

# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



## 40th ANNIVERSARY

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK  
BLOC OF NATIONS  
(ABN)

1943-1983

On November 21-22, 1943, at a Conference of Subjugated Nations, the representatives of the revolutionary, insurgent, national-liberation movements of thirteen nations founded the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in the two-front armed struggle against Nazism and Bolshevism.

We salute all those who fell on the field of Glory fighting for their country's freedom and independence.

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Editorial Staff: Board of Editors.  
 Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M.A.  
 8000 Munich 80, Zeppelinstr. 67/0  
 West Germany.

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Mr. Svyatoslav Karavansky (a Ukrainian political prisoner  
for 31 years in Soviet Russian concentration camps)

## **The Use of Political Prisoners as Slave Labour**

The work of prisoners, both political and criminal has been utilized to a very great extent throughout the history of the USSR. It is a well known fact that Lenin in 1918, signed a decree establishing "work-rehabilitation camps", for a society that claimed to profess the ideals of social equality and social justice. The concept of "labour camps" gave the Soviet Russians a two-fold advantage. First, it was made possible to utilize the slave labour of prisoners without any form of compensation. Secondly, in the system of camps which were located far from populated areas, it was possible to undertake genocide on those individuals who were deemed to be "undesirable" in a state where citizens were supposedly given equal rights. This massive genocide was achieved by issuing below subsistence food rations, which resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of "ideologically re-educated" individuals. Hitler's concentration camps were a pale comparison to the Soviet Russian ideological re-education camps of death.

One of the "pioneers" of the Soviet Russian genocide camp system were the Solovki camps, built on the Solovki islands on the territory of the infamous Solovki monastery. This camp destroyed for the regime thousands of undesirable "bourgeois elements": participants of uprisings and revolts against the regime in Ukraine, Georgia, Central Asia, large numbers of clergy, former military officers, and rank and file workers and peasants. Purposely established far away from industrial and populated centres, the Solovki camp did not have any meaningful economic effect, but served primarily as a base for genocide. Now the regime, with considerable audacity has established on the islands tourist sites which are visited by tourist excursions. Naturally, not a word is said by anyone that the Solovki camps became grave sites for several hundreds of thousands of political prisoners. This is in keeping with the Soviet Russian tradition of creating on the sites of massive massacres parks and places of entertainment such as they did in Vinnytsia, Ukraine.

With the beginning of industrialization the "government" of the USSR began to utilize the labour of prisoners for the increased implementation of the "five year plans." The "pioneer" of this type of camp was the famous White-Baltic sea canal, which was built on the corpses of slave labour prisoners. Working and attempting to achieve unrealistic production quotas, with decreased food rations, the prisoners, primarily political, died very rapidly. The prisoners that were of a criminal nature had numerous privileges, receiving as a rule administrative positions. These administrators mockingly encouraged the prisoners to work by using the axiom. "Those who work we will bury as people in clothes, but those who are lazy, we will bury like dogs unclothed."

At this same time, the prisoners' work was utilized for the building of railroads and also new industrial cities. With the help of slave labour the railroad was built from Kotlas to Vorkuta, the trans-Siberian network from Taishtet to Lena, the train line from Komsomolsk on the Amur- the terminal at Vanino, the Volga-Don canal, the Kyiubishev hydro-electric station, and also villages

and stations along the new railroads. In the mines of Donbas, Vorkuta, Karaganda, in the gold mines of the Magadan province. In the same way the regime has used and is utilizing today the slave labour of prisoners.

I, personally, during the time of my incarceration in Soviet Russian concentration camps, being a political prisoner, worked on the Pechor-Vorkuta railroad in the northern branch of the Kotlas-Vorkuta railroad line. This railroad line was built primarily on the skeletons of political prisoners. I can personally testify to this fact. The "enemies of the people" were driven to these sites by forced marches, which ended in the middle of the tundra, where we were told that these were to be our barracks. They then told us to take tools and start building our barracks. It is quite obvious that the death rate in these "work-rehabilitation" camps was very high. The prisoners were required to fulfill superhuman production quotas, which would have been impossible to fulfill by healthy very strong individuals. Those prisoners who did not fulfill their quotas, did not even get a small scrap of bread, and as a result of malnutrition they soon died out like flickering candles. These prisoners were called "those who walked with death", which quite accurately described their condition and their fate. By one to two years, a work battalion which originally numbered 500-600 prisoners, only had a small number of individuals still alive; the rest had gone to eternal sleep "under the railroad ties."

As a prisoner I worked at building site 501 — the construction of the Kyk-Shore-Labutanh-on the Obi rail line — a strategic railroad line across the Ural mountains. At the building sites there were numerous armed battles between two groups of criminal prisoners called the "bandits" and the "bitches". The death penalty for murder in the USSR, did not apply to this category of prisoners, and in the concentration camps there was not a day that a dead body or dead bodies were not found.

The third place of my slave labour was the railroad line Taishet-Lena — the start of today's Baikal-Amur main-line railroad. The building of this line was started by the so-called "enemies of the people" in 1937 to 1945, the work was then continued by Japanese "prisoners of war", then from 1948 by freedom fighters from Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

The fourth place of my slave labour was the Magadan province, where gold is mined in the hills and mountains. This province from 1930 was settled and populated solely by prisoners. The prisoners are still mining gold there today in subhuman conditions.

I know from my own research, how important the slave labour of political prisoners was and is to the economy of the USSR. I can state without any doubt, that the news which manages to reach the West about the use of slave labour in the building of the Yamalsk gas pipeline is an absolute truth. And the facts are these: an escaped prisoner from Vietnam, Doan Van Thai gave testimony in the United States Congress that for him, as a former government official of the Viet Cong, he knew about the utilization of Vietnamese prisoners of war for forced labour in Siberia. Lee Thai Ayn, a Vietnamese writer, sent a letter to the United States Congress from Vietnam, in which he mentions the forced deportation of Vietnamese to Siberia. The Soviet Russian dissident Makarenko testified in Congress about the inhumane treatment of prisoners in building the

Baikal-Amur main line railroad. He confirmed the fact that this construction site alone for every eight months accounts for the lives of over 1,000 prisoners.

The news then, about the building of the gas pipelines by the use of slave labour is not surprising to those who are knowledgeable in Soviet Russian reality. The work rehabilitation camps are an integral part of the Communist Russian system. Normally one would expect that this fact would be heard from official Soviet Russian sources, which the French government expects, having voiced questions to Moscow. The Communist Russian government is not a government in the Western sense. The purpose of this government is not to provide information but on the contrary to suppress it. The value of statements from Communist Russian sources should by now be self-evident to the West. During the Civil War in Spain how much ink was spilled by Soviet Russian diplomats in denying the fact that Soviet Russian troops were taking an active part. This in fact was an outright lie. Deliberate falsehoods were also the statements by Soviet Russian officials in the 1930's that there was no famine in the USSR. This statement was made while people were dying by the thousands every week. In the Russian concentration camps no less than 5 million prisoners are incarcerated and are being used as slave labour in many sections of the Soviet Russian economy.

Those individuals who doubt the validity of the news of the use of slave labour in the USSR, and want to at any price receive verification from official Soviet Russian sources, are in fact sanctifying their actions and are assisting the USSR in expanding their system throughout the world.

It is worthwhile to remember at this point the words of the American senator, who said: "Let them not say, as they said about the Nazi death camps, that we did not know what was happening until it was too late."



*Mr. S. Karavansky delivering his speech at the ABN/EFC Conference in London, September 24-26, 1982. On the extreme right — ABN President, Y. Stetsko.*

## **THE GEO-POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TURKEY in the World Front Against Russian Imperialism and Communism**

The Turkish nation historically has been the primary target of Russian imperialism. Since the middle of the 16th century, Russia has occupied several Turkish lands, and wide areas of territory of Turkish origin. The consolidation of the Russian Empire began with this process.

Today, according to the official census reports of the USSR, there are 44,802,000 people in the Soviet Union who speak Turkish of various dialects. This does not include the population of non-Turkish speaking Moslem people in the USSR. On the basis of this, we can see that the Turkish origin population in the USSR under Russian domination and Communist tyranny is approximately equal to the population of the Republic of Turkey itself.

Just as in tsarist times, communist Russia seeks to conquer the world, but using different slogans and terms, such as: "Communism", "Brotherhood", "Peace", "Soviet Union". There can be no doubt about this. There is no continent or community in the world that is not a target for Russian imperialist aims. There are many examples in history, from which we know, that whatever countries Russia occupied, she never left willingly. Over the last 25 years the Western countries have given up all their previous colonies, whereas Russia, by camouflaging her colonial conquest under various deceptive labels such as: "the member of the Warsaw Pact", or "independent republics", or "autonomous republics", shows no inclination whatsoever of divesting herself of her colonies. The Brezhnev Doctrine does not permit this. Every member of the NATO Alliance can freely enter and leave the Alliance, whereas to enter the Warsaw Pact is obligatory and to leave is forbidden and impossible.

We can say that the Republic of Turkey is one of Russia's primary targets. This has been the case for many centuries. At present, this is even more definite. Prior to the 1980's, Communism, under the directions of Moscow, expended much energy on a campaign of intensive internal subversion, bringing the country to the brink of a civil war and a communist takeover of power. Turkey was almost dragged near the edge of a communist precipice.

By succeeding to bring Turkey to its ruins, Russia will not only have added more territory to its empire, but more significantly, Moscow will have overturned the balance of the entire world, thereby opening way for a subjugation and conquering of the entire world. If Russia is able to overcome the Turkish barrier, then she will gain access to the Mediterranean Sea, the Basra Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean.

From a military point of view, after Turkey there are no other barriers able to contain Russian expansionism. After overcoming the Turkish barrier, the Gulf States will not be able to survive for more than a few hours. Then Russia will control the strategically important and very rich oil fields of the Middle East, on which the industrial power base of Western Europe, the USA,

and Japan are critically dependent. There is no other way for Russia to severely cripple the West's industrial, technological capacity and lower the high standard of living in the Free World. Moscow must reverse Western superiority, because she is ashamed of her inferior position in front of her own people. In light of the incredible billions of dollars that Moscow spends throughout the world on armaments, on the space race, on a cultural war and communist propaganda against the free countries of the world, it is no wonder that the population of the USSR is destitute. This point is of grave concern to the Russian communists. Brezhnev can only pride himself on achieving military parity with the West and for not allowing the dissolution of the Russian empire, but on the contrary for adding more new territories to the empire. However, it is impossible for him to settle accounts with the subjugated nations, who have to carry the overwhelming burden of the cost of these policies.

Moscow managed to find several states in the Middle East that adhere to its anti-Western policies, such as: Iran, Iraq, Syria, South Yemen, Algeria, Libya, etc. We cannot foresee when and how Russian communism will use these states as a stepping stone in its expansionist drive. We must acknowledge the fact that Moscow's foreign policy after World War II, in comparison with Western foreign policy, was more successful in attaining its objectives. Prior to taking over a country, Moscow acquires intricate knowledge of that nation.

The emergence of such a geo-political situation is not a recent development. This has been a reality for many years and Russian objectives and plans were well known. Unfortunately, the comfortable, luxurious self-complacent lifestyle of the West deprived it of enough foresight to understand the Russian communist threat. This laid the groundwork for Moscow's success. This Western attitude, under the leadership of the United States, resulted in a lack of understanding for Turkey's geo-political position. Only after the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the recent events in Iran, did the West come to understand the significance of Turkey.

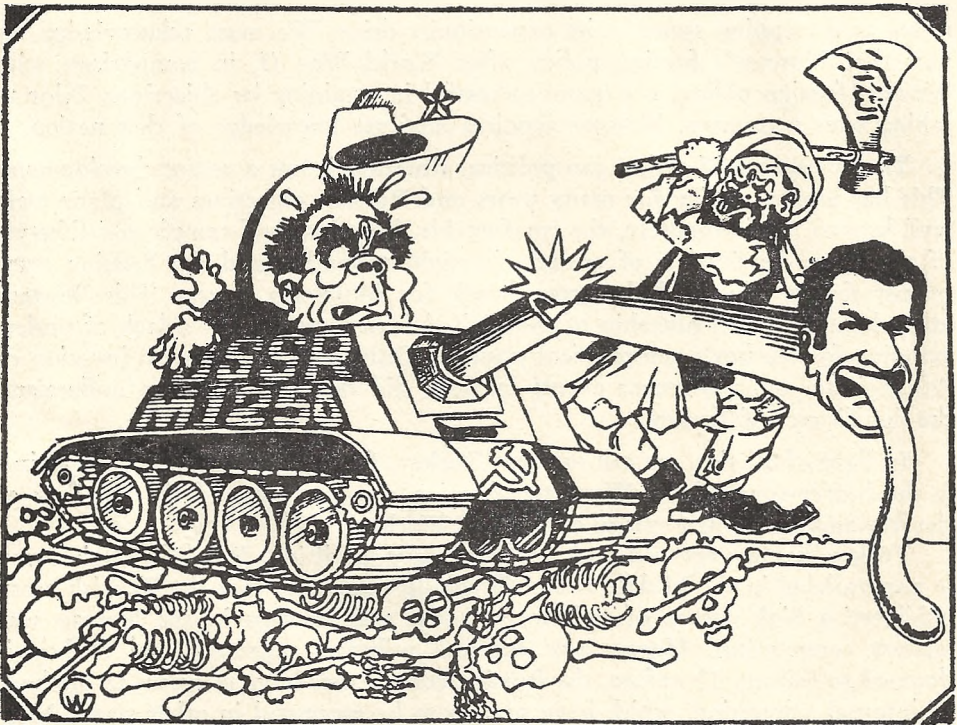
In light of all this, we can say that Turkey, from a geo-political perspective, is the buffer-zone of the West, representing the guarantee of the stability of the free and democratic system of the Free World.

Turkey has a very old and noble military tradition. Presently their army is unparalleled in the Middle East. We should remember that the Turkish army exhibited a high degree of military prowess and bravery in the Korean war against communism. Hence, any external military aggression on Turkey is doomed to failure. Therefore, the Russian communists have to resort to methods of internal subversion, which have proven to be successful in other states. Moscow will continue these methods, hoping to bring about Turkey's internal collapse. But it will never succeed, as was shown on September 12, 1980 when the Turkish army and the Turkish nation in general rose up against this communist subversion.

Mindful of all these facts and realities, the Western Powers must come to understand Turkey's crucial geo-political position. Turkey, on the other hand, must strive to maintain not only good relations with the West, but with other Middle Eastern pro-Western states as well, among which Saudi Arabia is a prime example.

The policy of not allowing Turkey to rise above a certain level of strength, which has been pursued by some Western and Middle Eastern countries is wrong and must be changed. The further continuance of this policy only benefits Russian communist expansionism, with calamitous consequences to the West and the Middle East.

By examining a map of the world and seeing how many countries fell to Russian imperialism after World War II, then we will understand the defect of Western policy. This picture is not very honorable to the Free World. The road of Moscow's communism must be shut and Russian imperialism must necessarily be ended. Herein lies the West's "to be or not to be." At this moment in time, all of world's history in its entirety must be brought to our attention and we must take decisive, effective and urgent precautions.



*A leaflet-drawing distributed in Afghanistan (prior to Brezhnev's death). It depicts an Afghan freedom-fighter, a "Mujahid", chopping off the barrel of a Russian tank, riding over the corpses of the tens of thousands of Afghans killed by the Russian occupational forces. The tank's barrel is also depicted as the vital lifeline of Moscow's communist lackey — Babrak Karmal — the current Afghan "president".*



## On the "60th Anniversary" of the USSR

In December 1922, 60 years ago, a so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was formally established on the ruins of the national independence and statehood of many nations, such as Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Azerbaidjan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Idel-Ural, and others, that were formerly enslaved in the tsarist Russian empire. This date marks the beginning of a new era in the historical Russian imperialist drive to conquer the world — a drive that was shortly interrupted by the collapse of the tsarist imperialist system, but was soon rejuvenated with the coming to power of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. At that time Lenin had one significant and decisive advantage over his tsarist predecessors: the alluringly deceptive, political and psychological power of communism, which could always be utilized as a tool for the internal subversion of a free country prior to its military takeover by Russian occupational forces.

During World War I, the nations formerly under the occupation of tsarist Russia declared their independence and re-established their national sovereign states, by means of national-liberation revolutions and wars of liberation. The real war began when global military hostilities were waning, as the Russian Red army invaded the re-established independent states and coerced them into a "voluntary union" with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), and later into the USSR. The Bolshevik system, embodied in the USSR as a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, was by no means a negation of Russian tsarism. On the contrary, in light of the countless number of nations that have since fallen victim to the traditionally-Russian imperialist, messianistic and historical aim of ruling over the

entire world, Bolshevism and its outward embodiment, the USSR, represents the highest emanation of the Russian national imperialist ideal, as expressed by Dostoyevsky's inherently Russian racist maxim — that "all people should become Russian, and Russian above all else, because the Russian national idea is universal....."

