members of the Helsinki Groups and the nations of its empire — Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Armenia, Georgia, Afghanistan, and so on?

The fate of the Charter 77 Group, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and similar groups in the USSR, armed aggression against Afghanistan, Soviet pressure on Poland — all of these provide ample justification to assert that the USSR is a chronic violator of the Helsinki Accords, at least. These also give ample justification for directed action against colonialism in Europe and against any future Soviet-Russian expansion.

Patient acceptance and servile accommodation will not spare those countries that are now free from the unhappy fate of Ukraine or other countries now totally controlled by Moscow.

The Helsinki Agreement is only one of many documents that the countries of the West signed with the colonial regime of today's leading imperialist power.

When the 34 countries signed the Helsinki Final Act, the 35th — the USSR — already had a shameful record that included the criminal destruction of 20 million Ukrainians in Siberian death camps and through the artificial famine of 1932-33. Before, during and after the Helsinki Conference, the government of the USSR was perfecting its repressive system of punitive psychiatry, while the Russification of the non-Russian peoples took on the dimensions of total mercilessness. Moreover, in the period between the Belgrade and Madrid Review Conferences the USSR invaded Afghanistan.

The repressed members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, as well as the leaders of the Free West, understand and are well aware of these policies.

Nevertheless, the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group united themselves in accepting the Helsinki Agreement

as a living document that defines everyday life in Europe and, as members of the European community, agreed to defend the Accords. We rejected any doubts about the practicability of accepting the word of a totalitarian and traditionally imperialist ideology. The members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group defended the Helsinki Final Act, searching out not only its flaws, but also its strengths, for this Act is the latest of many similar and now-forgotten declarations and pacts. The Helsinki Agreement appeared in a world that was ready to discuss human rights and national self-determination.

Having accepted and believed in the strength of the Accords, the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group have sadly

ended up either in forced exile or in a concentration camp. I urge the conference to take up the matter of the imprisoned Helsinki Monitors of all nationalities. As a woman, I want to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the conference and of the press to the countless Ukrainian women who are imprisoned, in exile or subject to terror. Many of them are my friends from the days when I was a political prisoner myself. The ones who need special help are many. I want to remember a few of them:

Oksana Popovych, Oksana Meshko, Iryna Senyk, Valentyna Sira, Svitlyana Kyrychenko, Olena Terelya — all of them Ukrainians — and the Jewish dissident, Malva Landa.

*Nina Strokata-Karavansky*



*In the US Congress: Congressman Elmond Rudd (center) standing between Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko.*

# Frontiers of Culture

(Translation of a document recently smuggled from Ukraine)

## Part 7.

The frequent publication of the problems that Ukrainians supposedly cause for the Russians and the empire speaks for itself. Indeed this provides — convincing proof of the vigour and strength of the Ukrainian Opposition and is, simultaneously, proof that Moscow treats the Opposition very seriously by planning an offensive strategy in its very centre. It is also evidence of an attempt to set the Russian inhabitants against Ukrainians, as was done with the Jews. It is also proof of the fact that the Ukrainian question is once again assuming international importance and is again becoming an actual international problem. The imperial regime does not entirely trust any of its collaborators, regardless of their status or specialisation. Neither Ukrainian “writers”, “journalists”, “publishers”, nor “historians” are allowed access to important documentary sources, archives or investigative matters that bear any relation to the Ukrainian question or the national-liberation movement. As this was true in the past, so it is true for today. And the “back entrance” — where the very methodology of the struggle of the Movement is to be found, is completely prohibited ground. Thus the appearance of K. Dmytruk as an author discredits our efforts to gain independence and to restore the Church to its rightful place. His appearance in the publishing world (with others of his ilk) merely reflects the mistrust felt towards local cadres, their “errors” (maybe committed completely consciously) in this “complex and important” work. This also explains why these cadres are ever diminishing in size. Thus the transfer of Dziuba’s allegiance to that gang — in exchange for his freedom — represented a considerable victory for the occupier. A. K. Dmytruk — who used pseudonym to cover his true role as a KGB

operative, a colonel of the imperial secret service — is not even a Ukrainian by origin. However, Klym Halaskyj, claims himself to be a “specialist” on the Ukrainian question — (alias A. K. Dmytruk), but who has in fact long conducted and operated the so-called prophylactic battle against the underground (the author of these notes has had the “honour” of speaking with him on many occasions, to have been arrested by him and to have withstood his questioning as a prisoner) has the fate of hundreds of lives on his conscience and in particular of thousands of our most active Ukrainian patriots and Church activists. Thus his books are merely an extension of his work and activity and need no further refutations. It is enough to know “who is who” as the author of a publication.

### **Transmigration and intermixing of the population**

The migration, the assimilation of the elites, the loss of talents, the abduction of intellectuals, the predominance of the Russian element in Ukrainian towns, the mass and accompanying compulsory Russification of Ukrainians beginning at school level and ending at institutions of higher education, industries, administrative institutions, have been noted as being one of the most important strategic aims of the colonial politics of Moscow on the territory of Ukraine and which aim to destroy the Ukrainian nation and her culture. One of the other branches of the imperial politics of ethnocide and bloodless killing is the policy of forced transmigration and the assimilation of many millions of peoples of different nationalities on alien territories. Deportation and forced migration are but two methods used by the imperialists to try and quell the captive nations. They are also a

means of gaining control of new lands. This practice is one that has been long in use, but its totalitarian form has only been realised in the XX century, and has only been implemented by totalitarian regimes; by the Russian communist and German fascist regimes. While the practices of the Nazi regime have been widely publicised and received their due condemnation from mankind, the murders committed by the Russian imperial regime, which began in the 1930's and continue to this day — instead of being condemned by sovereign nations, instead of them isolating the Russian empire, boycotting the regime and defending the expiring nations — instead of this they conduct business with it as an “honourable partner”; they hold meetings on international forums, support diplomatic relations, sign treaties, which for Moscow only hold the meaning of a “scrap of paper”, (as seen in the way that Moscow fulfils those obligations that she undertakes). It is the same with internal, state law — merely something that has been declared on a scrap of paper. It is dishonourable for us to be serfs: but it is not also dishonourable for the world — that one of its nations — the Ukrainian nation, a nation of 50 million people with a territory the size of France (even when taking into account half the lands annexed by the occupier), that has the capacity for a creative and independent economic existence, with an equally great and equivalent (in terms of age, development and capacity) cultural life — is it not shameful that this great and ancient nation has seemingly been placed on the level of a small unknown tribe in the pyramid of international relations, national freedom, the right for sovereignty and the right to life, and is being destroyed, as such life could only be destroyed in the Middle Ages? There exists a strange passivity, (even though there exist analogous situations), even though the same fate awaits other sovereign nations of Europe. This is why it is incredible that the leaders of the West —

of the USA, France, England, West Germany, the EEC and the United Nations — resort to passive resistance instead of following a course of dynamic, instigative pressure, one aspect of which should be the inclusion of the Ukrainian question in the sphere of international relations and in the resolutions of international forums, and which should be in particular, on the daily agenda of the UN General Assembly.

The historical forced exiling of Ukrainians from their motherland began with the perfidious devastation of the Zaporizhian Sich and with the liquidation of our autonomy. Then utilising our common religions, the similarity of our languages, the higher level of our culture, education and our already developed economy, the subordinate status of our national relations (i.e. between the Ukrainian and Russian nations) and our colonial status, Moscow artists, cultural activists and learned men, the middle link of the state and administrative apparatus both within the metropolis and also within the newly conquered territories: Ukraine is being re-shaped as a supplier of colonisers in order to absorb these new lands. Then, during the latter part of the XIX century and at the turn of the XX century the tsarist regime gave a further intensity to mass resettlements: in that very decade the policy of mass resettlements was begun and also at that time the role and meaning of ethnocide were realised, and their role in strengthening the position of the empire by destroying the roots of the nation, and by assimilating it. Thus since that period — a period of intensive development of the economy of the Russians nation — the national masses have been the target of mass assimilation. And even though in the last years of the tsarist regime the migrations from Ukraine did not really affect the life of the nation in as much as the numbers of emigrees were relatively very small and infrequent, and because rapid demographic growth concealed the losses. Apart from the above, the place of the emigrating masses was not then

filled by colonising Russians, whose number in Ukraine at that time was in comparison to today, very small. The question of agricultural upheavals, the stabilisation of the regime in the period of so-called collectivisation, industrialisation and five year plans at the end of 1920's and at the beginning of the 1930's resulted in great changes in the structure of the population, and had a threatening, pogromatic character. In the last period, and particularly during the last decade, the practice of mass intermixing has produced one of the most outstanding problems for the state politics of Moscow.