The history of the USSR has left a legacy of torture, untold bloodshed, and mass genocide, which has resulted in a population gap of over 100 million people. In the years 1932-1933 nearly 8 million Ukrainians alone died from mass starvation in an inhuman artificially instituted famine. In this "age of freedom", Moscow has built a huge network of slave labour camps. The subjugated nations have been subjugated to a systematic and brutal campaign of Russification, designed to eradicate all vestiges of national awareness. The various national Churches of the subjugated nations in the USSR have been virtually decimated whereas the Russian Orthodox Church enjoys a privileged status guarded by the KGB. In short, quoting a Ukrainian political prisoner — Yuriy Lytvyn — "the cult of the "Oktiabr' is a cult of violence, a cult of evil".

Being the first victims of this rejuvenated Russian imperialist drive, the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism caution the countries of the Free World to maintain a high degree of vigilance, lest this legacy become yours also. Vigilance alone, however, will not eliminate the constant Russian threat, which has now become all the more ominous with the establishment of Russian military superiority over the West in conventional armaments and parity at best in nuclear weaponry. This threat can only be eliminated by a joint freedom campaign on the part of the Free World

and the subjugated nations. The subjugated nations, in their liberation struggle for national independence and freedom, have the strength to internally dismantle the Russian prison of nations and its concomitant communist system, if rendered significant Western moral and political support.

To this end the Western Democracies should proclaim a GREAT CHARTER OF INDEPENDENCE for the nations subjugated by Bolshevism in the USSR and its "satellites", and condemn the founding of the USSR on all international fora, particularly the United Nations, as this would severely undermine the Russian political-psychological offensive on the Free World.

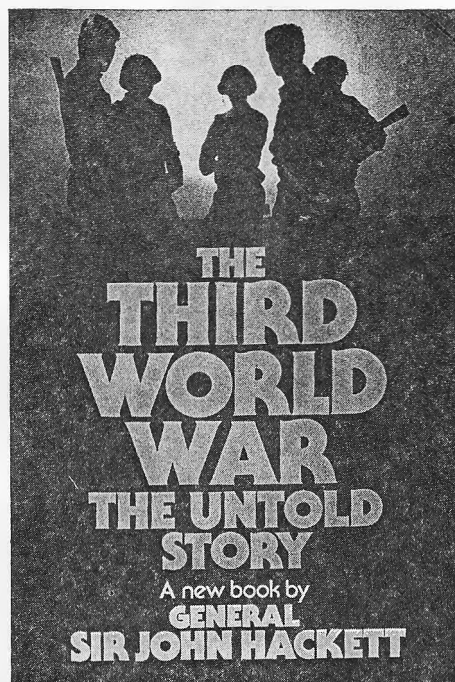
Secondly, the countries of the Free World should demand the immediate decolonization of the USSR on the basis of present international legal covenants, such as the United Nations Resolution on De-Colonization from 1960/72 as well as the United States Resolution on the Captive Nations (US Public Law 86/90), with the aim of re-establishing national independent states of the presently subjugated nations.

Thirdly, the Western Democracies should recognize on all international fora, particularly at the UN, the representatives of the national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations as the only genuine representatives of the will and aspirations of their nations.

Fourthly, the Western Powers, in particular the countries of the NATO Alliance should introduce a resolution on the floor of the UN voicing support for the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations utilizing the precedent of the UN Resolution on Namibia from 1976, — which required that all member-states render aid to an enslaved people fighting against a foreign colonial yoke.

Fifthly, on the basis of a resolution of

the International Red Cross Convention, which placed prisoners-of-war (POW's) from insurgent-guerrilla armies on an equal juridical footing with the POW's from conventional armies, requiring equal and proper treatment for both categories of prisoners, the Western Democracies should initiate a political campaign demanding the immediate release of incarcerated insurgents-POW's from the subjugated nations, who presently languish in Russian prisons and concentration camps, after having already spent 25-30 years in the most inhumane conditions of imprisonment.



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## **Movement for Solidarity, Reconciliation and Resistance of Afghanistan**

Allow me to convey my gratitude for granting me opportunity to speak at this gathering about my country, Afghanistan, that has been ruthlessly invaded by the Red Army. The Afghan nation which during the course of its long history has always struggled for the preservation of its freedom, territorial integrity and its national self-determination at the cost of its blood, and at this very moment as I am standing before you this struggle continues with the utmost determination and devotion, naturally regards freedom and self-determination as the legitimate right of all the occupied nations of the world, wherever they are, and shares their feeling.

Since April 27, 1978 the independence of Afghanistan once again has been threatened and for the first time a communist regime, backed by Russian intrigues, usurped power in Kabul. Although the puppet regimes of Taraki, Amin and Karmal, in turn, supposedly regard Afghanistan as non-aligned, independent and democratic; in reality such imagination, like all the slogans of the communist ideology, is nothing but a series of lies and deceits.

From the very beginning this regime faced the opposition and resistance of the Afghan nation; a nation which regards freedom and national independence as the noblest of human virtues. Persecutions, torture, terror, prison, mass execution, etc. were not able to change this determined resistance of the people of Afghanistan. By this action the Afghan nation displayed their rejection of the order portrayed by the communists as the so-called Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, that it is neither democratic nor republic, nor does it belong to the Afghan people.

The regime never enjoyed stability. While faced with the ever increasing opposition of the Afghan people, it was infected with the diseases of egoism, ambition, discord and intrigues in such a manner which even their Russian masters were unable to heal. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which regards itself the founder and pioneer of this "revolution" was very shaky from the beginning and the already existing rift in its temporary coalition widened from day to day. Realising this and their total rejection by the whole of the Afghan nation, Taraki and Amin decided to find a scapegoat for their atrocities. Babrak Karmal and his associates were the first victims. Firstly they were exiled as ambassadors and subsequently dismissed.

In December 1978 Taraki and Amin paid an official visit to the Soviet Union during which Taraki signed the so-called Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in Moscow which in fact became the deed of sale of the independence of Afghanistan to the Russians. Prior to April 1978, Afghanistan had always had good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union. These relations were based on mutual respect, non-interference in each others internal affairs and peaceful co-existence between countries with different political, economic and social orders. Also prior to April 1978 there existed treaties between Afghanistan and the USSR. But those treaties were founded on the basis of friendship, equal-

ity and mutual understanding between our two countries. Afghanistan's aim was that her friendship with the Soviet Union was not only in the interest of stability, peace and security in the region but would become an example of friendship between two neighbouring countries, great and small with different social, economic and political systems. But we regretfully observed that their deeds and words differed; while assuring the people of Afghanistan of non-interference in their internal affairs, they supported the coup d'état of April 1978 and encouraged those whose opposition to the national interests of Afghanistan was evident.

International reaction at the beginning of the communist coup in Afghanistan was not effective and favourable, as the people of Afghanistan expected. The West and the Third World did not realise the dangerous implications of the events at the time. The West which was lulled by détente, regarded the Afghan situation inferior to that of its relations with the USSR. The Third World, where unresolved problems from the colonial era still exist, was unaware of the threat posed by the development of events in Afghanistan. But, however, the shock waves of events were evidently felt in the region from the very beginning. The world became aware of these shocks at a time when it was too late to halt the course of present events.

Resistance intensified. A rift developed between Taraki and Amin caused by jealousy and lust for power which resulted in Taraki's death and Amin's supremacy. Amin in his turn became the victim of his lunacy and lust for power. And at last on Dec. 27, 1979 Russia invaded Afghanistan. The exiled Karmal was installed by the Red Army. Amin was killed and used as a scapegoat by the Karmal regime. Amin who once advocated loyalty and friendship with the Soviet Union as criteria for patriotism, and was applauded by the Soviets, was labelled as a CIA agent.

The Soviet invasion brought immediate international attention. Opinions differed on its causes and motivations. Some viewed it as a part of the long held Russian strategy to reach warm water outlets and a threat to Western interests in the Middle East oil fields. Others regarded it as defensive rather than offensive acting to safeguard what they regard as Soviet security threatened by the so-called forces of imperialism and reaction. Of course the Russians regarded the landing of their troops neither an invasion, nor interference in the domestic affairs of a neighbouring country, nor the nullification of the peaceful co-existence. In their view the landing of what they call their limited contingents of troops (estimated at over 100,000) was just and legitimate; and that they had complied with the repeated requests by the "legal government" of Afghanistan which was confronted by "bandits" and "terrorists" and threatened by an undeclared war by the Peking, Washington and Islamabad triangle. According to them the landing of the Red Army protected the independent, revolutionary, non-aligned and democratic Afghanistan (!) And such they painted themselves as if they were the liberators and deliverors of the Afghan masses.

Very well, this is what the Soviets claim; but there are a series of questions to be asked:

● Why and how the "legal government" of Afghanistan, who repeatedly invited the Soviet contingent, was toppled immediately after landing by the Red Army?

● When did Karmal, who took power immediately after the Soviet invasion, arrive from his exile? How was he “elected”? What was the revolutionary way, which he claims, by which he came to Kabul? And when would these puzzles be solved?

● How was Hafizollah Amin, according to the official Kabul announcement, tried the very night of the Russian invasion and how was he executed according to the verdict before the sunrise? What was the motivation of such haste? Was it not possible to try him under better circumstances?

● Was it not possible for the Afghan army to eradicate the so-called bandits and terrorists who threatened the “legal government” of Afghanistan and who are regarded by the puppet regime as a minority while the regime “enjoys the support of the majority” of the people? And why, even with the might of the Red Army after more than two years, have the “bandits” and “terrorists” not been eradicated but on the contrary their number has increased?

Although the Kabul regime and its Soviet masters have tried to provide answers to these and many more questions, the contradictory nature of their replies makes their statements baseless; thus not only are the Afghan people not satisfied with such answers; and not only did the world opinion take them seriously but they themselves doubt the validity of their replies.

In my opinion, ladies and gentlemen, after WWII the Soviets took full advantages of the mistakes made by their rivals in the West. Posing itself as the guardian of peace and progress, Kremlin avails itself of every opportunity to enhance its international position. However, by invading Afghanistan the Russians made the gravest mistake ever in their foreign policy; and in order to conceal one mistake they committed another, and so on. The mistake they made was that the Soviets thought that they can impose communism in Afghanistan; but they were unaware that the majority of the Afghan people are patriots and devoted Muslims and never under any circumstances, either in the past or present, have they compromised on their freedom and faith. And their second mistake was that they calculated that with the might of the Soviet guns they might crush the resistance of the Afghan nation and eventually succeed, with the installation of Karmal and by freezing the Marxist experiment, in line with the Leninist concept of “strategic retreat”, in providing conditions for the consolidation of a communist regime in Afghanistan. But during these three years, neither has the resistance been crushed by the Red Army nor has the Karmal experiment lulled the Afghan people. On the contrary it has strengthened more than ever before the determination of the Afghan nation to free their own land at whatever the cost.

The persistent struggle of the Afghan freedom fighters has narrowed the zone of influence of the puppet regime in Kabul. In order to survive, the regime in its turn is trying to make use of every possible and impossible means to counter the resistance. In a recent broadcast message, Karmal urges Afghans abroad to return to their homes. “I assure you” he says “that the situation in Afghanistan is improving speedily. No one is pursued or harrassed because of his religion, ideology or political inclination, provided he does not engage in subversive activity against our revolution”. He goes on further by pleading that “in the name and honour of being Afghan and in the name of the motherland return to your homes...”

In reply to Karmal, we would like to emphasise that until he and his associates are in Afghanistan under the auspices of a superpower and until our country is under the occupation of the Red Army the Afghan freedom fighters, wherever they may be, will continue their fight relentlessly until their national aspirations of regaining Afghanistan's national independence, national sovereignty and national identity, are realized. An Afghan with honour and worthy of the name has never lived and will never live in slavery. We are aware that Mr. Karmal knows perfectly well that the situation in Afghanistan is not improving speedily, as he says, but on the contrary is in fact deteriorating rapidly. And we, the people of Afghanistan are determined, wherever we are, to continue our struggle until Karmal and his associates admit that they are nothing else but puppets and, before they are thrown out, resign and let the people of Afghanistan choose their own destiny in the light of freedom and progress which are inseparable values.

In conclusion we want to point out to the Soviet Union that it is not easy to kill the spirit of the Afghan nation; this spirit is indestructible and unconquerable until the last dedicated Afghan is alive. A nation which has always fought for the preservation of its freedom with the "great powers" of all ages is still continuing to struggle for its freedom and faith until the end. Therefore we believe that the continuation of the present state of affairs in Afghanistan in the end can only further destabilize peace and security in the region and the only way out would be to seek an honourable political solution. A solution in which there is no compromise on the basic principles of our nation. The unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan, their pledge not to back the Karmal or similar regimes in Afghanistan and not to interfere in Afghanistan's internal affairs should constitute this solution. Any plan or any political solution to limit the national independence, national sovereignty and national identity of Afghanistan in any form or under any context is irrational and is unacceptable to the Afghan people.

*Speech delivered at the ABN/EFC Conference, London, September 24-26, 1982*

### **Christmas is Banned in the Soviet Union (A Ukrainian Protest Action in Munich)**

On December 24, 1982, on the Roman Catholic Christmas Eve, a group of young Ukrainians, members of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Germany (SUM), organized a protest action under several churches in Munich, Germany, during the midnight Christmas religious services. The SUM group, known under the title of — "Help Ukrainian Political Prisoners" — distributed several thousand leaflets, in which they reminded the faithful Christians of Munich of the brutal persecution of religion in the USSR, particularly of the severe repression of the Ukrainian

Catacomb Church by the atheistic Russian imperialist regime. Over half of the political and religious prisoners in Russian prisons and concentration camps in the Soviet Union are Ukrainian.

In their leaflet, the young Ukrainian activists brought attention to the lamentable fact, that while all faithful Christians in the Free World will be celebrating Christmas and sharing with their brethren the happiness of this most jubilant Feast of Christ's birth, the faithful in Ukraine will be celebrating Christmas at the risk of being imprisoned and persecuted.

## **The Abused Role of Turkestan in the Sovietization of Afghanistan**

The world has been informed, even though scarcely, about some of Russia's brutal military activities in Afghanistan. However, the world is not informed about the intensive sovietization and colonization of Afghanistan by the Russians. Moscow uses Turkestan not only as a strategic base for its military power, but also as a starting point for the ideological disintegration of Afghanistan's people and for the disintegration of Afghanistan's territory. Turkestan must now play Cuba's role in Afghanistan.

In this way, Turkestan intellectuals from the 5 Soviet republics in Turkestan are sent to Afghanistan: scientists, writers, artists, teachers and of course agitators who disseminate Russian propaganda and implement the so-called Leninist Nationalities policy. In the press and during meetings, condemned Turkestan rulers, classical poets and scientists from the past centuries, who reigned in Turkestan as well as in Herat, Kabul, Balch and Badashan, are suddenly presented as great men, justified rulers and true friends of Afghanistan because it now suits Moscow's politics. Literature evenings for Afghan-Uzbeks are organized in Kabul to which actually 90% of the participants come from Tashkent. (*Schark Yuldizi*, Star of the Orient, Tashkent nr. 9/80). Radio programs in Kabul are transmitted in the Uzbek and Tadjik languages; the Soviet press and numerous literature and school books of the 5 Soviet republics in Turkestan appear in Arabic script and are sent to Kabul in order to accelerate the ideological disintegration. (*Usbekistan Adabiyati va Sanati /Uzbekistan Literature and Culture/* Tashkent, 25. 12. 81).

The Russians do not appear personally in this ideological activity in Afghanistan, but leave this activity up to the Turkestanis and this with the special emphasis that over 3 million Uzbeks, 3 million Tadjiks and over 1 million Turkmenians, Kirghiz, Kazakhs live in Northern Afghanistan as far as Kabul (a total amount of 7 million Turkestanis in a total population of approximately 20 million, Fischer, 1978).

In order to emphasize the traditional and historical relationship between the Turkestanis on both sides of the boundary, West Turkestan and Northern Afghanistan on the one hand, the former kings and statesmen who today enjoy great respect, are bombastically praised as extremely humane and justified and that they ruled on the basis of friendship and solidarity. May this great tradition be continued today. After long preparations in Tashkent a "Commission for the study of the works of the Uzbek poet and statesman Ali Scher Navai" was established in Kabul in order to also respectfully commemorate the 550th anniversary of his birth in 1991 in Kabul. He lived and worked in the 15th century in Herat in the court of the Uzbek king Husain Baykara. Even Afghanistan's Party and governing president B. Karmal gave his opinion on this theme and emphasized his gratitude and respect of the Afghans for Navai.

He continued:

“Navai’s justified idea has not lost its power from the 15th to the 20th century. Afghanistan’s democratic government is grateful to Ali Scher Navai not only for the development of culture, progress and science in Afghanistan, but also for the services of friendship and solidarity to the people living in this country...” (*Usbekistan Adabiyati va Sanati*, 25. 1. 81).

Turkestan’s emperor Babir, whose dynasty reigned between 1526—1858 in India and who conquered Afghanistan and is buried in Kabul was also praised:

“...Babir served progress and development in Afghanistan and brought Afghanistan to its prime. His great contribution in the development of culture, art and literature is irreplaceable...” The 500th anniversary of his birth is to be eminently celebrated in Kabul. (*Usbekistan Adabiyati va Sanati*, 1. 5. and 25. 12. 81).

In addition, Abdul Aziz Khan, emir of Buchara, who ruled in Northern Afghanistan was also praised for his good neighbour policy with the Mongolian empire (Babir Dynasty) and Iran. It was emphasized that he reigned from 1680—1702 in Balch. His foreign affairs politics were supposed to be founded on friendship and peace. May this tradition be continued today. (*Schark Yüldizi*, nr. 21/81).