After the falsely created famine, as a result of which between 6 to 10 million Ukrainians died, the million-fold deportation of Ukrainians was introduced: nearly the whole of the Ukrainian population was banished from Kuban, followed by the attempt to eliminate the so-called kulaks, who formed between 10-20% of the population of Ukrainian villages. The deliberate unification of the policies of genocide, mass repression and mass resettlement of Ukrainians beyond the boundaries of Ukraine have become the norm for the behaviour of the totalitarian regime. For the present generations, for the majority of us — genocide, repression, deportation are words with little meaning: they present only abstract concepts, but they form the basis for millions upon millions of human tragedies; they are responsible for creating millions of orphans and, also, for creating aggressive janissaries. Together they form Ukraine's tragedy, her crucifixion. Mankind is well aware of the horror of Hitler's concentration camps, of the Nazi terror, the conditions of forced labour. But the Russian totalitarian regime destroyed at least 10 million more people in the 1930's and 1940's. And only the unbelievable secrecy of the terror machine, only the merciless repressions — including death by firing squad, only the attempt to conceal all crimes, only the concealment and deceptive propaganda machine are able to deflect the

attention of new generations from the true nature of the bolshevik dictatorship. Rather, the fear of the older generation permits the totalitarian regime to erase traces of past crimes and thus enables it to commit new ones, all with the sole intention of destroying our nation.

The concentration camps of the 1930's and 1940's brought mass deaths caused by dystrophy and exhaustion from forced labour. It is impossible to measure how many tragedies the words Bilomorka, Magadan, Kolyma, Norylsk, Komsomolsk-na-Amuri, Vorkuta, Tayshet hold. And there are thousands more such Russian "Buchenwalds". And even more thousands of Ukrainian villages that bear the stamp of death — with black signs on their houses. Thousands of village belfries have rung out the death of those millions who died from the famine, falsely created in order to punish those who refused to join the collectives. And there are still more thousands of towns and hamlets which bear the weight of thousands of tortured sacrifices: tens of thousands of people were murdered in Vinitsia between 1937-39; more than 5,000 prisoners were tortured in Lviv between May-June 1941 and more than 1100 in Sambir; several hundred prisoners were buried alive in pits in Dobromyl; more than a 1000 people were murdered in Drohobych, about 2000 in Kovel, approximately 350 in Berezhany, 750 in Zolochiv and even in the tiny place of Komarno 25 men were murdered. Apart from this, in June 1941 the NKVD murdered either all or at least the majority of the prisoners held in Ternopil, Chortkiv, Berdychiv, Uman, Lutsk, Stanislaviv, Stryi and in other towns of Ukraine.

And in every town, men, women, villagers, the intelligentsia, and priests were tortured. Nearly all these had their nails torn out, their tongues cut out, their noses cut off, their ears, their sexual organs cut-off, while wives of priests had long Russian bayonets rammed through their breasts. Men and women alike had their arms and legs



tied together with barbed wire, they had petrol poured over them and were lit as living torches. This was while they were fleeing from the Germans. To fight against such an invader without the aid of any allies was impossible. Moscow did not hope to ever return again and that is why she destroyed everything that was Ukrainian, and in the first place, destroyed that which was the most vital to our nation — Ukrainian patriots. This all took place before and through the war. Even following the war, even as a victor, when Ukraine did not present any direct threat, the coloniser renewed an equally horrifying terror campaign in the Western regions of Ukraine. But today, our youth knows practically nothing about the famine, genocide, repressions, terror and deportation of millions of Ukrainians from Ukraine. The revelation of these facts of Ukrainian history is decried as anti-Soviet propaganda by the imperial regime, as nationalistic lies, as slander of the national policies of the party and so on and so on. Without doubt, from their present position of power, the regime can present these facts as being the fabrications of Ukrainian nationalists, as their calumny against the communist regime. But this was a well thought out strategy of Moscow as was the murder of millions of the most educated, talented and active people from all levels of Ukrainian society. The policy, which aimed to suffocate all national strength and to prevent any further development of Ukrainian culture, has been carefully nurtured and implemented.

Thus Moscow, in order to strengthen her colonial yoke, to increase her economic exploitation of both human and natural resources, has, in order to gain the optimal variant, implemented the policy of denationalising the captive nations, which, with its ever increasing tempo, brings closer her goal of world domination. Thus, with the aim of russifying all peoples, Moscow continues her policy of mass resettlements, develops the as yet undeveloped regions of

the empire, intending to populate these areas with non-Russians.

The Ukrainian area of the empire is flooded with Russian schools, where the language of education is that of the ruling nation, where Russian rules reign, where there is no tolerance for national manifestations of Ukrainian patriotism and our way of life. This results in the total assimilation of our characteristics. This represents a loss of the realistic rights of returning to Ukraine as a result of the loss of the right to make a living, the place of work, of town visas, a loss of place in society, social relations and so on. A demographic vacuum is thus created on the ethnic territories of the captive nations, which are first filled with the chauvinistic elements of the Russian population and then with the emigrees of other nations, and then mainly with those most foreign in national characteristics, culture, spirit, i.e. those who are completely unable to adopt a Ukrainian way of life. In this way a system is formed whereby Ukrainians become the russifiers of the Kazakhs, of the Azerbaijanians or the Baltic nationalities, and where in turn, the Latvians, the Tadjiks, the Chuvashs or the Mordovians become the russifiers of the Ukrainians. And above all this, the Russian chauvinist takes precedence.

The enforced realisation of the politics of ethnocide have placed our nations in a catastrophic position. This is the reason why the number of Ukrainians today remains almost the same as at the turn of the century. However, during the same time span, the number of Russians in analogous "equal" (i.e. with the same conditions of collectivisation, the repression of the 1930's, equal participation in the war effort and so on) conditions, has almost doubled. There are numerous statistics that present proof of our national ethnocide. According to official statistics, there are almost 10 million internal migrations per annum. Let us imagine that this figure has not in fact been reduced and that it in fact reflects the true

state of affairs. Thus, taking these figures, and taking the fifth that relates to the proportion of the Ukrainian population, the figure is then 2 million emigrees. But when only a fifth is taken from this figure of 2 million people who emigrate from Ukraine, then this means that 400,000 — almost half a million, people emigrate annually. Is this not a tragic figure for the development of the Ukrainian nation and for the development of her culture?

However, the people who compose the mass of the internal emigrees — including the half million Ukrainians — are not, after having completed their education, even allowed to leave their mark on their mother land. Secret instructions to the so-called “organised conscriptions”, the “komsomol homes” are in effect a completion of military training — and only Ukrainian unassimilated youth, nationally conscious people are directed to settle beyond Ukraine after completion of their education. Thus girls and boys from 17 to 25-30 years of age — the very flower of our nation, the very foundations of our nation, the very people who carry our creative potential, who are able to rebuild our nation — these are the ones who are resettled beyond our national boundaries, and who are forever lost to Ukraine without trace.

The tragic implications of the above can be verified by a long list of varying factors. Due to a lack of space, we are able to merely present several of these. Using official statistics, and therefore facts for political considerations, reduced to their absolute minimum the number of Russians on the territory of Ukraine, in the space of a single decade, increases by 200,000 per annum. The majority of these have settled in towns and cities, and as a rule, they are our colonisers as they fill all party and administrative posts, all high posts in the fields of education and technology, in industry, i.e. they occupy all positions related to earning a livelihood. In addition to this they have privileged housing, and thus, this

combination gives them a dominant position within Ukrainian life. This matter has one other major aspect which ought to be mentioned: the Russian population of Ukraine consciously demonstrates its national superiority through the administrative system, its privileges, its material superiority — and acts as a russifier of our towns and cities, and practically implements in everyday life the secret directives of the Russian imperial hierarchy, and while this is, admittedly, a bloodless process, it is bringing about the destruction of our national life and the erosion of our culture.