All of the former Turkestani rulers and thinkers are excessively praised in the Soviet press in Uzbekistan in this way. This is then circulated in Afghanistan with the aim to transfer and continue this former hereditary relationship today. At the same time an attempt is being made to expose the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Turkmen, Kirghiz and Kazakhs in Afghanistan and to destroy their territorial unity and to cause disputes and misunderstandings in the more than 1000 year co-relationship between Afghans and Turkestan. Much is already being spoken about Afghan-Uzbek, Afghan-Tadzhik, Afghan-Turkmen as opposed to Soviet-Uzbek, Soviet-Tadzhik, Soviet-Turkmen etc. Moreover, the so-called Leninist Nationalities policy is constantly being praised. This policy is practised in Turkestan in that the Turkestani tribes were elevated to nations and peoples and their territory in Turkestan was dispersed and divided into the so-called 5 Soviet republics. This ‘divide-and-rule’ policy is now being propagated through the press and other media for Afghanistan with the assertion that “culture, economy and the intellectual life have been developed in the underdeveloped former outlying districts of tsarist Russia i.e. Turkestan”. (*Sowjet Usbekistani*, 13. 5. 81).

In this way the supposed pitiful life of the Afghans before the revolution, their unlawfulness and exploitation is presented in the press of the 5 Soviet republics in Turkestan as the alleged poor life of the Turkestanis before the October revolution. It is said that thanks to the Nationalities policy the last people are being liberated from this misery. Starting points to the application of the Leninist Nationalities policy in Afghanistan are clear in the historian’s essay, M. Nischan(ow) entitled “Afghanistan’s fateful determining April Revolution”:

“Different nations and peoples like the Puztans, Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Kirghiz, Turkmen, Hazars, Beluchis, Nuristamians live beside our southern neighbour Afghanistan — an existing state consisting of many nations... In Afghanistan there are 3 million Uzbeks. This is 20% of the population... The Uzbeks live mainly in the northern regions and cities of Afghanistan: In the regions of



Kunduz, Baglan, Mazar-i-Scharif, Djuscan, Saxmagan, Kabul, Hanabad, Imam Sahib, Pulhumi, etc...

The people in Afghanistan suffered under the terrorist regime of Zahir Schah and Daud. During this period no one thought about the people, nations and their value at all. All tribes and people were simply referred to as Afghans... In their constitution, that is to say, all people who live in Afghanistan belong to the Afghan nation..."

This subjugation and terrorization has ended. Now there are even Uzbek, Turkmen, Tadzhik schools in which the national languages are taught. There were never such schools before just as there were no newspapers and magazines.

However, it is of course kept silent that the teachers in these schools are well-trained as indoctrinators of communist values and ideas. Moreover, it is questionable whether they have the necessary teaching staff at their disposal. This is also W. Zahid(ow)'s exact opinion, member of the Science Academy of the Uzbek SSR, who visited Afghanistan with several journalists. He gave an account of life in Afghanistan in many sequels and stated that the population is poor, enslaved, lawless, underdeveloped and exploited by landed proprietors and that 99% of the women and 98% of the men are apparently illiterate. Now, progress has come thanks to the Afghan revolution: it enforced agrarian reforms and employed 20.000 teachers. (*Usbekistan Adabiyati va Sanati*, 4. 11. 81 and 25. 12. 81) M. Nischan(ow) confirmed this fact in his article, "The Revolution in Afghanistan continues". (*Schark Yüldizi*, nr. 9/80). Here, we can question how it is possible that 20.000 teachers were available in such a short time in light of the 99% illiteracy rate. Or do these teachers come from Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, etc? Furthermore, 20.000 teachers are a decisively small amount for a population of 20 million. In these accounts the West was also attacked:

"The aggressive politics of the West against Afghanistan has a history of more than 100 years. Since Afghanistan assumes an important strategic position in Central Asia, it became a sacrifice of the aggressive politics of the West. However, the Soviet Union protected Afghanistan from Western aggression and at the beginning of 1919 recognized Afghanistan's complete sovereignty. This friendship grows from day to day and will be continued..." (*Usbekistan Kommunisti*, Tashkent, nr. 7/81).

However, it is not mentioned that by these means Russia secured footing in Afghanistan and today this is the determining factor.

Propaganda is in full swing in Afghanistan. The newspaper "Yüldiz" (Star) appears in the Uzbek language and in arabic script, just like "Kurasch" (Struggle) appears in the Turkmen language and "Sub" (Revolution) appears for the Beluchis. The function of these newspapers is to "enrich and develop the Afghan-Uzbeks with poetry and novels which appear in Soviet-Uzbekistan; to propagate a new life and to present the achievements in the Soviet republics in Middle Asia..." (*Schark Yüldizi*, nr. 9/80, 8/81, 3/82).

This, of course, is pure communist literature with the glorification of Leninism and the Russian people. Even the Party organ "Soviet Uzbekistan", which appears in cyrillic script, is being published extra in Tashkent in arabic script and sent to Kabul just like the newspapers, magazines, novels, poetry and

school books which appear in the 5 Soviet republics in Turkestan. *Usbekistan Adabiyati va Sanati*, 25. 12. 81). As officially reported, these press productions are spread among teachers and Uzbek, Tadzhik and Turkmen intellectuals. One must ask oneself, indeed, who reads all of this communist literature when supposedly 99% of the population is illiterate?

Radio programs were arranged in Kabul in the Uzbek and Tadzhik languages; a department of Uzbek language and culture studies was created at the Afghan Ministry of Education and a department of "Afghan-Uzbek" culture studies was created at the Science Academy in Afghanistan. The ideologically best-trained Turkestanis from the 5 Soviet republics reside here. Moscow apparently wants to consistently pressure and threaten the Afghans with all of these politics, propaganda and especially with Leninist Nationalities policy in order to establish similar republics in Northern Afghanistan as in Turkestan or simply to incorporate the regions settled by Turkestanis into Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan and Turkmenistan — the Soviet republics which border on Afghanistan. The Party and president of Afghanistan, Karmal, speaks Moscow's language like a faithful servant and calls the Uzbeks, Turkmen, Tadzhiks, Kirghiz and other peoples of Afghanistan to a common battle against internal and external enemies. (*Schark Yuldizi*, nr. 8181; *Sowjet Usbekistani*, 2. 12. 81).

Furthermore, Moscow attempts with all means not to appear externally as a colonial power but as a "helper" as a "magnanimous supporter". Therefore, on June 11, 1982 a great celebration was organized on the occasion of the occupation of Kazakhstan by the Russians at which historically-false facts were presented:

"Kazakhstan voluntarily and according to its own will annexed itself to Russia 250 years ago. The wishes and hopes and right for self-determination of the Kazakh people were fulfilled. Its fate is eternally bound with its great Russian brother..."

Kunay(ew) and Rasid(ow), the first Party secretaries of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, exuberantly thanked the Russian people that "her friendly hands reached these people and that she had helped them to fulfill the century-old hopes and wishes." Moscow especially sent W. W. Grischin, member of the Politburo of the CPSU, to Alma-Ata in order to present the Order of Lenin on the occasion of the 250 year voluntary annexation to Russia. (*Sowjet Usbekistani*, 12. 6. 82). B. Karmal had spoken the same words as Rasid(ow) and Kunay(ew) on the occasion of the unveiling of a great Lenin monument in the border city Termez in Uzbekistan: "The hands which our great northern neighbour stretched out to us guarantee a bright future... and give us support and protection... We are grateful... We will not turn back on the road which we voluntarily chose..." (*Sowjet Usbekistani*, 14. 5. 82).

This Lenin monument — "A shining glory of friendship between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan" as it is officially called, shows Lenin — his hand raised — viewing Afghanistan as though it was already his empire. This illustrates Moscow's far-reaching aims in Afghanistan.

In order to bind Afghanistan even closer to the Soviet Union the "Friendship Bridge" was completed on May 12, 1982 over the Amu-Darja and ceremoniously opened. This road and railway bridge near the bordering city Termez in Uzbekistan has great strategic significance. Its construction was immediately started

in December 1979 after the invasion of Afghanistan. Karmal and Rasid(ow) opened it and Karmal honoured it as an expression of trust and friendship of the Soviet Union (*Sowjet Usbekistani*, 13. 5. 82).

All these facts unveil Russia's true aims in Afghanistan. Turkestan is forced to play a decisive role and particularly Uzbekistan is constantly emphasized as the "Lighthouse to the Orient". However, all of these Russian endeavours do not meet with the approval of the Afghan people. The Turkestanis in Afghanistan together with the Afghans put up resistance against this "disintegration policy". They do not want to disperse Afghanistan's territory and to allow her over 1000 years existing communal life to be destroyed. Today they are fighting together with the Afghans and on behalf of the Afghans. They have established their own organization based on the principle of an indivisible and free Afghanistan. The aims of the organization of the Turkestanis in Afghanistan, published in 27 points, consist of the liberation of Afghanistan and West Turkestan, the unification and independence of Afghanistan based on Islam. All Afghan people and tribes create a unity and a mutual common front against Russia and communism. The liberation ideas and beliefs are so strong that they have been fighting side by side for years, even though they have no foreign support and no weapons equivalent to those of the Russians. They find themselves in the same position as the Turkmenian freedom-fighters, the Basmachi, who after 1917 fought for 14 years against the Russians without any foreign aid.



*Turkestani demonstration in New York, 1982*

## **Towards a New Western Policy with regard to the Russian Empire**

We have already heard about the failure of Balance of Power, Politics, and of Détente. My view is that Balance of Power, whether we like it or not, is a fact of political life.

There are short periods of fluidity in the international situation, and then, when the political order sets, it becomes permanent. The result may be a well balanced political order, or one that has in it seeds of weakness and collapse. This has nothing to do with justice.

A political order may be unjust, very unjust, and yet stable. The present order in Eastern Europe, we who come from there, consider it very unjust, cruel and oppressive. But it has proved, unfortunately, more stable than the post-Versailles set up.

We have tried to change it, but we have not succeeded. The country which has had the greatest number of upheavals, which twice managed, by a great show of discontent, to change the ruling team, Poland, is still too weak in the face of the combined power of its own communist stooges, and of Moscow, to liberate itself.

In my view, it will not be able to liberate itself in its own, purely Polish context.

Let me come back to the concept of balance of power, or rather, imbalance of power. There is too great an imbalance of power against the Polish people for the Poles to succeed. The Soviet power is too strong.

On the other hand, the success of a country such as Poland, all on her own, would create great problems. Can you imagine a free, non-communist Poland surrounded on all sides by Satellite communist states?

No one can envisage such a state of things. If it did come into being, it would be unstable, it would be a threat to the Soviet Empire, even if Solidarity and all Poles without exception swore that they would respect the obligations of the Warsaw Pact, the leading role of Moscow and of the Communist Party. It would be much too dangerous for Russia, it would be too contagious.

It would have to face constant, concerted pressure from all sides, it would have to wage an unceasing struggle for survival against overwhelming odds.

The West, understandably enough, would find it difficult to give effective support to such an anti-Moscow stand by one country alone. This offers no real solution.

A new political order in Eastern Europe requires changing the balance of power in such a way, that the power at the disposal of Moscow is greatly diminished.

Here we start dealing not with moral and ethical concepts, but with practical politics. We must start considering power factors.

The most powerful country among the satellite states is clearly Poland. Even though I am a Pole, even though I am extremely proud of the achievements of my compatriots, I cannot see them succeeding in changing the structure

of Eastern Europe — and without changing this structure I cannot see any change for the better in any one particular Eastern European country being permanent.

Soviet Power is composed of three types of elements:

1. Russia proper and the Russian nation,
2. The remaining nations of the USSR,
3. The countries of the Soviet Bloc.

The most powerful nation of the Soviet Bloc is Poland, as regards population, military potential, area, and economy, even though at present the latter is not doing too well.

The most powerful nation within the USSR, after Russia proper, is Ukraine. It is the most numerous, (50 million inhabitants as compared with 36 million in Poland) it is also the largest in area, and it is in practically all respects, industry, agriculture and natural resources, the richest part of the Soviet Union.

To my mind it is obvious that to weaken the Soviet Empire, one must deprive it of substantial power factors. I have already said that the Polish power factor is not enough. But if one takes Ukraine into consideration, and if one considers *Ukraine and Poland together*, then there emerges a constellation of power factors that looks promising.

The importance of Ukraine lies in this that it is such a great component of the power of the USSR. Once deprived of Ukraine, the power of Moscow ceases to be so threatening. Once Moscow has to face in Ukraine a situation such as it has been facing in Poland, it will have its hands so full that it will be unable to intervene militarily anywhere else. And then, with the threat of intervention removed, the satellite countries will be able to achieve much more easily what the Hungarians failed to achieve in 1956, the Poles in 1970, in 1976 and in 1980/81, and the Czechs and Slovaks in 1968.

So, to my mind, cooperation between the two strongest non-Russian power factors within the Soviet Bloc, Poland and Ukraine, can completely change the balance of power for the better, for very much the better, not only in East-Central Europe, but for all Europe, and for all the world.

Moscow-directed imperialism, whether Red or any other political colour, would cease to be a real threat.

I have presented a picture of a new European order of things, based on what you might call a Warsaw-Kyiv axis, and if it came to pass, such an order would have distinct advantages for all countries and powers that have had to face up to the Soviet threat. This includes all of NATO.

But the crucial question has not yet been posed: Is this at all possible? You may well ask: this man speaking now (that's me) said a while ago that he wants to talk about *practical policy*. How practical is all this? Or are these simply dreams far removed from reality?

Let us look for a change not at Poland — next door to Ukraine, but at Iran. There, a regime armed to the teeth, the regime of the Shah, was defeated, removed, not by an armed invasion — it was defeated primarily by a well-conducted public relations campaign.

It is immaterial that the man on whose behalf the campaign was waged proved no better than the Shah. It is the mechanics of exploiting discontent that are important. So we see that even a well-organised apparatus of terror

can be defeated by the pen, and by the word; whether broadcast or spread through cassettes.

In Iran we were dealing with, more or less, a nation state. In the case of Ukraine we would be dealing with a powerful nationality, but nevertheless a minority in the Soviet Union. But Ukraine would not be alone facing the power of Moscow.

The success of the *practical* programme I propose depends utterly on cooperation between Poland and Ukraine. And this depends on educating both the nations as to the importance of that cooperation. This in turn depends on access to their minds and to their ears. Getting ideas across to Poland presents no great difficulty, even now, under the state of war. Not just air waves can be put to use, but the printed word gets across with no insuperable difficulty.

But gaining access to the ears, and then to the minds of Ukraine needs a very powerful voice, a very powerful broadcaster — a broadcaster that would understand and espouse the idea of Ukrainian-Polish cooperation.

This then I propose as a new Western policy towards the Russian empire:

A communications campaign aimed at weakening it from inside. Not just bolstering up the satellite nations, or keeping up their spirits, but using the provisions of the Helsinki agreements and the Soviet constitution to the full. This constitution contains the right to secede from the Union. Ukraine and Byelorussia have seats at the United Nations. Let Western policies exploit to the full the advantages that this affords.

Let us be clear about it. Such a policy would be a departure from the post-Yalta political order which the Helsinki Agreement seemed to sanctify. But the Helsinki agreement had another, different side to it: that of guaranteeing human rights, rights of access to ideas, the right to propagate without hindrance these ideas across national frontiers, the right to protect national, cultural and historical character and tradition of various nationalities.

Let the West start using these Helsinki provisions to the advantage of the Captive Nations, and what is more important, *to its own advantage*.

Such a communications campaign, laying particular stress on Ukraine — the strongest non-Russian component of the power of the USSR, and on Poland, the strongest power component of the Soviet Bloc outside the frontiers of the USSR, and on the cooperation of these two nations, can be successful beyond the wildest dreams. — Look at the achievements of the Polish nation. They went beyond what was thought realistically possible. They are being thwarted now.

We need to cross a threshold. Poland is too weak to cross it alone. Poland and Ukraine can do it together. And then others can, and no doubt will, join in.

This will take time and a coordinated campaign to reach the ears and the minds of these two nations. But NATO has been going on for a generation or so. Western Europe has gone through a process of quasi — unification — mainly under the Soviet threat, and the necessity of facing up to Soviet imperialism.

What I am proposing now will remove that threat from Western Europe once and for all. And, more important to us, Eastern Europeans, we will become free as well.

One last word about balance of power. A new European order based on a Polish-Ukrainian axis would be STABLE and safe.

The two main elements would be well balanced. Neither would threaten the other, while together they would be strong enough to resist pressure from a Germany that would in all probability unite. I cannot imagine East Germany surviving as a separate Communist state, if the power of Moscow were pushed back well east of the Dnipro.

But then Russia would still be a considerable power, probably determined to reassert herself. Ukrainians, backed by Poland, would have no difficulty in resisting pressure from Moscow.

But then, the political order in East Europe would become completely shaken up. We would have a period of fluidity, that I mentioned at the beginning of my talk, and then it would set, it would congeal and become permanent. Any changes would have a much greater chance of being made, and acquiring a permanent character, if they were attempted during the period of fluidity.