In the face of these official statistics and factors the demographic renewal of the Ukrainian population is faced with a regeneration of barely above zero. Further, when one takes into account the 400,000 Ukrainians that emigrate annually from Ukraine to other regions of the empire, then the official statistics should reflect the decline of the actual Ukrainian population on the territory of Ukraine. Even though the ever smaller number of Ukrainians actually living in their ethnic land is an undeniable fact, it is not accurately reflected in official statistics. That the figures are juggled with cannot be denied and it is even understandable, as if accurate figures were presented, they would present a dramatic picture of the results of the policies of ethnocide, assimilation, decline and would provide proof of the regression found not only in the natural rejuvenation of Ukrainians, but also would show their startling decline as a whole. The growth of the population is shown by including the continuous stream of Russian settlers in Ukraine in statistics. Although there is an attempt to conceal these figures, it is not done with enough care. Demographers confirm that the general population of Ukraine increases by 4 million per decade, but this figure does not account for the 300-400 thousand Ukrainians deported per annum. Thus the 4 million increase in the population is not an increase of 4 million

Ukrainians, but of foreigners, and primarily of Russians. The 1959 census showed that there were 7 million Russians in Ukraine. In 1970 there were already over 9 million, and the ensuing census will show that there are now more than 11 million. And this is only according to the statistics issued in Moscow. The true number of Russians in Ukraine is much higher.

Thus, aside from the direct implications of these figures, i.e. showing the destruction of a nation, the total genocide committed during the 1930's, the genocide committed through resettlement and assimilation of Ukrainians today (the most lethal methods which can be implemented in the process of destroying a nation) — these factors have become a reality in our lives and are realised by Moscow's total

control and brutality. Further, the means of colonising Ukraine by Russians created the "judicial" foundations (such precedents have already been seen) for Russian control of the whole nation in the event of a critical moment in our history. Thus, in its time, the prior annexation and in due course the falsified census and the mass resettlements of Ukrainians became the "judicial justification" for the segregation of Kuban from Ukraine. In a similar manner Voronizh, Kurshchyna and Bilohoradshchyna were separated and annexed from Ukraine. The whole of Ukraine is being encroached upon in such a way today. It is policies such as the deportation of Ukrainians and their dispersal beyond the boundaries of Ukraine that Moscow is implementing with the sole aim of destroying our nation.

*(To be continued)*

## A Meeting with the Chinese Prime Minister



*XIVth WACL Conference — Taipei — August 3-7, 1981: Mrs. Slava Stetsko being greeted by the Premier of the Republic of China, Hon. Sun Yun-Suan, and Madame Sun.*

## People Without a Job are Arrested

Excerpts from an interview with Yevhenij Nykolayev

*Yevhenij Nykolayev — a Russian activist for the free trade union movement in the Soviet Union, left the USSR together with his family in May 1980. From August 1980 he lives together with his family in Munich.*

Reporter: How did you leave the Soviet Union?

Nykolayev: I've been trying to leave the Soviet Union for 6 years now. It's no easy matter and requires an awful lot of formalities. Generally, it's much easier to leave the Soviet Union when you receive an invitation to visit your family which lives in the West, mainly so in Israel. Before receiving my visa to leave for Israel, my apartment was searched several times. We left for the camp in Vienna from where I illegally crossed the border with my family to Germany.

Rep: How did you first become involved with the first Free Trade Union movement in the USSR and with Volodymyr Klebanov?

Nyk: First of all I would like to tell you that the Soviet trade union movement has a much wider aspect than in the West. The first movements began in the 1960's. In 1978 Volodymyr Klebanov, a mining engineer in Donbas in Ukraine, began to organise a free trade union in the mine where he worked. This trade union was soon liquidated by the KGB and Klebanov was arrested. He was sent to a psychiatric hospital for 5 years and placed under "special conditions". There he was injected with neuroleptic drugs. After his release Klebanov continued to work for human rights activities. In 1976/77 a group of unemployed was formed in Moscow, known as the "Klebanov Group". Although somewhat disorganised, this group worked on the basis of a human rights group. It defended the interests of the workers in the mines and prepared documents about workers and the unemployed in the USSR. The group made endeavours to meet with Western correspondents. In October 1976, 16 mem-

bers declared on paper that they refuse to accept Soviet citizenship. In November a press conference was held in my apartment in Moscow with Western correspondents. Up to that time I only knew the members of the group by documents as until then I was only a shadow member of the Klebanov Group.

Rep: What did Klebanov consider to be wrong with the working system in Ukraine?

Nyk: People wanted to have a secure job and a reasonable place of accommodation. If a person has no job or cannot find himself/herself a job then the communist system considers that person to be a parasite. And parasites are also sent to prison. Klebanov strived for workers' rights.

Rep: What do you consider to be wrong with the trade unions which exist in the USSR?

Nyk: The official trade unions are a part of the Soviet government and are the apparatus of the communist party. Thus they do not represent the interests of the workers but those of the party and the government.

Rep: Did the KGB try to arrest you?

Nyk: Yes, several times. Yet not only me. Klebanov was arrested because he wanted to organise free trade unions. Other members of the Klebanov Group were also sentenced and some were sent into exile. This happened after the second press conference with Western correspondents at which Klebanov announced the need to organise a free trade union movement and the Klebanov members explained to the journalists the problems of the workers in the USSR. The KGB immediately resorted to liquidate this movement. Klebanov is still in a psychiatric hospital in Dnipropet-

rivsk. He is treated like a prisoner. Yet he is not mentally ill. He possesses documents of objective mental observations which declare him to be sane. I was arrested simply because I was unemployed.

Rep: Why couldn't you get a job?

Nyk: I am a scientist by profession and I worked in the Scientific Research Institute. I refused to attend political classes and did not agree with the ruling to work Saturdays for the state (subotnychky). I did not celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin and refused to swear an oath to the Communist Social Party. For these reasons I lost my job. And people without work are considered to be parasites and then they are arrested!

Rep: What took place in the hospital?

Nyk: I was treated with neuroleptic drugs. This depressed my brain and my physical actions. Because I refused to accept these drugs orally I was injected in the buttocks, which had worse side effects than when taken orally. I was also given tryph-tasine, stelasine, and amnenasile, all in the same period of time. The reaction due to these drugs was a slow one. The brain could not work so well, physically I became tired very soon, my mouth became dry — no saliva, my face muscles couldn't work so well, it was difficult to eat, drink, and I constantly had tremors (Parkinson disease). I didn't know what to do with myself: I couldn't stand because I thought I wanted to sit. When I sat down, I couldn't sit but wanted to lie down, and so on. I couldn't read for long as I became tired quickly (after reading half a page!) The same occurred when I tried to write.

Rep: Why were you treated with drugs?

Nyk: This was the order of the KGB. When doctors paid me visits, they didn't ask about my health but questioned my political views. They were specially sent by the KGB. When I was released from the clinic, I was visited regularly every day from the clinic, so even then I had no peace.

Rep: Were you assigned to a psychiatric hospital of a special kind?

Nyk: Only to an ordinary psychiatric clinic.

Rep: What was your diagnosis?

Nyk: I wasn't given a diagnosis. Every disease has a number and I was assigned the number which stands for "paranoid schizophrenia". Psychiatry is the best form of terror for the Soviet authorities. When it proves to be difficult to attach a crime to a person, then it's much easier to declare a person insane and send that person to a psychiatric clinic, without the cost of time or a trial.

Rep: How is Volodymyr Klebanov today?

Nyk: It's difficult for me to answer that question as information from the clinics does not come through easily. But before I left the USSR he was in a bad state. They continued to force him with drugs and injections. His face had swollen, turned yellow and he didn't have the strength to work. In fact he had become apathetic.

Rep: Why did the KGB become so determined to destroy the free trade union movement?

Nyk: Before the October Revolution certain trade unions existed which Lenin considered as a "school of communism". They fell under the rulings of the Communist party. When new free and independent trade unions were organized people began to leave the official trade unions approved by the state to the independent trade unions. These independent trade unions had nothing to do with the state and the communist party, and this is precisely what the KGB does not want — free independent trade unions. Every organization in the USSR has to belong to the communist party. Therefore, the members of the free trade unions — its new name SMOT (Independent Interprofessional Workers's Unions) are being harassed. Before the Moscow Olympics SMOT predicted the reprisals against the dissidents, and so many of the members left Moscow.

Rep: What would happen if the trade union movement continues to grow?

Nyk: The KGB knows very well what will happen. The events in Poland will show what can be done.

Rep: Do the people in the USSR know of the events in Poland?

Nyk: They know through the press "Pravda" and "Izvestia" — that what the government wants its people to know. Yet several million people listen daily to the radio: BBC, Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and so they are aware of the real situation in Poland.

Rep: The KGB states that you are all mentally insane, that you are in the minority and that you do not represent most of the working people?

Nyk: It is true that in Poland 10 million members of the trade union movement are officially registered, and in the USSR, in Klebanov's Group, only 200 act in the open. This list of registered members is only the core of the group and represents many

more people who are for reasons of their own afraid to register publicly.

Rep: Do you expect help from the trade union movement in the West?

Nyk: The British have already offered help to the Klebanov mining group. The Germans are afraid to help. I would very much like to visit Great Britain and meet the leaders of the trade unions and also the ordinary working people and miners. I'd like to meet all the human rights movements here in the West and in some way help my friends and the many many people I don't know in the Soviet Union.

Rep: Can the events which are taking place today in Poland ever occur in the USSR?

Nyk: I wish the Polish workers every success in their struggle for independence. Yet everything can become impossible. The experiment of Poland can be overturned by Moscow and a Soviet intervention, as success in Poland represents the end of the entire communist system. *(S. Fil)*



*In the US Congress: Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko standing with H. E. Mario Lopes — the ambassador to the United States from Paraguay.*

## Ukrainian Independence Day in Detroit

*Commemoration of the Restoration of Ukrainian Independence on June 30, 1941 in Detroit, Michigan, USA.*

On July 12, 1981, the Ukrainian community of Detroit and Southeastern Michigan commemorated the 40th anniversary of the Restoration of Ukrainian Independence on June 30, 1941. Numerous political leaders, members of the press as well as members of the clerical hierarchies were among the gathering of over 650 people who attended this gala event.

The Honorary Committee for the 40th anniversary celebration was co-chaired by Hon. William G. Milliken, Governor of the State of Michigan, Archbishop Konstantyn of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Chicago, Ill. and Bishop Innocent Lotockyj of the St. Nicholas Diocese of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Chicago, Ill. It is noteworthy to point out that two of the members of the Honorary Committee — Dr. Alexander Maritzak, who was a member of the Ukrainian Government of 1941 and Dr. Mykola Klymyshyn, who was a leader of political task force of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which entered Lviv before the restoration of the independence — actively participated in and contributed greatly to the momentous events of 1941. The other members of the Honorary Committee were the following: Carl Levin, US Senator, Donald W. Riegle, US Senator, James Blanchard, US Representative, William M. Broadhead, US Representative, William S. Broomfield, US Representative, John D. Dingell, US Representative, William D. Ford, US Representative, Dennis M. Hertel, US Representative, Carl D. Pursell, US Representative, Guy Vanderjagt, US Representative, Ted Bates, Mayor of the City of Warren, Michigan, Alexander Bykowetz, Pastor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of St. Andrew in Detroit, Myron Kowcz, Pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of St. Volo-

dymyr in Flint, Michigan, Iwan Lazar, Dean and Pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Perpetual Help in Dearborn Heights, Michigan, Bernard Panczuk, Superior of the Basilian Fathers and Pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception in Hamtramck, Michigan, Wayne Rudgi, Pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of St. Michael in Dearborn, Michigan, Nestor Stolarchuk, Pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of St. Mary the Protectress in Southfield, Michigan, and Konstantyn Vysochansky, Pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of St. Josaphat in Warren, Michigan.

The forty member Executive Committee was headed by Mr. Bohdan Fedorak, President of Ukrainian Congress Committee — Southeastern Michigan Branch.

The Ukrainians of Detroit and Southeastern Michigan joyously accepted the Proclamation of the Governor of Michigan, the political leaders of Detroit, and the other cities of Michigan, which proclaimed June 30th as the Day of Ukrainian Independence. All of the proclamations mirrored the historical significance of the Act of Restoration of the Independent Ukrainian State of June 30, 1941.

The Governor of Michigan, William G. Milliken, upon declaring June 30 the Day of Ukrainian Independence, issued in his Executive Declaration; "On June 30, 1941, a representative assembly of Ukrainian leaders issued a Proclamation of the Restoration of Ukraine's Independence. Taking advantage of the unsettled conditions brought on by the war between Russia and Germany, Ukrainian underground fighters occupied strategic points in the capital of West Ukraine, Lviv. A provisional government was appointed and

Yaroslav Stetsko was named Prime Minister. This bid for independence, however, was repressed by German forces and met the same fate as the declaration of independence by the Ukrainian Parliament on January 22, 1918.

Therefore, I, William G. Milliken, Governor of the State of Michigan, do hereby issue this Executive Declaration in observance of June 30, 1981, as the 40th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence, and call on freedom-loving people of all nationalities to join the Ukrainians in our midst in keeping alive the love of liberty and the desire for cultural identity which nearly 60 years of oppression have been unable to extinguish." William G. Milliken, Governor of Michigan.

Characteristic of the proclamations issued by the leaders of the state and local governments of southeastern Michigan was the proclamation of the Mayor of the city of Dearborn, who wrote;

"Whereas, in 1923 Communist Russia overran the young Ukrainian Republic which had declared its independence in 1918; and

Whereas, the Ukrainian underground, led by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, issued a Proclamation of the Restoration of Ukraine's Independence and established a Provisional Government on June 30, 1941 during the Russo-German War; and,

Whereas, Yaroslav Stetsko, a prominent OUN leader and Prime Minister of the Provisional Government, was imprisoned in the Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp for three years, along with other Provisional Government leaders, when the Germans refused to recognize Ukraine's independence; and,

Whereas, Yaroslav Stetsko, who escaped from the camp in 1944, has held the office of President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations since 1946 and has staunchly

fought against Russia and Bolshevism for more than 50 years; and

Whereas, the bravery and leadership of Yaroslav Stetsko and the 40th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence will be commemorated by the Ukrainian Community of Southeastern Michigan at a special banquet July 12, 1981 at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Warren; now

Therefore, as Mayor of Dearborn, I proclaim June 30, 1981 UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY in the Home Town of Henry Ford and encourage all residents to join me in giving moral support to the Ukrainian people behind the Iron Curtain as they struggle for freedom and independence." John B. O'Reilly, Mayor.

The program commenced in the beautiful Ukrainian Cultural Center in Warren, Michigan with the singing of the American and Ukrainian anthems and the invocation by Very Rev. Father Bernard Panczuk, the Pastor of Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church. The Proclamation of the Restoration of a Free Ukrainian State was read by Victor Potapenko, followed by readings of the pastoral letters of the Hierarchies of the Ukrainian Churches read by Mark Fedorak, Lydia Siryj and Natalia Charewych. The highlight of the program was the main address by Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko, Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Government of 1941.

Mr. Stetsko, in his address to the Ukrainian community in Detroit, explained the significance of the restoration of Ukrainian Statehood in 1941, when Ukraine experienced an unparalleled struggle against the overwhelming forces of the two most ruthless oppressors of our epoch, Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia. He asserted that if the Western forces of democracy would have allied themselves with Ukraine and the subjugated nations at the time, and had struck both Nazism and Bolshevism simultaneously,



the victory of the forces of freedom would have been total and definitive, and the threat of a third world conflagration would have been eliminated. Unfortunately, this did not occur. However, Mr. Stetsko urged that the free world today adopt a course of action which would lead to the resolution of the world crisis constantly incited by Moscow in its drive for world conquest. He proposed that;

1. The free world should engage Soviet Russia in the struggle of ideas and ideologies by calling for the recognition of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations as the legitimate representatives of these countries at all international forums, including the United Nations.

2. The free world should provide access for representatives of national liberation movements to the various forms of mass media to facilitate their ability to communicate with their countrymen behind the Iron Curtain on a mass scale. Such a communication center would serve to enable the national liberation ideal to permeate through all levels of the social strata of the subjugated nations.

3. Assistance should also be provided in the form of military training, transport and arms, as well as other political, material and technical means of support for the national liberation forces in Afghanistan, Angola, Cuba and extended to Ukraine and all legitimate representatives of revolutionary national liberation movements in the USSR and the satellite countries.

4. National liberation movements of the subjugated nations should be allowed access to the necessary technological means for waging a revolutionary liberation struggle.

5. Lastly, the above course of action should become an integral part of the strategy and foreign policy of all the nations of the free world who should proclaim a Great Charter of Independence for

all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism.

Following the address, the audience warmly applauded Mr. Stetsko for several minutes, thereby exhibiting not only deep respect for the man but also approval of his outlined proposals.

The first part of the program then ended with Congressman James Blanchard's address commending Mr. Stetsko and all the work he has done in the interest of promoting freedom and urged all subjugated nations never to give up their quests for freedom.