So, if Poles and Ukrainians should start thinking about rebuilding a Europe based on their two nations as the main building blocs, let others start thinking about it too. For if Ukraine and Poland are successful, a new European order, for all the Baltic nations, for Byelorussia, for Czecho-Slovakia, for Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, will also become possible. And also internal Yugoslav problems might be solved. Yugoslavia is now in cold storage — a hostage to East-West confrontation. Once the confrontation is removed, Yugoslav problems too, will become amenable to a solution.



*Choir of the Ukrainian Youth Association "Trembita" at the mass rally after the ABN/EFC Conference, London, September 26.*

## RELIGION IN BYELORUSSIA

Before the First World War of 1914 the whole of ethnographical Byelorussia with a population of over 11,5 million people was occupied by tsarist Russia. At that time there were in Byelorussia 4,477 churches, 729 chapels, 30 monasteries and 22 convents of Orthodox faith. Also 716 Catholic churches and chapels and a smaller number of Protestant churches (mainly Baptist and Methodist), and about 600 synagogues. About 80% of the Christian population adhered to the Orthodox faith and about 16% were Catholics. Also there were three theological Byelorussian Seminaries: in Vilna, Minsk and Vitebsk.

After the Revolution of October 1917, when the Bolsheviks came to power, the position of the churches, especially of the Orthodox which had enjoyed a privileged status in tsarist Russia, changed dramatically.

Lenin, as one of the leaders and creators of the Bolshevik party, fully adopted the philosophical tenets of Marx and Engels, which were absolutely atheistic and hostile to all religion. It is worthwhile to repeat the much quoted phrase of Marx who described religion as the "opium of the people". In accepting this philosophy, the Bolshevik attitude to all religions was from the start militantly antagonistic. However, it was impossible to destroy religious belief entirely and replace it by atheism overnight. Nevertheless, by sponsoring a programme of atheistic propaganda the Bolsheviks made every effort in the early years to weaken the position of the Church and to undermine the authority of all religion. At first it was ineffective and at the end of the first decade the Bolsheviks started to apply more radical methods.

All properties owned by the churches, monasteries and synagogues and ritual implements were confiscated. Such practices have been constant throughout the Soviet history, varying in intensity but never ceasing in the USSR altogether.

In Byelorussia the greater number of churches were barbarously destroyed. Some were converted into warehouses, cinemas, museums; for example, the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom in Polatsk was converted into a "Museum of Atheism". Others were used as living quarters and even stables. The Uspensky Cathedral built in baroque style in 1743 and the Church of Resurrection (both in Vitebsk) were ruthlessly destroyed by dynamite. Also blown up were the Cathedral of Peter and Paul in Minsk, the Catholic Church and Trinity Monastery in Slutsk, the Synagogue of the 16th century in Mohilew and numerous other such places of worship. Several historical monuments and relics were also destroyed including the Cross of St. Euphrosynia of Polatsk dating from 1161, the Rahvalodau Stone near the village of Dziatlava a historical monument dating from 1171 and hundreds of others.

### Persecutions in Byelorussian SSR

All national political opponents, a great many members of higher church hierarchy, thousands of priests and monks were arrested and were accused of being "enemies of the people", "counter revolutionaries", "foreign spies" and "bourgeois nationalists". The victims, as a rule, were forced to confess to their imaginary crimes. Thousands were sentenced to hard labour camps, some were



tortured to death or shot without trial and many were deported to Siberia. The whole nation was terrorised by the Soviet omnipotent secret police.

The Byelorussian people were deeply religious and distinguished by their strong attachment to private property, so naturally, there was a strong opposition to the Bolsheviks' religious and agricultural policy (forcible collectivisation of their lands). There were numerous anti-communist revolts, acts of sabotage by destruction of property, factories, bridges, burning of crops. The reaction of Moscow was quick and Draconian. "The death penalty was decreed -- a human life for the life of cow or pig slaughtered without permission" (quoted from the book: "Our Secret Allies" by Eugene Lyons, 1953, USA).

Nevertheless, the regime was shaken. That was the reason why the Bolsheviks were forced to grant some limited freedom to churches which were included into the Soviet Constitution (art. 52).

Before World War II there were only a few churches open in all Soviet Byelorussia and mainly for propaganda purposes. Only during the war with Germany and the nearly unopposed German invasion, when the Soviet Union was in deadly danger of defeat and complete collapse, Stalin reluctantly changed his policy concerning religion. He ordered to open at least a number of churches where the priests were still available and made them legal and respectable. He knew perfectly well that it reflected the feeling of the majority of the population. This, of course, was Stalin's reluctant, tactical and temporary retreat from the deeply rooted communist dogma. It was cynically cancelled at least partly at the first opportunity after the war.

### **Present Reality**

Today there are no official statistics and, therefore, no accurate figures concerning the number of churches of different denominations in Byelorussia. But according to estimates drawn from all possible sources like the Journal of the Patriarchate of Moscow, Soviet papers, especially "Holas Radzimy" (Voice of Motherland, Minsk, BSSR), and from the evidence of dissidents, foreign journalists, visitors and letters, there must be:

- 1) About one hundred and thirty Greek Orthodox churches (in Minsk, capital of Byelorussia with a population of over 1,3 million there are only TWO Orthodox churches and one of them in the military cemetery is small),
- 2) About 30-35 Catholic churches,
- 3) About 15-20 churches and prayer-houses of other denominations, and
- 4) Probably about 6-7 synagogues (after the war about 80,000 Jews were left in Byelorussia.)

There is not a single theological Seminary in Byelorussia, whereas before the First World War, as mentioned before, there were three for educating and training future priests. Now there are in the whole USSR only two theological Academies (Leningrad and Zagorsk near Moscow) and three theological Seminaries (Leningrad, Zagorsk and Odessa).

One of the most serious problems facing the Church is the recruitment of candidates for the seminaries. Before being admitted they have to undergo a screening process by the KGB which effectively limits the number of candidates accepted into the seminaries. Such a policy would have a disastrous effect on the Church, because by the end of the decade there would be a shortage of priests.

## Atheistic Propaganda in Byelorussia

According to official Soviet data ("Polymia" — Flame, Minsk, 1970, No. 4), the Council of Atheism employed at that time 5,000 lecturers, about 1,400 propagandists, and 23,000 agitators to disseminate anti-religious propaganda in Byelorussia with the help of the media like radio, television, press, cinemas and schools backed by legislation. It is true that modern methods have been mainly non-violent but psychologically more refined and efficacious.

But neither enormous propaganda nor other more severe police measures were able to eradicate faith and religious feeling, and hunger for freedom of the Byelorussian people. In spite of this martyrdom, religious faith still burns in the hearts of many millions, and if unofficial estimation is correct, more than 40% of the population, especially in villages, express their belief in God, not only elderly but many young educated people, products of Soviet schools and universities.

The insufficient number of clergy and churches created very favourable conditions for the growth of preachers of various sects, mainly Baptists, Adventists and others. The most numerous and the best organised are Baptists — a fact almost unknown before World War I.

### Comparative Statistics (figures are approximate)

#### United Kingdom:\*

*Population (in 1980):* 56,000,000; Churches: 50,000. One church for 1,120 people.

#### Byelorussia:

*Population (in 1914):* 11,000,000; Churches: 6,000. One church for 1,833 people.

*Population (in 1979):* 9,600,000; Churches: 200. One church for 48,000 people.

It is worthwhile to underline that all Soviet Constitutions, including the last one of 1977 (art. 52) guaranteed freedom of conscience, right to profess any religion and to conduct religious worship. Besides, the Soviet leaders pledged in the Helsinki Agreement of 1975 "to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief".

The *Russian Orthodox Church* (the official name) is "governed" by the "*Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia*" (my emphasis) together with the Synod. The Russian character has always been stressed with special prominence, although Russian as such is only one of the numerous Soviet republics while the Patriarch's legal rights extend upon the Orthodox clergy and churches throughout the whole of the USSR.

### The Real Power

The Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR has very extensive powers, almost unlimited, to supervise all Churches and to enforce the Law. Thus the Church in the USSR has been, and still is, entirely subordinated to the atheistic communist Moscow's rulers.

It is worthwhile to remember that according to the first Marxists, religion should have died a natural death a long, long time ago. The history of religion and the Church gives us hope that the spirit will prevail.

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\* particulars taken from a census of the Churches by the Bible Society.

## **The Need for a Western Political-Psychological Offensive Against Russian Imperialism and Communism as an Essential Element of Modern Warfare**

Let me first thank the EFC-ABN and especially Hon. Mr. & Mrs. Yaroslav Stetsko, for inviting me to attend this important conference and let me speak on a subject I believe is of great importance. Now, some of you may wonder what someone from Sweden has to say on the subject of political warfare against the Soviets. Sweden does not have a reputation for being very anti-Soviet. But we have only to go back in history to find that for almost 600 years Sweden fought Russian imperialism and had the heavy burden of checking Russian expansionism. Of course, as you all know, we failed. Otherwise we would not have gathered here today. Sweden was a small and poor country on the north-western edge of the Russian empire. Generation after generation of young Swedish and Finnish farmboys were called up for service in Sweden's eastern provinces, Finland, Ingria, Estonia and northern Latvia, as it was then called, to meet the mighty onslaught of the tsar of Russia and his armies. Should you ever visit Stockholm you are kindly invited to visit the Swedish Army Museum to see the conquered Russian flags on display there. But Sweden was destined to lose the battle of centuries. She ended the 18th century almost bankrupt. Defence, however, is not taken lightly in 20th century Sweden. It is the fourth biggest per capita defence spender in the world after the Soviet Union, the United States and Israel. The eastern border guarded by Sweden's defence forces, 1 650 kilometers, equals in length the NATO front from the outskirts of Hamburg to Naples in southern Italy. The submarine incident in Sweden last year showed that even old outdated Soviet submarines in the Baltic carry nuclear weapons. The world's largest base area, the Kola Peninsular in the Soviet Arctic is very close to Sweden. I will deal for a few minutes with the important subject of political warfare.

I have chosen from a large number of definitions two which I feel come close to the essence of political warfare. One is by professor James Burnham: "Genuine political warfare... is a form of war, and therefore strategic in nature, with specific power objectives... Political warfare contains many branches: all types of agitation, propaganda, subversion, economic manipulations, incitement of riots, terror, diversionary diplomacy, sabotage, guerilla and paramilitary actions etc.; everything, in sum, short of the employment of the main formal armed forces."

The other is by the prominent American strategist Edward Luttwak: "Political warfare is the manipulation of political forces within the enemy camp. It includes the use of subversion and other covert operations but is mainly based on psychological warfare".

This summer I had the opportunity to re-read professor James Burnham's excellent book "Containment or Liberation?" Before quoting from that book, let me say that I am a firm believer in the thesis that it is only, and I mean only, because of the United States that we can meet here in London today. According to Burnham, an American professor said over 30 years ago during

a senate hearing: "I called for a sophisticated, important, and formidable program of political warfare. When I put this up to Mr. George Kennan... Kennan said: "That is impossible. We can't do that kind of thing; we don't have people with the kind of know-how to conduct sophisticated political warfare." There still is no concerted program of political warfare in the West. It is trying to keep up with the USSR in conventional weapons, tactical and strategic nuclear weapons but lacks a clearly defined global strategy and a political warfare offensive. The East has a clearly defined strategy and is waging a political warfare offensive against the West since 1917.

I am a believer in the original Burnham theory that the Third World War started in 1944 or 1945. At that time the Soviets started a unilateral war of aggression against the rest of the world. This war is fought by proxy, by political and psychological war, by terrorism and subversion and by other covert techniques. The aggressors are now in sight of victory. It is very late. But the West can still turn the tables. Kennan was wrong. There are certainly enough people with the know-how to conduct sophisticated political warfare. Many of them are attending this conference, members of the liberation movements of the subjugated peoples, but there are many others: in conservative and other think-tanks all over the world, in colleges and universities and in parliaments and defence institutions. Since 1917 the Soviet Union has waged a total political war against the West interlinked with foreign policy, diplomacy, economic and military and paramilitary activities. There is no time today for me to present the full picture of communist political warfare. You are all here well aware of the Soviet machinery of propaganda, subversion and covert techniques.

Unfortunately government institutions have a limited importance in the global battle of political warfare. There are too many regulations, politicians are controlled by specific political values and they are often changed after a period of three or four years when a new election brings in new parliamentarians. Last but not least there are international laws that limit the operational possibilities of government institutions. Private institutions can operate more freely. In my opinion private institutions in the West must take the initiative to counter the Soviet political offensive. But they can only operate successfully if there is also a change in Western policy. The West is lacking a grand or global strategy.

— The objective must be to promote the liberation process behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. Such an anti-Socialist liberation process would affect the totalitarian communist system in its weakest spot. Liberation movements such as ABN play a crucial role in this process.

— The liberation process must be supported by 1. a political and psychological warfare offensive using television, radio and the printed word and 2. an economic warfare program in which large producers of the West impose controls of goods such as grain, soya, chemicals, medicines, computers and electronic articles. This would greatly harm the oppressive regimes and speed up the liberation process.

In the 1950's a group of concerned American citizens in Orlando, Florida, developed a concept of a Freedom Academy which was to both train specialists and do research in all aspects of the conflict of systems. This concept is still valid in the 1980's. We must only change the semantics from the days of the

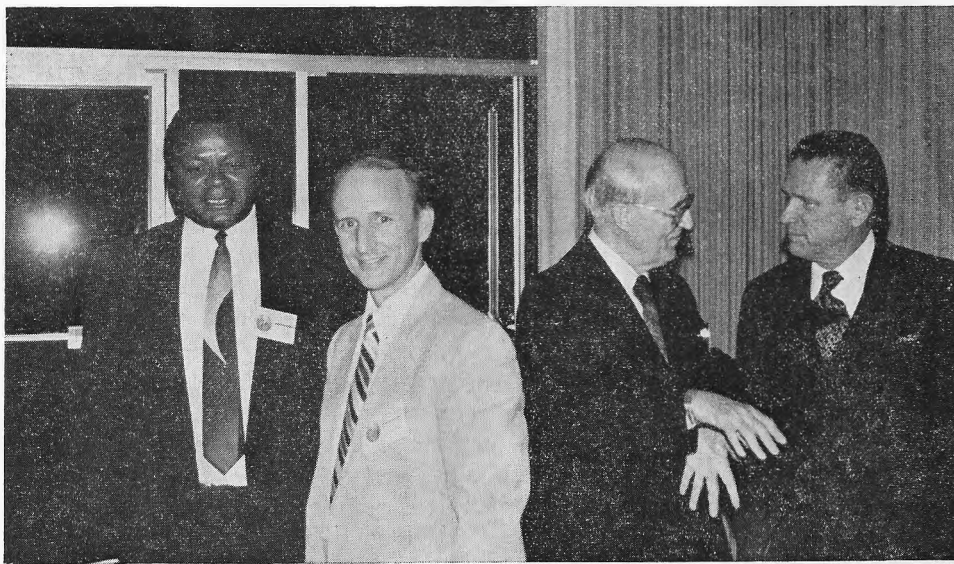
cold war into the modern language of liberation of the 1980s. Political Warfare Academies or PWAs, privately financed, should be the technical basis for political warfare work. To revive this concept, make it sophisticated and up-to-date, it is of great importance that organisations such as EFC-ABN develop a political warfare concept with strategic and tactical considerations in a report that could serve as a foundation for future practical work.

With such a ready concept it will be possible to make private enterprise aware of the importance of the issue. With private enterprise is not meant the large multi-national corporations but the millions of small businesses and individuals who are strongly interested in the preservation of free enterprise through political warfare.

Once support has been found for a political warfare concept the time would come to consider long and short range strategies of this warfare.

— Research would have to be done on a broad basis into Soviet political warfare techniques. Only by exposing this technique to public opinion and leading opinion makers can it be possible to find public support for Western political warfare.

— A continuing study of individuals and groups supporting Soviet and Communist Chinese policy objectives would have to be made. There is both a defensive and offensive side to political warfare. This material should then be made available to political decision-makers and people with influence on public opinion. It is not necessary to say that this material must be of top quality. Such studies already exist. The American Heritage Foundation in a series of Institution Analyses is giving background information on the left in the United States. Western political warfare would also have to be counter-subversive in nature.



*From NARWACL Conference, Phoenix, Arizona, April 23-24, 1982. From L-R: Mr. F. X. Lubota, Mr. D. W. Sellars, Hon. Y. Stetsko, Gen. J. K. Singlaub.*

— The material produced should be directed mainly to experts, specialists and people of political influence in the West. The message should also be directed towards the grass roots in a different form and if necessary with the use of public relations and advertising back-up.

— The growing video market and cable television provides the West with an important tool in political warfare training and the spread of the message in the West. It gives the political warfare planners an opportunity to produce at limited cost material to be shown on television screens. Political parties, organisations and individuals to a growing extent use video for education and entertainment. This should be used to provide political warfare education material. One example could be the production of a documentary on the “communist holocaust”, how Communism since 1917 is responsible for the murder of between 80 and 140 million people. Through modern communication techniques it is possible to make a message much more effective. It is becoming cheaper and cheaper today to buy and use video equipment. Video studios should be obvious equipment of the political warrior. Television should, with the coming of TV-satellites, be perhaps the most important weapon in the armory of the West. Radio still plays an important role in communications in the Soviet empire and in Communist China. The private sector could provide much support for government institutions in this field.