After the dinner, the Master of Ceremonies, Mr. Nestor Scherbiy, reopened the program. Ulana Jurkiw read the Pastoral Letter of the Patriarch and Cardinal His Beatitude Joseph Slipyj. Then the Mayor of Warren, Ted Bates, presented Mr. Stetsko with a Certificate proclaiming July 12, 1981, — the "Day of Yaroslav Stetsko". The people indicated their approval with an exuberant standing ovation.

Mr. S. Rudzitis, Chairman of the Captive Nations Week Committee, and Dr. J. Sagzis, a representative of the Byelorussian people, also paid tribute to Mr. Stetsko and all Ukrainian freedom fighters. Subsequently, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, ABN Editor, greeted the Ukrainian community of Detroit with her enthusiastic and heartfelt words.

Mr. W. Mazur, the representative of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and the Executive Vice-President of Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, greeted the Ukrainians of the Greater Detroit Area.

Entertainment was provided by Mr. Andriy Dobriansky, bass-baritone soloist, Metropolitan Opera, New York, accompanied by Mr. Roman Stecura. The Ukrainian Girls Bandurist Chorus of SUM-Orlyk performed under the direction of Maestro Petro Potapenko.

The Pastor of St. Andrews Ukrainian Orthodox Church — Very Rev. Alexander →

## Byelorussia Salutes the Prime Minister of Ukraine

On behalf of the Byelorussian Liberation Front (London Branch) I have the privilege and honour to greet wholeheartedly and sincerely the most prominent member of the Great Ukrainian nation, the Prime Minister of Ukraine and the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, champion fighter for freedom and independence of Ukraine and other nations enslaved by the communist system.

The Ukrainians, who freely, I emphasise, freely have gathered here today in this Park of Liberty and Freedom to celebrate the very important historical event of 1941, express the true and real feeling and spirit of the prevailing silent majority of over 50 million Ukrainians in your still enslaved country and about 5-7 million of your countrymen dispersed in Siberia and other so-called Soviet republics. They are enclosed, as Byelorussia and all other republics, in some sort of a cage, named by Solzhenitsyn as the "Gulag Archipelago", which covers the whole Russian communist slave empire as one gigantic concentration camp.

History teaches us that the totalitarian regimes, based on brutal force, do not last for ever. The ideas are stronger. The ideas of Freedom and Independence are immortal. Every day brings changes. Time does not stand still. Internal discontent in all Soviet republics and the events in Poland manifest that the Iron Curtain is beginning

←

Bykowitz, ended the celebration of the 40th anniversary with a closing prayer.

It was clear to all present that the desire for freedom today is as strong as it was 40 years ago, when the restoration of Ukrainian Statehood was proclaimed. On July 12, 1981 the people of South-eastern Michigan ascertained that they will never give up the quest for freedom and the desire for a sovereign and independent Ukrainian State. *Lidia Jurkiw*

to crumble. As President Reagan said a few days ago, Communism will be self-destroyed and will disappear as a sad barbaric chapter in human history, whose pages are even now being written. The Russian communist slave empire will be dismantled and on its ruins restored free and independent states.

This is a crucial historical period. Each of us, and all of us together, have to fulfill our duty towards our country. United we cannot lose — united we shall win!

*(R. Glinski)*

### UCCA GREETINGS

*It is with a distinct honor and high privilege that I extend warmest greetings and wishes of success to the Congress of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations on behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.*

*It is also with great satisfaction that I recall achievements and personal association with many distinguished representatives of various national groups, as former president of the Executive Board of the American Friends of ABN.*

*Our common goals in the struggle for national liberation and freedom for all the captive nations constitute unbreakable ties and firm unity of ideas and purpose in bringing our struggle to the successful end.*

*The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations remains a shining beacon of hope and determination not only for the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and communism but for all freedom-loving peoples throughout the world who strive for the fulfilment of liberty and human dignity under God.*

*To this end I salute this Congress of freedom fighters and wish you every success.*

*Ignatius M. Bilinsky  
Executive Vice-President,  
Ukrainian Congress Committee  
of America*

# News and Views

## **AF ABN Resolution in the American Congress**

On June 4, 1981, Hon. Bill Green of New York submitted for the Congressional Record (E 2765-67) the Resolutions of the Conference of the American Friends of the Antiboldshevik Bloc of Nations. Congressman Green motivated his submission as follows:

*"The Congress was held at the Roosevelt Hotel in my district in New York City on May 2 and 3, 1981: 156 delegates from 23 national groups representing nations currently under Soviet domination participated. I was happy to attend a portion of this event last month, and hope my colleagues will find the AF ABN's thoughts on foreign policy objectives to be of interest."*

*In its Resolutions the AF ABN appealed to the USA and other NATO countries to abandon "the unrealistic policy of detente and balance of power", and to declare "null and void" the Helsinki Accords of 1975 inasmuch as they recognize "the status quo of the Russian conquests, the integrity of the Russian empire and the inviolability of its frontiers barring any intervention of the Free World on behalf of the nations subjugated by Russia". Moreover, the Resolutions called for an open policy of liberation of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia and Communism, a political offensive against the Soviet Union, the implementation of the UN Resolution on Decolonization with respect to the USSR, and granting the liberation movements of the captive nations due recognition and assistance.*

*Regarding the strategic and political prospects facing the world, the Resolutions state that the only alternative to a nuclear confrontation between the West*

*and Moscow lies in the dissolution of the Soviet Union into independent national democratic states by way of national revolutionary upheavals of the subjugated nations.*

*The Conference also endorsed some stated policies of the US Government under President R. Reagan such as combating international terrorism and subversion sponsored by Moscow or its client states and "satellites", appealed for assistance to the liberation struggle of the Afghan people, and expressed its "solidarity with the Polish people's aspiration for freedom and democracy".*

*Special resolutions were passed to commemorate several key events in the recent history of the subjugated nations such as the 25-th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution (1956), the 40-th anniversary of the mass deportations and executions by the Russian NKVD of tens of thousands of peoples from the Baltic nations and other countries (1941) occupied by the Russians as a result of the Nazi-Soviet "Non aggression Pact" of 1939, the 40th anniversary of the Act of Restoration of the Ukrainian Independent State on June 30, 1941, and the 70-th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China.*

## The News World

### **US urged to liberate Captive Nations**

*By Debra L. White*

*Special to the News World*

Washington — The head of the captive nations organization yesterday urged the Reagan administration to liberate the peoples suffering under the tyranny of the Soviet regime.

In a speech before some 70 members of

Congress, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, former prime minister of Ukraine, said, "The West must realize that within the Russian empire there exists a new ideological and political revolutionary superpower — the subjugated nations — which is destroying the empire from within." Mr. Stetsko called for unity among the free countries in recognizing the legitimate "liberation movements" among the captive nations.

At a luncheon commemorating Captive Nations Week and the 40th anniversary of Renewed Ukrainian Statehood, Mr. Stetsko, who was the prime minister of the Ukrainian government in 1941, warned, "The danger of nuclear holocaust cannot be negotiated away.

"Soviet Russia has skilfully exploited western fears of nuclear war by blackmailing the West into meekly acquiescing to ever-increasing conquests," he said.

#### **Liberation movements**

What is important, Mr. Stetsko added, is that the Western nations support liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain. When that happens, he said, victory will finally come to these subjugated countries.

Mr. Stetsko suggested the following vital points be included in Western foreign policy:

- The free world should engage Soviet Russia in the struggle of ideas and ideologies

- Assistance should be provided in the form of military training as well as other political, material and technological means of support.

All of the nations of the free world should proclaim a "Great Charter of Independence" for all of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

Captive Nations Week has been actively observed by many members of Congress over the past 23 years. Among those displaying their support for the struggling countries were Congressmen Clement Za-

blocki, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs committee, Ed Derwinski, master of ceremonies for the event, and several New York legislators, including John LeBoutillier, Ray McGrath, Jack Kemp, and Norman Lent.

Several congressmen also answered a call by Ed Derwinski to observe Captive Nations Week by entering speeches into yesterday's Congressional Record.

"In the battle of ideas and spirit, the United States of America is in the unique position to arm the oppressed who seek means to attain freedom," wrote LeBoutillier. "I believe most sincerely that by utilizing such technological means, we can bring truth and information to subject peoples throughout the world, and in so doing, provide them with reassurance that they are not forgotten, and hope for a future life of freedom," he said. Rep. William Carney, (C-N.Y.) came out strongly in support of Captive Nations Week saying, "The invasion of Afghanistan and continuing threat in Poland demonstrate the voraciousness of the Soviets in their pursuit of aggressive policy abroad and repression at home.