Philip Nicolaidis, a former USICA employee, has recently expressed the importance of political warfare in an admirable way:

“We have”, he wrote, “in fact, been in a state of ‘protracted conflict’ with the Soviet empire since the end of World War II... We must portray the Soviet Union as the last great predatory empire on earth... We must strive to “destabilize” the Soviet Union and its satellites by promoting disaffection between peoples and rulers... We should fan the flames of nationalism... encourage religious revivals behind the Iron Curtain.”

The efforts of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe must be increased manyfold. The establishment of Radio Marti is a welcome addition and why not the establishment of a Radio Free Kabul to broadcast to the Russian conscripts in Afghanistan. And why not Radio Free Estonia, Radio Free Ukraine, Radio Free Latvia and so on.

Here I would like to quote the recently defected Polish ambassador Romnald Spasowski. He recalled building a secret radio during World War II to listen to the BBC. The Beethoven Victory signal then gave him a feeling of hope. Today, he said after his defection, a similar war is being fought over the airwaves, not a war of weapons, but of information, ideas and thought, a war which the forces of freedom *must* win.

But how can we win this war if we don't use all available weapons, if we lack a global strategy and the will to fight the war of ideas. It is late, but not too late, to gather existing experience and the will to wage a political warfare offensive using the knowledge of such organisations of liberation for the subjugated peoples as ABN and of for example the only existing political warfare establishment in the world today, the College of Political Warfare in the Republic of China. We need many colleges of political warfare all over the Western world. But we must start soon.

*Speech delivered at the ABN/EFC Conference, London, September 24-26, 1982*

## SUPPORT TO NATIONAL MOVEMENTS NEEDED

Spokesmen for Western Governments often justify decisions favouring commercial and financial deals with the communist world with arguments like: "Business is business" and "Business engagements have to be respected." Of course, they never say that there is a great deal of difference between good business and bad business and they obviously refuse to even consider the possibility that the Siberian pipeline might result to be the worst and the most ruinous of all the dirty affairs in the entire history of mankind. The fact that Monsieur Mitterand, Herr Schmidt and their like were slightly touched by the doubt that slave labour might have been used in its construction, only after this question became a matter of international scandal, is shameful and revealing. Even if we grant them the benefit of good faith, it still proves their ignorance on Soviet matters and consequently — their unreliability as leaders in the Free World... Pipeline apart, there is something else to be said and it concerns all, nobody excluded: When you trade with the Soviets, you are not selling them just cereals, or machines, or technology, or consumer goods; you are also selling human rights, human lives, you are selling your own security, your liberty, your and your children's future... The question of long-term privileged credits to communist countries, then, deserves only one definition: It is tragi-comic. The tragic part of it is evident. The ridiculous part is that nobody seems to be bothered by the suspicion that true to their ideology, in perfect accordance with their line of behaviour and their moral standards, the communists might be considering the idea that the easiest way to extinguish their debts would be to extinguish their creditors. This is not a paradox. If I were an important international banker and if my name were Reagan, or Mitterand, or Schmidt etc., etc. ... I would have begun to worry long ago.

Quite probably, one of the most hazardous tasks for future historians, when trying to understand and explain political developments in our epoch, would be to establish where in Western leadership was the boundary between stupidity and treason; where was the breaking point; after which limit did, simple, honest ineptness become the involuntary factor of absurd self-destruction? We, ourselves, may never know the exact answer, but we have to acknowledge that it has indeed taken a great lot of stupidity and an awesome lot of treason to reverse the supremacy of the West first, and the so-called "balance of power" afterwards in favour of the Soviet Union; so that we are gathered here to discuss with deep concern "alternatives to nuclear warfare", in the face of the ever-growing global menace of Soviet imperialism and its efficient instrument of aggression — world communism.

It might seem pointless at this stage to recount the endless chain of blunders, errors, miscalculations and failures that have led to the present state of world affairs, except for the inevitable, bitter conclusion that little has been changed meanwhile. Events of utmost importance and significance have taken place, but the mentality, the incomprehension, the prejudice, the fears and the indecisions of Western leadership seem unbelievably to have remained the same. Even when

good will and good faith are taken for granted, the lack of long-term vision (how many Western politicians dare look beyond the next election?) as well as the persistent indulgence in self-betraying wishful thinking continue to push the Free World towards resignation and defeat. Indeed, our great fear is that at a certain moment and under certain conditions, for many people, for too many people the alternative to thermo-nuclear war would become only capitulation.

All official current tendencies of political thought in the West are headed for disaster. It could not be avoided, unless a radical change of mentality and methods takes place, before it is too late. In Vietnam the communists won their war only because they knew, and were constantly reassured, that nobody intended to defeat them. We are observing the same phenomena on a global scale nowadays. We are witnessing the progressive moral, ideological, political and strategic "vietnamisation" of the entire world situation. We have an enemy; an unscrupulous enemy, a mortal enemy — dedicated to our destruction... Do we defend ourselves? Do we make serious plans to defeat him?... Well, not really... We continue helping him. We nourish him. We allow him to grow and become a deadly menace to our existence. We give him generous credits and thus finance his oppression, his repressions and his genocide games. We tolerate his pretence to interfere and try to change our ways of life, but we respect his resentment to any suggestion of innovation in the tyrannic regime and in the obsolete, corrupt economic structure of his miserable society... We accept all this... and we tolerate. It is absurd, it is more than foolish, IT IS CRAZY...

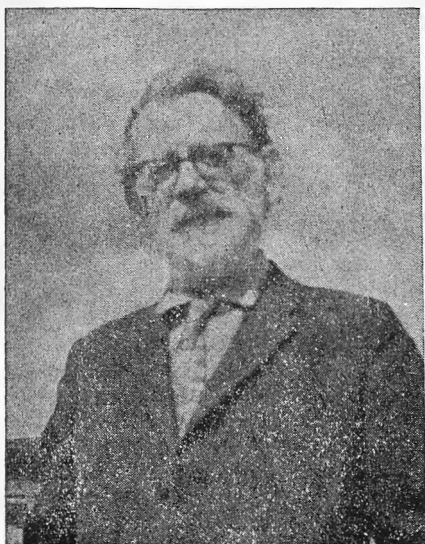
Considering the expansionistic ambitions of Soviet rulers and the ceaseless action of subversion, aiming to destabilise the West, how could we hope to ever pacify the world and save our civilisation? Certainly not by continuing to profuse financial and technological facilitations to the Soviet Russians. Certainly not by reconfirming recognition of their imperialistic "achievements". Certainly not by war. We do not want any young lives needlessly sacrificed. We all know that there is an alternative to war. The first step should be the enunciation by the USA and possibly by their allies, of a *political doctrine — commanding total respect for national self-determination and pledging full and effective support to national liberation movements in all parts of the world, including the Soviet Union.*

The proclamation of such a doctrine, sustained by tangible facts and therefore, by the indispensable conviction that it would truly represent a fundamental commitment for a common policy of all the Free World, which would shake the Soviet empire from top to bottom. Offered a realistic chance for success, latent rebellion to oppression and common dreams of individual and national liberty would explode with irresistible violence. Forced to face popular unrest on a big scale and at the same time to resolve alone social and economic problems which we know — irresolvable without outside aid, the Soviet government will have to liberalise the regime, or concede major autonomy to nationalities under its dominion.

Knowing local situations thoroughly, we feel certain that in both cases the final result will be the disintegration of the Soviet empire. This would be the most desirable and the only painless way for world pacification. It would also be the best possible alternative to war. Last but not least, it would represent the true salvation of the peoples subjugated in the Soviet Union itself.



## I N M E M O R I A M



On Saturday, November 27, 1982, in Todmorden, Great Britain, JOHN GRAHAM — a member of the Honorary Presidium of the European Freedom Council (EFC), one of the co-founders of the EFC, a co-worker of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and a great and dear friend of the subjugated nations — passed away following a prolonged and painful illness. The hearts of all freedom fighters and all those who hold dear the principles of national independence and freedom are filled with sorrow

and remorse, since with the passing away of John Graham the cause of liberation and freedom of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism has lost one of its most active and astute proponents.

John Graham was a journalist and political activist in the ranks of British Labour Party and He spent a good part of the 75 years of His creative and industrious life in propagating the cause of freedom for the subjugated nations both in Great Britain and on various international political fora. He began His political career before the outbreak of World War II, working as a political activist in His electoral district during the parliamentary elections. During the war, He worked in the Ministry of Finance of Great Britain. Following the war He had the opportunity to represent British interests in a number of diplomatic missions as an officer of the Ministry of Finances. In His diplomatic missions the Deceased also travelled to Moscow, where He acquired a deep understanding of the Russian imperialist and communist system of slavery. Later, this understanding became a significant factor in the close and active friendship that was to develop between Him and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

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The doubt that such a proposition might result to be just another example of wishful thinking is legitimate. Of course, it is anyway more realistic than the hopes of those who believe to buy good will while feeding, arming and financing the USSR. We are aware that the success of our suggestion presumes an identity of purpose and determination of the leading Free World Powers, which is hard to achieve. It would be up to the Western peoples and governments to try to find a solution of this problem, to read and interpret the "writing on the wall" intelligently and act accordingly.

By expressing frankly our views, by confirming our faith in the ideals of liberty and democracy, we — the exiled representatives of our enslaved countries, have again fulfilled our duty.

In the early sixties John Graham became a member of the Anglo-Ukrainian Parliamentary Group and in 1967 became its Secretary-General, a position which He maintained for the rest of His life. He was a leading member of the European Freedom Council since its establishment and was one of the co-founders and later the Chairman of the British League for European Freedom, established in 1968. He was also editor-in-chief of the *Anglo-Ukrainian News* and a close co-worker of the *ABN Correspondence* and the *Ukrainian Review*. The Deceased was also the chief British correspondent at the Karlsruhe trial of B. Stashynsky, a KGB agent who on the direct orders of the Politburo of the CPSU murdered Stepan Bandera — the Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — in Munich in 1959. John Graham was

a great admirer of His Beatitude Yosyf I — the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and a close friend of Yaroslav Stetsko — the President of the ABN, and of many freedom fighters from Ukraine and other subjugated nations in Great Britain and other countries of Europe.

With the passing away of John Graham, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the European Freedom Council, as well as all freedom-loving peoples have lost a sincere and dedicated friend, an exemplary anti-communist and a great fighter against Russian imperialism and for the cause of freedom for nations and individuals.

In mourning the death of our close friend, we extend our most sincere condolences to His family with whom we share their grief and sorrow.

May He rest in peace.



*WACL President, O. Kuboki, with ABN President, Y. Stetsko, in the centre; others: Byelorussian, Croatian, Latvian and Ukrainian Delegates.*

## **The ABN Alternative to Thermo-Nuclear War**

The shadow of a thermo-nuclear holocaust looms over the entire world. Freedom-loving humankind must face the very real possibility of complete extinction. This has not stopped the Russian imperialists, however, from exploiting Western fears of a thermo-nuclear confrontation in pursuing their own imperio-colonial aims. Moscow has over and over again used its huge thermo-nuclear capacity as an overt trump card to force the West to continuously acquiesce to its expansionist measures. As a result, a political atmosphere of a "new Rappalo" has been created in Western Europe in particular, and a generally defeatist-pacifist attitude has been increasingly permeating Western democratic societies and paralyzing their moral will to fight.

### **Western Military Inferiority**

Moscow has transformed its vast atomic arsenal into a potent psychological-political weapon, overtly used to terrorize the citizenry of free democratic societies. Western liberal-democratic, capitalist institutions have also considerably added to this moral and political debacle, by nurturing a materialistic, hedonistic way of life, to which the heroic values of the Western historic past are completely anathema. Those rare Western statesmen who have been courageous enough to identify the Russian imperio-colonial threat and to raise the political awareness of the citizenry of their respective countries have been discredited as "fascists", "warmongers", and "hawks", — labels taken directly from the Bolshevik political lexicon. Western Democracies, in having to take into account this morally crippled and psychologically terrorized condition of their people, are incapable of significantly building up their conventional military potential, which in a large measure depends on human capacity, thereby allowing the Russians an overwhelming advantage in this area. Hence, in the face of a vast Russian thermo-nuclear arsenal that is burgeoning at an alarming rate, the West has been relegated to a vulnerable position of futilely trying to maintain nuclear parity with the USSR, which is not constricted by public opinion in projecting capital outlays for its military expenditures.

From its position of absolute military inferiority with respect to conventional armaments, the West has been forced to develop a nuclear "first-strike" option, which would presumably deter the USSR from launching a conventional military offensive on Western Europe. Needless to say, Moscow has fully exploited NATO's position in this regard for its propaganda purposes in projecting an image of NATO, and the United States in particular, as the principal instigator and threat of World War III.

### **A Flawed NATO Strategy.**

Moscow has deployed a considerable amount of its intercontinental and medium-range ballistic missiles (SS—4, SS—5, SS—20) on the territories of the subjugated nations, particularly in Ukraine. NATO's response has been to target their nuclear arsenal primarily on these territories, which underlines

its complete lack of understanding of the true Russian imperialist nature of the USSR and of the multifaceted national liberation processes presently evolving in the Russian empire. In the event of a conventional military confrontation with the West, Moscow need not become overpreoccupied with the possibility of a nuclear escalation of hostilities, since strictly Russian ethnographic territories would be left relatively unscathed.

Secondly, Moscow is counting on a considerable segment of the population of the subjugated nations to actively enter the war *against the West*, after receiving an inordinate dose of anti-Western propaganda and after NATO's missiles have destroyed vast areas of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, which will only serve to prove Moscow's propaganda statements. The basic flaw in NATO's nuclear strategy is that it totally neglects to consider the fact that the USSR is essentially a Russian imperialist system, the primary power base of which is precisely the dominant position of the Russian minority and the prevalence of the idea of "Mother Russia" as such. If the Western Powers are to have any chance of securing allegiance of the subjugated nations, then their nuclear strategy must be fundamentally overhauled in the sense that their missiles be *exclusively* targeted on Russian ethnographic territories, as was recently suggested by General Maxwell D. Taylor, a former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of the US Armed Forces in an article in the "Washington Post".

### **Russian Imperialism — the Primary Threat of Nuclear War.**

The bare fact, which the West fears to admit, is that the danger of nuclear holocaust cannot be simply negotiated away. The peoples of the Free World must come to understand that nuclear weapons cannot be totally removed from the face of the earth. They are with us to stay. However, if future generations are to live freely without the ominous shadow of a thermo-nuclear Armageddon hanging over their heads, then all freedom-loving humankind must vigilantly seek to liquidate the present primary threat of thermo-nuclear war (and the concomitant factor of thermo-nuclear human extinction), its *causa sui*, which lies in the continued existence of an imperialist Russian prison of nations, bent on establishing its neo-colonial hegemony over the entire world.

*This threat can be precluded only with the elimination of its root cause through the dissolution of the Russian empire from within by the national-liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations.*

### **The Only Alternative.**

A strategy of simultaneous and coordinated national revolutionary uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations, led by armed insurgent formations, is the only viable and realistic alternative to thermo-nuclear war. Several considerations enter into our discussion of this point.

The Russian population in the USSR according to the most recent official census reports, which invariably are doctored to the benefit of the Russians, is already almost in a minority. Moreover, on the basis of present demographic projections, in a decade at least every third inhabitant of the USSR will be Islamic. This is a fact of considerable importance, especially when one takes into account the increasingly restless nature of the subjugated Islamic peoples

in the Russian prison of nations. The present Afghan war of liberation clearly demonstrates the irresistible power of religious faith when it is embodied in a national ideal. The Afghan Mujahideen's essentially religious tenet — "Allah Akhbad" ("God is great") — has been transformed into a potent revolutionary slogan directed against the Russian atheistic, communist, imperio-colonial system of subjugation.

The national statistical breakdown of the population of the Russian empire is reflected *per se* in the national composition of the Soviet army. Moscow is forced to arm the young men of the subjugated nations, if its expansionist objectives are to be fulfilled. Hence, *Moscow by necessity must give the subjugated nations the instruments of the future destruction of the Russian prison of nations.* In light of this fact, NATO can significantly neutralize, even decisively reverse the Russians' conventional military advantage by actively seeking to gain the allegiance of the soldiers of the Soviet army from the subjugated nations. This fact acquires all the more significance when the "satellite" countries are included in the above power equation. Two-thirds of the soldiers of the Warsaw Pact are non-Russian, and therefore, represent, potentially at least, a future insurgent force of national liberation within the Russian prison of nations to be added to the existing revolutionary underground liberation movements in each of the subjugated nations.