#### **Incites upheaval**

"The Communist presence in Latin America and Asia — a presence which incites upheaval and encourages Marxist regimes as cruel as any known — is equally threatening. America must do what it can to promote freedom and democracy in the world. The people of the Captive Nations can testify compellingly about possible results of our failures to do so."

Mr. Stetsko ended his speech with a quote from a British military strategist, Maj. Gen. J.F.C. Fuller, "...the Kremlin is living on a volcano, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel..."

## The Russian Chemical Warfare Menace

from Congressional Record-Senate

Mr. HEFLIN, Mr. President, on a recent trip to my home State of Alabama, I went to Fort McClellan at Anniston, Ala., which serves as the free world's "think tank" for chemical warfare. While I was there, I received a classified briefing on the present situation concerning our chemical warfare capabilities and those capabilities of other countries throughout the world.

I was particularly concerned with the status of our chemical warfare capabilities as compared to that of the Soviet Union. Although my remarks contain no classified information, I wish to inform my colleagues of the present Soviet threat and incite them to take the actions necessary to counter that threat. I strongly suggest that each Member obtain a classified briefing by someone at DOD to fill in the gaps I leave.

The threat of the Soviet Union's capability and propensity to use chemical weapons is being confirmed by the recent allegations and growing evidence that the Soviet Union and its allies have used chemical warfare against the peoples of Yemen, Laos, Cambodia, and most recently, Afghanistan.

Although the Soviet Union is a signatory to the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which prohibits wartime use of "asphyxiating poisonous or other gases, and all other analogous liquids, materials, or devices," the Soviet Union included a reservation that declared the protocol would not apply to countries which had not ratified the protocol. Presumably, to keep the Soviets from further using their abhorrent chemical weapons in Yemen, the Yemen Government finally ratified the Geneva Protocol on March 17, 1971.

As Laos, Cambodia, and Afghanistan all failed to ratify the Geneva Protocol, the Soviets seem to have found it convenient to

continue using lethal chemical agents on insurgents in those three countries who have been fighting to keep from being overrun by Communist government forces. Reports of the Soviet's use of chemical weapons prove to me, and I hope to the rest of the Senate, that the Soviet Union does not share the aversion of the rest of the civilized world to the use of chemical warfare.

Although we have not yet obtained pure chemical samples, evidence mounts that the Soviets have developed new compounds of lethal chemical killing agents. These new agents of death known as "supertoxins" are being used to exterminate pockets of resistance in Afghanistan, as well as Laos and Cambodia. We have known for a long time that Soviet chemical warfare stockpiles contained large quantities of the nerve gas called Soman, or agent GO, which causes violent convulsions followed by quick death.

The US arsenal includes diminishing quantities of a similar nerve gas agent called Sarin, or agent GB. However, the effects of the Soviet's chemical agents being used in Indochina and Afghanistan are dramatically different from those produced by Soman nerve gas, or any other known chemical warfare agent.

Pentagon and State Department sources have confirmed that the widespread reports of extraordinary chemically induced deaths in Afghanistan have the same medical characteristics as the reports from the remote parts of Indochina, Dr. Charles W. Lewis of the Brooke Army Medical Center at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, Tex., extensively interviewed many Laotian refugees who claimed that they had escaped from areas which had been sprayed with chemicals from Soviet-backed Vietnamese and Laotian air force planes.

In his report which has now been de-

classified, Dr. Lewis stated that the refugees accurately described the symptoms of nonlethal incapacitants and riot control agents which were dropped on their villages. They also gave medically accurate descriptions of deaths caused by lethal agents. The descriptions included convulsions, massive hemorrhaging, external blistering, and other symptoms which Dr. Lewis called "extreme medical rarities."

One refugee testified that he and other survivors of a chemical warfare attack were captured by Communist troops wearing gas masks and protective suits (clothing). Their captors then gave them various injections which they thought to be antidotes. Instead of recovering, one of the captives turned black. His body was consumed with blisters, and he died. The others suffered different effects, but they eventually recovered and were released.

Dr. Lewis concluded that Soman might have caused the convulsion, but he believed that the other fatal symptoms were caused by some form of sophisticated internal hemorrhaging agent and blistering agent known medically as "supertoxins." Refugees from Cambodia and Afghanistan have rendered medically identical reports to those from Laos. The Soviet Union seems to have developed an entirely new "super poison" which they are cruelly testing on the peoples of Afghanistan, Laos, and Cambodia. They may even be using some of the people they have poisoned as guinea pigs to test their antidotes.

These Soviet supertoxins are probably synthetic laboratory products which can be produced and deployed on a massive scale. If the Soviets have such capabilities, then our security position is critical. Yet, even if the Soviets have no such supertoxin, the known chemical warfare capacity of the Soviet Union still poses a nominous threat to the United States and our allies.

Gen. David C. Jones, the Chairman of our Joint Chiefs of Staff, officially ad-

mitted in his US military posture for fiscal year 1980 that — and I quote:

"The Soviets have the world's most fully trained and equipped chemical warfare (CW) force, which is prepared to operate in a chemical, bacteriological and radiological (CBR) environment. Their offensive and defensive chemical operations capabilities continue to improve."

While the United States and the rest of the civilized world put much faith in treaties which have the goal of prohibiting chemical weapons, the Soviet Union apparently has no faith in treaties whatsoever. Since August 1976, we have been engaged in bilateral talks with the Soviet Union in Geneva on the subject of chemical warfare disarmament. The main reason that these talks have failed to produce a chemical warfare treaty which is acceptable to both sides is the problem of verifying compliance with the terms of a treaty.

Unlike nuclear treaties such as Salt II which at least arguably can be monitored using technical means, it is clear a chemical warfare treaty could only be verified through actual on-site observation and inspection. From the outside, and at a distance, a Soviet plant which produces chemical weapons is identical to Soviet plants which produce fertilizers or agricultural chemical toxins. Because of the vital importance of verification to any treaty, the United States has insisted on on-site verification to which the Soviets completely refuse. I fully support this position, and I hope it will not be negotiated away.

Apparently, for 4 years we have been shadow-boxing with the Soviets. During these talks, the Soviets have continually blamed the United States for failing to reach a chemical disarmament agreement; while, at the same time, they have made massive efforts to maintain and to improve their superiority in the use of chemical warfare. The Soviets have established chemical warfare as an integral part of

their armed forces. They have the military doctrine, organization, training, and equipment necessary to conduct sustained chemical warfare in conjunction with either conventional or nuclear warfare.

The degree to which the Soviets have developed and integrated chemical warfare into all phases of their armed forces illustrates the important role that chemical warfare would play in any future Soviet military action. The Soviets see many advantages in the use of chemical weapons. Chemical weapons can be used either strategically against civilian populations or tactically against conventionally armed forces. The Soviets are acutely aware of the element of surprise associated with chemical weapons, especially since our forces and those of the rest of NATO are so terribly unprepared to deal with the chemical threat. The Soviet Union, however, is completely prepared to fight on a battlefield that they themselves would contaminate.

Soviet preparations for chemical warfare are extensive. They have an entirely separate branch of chemical troops which consists of some 80,000 to 100,000 specialists who are responsible for chemical defense and for decontamination and deactivation of personnel, weapons, equipment, structures and terrain exposed to chemical agents.

Today, in the US Armed Forces, there are only about 3,500 officers and enlisted men involved with chemical warfare, and most of these men have other duties also. The Soviet Union has many general officers whose sole responsibilities fall under chemical warfare. In our country we only have one brigadier general responsible for our chemical warfare capacity and that only occupies 50 percent of his duties. We only have four colonels assigned full time to chemical warfare.

According to the article entitled "Is USAF Ready for Chemical Warfare?" which appeared in the November 1979 is-

sue of Air Force Magazine, the United States does not even have enough equipment to provide completely thorough training. On the other hand, all Soviet and Warsaw Pact forces are extensively trained to operate in a chemically poisoned environment. They often undergo training in simulated chemical environments which are sometimes poisoned with actual nerve gases. The Soviets have actually lost troops in training. These extreme exercises emphasize the point that the Soviet Union is serious about the use of chemical weapons on the battlefield.

The Soviet Union has expended large amounts of money and valuable resources to provide sophisticated defense and offensive equipment related to chemical warfare. All Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops carry extensive protective equipment which they often have to use. Personal protective equipment consists of indicator devices for the detection and identification of chemical agents, full coverage gas masks, and multipurpose protective suits. Should the protective measures not be completely effective, each soldier carries a decontamination kit with a complete range of antidotes. Most of this protective equipment is standard equipment on Soviet vehicles.

The Soviets have extensive equipment for large-scale decontamination of tanks, trucks, support vehicles, planes, ships or anything else for that matter. Their latest decontamination device called the TMS-65, which really is a modified jet engine mounted on a turntable on the back of a truck which trailers its own tank of decontamination solution. To decontaminate the exterior of a vehicle, the Soviets simply aim the jet engine at the intended vehicle and blast away chemical agents with the hot exhaust impregnated with a decontamination solution.

With this new technique, the Soviets can decontaminate the exterior of a vehicle in under 4 minutes. Using a pair

of these devices positioned on opposite sides of a column of tanks, the Soviets can decontaminate almost a complete division of tanks in the same amount of time it would take our Army to decontaminate two tanks. All Soviet equipment is designed and deployed to maximize the effectiveness of the Warsaw Pact on a chemically contaminated battlefield. Even their tanks and armored personnel carriers are protectively sealed to allow their occupants to operate in and across contaminated zones.

By no means have the Soviet Union's preparation been limited to defensive capabilities. The Soviets are just as prepared to contaminate a battlefield as they are to operate in a contaminated one. Approximately 50 percent of all filled munitions for missiles and bombs stockpiled by the Soviet and Warsaw Pact forces in East-Central Europe are chemical weapons. These Soviet chemical munitions can be delivered by aircraft, artillery, multiple-rocket launchers, tactical missiles, and land mines. The Soviets have modernized their munitions to use liquid agents instead of actual gas. When accurately air bursted over a desired target, these new liquid munitions produce a deadly rain which falls directly on the intended target area. All of these chemical weapons present an unlimited number of wartime applications.

The use of chemical weapons is the sole responsibility of the Soviet field general. Most likely, the Soviets would use chemical weapons to provide a breakthrough in our defenses or to seal off important areas such as NATO airfields, command centers, and nuclear weapon sites. The chemical agents used would depend upon the desired effect. For crucial tactical breakthroughs, highly toxic non-persistent blood agents and nerve agents could be used to eliminate and/or incapacitate elements of defense. Persistent agents could be used to neutralize areas in the rear. Right now, Soviet generals are

prepared to use chemical weapons against us in the field.

The Soviet and Warsaw Pact forces can survive and fight on a chemically contaminated battlefield. The question that faces us, Mr. President, is "Can we, along with the rest of NATO, survive a surprise chemical attack in Europe and fight on to win — retaliating in kind?"

Many scenarios have been developed to describe the horrors that might occur in free Europe should the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact stage an attack on NATO. Most scenarios include gruesome scenes of impressive American military hardware surrounded by dead soldiers scattered all across Europe: tanks with dead crews and planes with dead pilots. In these scenarios, the only living people to observe this macabre scene are the gas masked Soviets moving quickly over the quiet battlefield of Europe

Although most scenarios are probably a little extreme, they serve to emphasize the inadequacy of the United States and NATO chemical defense posture. Gen. David C. Jones — our top ranking general — himself, rated our current ability to survive a surprise Soviet chemical attack as marginal, mainly because of insufficient supplies of protective equipment, decontaminating equipment, lack of training and inadequate area warning systems. Members of the Senate, marginal is not worth a hoot in anything, much less in warfare. Marginal is not good enough.

Since the hearings before the House Committee on Science and Astronautics during 1959, the United States has been aware of the strong and increasing chemical warfare capabilities of the Soviet Union. Intelligence analysis of Soviet equipment captured during the two wars between Egypt and Israel further proved the importance of chemical warfare to the Soviet Union. For the past two decades, the US military's main response to the Soviet chemical warfare threat was the



massive stockpiling of nerve gases which are now obsolete and environmentally unsound. The other action taken by the military was a very extensive research and development program. Although this program has developed some of the most sophisticated and impressive offensive and defensive equipment in the world, little has actually been put into full-scale production. In the case of the binary weapon, the fault lies with the Congress.

In the mid-1970s when Congress began specifically demanding that the Armed Forces procure defensive equipment over offensive equipment, our Armed Forces requested exceptions to our offshore procurement regulations to buy in Western Europe because our sophisticated designs were not in production. It is an intolerable situation when we have to look outside the borders of our country to buy military hardware that is vital to our security.

Mr. President, the present intolerable state of our chemical warfare capabilities is the responsibility of Congress. We must be prepared to meet and counter any threat the Soviets might have. Even though the Armed Forces have made some credible advances in our chemical warfare capabilities, much remains to be done. We must deter the Soviet Union from ever seeing an advantage in the use of chemical warfare by strengthening both our defensive and our offensive capacities.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, defensively, we must develop a defensive posture which is superior to that of the Soviet Union. To accomplish this end, we must increase, and in some cases initiate, production of protection and decontamination equipment. Yet, production is not enough. We must deploy this equipment throughout our Armed Forces and then train all of our personnel to be proficient and even comfortable using this equipment. Because the Soviets have the benefit of initiating any use of chemical warfare, the US and NATO forces must be even

more prepared than Soviet and Warsaw Pact forces to survive on the contaminated battlefields.

To deter the Soviets from ever initiating chemical warfare, we must also reserve the offensive capacity to retaliate in kind. Right now, the United States has very few offensive chemical weapons positioned in Western Europe. Most of our chemical weapons are stockpiled in the western United States where they have remained for years because of the environmental controversy surrounding their movement. The logistical problems of shipping these weapons to a European battlefield are difficult enough alone, even excluding environmental consideration. The present logistical, stockpiling, and environmental problems could all be solved with the Army's proposed binary munitions which are completely safe and nontoxic until actually fired. The only problem concerning binary munitions, and most defensive measures as well, is the simple fact that production facilities are not now available. Even if action was taken right this minute, actual production of binary weapons would begin 2 years from now.

Mr. President, we, the members of the Congress, must act quickly to remove the dangerous disparity between United States and Soviet chemical warfare capacities. We must provide the necessary money and force the Department of Defense to use it both to provide a defensive posture superior to that of the Soviets and to present a substantial chemical warfare deterrent through the production and deployment of binary weapons.

## CONCLUSION

The United States must never forget that the ultimate goal of the Soviet Union is world domination through victory over the West. We are the West. We are their enemy. Almost everything they do is directed toward achieving their ultimate goal. Their weapons are many — be they pro-

paganda, treaty negotiations or military might. The Soviets will use whatever suits their purpose — be it subtle or blatant. Anyone who believes that the Soviet Union has good intentions is in grave error. In a decisive wartime situation, the Soviet Union would not hesitate to use any weapon that they feel is necessary to win. Put simply, the Russians will play dirty.

We must be totally prepared to survive

any weapons the Soviets might use, and we must deter their use of anything against us by maintaining the ability to retaliate in kind. We must always be prepared because they have the benefit of surprise. Presently, the threat facing us is chemical warfare in the hands of the Soviet Union. We — the Members of Congress — must act quickly to neutralize that threat, and insure the security of the free world.

## Independence for Lithuania

### Resolutions of Lithuanian Americans

Lithuanian Americans of Cicero, Illinois assembled June 15, 1981 to commemorate the deaths by torture, the massacre and the mass deportations of Lithuanians by aggressors since June 15, 1940.

To commemorate the courageous Lithuanian guerrillas who lived for years in forest pillboxes and lost their lives while fighting for Lithuania's freedom against huge numbers of Soviet-Russian forces,

To commemorate those who protested against *continued oppression* and immolated themselves like the young college student Romas Kalanta who shouted "Freedom for Lithuania" while engulfed by flames,

To commemorate the thousands unknown who died in slave labor camps, in psychiatric hospitals, and in prisons for not renouncing their human and national rights.

#### **Considering the above, the Assembly**

Praises the Government of the United States of America for the non-recognition of Lithuania's annexation to the USSR and for condemning the aggressor for its imperialistic intentions at the present time in Afghanistan, and

Commends those officials of Administration and Congress who stand for a militarily and economically strong America, who act in favor of human rights and self-determination for captive nations, and

Recognizes the necessity to present the problems of the Captive Nations to the domestic governments and to the international forums.