Furthermore, the entire spectrum of internal contradictions and weaknesses of the Russian-Bolshevik system, ranging from the socio-economic decrepitude of the USSR to the ideological bankruptcy of Communism-Marxism-Leninism as a political ideal, only further accentuate the power potential of the subjugated nations. *They are the Achilles' heel of the Russian prison of nations.*

### **A Liberation Revolution Cannot Provoke Nuclear War.**

It would be a mistake to think that a national-liberation struggle can provoke an atomic catastrophe, or even a war on a higher scale. The apex of this struggle will be simultaneous, synchronized and coordinated revolutionary uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations, whose underground leaderships will then be able to implement to the fullest all forms of insurgent-guerrilla warfare against the Russian occupational system and terror apparatus. It must be remembered that the Russian occupational system is highly centralized, total and wholistic, in that it is designed to encompass all spheres of life in the subjugated nations, imposing a Russian way of life on these nations. This will have negative consequences for the Russian imperialist regime, since even the slightest breakdown in one area of the system will have reverberating repercussions over the entire system as a whole. Therefore, Moscow will not be able to isolate the national-liberation struggle of only one nation (which may serve as the necessary spark for national uprisings throughout the entire empire), but it will be forced to fight on several fronts in order to preserve its imperio-colonial dominion intact.

In this kind of situation all of Moscow's vast thermo-nuclear arsenal is rendered completely useless and impotent. This fact, which stands as a major premiss of an insurgent-liberation alternative to thermo-nuclear war, has been proven many times over in the not-so-distant past, for instance in the mass

strikes and uprisings of political prisoners in Russian concentration camps in the 1950's. And this fact is being proven today in Afghanistan or in Poland, where Moscow is barely able to hold its own in spite of its ominous thermo-nuclear capacity. *The Kremlin cannot afford to drop its atom bombs on the insurgents, since this would be tantamount to suicide. Moscow would then be destroying its own colonial forces and terror apparatus (the KGB, Russian occupational forces, the Russian colonialist population in the subjugated nations) by which it is able to maintain Russian imperio-colonial rule in the subjugated nations.*

### **Our Warning to the Free World**

In advancing this alternative to thermo-nuclear war, the subjugated nations concurrently caution the Free World not to continue their "balance of power" and détente politics, with all the implications of these policies, in the hope that the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations will of and by itself always remain a last-ditch salvation option. This alternative cannot be effectuated, if the West continues to bolster the Russian empire through multi-level trade relations and transfers of sophisticated technological equipment to the USSR. If the West continues to recognize the "inviolability" of the borders of the Russian prison of nations and the "integrity" of the Bolshevik system of subjugation, then the subjugated nations have no choice but to consider the Western Powers the *de facto* allies of Moscow, who will be co-responsible for a future destruction of freedom-loving humankind. *Our alternative is not meant to help those who are digging their own grave.* This alternative will only then have any meaning for the Free World, when the Free World takes active measures *to save itself.*



*ABN and Ukrainian delegates at the 15th WACL Conference.*

## **POLISH PERSPECTIVES**

The Polish Nation never accepted the infamous dictatorship of the Yalta Agreement which was signed without its consent and participation when reviewing the political situation in Poland.

During the first decade after World War II, the resistance of the Polish people against the enforced system was unorganised, but already from the first half of the 1950's it changed into a systematic and continuous resistance towards the communist regime. "Under this resistance," according to Leshek Mochulski, leader of the independent opposition, the Polish People's Republic, "the present form of Soviet rule over Poland started to reform and change itself, assimilating to the conditions and camouflaging itself under polinization".

This did not help the communists. Two years ago the communist regime in Poland showed its ideological and moral bankruptcy. Before the eyes of the world, the Communist Party of Poland, as a "puppet" of Moscow, suffered defeat. It became apparent that Polish people have not surrendered to decades of indoctrination. It is enough to look at the triumph of the Catholic Church and see how massively the Polish people were strengthening the independent movement 'Solidarity'. How they became massively active in various ways in the struggle for independence. Only the casual observer could conclude that the Soviet rulers with the help of 'quisling' traitors from the Polish Communist Party suppressed the Polish strive to freedom and independence. The war declared against Poland on the 13th December 1981 only strengthened the determination of the Polish people of the necessity for their struggle for independence. Even more, it immeasurably strengthened the political maturity of the nation.

It is imperative to know that before the 13th December there were various views about Bolshevism being reformed under the organised and universal pressure towards socialism, with a so-called 'human face', that it is capable of extending the amount of freedom.

Today, after the lesson of the so-called 'Spring of Prague' in 1968, aggression in Afghanistan and the 13th of December in Poland, no one has any more illusions about the fact that the Soviet Union is capable of granting any liberalization.

In this situation, all the revisionist groups who were counting on the reforms and evolution of the communist system and the formation of the socialist system with a 'human face' (it is obvious that communism is anti-humanitarian and a contradiction to all humanity) have lost all the support of the Polish people. The communists never give up complete power where they rule and have no intention of sharing that power with anybody else.

The Polish Society has given full credence to those political conceptions from amongst the opposition which from the start formed a programme of an uncompromising fight for independence, and rejected any form of collaboration with the regime.

The facts are apparent. In Poland we see the rebirth of a political underground based on the examples of previous struggles for independence. There also came about a natural development of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) from amongst the workers in Silesia and Pommerania, at the universities and secondary schools. Even the communist press admitted to this in its attacks on the KPN.

I can reliably confirm that whereas a year ago we were judging our influence optimistically at 30%, so now that indicator has doubled.

The above conclusions are of fundamental importance in foretelling the development of future events. The polarization is paramount. The "puppet" communist regime — against the whole nation determined in its struggle for independence!

In this situation the future of the Polish Nation could be summed up as follows: The Polish Nation will never accept communist rule as a Soviet "puppet", and the communists will never represent the will of the nation. Secondly, under the conception 'divide et impera', the regime will seek all possibilities to divide and destroy every bit of opposition and also the Church. Thirdly, the nation in its actions will be strengthened in its conviction that the regaining of independence is possible only after the fall of the Soviet Empire. Fourthly, on the crossroads of the above resolve, the decisive factor will be the action of the Polish Church, having its utmost the aim of the preservation of the biological and cultural substance of the Polish Nation.

One can be certain that in Poland there will be an escalation of the struggle for independence and, as a result of this, an escalation of communist terror, based on the threats of an immediate Soviet intervention. The form of that future is not so simple. In practice it will be modified by such events as internal party struggle in Poland and in the whole communist bloc, and not least by the international situation.

The stand of the nation will be formed by two different components: prospective thought and emotions caused by the worsening economic situation. The political and economic situation is strengthening the revolutionary zeal, the possibility of an explosion is not excluded. Despair which grips the people leads to the conclusion that they have nothing to lose except the yoke.

The same dogma of Marx could be shown as real, which the communists often forget.

That prospect is worrying the West, but the fear does not lead it to the revision of the Yalta Agreement, which became the basis of this dangerous situation. The egoistic West is worried first of all by how to recover the money invested in the Soviet Empire. The logic of self-preservation should dictate a stoppage of the financing of communism. However, the banks are financing the Soviet Union as well as their quest for the subjugation of the world. From that follows the realization of the teachings of Lenin that "the capitalists will even sell the rope by which they will be hanged". The chances of the repayment of the debts by the Polish communist regime and by other Moscow satellites are no better than the hopes of France trying to regain the debts from Tsarist Russia.

The prospect of an explosion in Poland will not be without influence on the development of events in other countries of Soviet influence.



The Soviet Empire is becoming a cauldron which is threatened by an inevitable explosion and final catastrophe.

One should never forget that within the borders of the Soviet Union, the economic situation is worsening with every day. That fact, together with the situation in the whole imperial bloc, may cause the Kremlin to come to the conclusion that only military action can save the Soviet Union from its disintegration.

We had such an example in 1939 when Stalin, together with Hitler, started World War II and later, on his own territory, changed that war into the so-called 'Fatherland's War'. This war together with great help from the West saved Stalin's Russia from its downfall. Will the same scheme be repeated again?

— It will depend greatly on the stand of the West.

There are two ways which could lead to the downfall of the Soviet Empire: the first one, which I have already mentioned, that is, revolutionary liberation movements within the Russian Empire, by the simultaneous stoppage of financial and technological help from the West. Second, World War III as a result of the present policy of detente and peaceful coexistence which the Kremlin regards as a sign of weakness and decadence of the West.

In answer to a question put to me by an American T.V. correspondent, "What is the Polish people's view on the dangers of World War III?" my answer was: "We do not wish for a Third World War, just as every other level-headed person does not, but that war does not depend on us. We should not be hoodwinked into believing that to fight for the freedom and independence, for the liberation from occupation and tyranny, we are acting as war-mongers and against world peace. However, we will never resign from our rights and our desires because we do not want to continue to live on our knees. It was not us who financed communism and therefore we feel no moral obligation not to fight it. We desire its downfall and in that we see the way to independence — both ours and that of all the nations subjugated by Bolshevism."

The tactics of Stalin are ingenious and inadequate: "Before communists start the crusade against the capitalist world, millions of Soviet soldiers, thousands of our agents have to be sent before them, millions of rubles and propaganda. Our aggression is above all a moral aggression before it becomes a military one; first, disarm and then kill". The initial phase of this aggression has been fulfilled. There is not much time left to stand against the placed final phase.

For this reason, the Polish people and other nations occupied by the Soviet Union are fighting not only for their freedom, but are also defending the freedom of the, as yet, Free World.

Furthermore, what sort of alternative for humanity is the Third World War when, as someone summed up, as a result of the so-called detente and the expansion of Bolshevism in the world after the Second World War more than 67 million people perished? Those millions are victims of the Stalinist-Bolshevik genocide of nations within the Empire — victims of the wars in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Angola, Ethiopia, Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Afghanistan and many other countries in which the Soviet Union has intervened or sent their agents, mercenaries and weapons.

## A GREAT OPPORTUNITY

Spain, the country I represent at this conference, is living through hectic days of a great political activity. We are deeply submerged in an electoral campaign which may bring to the Iberic Peninsula many years of progress and social peace, or years of uncertainty, because everything depends on who will come out as the winner of the elections on October 28. The great contenders are the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) on the extreme left of all European social democratic and socialist parties, and the Alianza Popular, a moderate, conservative and progressive party on the right, led by our good friend, Mr. Manuel Fraga Iribarne, whose participation was scheduled at this conference. For obvious reasons (the elections were scheduled six months ahead of time, after planning this conference), he won't be able to take part in our meetings, but will be represented by one of his closest cooperators, M. José Félix González Noriega, a lawyer and a member of the Institute for International Affairs (Instituto de Cuestiones Internacionales), who will read his speech at the open session on Saturday, September 25, at 2 p.m.

The Soviet Union, using its fifth column (the Spanish Communist Party, the Association of Friends, the environmentalists' groups and many other organizations) is able, and very successfully indeed, to our great sorrow, to turn away the attention of the Hispanic world from everything that is happening in its own empire, in its prisons and concentration camps, filled with people fighting for justice, freedom of their religious beliefs and national dignity. The Spanish society is not prepared to resist the enormous tide of the Bolshevik propaganda that came down on our country after Gen. Franco's death, seeking a revenge after what had happened in the Civil War. There is a great opportunity for the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations today: to contribute to the exposure of Bolshevik totalitarianism, that, no matter how paradoxical it may seem to us, supports the claims of Catalans, Basques, Galicians, Valencians, Asturians and even the people from Murcia and Aragón, taking advantage of any sprouting of national feelings amid such great and ancient peoples as the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, etc. Our duty is to open the eyes of our Catalan and Basque friends, to look for the way into their souls and hearts and to point out the threat coming from, what they call, "Socialist Europe". Our Georgian friends whom the Basques consider as their first cousins of the past (historical or imaginery?) for the semblance of their languages, have a duty and an obligation to intervene right now.

Spain is also a country of the great Arab-Jewish traditions. Seven centuries of Arab occupation left their deep footprints. There are deep traditional friendly ties with North African, with the Arab and Jewish people. The Spanish sephardic Jews represent an important part among the Israeli citizens, their diaspora is settled in Morocco, Turkey, Tunisia, and so on. Because of this, our friends from Turkestan and Afghanistan, who keep alive their Islamic heritage, should immediately get in touch with their Muslim friends, who live in the old "Al Andalus" and share with them their historical experiences.

We also appeal to our Catholics to participate more effectively in revealing what is happening in the churches of Croatia, Lithuania, Ukraine, etc. In Spain catholicism is still strong, but is falling in the traps laid by false prophets, disguised as liberal priests. In exchange for this help we ask of you, we Spanish are offering our cooperation as well as the cooperation of our centrist and rightist political parties and our cultural and religious institutions.

(*ABN/EFC Conference, London 24-26, September, 1982*)

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*Victoria Masur*

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## **THE HELSINKI ACCORDS**

**— a Progressive or Inhibiting factor in the Development of Liberation Processes.**

On August 1, 1975 the governments of 33 European countries and those of the United States and Canada signed the so-called Helsinki Accords, which included a set of principles dealing with such matters as equality of states, the non-use of force, the inviolability of frontiers, the right of peaceful change of the Helsinki Accords. The Kyiv Helsinki group was established in the fall and technological cooperation and finally "freer movement" and contacts, individually and collectively, "between the East and the West". The Final Act of the agreement was ratified by all the participants and it was decided that every two years a meeting would be held to see whether the agreement has been fully observed.

### **Helsinki Monitoring Groups:**

There have been established in the USSR several Helsinki watch groups in individual non-Russian nations to inform the signatory nations and the world at large about the violation of human and national rights in the USSR. One such watch group is the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. The Kyiv Helsinki group was established in the fall of 1976 headed by Mykola Rudenko, a writer and poet, with such other prominent Ukrainian intellectuals as Oleksa Tykhy, Myroslav Marynovych, Mykola Matuselych, Lev Lukyanenko, Oles Berdnyk, Ivan Kandyba, Ivan Svitlychny, Oksana Meshko and Vyacheslav Chornovil. The Helsinki group was formed for two immediate reasons:

1. The absence of independent Ukraine represented by Ukrainian National Liberation Movement (similarly as PLO in the UN) at the Helsinki Conference. The Kyiv group considered the absence of Ukraine a nation of 50 million people to be illegal and tending to undermine the moral and practical force of the Accords.

2. The linking of universal ideas of national and human rights to the situation in Ukraine. Implementation of the Final Act must be guaranteed by the participation of Ukraine and by bringing to world attention violation of human and national rights in Ukraine and the present status of the Ukrainian nation.

## A Collection of Contradictions

The Western powers acknowledged in Article III of the Final Act of Helsinki the inviolability of the boundaries of the Russian colonial empire for example the status quo of enslavement and national oppression. They further acknowledged in Art. IV the territorial integrity of the empire but simultaneously in Art. VIII the rights of the peoples to self determination and their full freedom to choose their internal and external political status as they like and in Art. VII they proclaimed that the human rights, the fundamental liberties and the rights of the national minorities must be respected. The recognition of the status quo — i. e., the totalitarian Russian empire — on the one hand and of the right to national freedom and independence — i. e., the dissolution of the empire and the implementation of the human rights and liberties in this empire on the other, is contradictory in itself; there never existed an empire in which the subjugated peoples were able to implement the human rights irrespective of the national rights without restoring or attaining their national independence beforehand.

### General Observations:

From the viewpoint of the revolutionary process, the Helsinki Accords were a blow to the revolutionary and liberation movements of the non-Russian peoples who are striving for their freedom and national independence. They were even a greater blow than the Yalta agreement over 30 years ago which an English politician called the greatest scandal of the 20th century.

The whole world rightly expected that the USA and her allies would insist on the revision of the Yalta Agreement and the right of all oppressed peoples outside and inside the Russian empire to national independence. But instead of this they went to Helsinki where they officially recognized Russia's claim to everything they gave Stalin in Yalta.

The Western participating states to the Helsinki Conference must have been extremely naive in expecting Soviet Russia's honoring these Accords. In the past Soviet Russia has been party to numerous international conventions and agreements which should have secured human rights for enslaved peoples. None of which have been complied with for example: the UN Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention on civil and political rights of 1973 and many others. Furthermore there was no reason to believe that Soviet Russia would obey the principles of the Helsinki Accords, this empire is held together by fear and violence. If Soviet Russia were to do so then the colonial empire would disintegrate.

The signing of the Helsinki Accords was a major political and psychological victory for Communist Russia and a humiliating defeat for the Western powers, especially the United States which helped make this victory possible for Moscow, by its participation.

Our objections to the Helsinki Accords are motivated by the following considerations:

1. First of all, they gave the Soviet Union the long sought agreement and acceptance of the status quo of the political division of Europe, including the

*Soviet Russian domination of a part of Germany and a number of Eastern European countries — Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria — a victory never dreamt of by the aggressive Russian Tsars.*

2. *The Helsinki Accords excluded European peoples, including 50 million Ukrainians, 12 million Byelorussians, over 8 million Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians, and over 12 million Armenians, Azerbaidjanis and Georgians, from participating in the Helsinki Conference because they were and still are coerced into political silence by the oppressive and totalitarian regime of Communist Russia.*

3. The Soviet Union ratified the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and its social and economic counterparts in the fall of 1973 without the least attention to their implementation — indeed, the Declaration serves the Soviet Union primarily as a catalogue of human rights of which it can deprive the people.

The net effect of the entire Helsinki experience was to sanctify the present political status quo.

In the Canadian Parliament at the time, Sen. Paul Zuyk charged that Canada, by signing the Helsinki document, “was bowing to commercial and trade pressures exerted by the Soviet Union...”

Ask yourself how many people the Western world has liberated from Communism and then compare that with the people Communism has annexed by brute force and you will see what we are up against...” He said that great concern has been expressed in both Canada and the United States that the “Helsinki document should have tacitly accepted the Soviet acquisition of such countries as Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine and others.”