*Peter Atkociunas, DDS*  
*Chairman of the Assembly*  
*Victor Motusis*  
*Secretary of the Assembly*

We, the Lithuanian Americans of Cicero, Ill. assembled this 8th day of February, 1981, at St. Anthony Parish Hall to commemorate the restoration of Lithuania's independence, do hereby state as follows:

That February 16, 1981, marks the 63rd anniversary of the restoration of independence to the more than 700-year old Lithuanian State;

That Lithuania was recognized as a free and independent nation by the entire free world, she was a member of the League of Nations, however, she was by force and fraud occupied as a result of an infamous Molotov-Ribentrop Pact of 1939 and illegally annexed by the Soviet Union disregarding the Peace Treaty of 1920 and the Non-Aggression Pact of 1926;

That the Soviet Union is an imperialistic, aggressive colonial empire, subjugating each year new countries; Lithuania was one of its first victims. Unlike its western allies, the Soviet Union has failed to withdraw from countries that it had occupied during World War II;

That the Soviet-Russian invaders, even though using tortures in jails, concentration camps, psychiatric wards, are unable to suppress the aspirations of the Lithuanian people for self-government and the exercise of their rights to self-determination.

**Now, therefore, be it resolved:**

That we congratulate Mr. President Ronald Reagan and his administration, who took the helm of US government by their strong and much-promising hands;

To urge the United States of America to use diplomatic pressures, international forums and direct negotiations that the Soviet Union withdraw its military forces, secret police apparatus, its administration and release from jails, concentration camps and psychiatric wards, people who struggle for human rights and national independence;

We are grateful to President Reagan for a statement before his election that an official diplomatic non-recognition of the forced incorporation into the USSR of the three Baltic nations will continue to be a policy also of his Administration;

That we express our most sincere gratitude to the United States Administration and the Congress for non-recognition of the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union;

That copies of this Resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to the US Congressmen and Senators from our state, to Congressman Dante B. Fascell, Chairman, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, House Foreign Affairs Committee, and to the news media.

*Dr. Peter Atkociunas*  
*Chairman of the Meeting and*  
*President of Cicero Lithuanian*  
*American Council*  
*Stanley Dubauskas*  
*Secretary of the Meeting*

**XIV-th WACL Conference Resolution**

Historical experience and political realities point to the fact that neither meaningful cooperation nor lasting peace and security in the world can be negotiated with any totalitarian state bent on expansion abroad and on repression in areas under its control. Peace and security can only be realized in a world community of independent and democratic states of ALL the nations — those currently free and those struggling for their liberation. The Free World must take into consideration that, in the final analysis, the only viable solution to current international problems lies in the demise of the Soviet Russian empire and the Communist system by way of moral, political and material assistance to the liberation forces active within that empire. The alternative which is based on current Free World policies of “balance of power”, arms race, “détente” and appeasement of and frequent capitulation before a totalitarian and aggressive state like the USSR will inevitably lead to a nuclear confrontation and a potential disaster for humanity.

Therefore in view of the above, the XIV-th WACL Conference resolves:

The subjugated nations are not an “internal matter” of the Soviet Russian empire but constitute an issue of vital international concern.

The nations of the Free World must change their current policy of appeasement, “détente”, and capitulation vis-a-vis Moscow into an effective policy of liberation of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia and Communism.

The governments of the nations of the Free World must devise a comprehensive policy of political, economic and military pressures to neutralize any further Russian aggression in the world and to force Moscow to terminate its occupation of Ukraine, the Baltic States, Afghanistan and all countries under its domination.

The UN Declaration on granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples (1960/1970/1971) and the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948) should also become applicable to the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia and Communism.

The governments of the nations of the Free World should extend due political and diplomatic recognition to the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations (such as the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), provide them with access to the various forms of mass media, and provide them with the necessary material and technical assistance to facilitate their struggle.

The issue of Soviet Russian imperialism,

colonialism and aggression, Communist totalitarianism and oppression, and the right to national independence and freedom of the subjugated nations should be put on the agenda of such international forums as the United Nations.

All member organizations of WACL should do their utmost to influence the governments of their respective countries to develop policies that would actively promote a course of action as proposed in the points above.

The restoration of the national independent and democratic states of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia and Communism is the only guarantee for human, civil, economic, social, religious and cultural rights for the people.

## From Behind the Iron Curtain

### Anti-Russian feeling grows

RIGA, Latvia — So far there has been no sign that the Soviet Union might be infected by a trade-union revolution on the Polish model. The Kremlin, however, has reason to be nervous about the growing tensions in the three Baltic states annexed by the Soviets 40 years ago.

Lithuania is the only one of 15 Soviet republics which is predominantly Catholic and the church — as in Poland — is a source of unity.

In its capital, Vilnius, there is an active group of dissidents and an underground weekly newspaper.

In Estonia, there have been demonstrations against the Russification of the republic and its capital, Tallinn, is the only major Soviet city where people can watch news from the West (on Finnish television). Because the daily ferry service brings large numbers of Finnish tourists to the city, Estonia's citizens have a better idea than most people about life in the West.

Latvia, the most productive of the Bal-

tic states, has in the past been more quiescent than its two neighbors, but there is a growing wave of irritation about the shortage of food.

Food shortages are common in much of the Soviet Union, but Latvia has traditionally been one of the most prosperous places in the country. It produces most of the Soviet Union's consumer durables and a large share of its motorcycles and locomotives.

Riga, its capital, is the largest port in the country and is a centre for Soviet women's fashions. Latvia's living standards used to be the envy of the Soviet Union and many people still regard Latvia as a paradise. The Latvians do not.

Latvia's food shops are now as empty as those elsewhere. Long before opening time, lines form in front of milk and meat shops on Riga's Kirov street.

Instead of going to work, many people go shopping. It is common to wait three hours for food. Western goods are available, but at a high price. The complete

collection of the Beatles' records costs about \$ 6,000.

To meet unprecedented shortages of food in Latvia, authorities are trying to encourage farming on private plots. The activity produces 30 per cent of food for the republic, but until recently, the size of private farming plots was limited to half an acre.

Outside Riga, there are now clusters of small shacks: city-dwellers' private plots. The Government is encouraging the practice, but a problem has developed. The city farmers' favorite crop is not potatoes, as the authorities had hoped, but flowers. Flowers are important in Latvian life: men and women like to bring bouquets home after work. Tulips and roses sell for as much as \$3 a stem — making them a profitable crop.

The Latvians believe they are getting a worse economic deal than their neighbors in Lithuania and Estonia because too much of the state farm output is exported to the rest of the Soviet Union. In Lithuania, the food grown there is eaten by the locals. On weekends, many Latvians make the two-hour drive south, to the town of Siauliai, Lithuania, to stock up on sausages.

Nationalism in Latvia has been reviving, partly because the Latvians are in danger of becoming a national minority in their own country. The success of Latvia's industrial development has attracted immi-

grants from the rest of the Soviet Union and about 45 per cent of its population is now non-Latvian.

The protests against Russification, mainly by youths, have been sporadic and poorly organized. For the protesters, the pejorative phrase "bourgeois Latvia" — used in history books to describe the period of independence between 1918 and 1940 — conjures up a rich and romantic past. Many youths walk down the street wearing shirts, emblazoned in English, with the slogan "Latvian power." They also like to sing the old national anthem.

Their most overt form of rebellion has been to desecrate Soviet monuments and beat up Russians at random. These protests have been fuelled by opposition to the war in Afghanistan — rumors of atrocities there are commonplace in Riga.

Communist Party officials in Latvia are aware of the mounting anti-Russian tension but have no clear idea of how to counteract it, except by stressing the concept of "Soviet brotherhood."

At a recent meeting of the central committee of the Latvian Communist Party, however, one member took the step of criticizing another official for making speeches in Russian instead of Latvian. A hint of things to come?

*The Globe and Mail,  
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### On Back Cover Page

*Great Britain commemorates the 40th Anniversary of the Establishment of Ukrainian Statehood, June 1981.*

*top: Demonstration in London calling for national independence for Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism;*

*middle: The Ukrainian community in Great Britain greeting Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko — the Prime Minister of Ukraine from 1941;*

*bottom: The head of the Ukrainian Lobby in Parliament — Hon. William Whitlock (standing to the right) — Member of Parliament — speaking at the Parliamentary observances of the 40th Anniversary of the Re-establishment of Ukrainian Statehood; to his right — Hon. Morris MacMillan — Member of Parliament — the son of the former British Prime Minister.*