In conclusion, we have to admit that the Helsinki groups and their activities in the USSR, particularly in Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia and Georgia, had brought to the forefront the traditional Soviet Russian disregard for written covenants and had exposed the naked terror toward those individuals who thought that the Helsinki Accords would force Moscow to a more civilized behavior toward its own citizens. But this has not happened. If anything it has aided the Soviet Russians in bringing dissidents out into the open; and with their complete disregard to the Helsinki Accords and Western opinion, they have arrested and terrorized these people. The signing of the Helsinki Accords was a major political and psychological victory for Communist Russia and a humiliating defeat for the West inasmuch as the West, without signing a peace treaty concerning Central and Eastern Europe, had *de facto* recognized the Soviet territorial conquest of Europe and therefore had delayed perhaps forever, the liberation of the non-Russian nations both within and outside the Soviet Union.

History will undoubtedly prove that the Helsinki Conference was a tragedy for the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, and for Europe as a whole, in which tragedy the United States and Canada were active participants.

## JOINT COMMUNIQUE

15th WACL & 28th APACL Conference  
Tokyo, Japan, December 6-9, 1982.

The 15th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and the 28th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) were jointly held in Tokyo, Japan, on December 6-9, 1982. There were 302 delegates and observers from 110 countries and territories throughout the world who actively participated in the Conference, demonstrating a spirit and determination to enhance the world's freedom forces against Communist aggression and expansion.

In the might of the latest actions of the Chinese and Russian Communists and their proxies, the Conference urges the Free World to be alert to the following:

— The Chinese and Russian Communists share the same Marxist-Leninist ideology with the sole aim at world domination at the expense of free nations.

— The current Moscow-Peking move towards rapprochement is rather a tactical maneuver with a view to obtaining more technical knowhow and economic benefits from the United States of America, Japan and other free nations.

— The Free World should not indulge in the delusion that by being friendly with the Chinese Communists, the latter may check Soviet Russia, as this can only enhance the prestige of the Chinese Communists to bargain with the Russians, thus strengthening the joint Red bloc against world peace and freedom.

As predicted by WACL and APACL, the Communist ideology is irreconcilable with freedom and democracy, for man's urge for freedom, democracy, national independence and human rights must be fulfilled if lasting peace is to be accomplished.

Accordingly, WACL and APACL have adopted the Conference Theme — "A Global Strategy to Safeguard Human Freedom" — as a guideline for the common endeavor of all freedom-loving peoples to study effective measures to counter Marxism-Leninism. Our specific calls are as follows:

— The United States is urged to take lead in formulating a global anti-Communist strategy, with a vigorous campaign to put Marxism-Leninism in "the ash heap of history" and to support the national liberation struggle of subjugated nations for their national independence and freedom, as endorsed by U.S. President Ronald Reagan in his recent proclamation on captive nations.

— Free nations in Asia ought to strengthen their regional systems; to enhance ASEAN and ANZUS; to step up cultural, economic and technical co-operation among nations of Northeast Asia, the South Pacific and Oceania; to urge Japan to contribute more positively to the region's freedom and security; and to urge the United States to provide the necessary arms sales to the Republic of China to keep her strategic position in the Western Pacific.

— While the Chinese Communists pretend to pursue a so-called policy of mildness of Teng Hsiao-ping, they are virtually resorting to expansionism in competition with Moscow and suppressing dissidence and resistance internally. All free nations should be aware of the one billion Chinese people's desire for

national reunification in freedom and democracy, to whom strong support should be provided.

— In North Korea more than 100,000 “dissidents” are subjected to inhuman treatment in eight concentration camps. WACL & APACL strongly denounce the North Korean acts of violation of human rights and fully endorse the early deliverance of the captive North Koreans. The Republic of Korea has taken a realistic approach to the peaceful reunification of the divided Korean peninsula. WACL and APACL condemn North Korean provocations and subversive activities for communizing all of Korea.

— Effective action should be taken to bring about peace in the Middle East. There should be an early end to the strife in Lebanon, a termination of the Iraqi-Iranian war, and a speedy settlement of the Palestinian issue. The Free World should, through mass media and other means, bring pressure to bear upon Soviet Russia to withdraw from Afghanistan, and furthermore should provide military assistance to Afghan freedom-fighters.

— Free nations should support the Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Kampucheans, Laotians, Vietnamese and other subjugated peoples who are heroically fighting for freedom and national independence. Soviet Russia must release political and religious prisoners, such as Yuriy Shukhevych, recently blinded by KGB, and abolish slave camps and psychiatric prisons which are suppressing freedom-fighters and dissidents.

— In Latin America, there should be appropriate sanctions against Communist infiltration and subversion, such as the pretense of liberation theology which are virtually promoting Communist terrorism. Active assistance should go to free Cubans to overthrow the Castro tyranny. There should be feasible measures against Communist aggression and expansion, such as the American aid to the armies of Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador.

— With the intention to communize African states, Moscow has been using Cubans in proxy wars. The Free World should support the African fight for their freedom and democracy, cooperate with the Africans in all endeavors to promote their prosperity, and further accord free options to African states the necessary arms sales against Communism.

— NATO and the armed forces of neutral European states play an important role in the maintenance of peace and security in the world. They should be further strengthened so as to be able to deter new Soviet Russian aggression as well as to launch positive offensives to restore freedom to captive peoples. The free Western democracies must terminate all forms of assistance to the USSR, particularly with regard to Western-sponsored construction of the Siberian pipeline which will be built by the slave labor of political prisoners from subjugated nations.

The Conference reiterates the WACL/APACL unwavering stand against the Russian Communists, the Chinese Communists and all other Marxist-Leninists. The freedom-loving peoples everywhere should unite irrespective of race, nationality and religion to pursue ideological, political and economic warfare against the Communists for the purpose of freedom and world peace.

The Conference has resolved to hold the 16th WACL Conference in 1983. The 29th APACL Conference will be held at the same time. The participants in this Conference wish to express their profound appreciation to the govern-

ment and people of Japan for their contribution to the cause of freedom, and to the WACL/APACL Japan Chapter for the high efficiency which made this Conference a great success.

### 15th WACL Conference Supports National Liberation

*Whereas*, Russia has subjugated many freedom-loving nations in its drive to conquer the world, forcibly imposing upon them an inimical system of Bolshevism, which is in itself a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, and

*Whereas*, Bolshevism aims to completely eradicate the intrinsic spiritual and moral values and attributes of these subjugated nations by instituting a brutal policy of Russification in all spheres of life, with the intent of forcibly creating an artificial "historical entity" — a "Soviet people", which amounts to nothing less than a Russian super-nation, and

*Whereas*, Lenin and the Bolsheviks, after coming to power in Russia, began an all-out campaign against the reestablished Ukrainian Independent State and against the other newly-liberated nations

formerly enslaved in the Russian tsarist empire, and with the aid of the Entente Powers forcibly reincorporated these nations into the Russian empire, reestablished with the creation of the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) exactly sixty years ago, and

*Whereas*, Moscow utilizes the so-called Russian Orthodox Church of "patriarch" Pimen in pursuing its atheistic, communist and imperialist aims and has led a systematic campaign against the various national Catacomb Churches of the subjugated nations, decimating their hierarchy, clergy and faithful, and

*Whereas*, the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its "satellites", in their revolutionary national liberation struggle, are combatting Bolshevism on all levels



*Hon. Y. Stetsko and Gen. John K. Singlaub conversing with delegates at the 15th WACL Conference in Tokyo, December 6-9, 1982.*



and therefore represent a powerful ideological, moral and political force of liberation in the world today that can finally free all of humankind from this expansionist-minded Bolshevik threat, if rendered significant Western moral and political support,

BE IT, THEREFORE, RESOLVED that the 15th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), held in Tokyo, Japan on 6-9 December, 1982

*appeals* to all the nations of the Free World to proclaim a GREAT CHARTER OF INDEPENDENCE for all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, which will reflect the Free World's moral and political support of the national liberation struggle of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Croatia, Slovakia, Czechia, North Caucasus, Georgia, Albania, Azerbaidjan, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Cuba, and the other subjugated nations, and of the reunification in freedom of China, Korea and Germany;

*calls upon* all freedom-loving nations and people in the world to raise their voices in condemnation of the founding and continued existence of the USSR, in which the Russian empire and the communist system are perpetuated, as one of the darkest chapters in the history of all humankind;

*reconfirms* the necessity of the dissolution of the Russian empire, i.e., the USSR and its "satellites", into national, independent, sovereign and democratic states of the presently subjugated nations, each within its own ethnographic borders, as this will once and for all eliminate the mortal Bolshevik threat to all of freedom-loving humankind;

*strongly urges* the Western Powers to create a center of political-psychological warfare based on the political and ideological precepts of the afore-mentioned Great Chapter of Independence, various

international anti-colonial legal covenants and the United States Resolution on the Captive Nations (US Public Law 86/90), and to establish a network of Freedom Radio-Broadcasting Stations, through which the representatives of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations can freely propagate their national ideal and concept of liberation;

*calls upon* the Western European countries to immediately terminate the natural gas pipeline deal with the USSR which will be constructed by the slave labor of the religious and political prisoners from the subjugated nations, currently languishing in Russian prisons and concentration camps;

*requests* that all forms of Western economic aid, grain sales and transfers of technology to the USSR and its "satellites" be immediately terminated, since this only serves to buttress the Russian military-industrial complex and, hence, indirectly strengthens Moscow's policies of national subjugation and repression of basic liberties;

*condemns* all forms of Russification, as an integral system of the subjugation of nations, and fully supports the multifaceted national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations to preserve their intrinsic national values and way of life;

*earnestly asks* the free nations of the world to use all possible means to attain the liquidation of all Bolshevik concentration camps, the slave labor "GULag", all political prisons and psychiatric asylums and the release of all political and religious prisoners in the USSR and other communist-dominated countries;

*denounces* all attempts at pursuing an "ecumenical dialogue" with Pimen's Russian Orthodox Church — the agent of the Kremlin's atheistic, communist aims and supports a genuine ecumenical dialogue with the Catacomb Churches of the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain;

*fully supports* the legitimate Japanese

claim to the Kurile Islands and the Sakhalin Peninsula and denounces the Russian colonial occupation of these Japanese lands;

*strongly encourages* the countries of the Free World to render military assistance

### **On the 40th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Liberation Alternative to Nuclear War.**

*Whereas*, forty years ago, on October 14, 1942, on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was formed to defend Ukrainian national independence, sovereignty and statehood, reestablished by the Proclamation of Independence of June 30, 1941, and

*Whereas*, the armed forces of the UPA and the revolutionary OUN led a war of liberation on two fronts against two of the largest military, imperialist, totalitarian powers in history — Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, and after the defeat of Germany in World War II continued this armed struggle against the Russian occupational forces well into the 1950's, employing a modern strategy of insurgent-guerilla warfare, and

*Whereas*, Moscow, not being able to vanquish the valiant Ukrainian insurgents, was forced to sign a Tri-Partite Pact with communist Poland and the CSR and only then, with the combined might of the three armies levelled against the OUN-UPA forces, was Russia able to force them to change their strategy from mass and open insurgent-guerilla warfare to underground activity, and

*Whereas*, the Ukrainian nation, in its heroic two-front war of liberation, sacrificed its best sons and daughters on the field of glory, including the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA — General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka, thereby reconfirming its commitment to national independence and freedom, and

*Whereas*, on the initiative of the OUN and UPA Supreme Command, a Con-

ference of Subjugated Nations was held in a UPA-liberated area of Ukraine in November, 1943, attended by the representatives of 13 liberation movements, leading to the establishment of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), as the coordinating center of these movements, and

*Whereas*, the OUN-UPA-ABN concept and strategy of coordinated and simultaneous revolutionary uprisings on the territories of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism remains the only viable alternative to thermo-nuclear war, as this would lead to the dissolution of the Russian empire and, thereby, eliminate the only threat of a global nuclear holocaust, and

*Whereas*, the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations — the USSR and its "satellites" — will herald a new chapter in the history of humankind and will open the way for the creation of a genuinely just international order, based on the OUN-UPA-ABN maxim — "FREEDOM FOR NATIONS! FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL!", and

*Whereas*, the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations — the USSR and its "satellites" — will herald a new chapter in the history of humankind and will open the way for the creation of a genuinely just international order, based on the OUN-UPA-ABN maxim — "FREEDOM FOR NATIONS! FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL!", and

*Whereas*, in the words of General John K. Singlaub (USA), "the subjugated nations are the West's strongest ally and constitute the liberation alternative to nuclear war",

**BE IT, THEREFORE, RESOLVED** that the 15th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), held in Tokyo, Japan on 6-9 December, 1982 —

*reaffirms* its solidarity with the Ukrainian nation in its liberation struggle for the reestablishment of its national inde-

pendence, sovereignty and statehood;

*appeals* to the nations of the NATO Alliance to incorporate within their military and political strategy vis-a-vis the Russian empire the OUN-UPA-ABN concept of liberation — as an alternative to nuclear war — and to take concrete measures to hasten its realization;

*calls upon* the member-states of the United Nations from the Free World to condemn Russian imperialism, to demand the universal application of the UN Resolution on De-Colonization to the Russian empire, and to recognize the OUN and similar liberation movements as the only genuine representatives of their respective subjugated nations;

*supports* the Ukrainian Caracomb Church in their struggle against atheistic Bolshevism, in particular the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and expresses its deep respect for the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — His Beatitude Yosyf I, a Confessor of Faith and a prisoner of Russian concentration camps for over 18 years for God and Ukraine, on the occasion of his 90th anniversary;

*urges* the free nations of the world to

demand the immediate release of all OUN-UPA prisoners-of-war, who have been languishing in Russian prisons and concentration camps since World War II, and to demand the immediate release of all Ukrainian religious and political prisoners, particularly Yuriy Shukhevych — the son of the late UPA Commander-in-Chief, who has spent over 30 years in Russian concentration camps since the age of 14 and who was recently blinded by the KGB;

*expresses* its deep respect and reverence for the thousands of heroes of the OUN-UPA who gave their lives in Ukraine's two-front war of liberation, and, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the UPA,

*proclaims* General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka — the late Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, and his valiant son — Yuriy Shukhevych — symbols of a heroic idealism, to be emulated by the youth of all freedom-loving nations through its love of God and Fatherland and in its dedication to the cause of universal freedom and justice.

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### **Harsh Measures Taken by the KGB Against Civilians in Riga in connection with Latvian Independence Day.**

On November 15, 1982, the KGB arrested and consequently interned in a psychiatric hospital a 17 year-old Latvian student, Richards Usans. Usans, an 11th grader from a Riga high-school, had been reading Bible passages out loud near the Freedom Monument in Riga.

Every year Latvians, especially younger people commemorate November 18, the date of the proclamation of an independent Latvian state. This year the KGB took visible measures to hinder demonstrations marking the Independence Day. On November 17, a wooden fence was erected around the Freedom Monument in order to prevent Latvians from placing flowers at the foot of this symbol of freedom.

A number of people who paused be-

fore the monument on November 18 were arrested by uniformed militiamen and KGB agents in civilian clothes, whereupon they were driven in special cars to KGB headquarters.

On November 18, the now outlawed Latvian flag had been hoisted high above the roofs of the city. On November 21, All Souls Day, KGB agents in civilian clothes attempted to disperse people who gathered at the memorial to Janis Cakste, the first President of the Independent Latvian Republic.

On November 24, during the night, the Fruit and Vegetable Pavilion of the Riga Central Market burned down. This could be interpreted as a protest against the exorbitant prices charged for produce unobtainable at government stores.



**GENOCIDE IN UKRAINE —  
1933**

Fifty years ago, in 1933, over eight million Ukrainians starved to death in the struggle against the Russian forced collectivization program. They were victims of an artificial famine, a deliberate act of genocide, that is unparalleled in the annals of history. Its purpose was to break the indomitable Ukrainian spirit and will to fight for Ukrainian national independence and freedom.

Victor Zymbal — „The year 1933“

# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



## **DISGRACE OF THE 20th CENTURY**

**Mass — Murder of  
Children and Women  
of the Heroic Afghan  
Nation by Russian  
Aggressors**

**Help Afghan Heroes  
and Martyrs!**

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**HAPPY EASTER TO ALL OUR READERS**

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## **ABN** *CORRESPONDENCE*

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

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 Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M.A.  
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## **The Philosophical and Ideological Foundations of Russian Aggressions**

The ideological grounds for Russian aggressions can be found in various artificially formulated historical concepts such as Pan-Slavism, Moscow, as the "Third Rome", defence of Orthodoxy, or world communist revolution. They may even be found in the misuse of the ideas of national liberation, or of the need to reunify divided nations on this side of the Iron Curtain, or in the conjectured defence of social justice. All of these concepts serve as a form of camouflage, as a historical "justification" for Russian messianism-imperialism. This thesis was astutely formulated by F. Dostoyevsky and further expounded upon by N. Berdayev who distinguished Bolshevism as an integrally Russian national by-product.

In the world today there is an ongoing ideological war, a psychological-political war, which is being aggressively fought by Moscow. This offensive is an integral component of modern Russian warfare, which has several variants, such as: Russian sponsored periferal wars; communist-insurgent wars on this side of the Iron Curtain; the social disintegration of Western nations; the undermining of their moral values; the discrediting of patriotism, of national traditions, of a heroic ideal in life; the defamation of great Western historical figures; the disruption of religious life; the disintegration of the family as the basis of the moral and biological strength of a nation; the propagation of atheism — the list is endless. All of these elements, combined with a policy of international terrorism, constitute for Marxism-Leninism the *modus operandi* of the international politics of Moscow.

The constitution of the USSR has a specific clause which obligates the government to conduct and/or support so-called wars of national liberation and social revolts outside of the USSR. Moscow has also forced the official Russian Orthodox Church to act as an accomplice to its aggressions. A great majority of the orthodox faithful are completely dominated by Moscow within the complex of its empire... The "satellite" Catholic churches, with the exception of the Polish Catholic Church, are systematically being made subservient to Moscow's will. The Ukrainian Catholic and Autocephalous Orthodox Churches have been forced into the catacombs.

The Bolshevik system of occupation and aggression is more than just the placement of occupational military and MVD-KGB forces on the territories of the subjugated nations. Its essence lies in the forced imposition of a Russian way of life and system of values — a way of life that is foreign to the nation's spirit; to the nation's social ideals; to the nation's political order; to the nation's national ideals; to its religious world-view; to the nation's values in life.

Russian imperialism is unique in that, unlike any other imperialism in history, it endeavors to subjugate the spirit of a nation, its inherent ideals in life in its attempt to create a new artificial entity called the "Soviet nation". This factor must be taken into account in the Western counter-offensive. The West must stand up in defence of the trampled values and ideals of the na-

tions subjugated by the Bolshevik occupants. The integral component of Western politics with respect to the Bolshevik system of subjugation must be the defence of the world of ideas of the subjugated nations and their way of life.

The West must initiate a systematic war of ideas and concepts in total opposition to the Bolshevik system of false ideas and concepts.

### **What, in our understanding, is the Revolutionary Path of Liberation?**

The Bolshevik system of subjugation is a reactionary system primarily in the national-political, but also in the socio-political and cultural spheres. This is a system of anti-ideas, anti-religion, anti-culture, anti-nation, anti-individual, anti-freedom, anti-justice. This is a system of barbarism; a system of global territorial encroachment; a system that negates all those values and qualities, by which an individual human being is distinguished, as a reflection of God's image, by which a nation is distinguished, as a conception of God. The struggle against this system is the revolution that is taking place in all aspects of everyday life — the struggle for a way of life contrary to the one imposed upon the subjugated nations.

This is a struggle of two diametrically opposed worlds!

Bolshevism is a synthesis of Russian imperialism and Marxism-communism. The path to its downfall is one of planned, systematic opposition on all spheres of life to the content and moral principles of the existing anti-order. In our struggle the "kolkhoz" system is counterposed with the right of every tiller of land to ownership of that land; socialist realism in culture, namely, a slave praising his master-despot in his spiritual creativity, is counterposed with the free creativity inherent in every nation and its spirit; militant atheism is counterposed with religion; the integral imperio-colonial state etatism is counterposed in the socio-economic sphere with the right of workers of a given nation to ownership of the means of production and by their private initiative; political totalitarianism is counterposed with the democratic order and the natural inclinations to self-rule inherent in every nation; the prescribed cult of traditions of the occupying power is counterposed with a cult of national heroes unique to every nation; and so on...

This is a very long, drawn-out process. Its immediate consequences can be seen in the continuous economic and political crises in the Russian colonial empire...

The system that is being imposed upon the subjugated nations is one of complete Russification, not only with regard to the language of these nations, but with regard to all aspects of their life in its entire sense. By imposing a Bolshevik way of life upon the subjugated nations, Moscow aspires to transform them into one so-called "Soviet nation", meaning a Russian super-nation. This is a system of absolute rascism!

The revolutionary process is multifaceted. It consists of even such simple actions as the raising of the national flag by members of the subjugated nations; the singing of patriotic songs; demands that one's native history be taught in the native language and in the native national spirit; the demand that the "kolkhozes" be destroyed; the reopening of churches; a cult of native national heroes and the building of earthen monuments in their commemoration. A re-



volutionary act occurs, for example, when a child in school demands that religion be taught.

All of this contributes to the ripening of the revolutionary process and the creation of a revolutionary situation, which will become reality when all of the strata of a subjugated nation and when all of the subjugated nations as a whole become imbued with a revolutionary consciousness directly resulting from systematic actions and ideological and political mobilisation. Then the final stage of the revolutionary process — simultaneous armed uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations — will be inevitable.

Then the entire world of subjugated nations becomes a revolutionary bridgehead and a revolutionary situation is created...

Radio broadcasts can significantly accelerate such a process since they act as an ideologically and politically mobilizing force and are a means of disseminating information about revolutionary actions. A detailed description of such actions will also serve as a directive for action for other revolutionary centres. Radio broadcasts were, in fact, a very significant factor in Solidarity's revolutionary struggle in Poland.

These reflections are not abstract theories, but are the result of an already activated process. The two-front struggle, the nation-wide war of liberation of Ukraine, led by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in 1941-1951, the two-front armed struggle of Lithuania, Byelorussia and other subjugated nations have left a legacy of heroism. The struggle continued in 1949-1959 with the uprising of 17 million prisoners in Siberian concentration camps during the Stalin era. These uprisings broke the fear of the subjugated nations. The revolutionary bridgehead became the entire Gulag Archipelago. In this situation, Khrushchev was forced to bring about a "thaw" in order to rescue the empire, since the revolutionary flame was threatening to spread throughout the entire empire, leading to a conflagration that would be impossible to contain.

From out of these two periods of the revolutionary struggle arose the epoch of the cultural-political movement of the sixties and seventies which, with unprecedented strength, brought to life a world diametrically opposed to Bolshevism — a world of ideas and values intrinsic to every nation. This young generation of fighters for freedom attested to the complete bankruptcy of communism as an ideology, as a system, as a philosophy of life! The ideological-political bridgehead grew at an unprecedented rate. From it also grew the various Helsinki Monitoring Groups, established in Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia and Georgia, which openly promoted the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire. Their self-sacrifice served as testimony to the fact that there are individuals who have the courage to openly rise against the occupant in the name of national rights, as a prerequisite to the realisation of human liberties. They expected the West to defend the rights of the subjugated nations, but this did not occur.

An idea, an organisation, a clear path of liberation — these are the elements of a successful revolutionary process. People form an organization that is indispensable because it represents the alternative authority of the subjugated nations in opposition to the authority of the occupant. The revolutionary uprisings of the Polish trade unions, as the genuine representative of the entire nation, lacked an experienced leadership with foresight.

Solidarity's calculations for a compromise between the power of the occupant and the occupied manifested a basic lack of understanding for the fact that the Russian system of occupation does not acknowledge any power-sharing concept. Solidarity's leadership mistakenly categorised the Polish communist authority as a weak emanation of Polish national authority, and not as the extension of the Russian occupant, which in fact it is. For this reason, Lech Walesa continued to trust Jaruzelski even when the latter was about to institute martial law in Poland in accordance with the plan formulated in the Kremlin. The only realistic strategy for Solidarity is to go underground. A key element in the projection of a successful conclusion to the Polish liberation struggle is the necessity of uniting with the other nations subjugated in the USSR and the "satellite" countries in a common front. The Polish nation cannot liberate itself alone, just as no other nation subjugated by Moscow can achieve its liberation separately.

*Freedom-loving nations and people — unite in the struggle for independence and freedom against Russian imperialism and communism!*

*Freedom ex gratia is not freedom!!*

---

### **Patriarch Yosyf Slipyj's Letter to Lithuanians**

*Dear Brothers in Christ!*

*Recently I came to hear of the painful news that your co-brother Rev. A. Sverynskas has been arrested once again. The conditions and reasons of the arrest are unknown to me but one thing is clear: this fervent priest who is devoted to Christ's Church and Gospel did not commit any crime whatsoever either against the State or its laws. His only guilt in their dark eyes was his ardent care for souls, well-being of neighbours and Christ's wish that the Gospel may be told all over the world.*

*What are the reasons for my statement? I know Rev. A. Sverynskas from the time of my imprisonment 20 years ago when I met him or spent time with him in prisons and concentration camps. We carried the common cross of suffering, disgrace and fear. He was as faithful to me as Tytus was to St. Paul in prison and I received much joy, support and help. He brings glory to the Lithuanian Catholic Church and Nation.*

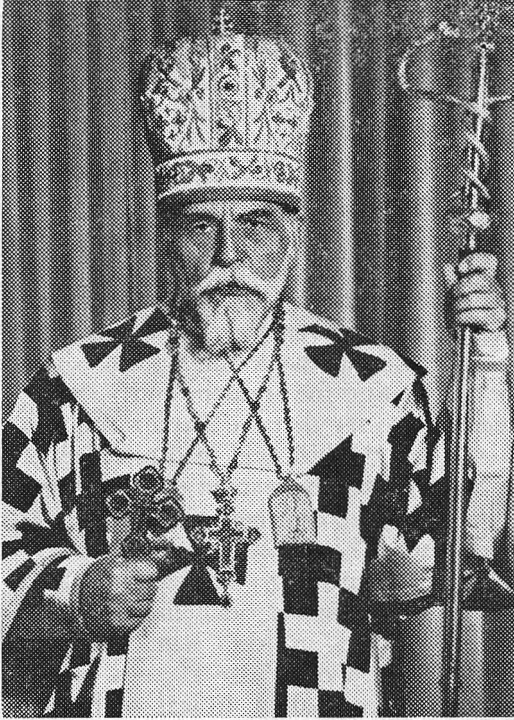
*The news of his arrest and the coming trial which is bound to follow is painful, but when the apostles were imprisoned and beaten they left the synadriion "honoured to be abused for Christ". (Dian 5, 41). Our feelings in connection with Rev. Sverynskas are the feelings of sympathy with him and the Lithuanian people who are deprived of their shepherd but simultaneously we glorify God for giving him the gift of testifying our Saviour with his chains. Their sound is strong because they speak of true freedom and justice in the name of Jesus Christ. With such thoughts Rev. Sverynskas is suffering and all those who have gone through prisons and concentration camps.*

*May the merciful God be with Rev. Sverynskas during his testimony and let our prayers be his strength and joy.*

Vatican, 29. 1. 1983.

† Yosyf  
Patriarch and Cardinal

## PATRIARCH MARKS 20th YEAR IN WEST



Twenty years have lapsed since the release of His Beatitude Patriarch Yosyf Slipyj from the grips of the communist Russian imperialist totalitarian regime.

Patriarch Yosyf was first arrested in 1946 for breach of article 54-1a of the criminal code which details the offense of "treason" punishable by a firing squad execution. Instead, the Patriarch was sentenced to ten years of imprisonment. Subsequent arrests and sentences followed in 1953, '57 and '59 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Among the "illegal" acts were his refusal to denounce the Ukrainian Catholic Church and voluntarily merge it with the Russian orthodox "church"; his public support of the Independence Act proclaimed on June 30, 1941; his support for Ukraine's war of liberation; his writing of pastoral letters during imprisonment.

The events which led up to his release are recounted by Norman Cousins in his book "Present Tense: An American Editor's Odyssey" and "The Improbable Triumvirate." Cousins was chosen by Pope John to act as an intermediary between the Vatican and Khrushchev to negotiate the release of two archbishops, one being Yosyf Slipyj.

Cousins stated the case for the release of the Ukrainian Patriarch at a meeting with Khrushchev on December 7, 1962 expressing the wish of the Pope that "the Bishop might spend his few remaining years... at some distant seminary." The following is excerpted from the book "Present Tense."

"The Chairman had said at that December meeting that he would like to establish good relations with the Vatican and that he had a profound regard for Pope John, but he feared that the release of Bishop Slipyj would have exactly the opposite effect.

'In what way?' I had asked.

'The moment he is released, there will be big headlines saying the Bishop was tortured by the Reds. This would not exactly help the cause of improved relations.'

Several weeks later Cousins received a call from the Soviet Ambassador to Washington, Dobrynin, requesting a meeting at which the ambassador conveyed Khrushchev's decision to arrange for the "unconditional" release of Patriarch Yosyf.

The arrangements were made for the Patriarch to be flown to Vienna where he would be met by representatives of the Pope and from there would be flown to Rome. Upon his arrival to Rome, Patriarch Yosyf was escorted to a secret retreat with no access to reporters and the news of his liberation was finally released.

The following day the headlines in the American press read "Bishop tells of red torture." The Italian press immediately

## RESTLESS RUMANIA

Sometime ago we were able to hear from several politicians that this is not just talk but that consequences will follow. We have long awaited these words. Now we have hope. These politicians were no less than President Reagan, Prime Minister Thatcher and François Mitterand. They publicly declared that an injustice was imposed upon the East European countries during the Yalta Conference. We do not want to pass judgement here — as it was possible, that all governments after 1945 remained silent about this great injustice. No one can state that he did not know about what was happening behind the Iron Curtain. We always made it known, we reported about the atrocities in the expanded Russian empire, yet no one wanted to listen to us. Even though the above-mentioned fact comes somewhat late, we still want to thank these politicians. Presently, hundreds of millions of people are waiting for freedom and justice. The turning point has come. It is no exaggeration to say that the Russian empire finds itself in a period of disintegration — a period which will lead to its collapse. Andrei Amalrik was perhaps too optimistic when he wanted to determine the point of collapse in 1984. In spite of this fact, we can, nevertheless, be assured that the collapse will come sooner or later. The tsarist regime collapsed in 1917 after a revolution which stood under the battle-cry: "Open the gates of Russia's national prisons!" As soon as the communists came into power, the people noticed that they were still sitting in the same prison. Only this prison had assumed a new name. After World War II even more people were publicly confined in this prison. Unfortunately, it was with the approval of those Western politicians who had signed an agreement with the Russians in Yalta. Moreover, in this agreement there was no mention of the annexation or occupation of these countries. They were supposed to become a "democratic" government and were to be asked first. However, the Russians have a different conception of democracy. Previous independent states were degraded to Russian provinces, and Russian laws and the state system were enforced. The Russian army had ensured the enforcement of the new governments against the will of these peoples.

All prisons were soon overcrowded, new concentration camps had to be built, and if that did not suffice, — undesirable people were deported into

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→ carried a front-page statement quoting Pope John's assertion that the news stories were "without authority".

In response to Cousin's apology on behalf of the Pope, "the Chairman said he understood, adding that some journalists didn't know what to do with good news."

It is ironic with today's state of affairs to read about Khrushchev's desire to improve relations with the Vatican. Two leaders have succeeded Khrushchev — Brezhnev and Andropov — the second of

which is now being accused of being the mastermind behind the assassination attempt on Pope John Paul II.

Fortunately for us, Khrushchev's greatest fear, the possible revelations about the nature of the Soviet Russian empire the Patriarch could make, was realized. It was a miscalculation on the part of both the "Chairman" and the Pope to think that such a dominant, spiritual, patriotic figure could ever be silenced. Symbols can never be silenced.

Siberia or other regions. We will never be able to completely explain how many lives the establishment of these new governments cost. It is said that there were approximately 2 million victims in Rumania. In spite of this incredible terror, these nations repeatedly attempted to rise in protest: the Germans on June 17, 1953; the Poles in the summer of 1956; the Hungarians on October 23, 1956. The Czech communists dreamed of a communism with a somewhat more humane aspect, but on August 21, 1968 the Russian tanks soon put an end to this dream. The Poles have been protesting intermittently since 1970.

Although it is not a well-known fact in the West, worker protests also took place in Rumania in 1977 and 1981.

These nations have clearly expressed that they are not willing to remain the slaves of the Russian empire. The "Protest dynamite" which was already great under the tsars because the Russians were a minority in their own state, has not become any less today.

For years Rumania has been playing the role of an independent nation within the communist region in the Western press. It was always said that the Rumanian communists were different. The present Secretary General of Rumania's Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu, is the graduate of a Russian spy-school and he was selected to be bait for the Free World. He was to show the Free World that it is possible to engage in independent politics in a communist country under Russian supremacy. This game lasted from 1964 until recently. Gradually it became clear to everyone that this man did not serve in the interest of the Rumanian nation but in Moscow's interest. None of the Russian established governments are engaged in independent politics. In 1961 a rumour spread in Rumania that the American troops had landed on the Black Sea coast in Dobrudscha. Still in the same night all communist officials were liquidated in the Iasi region.

The same laws and the same conditions prevail in Rumania as in all Russian occupied countries. Here, as in other countries, there is an extremely strong secret service and a national police both of which have everyone well under control. Three record cards are filed for every Rumanian: one by the secret service, one by the national police, and one by his employer. Every letter which comes or goes abroad is photocopied. Telephone calls are tapped. The freedom movement is quite restricted. Moreover, an inconceivable corruption prevails. The entire State apparatus is corrupt: doctors give no medical care without bribery, and teachers are bribed in order to give good grades. This entire misfortune prevails because there is a lack of life's most fundamental necessities. For the Party officials there are special shops in which products can be bought at an inexpensive price. The prisons are just as full as before. Many Christians are incarcerated because of their belief. The State itself sells its people for currency. The Black Market is as prosperous as open trade. A food scarcity has existed now for 2 years. In 1981 a law was passed which forbids the private reservation of a food supply for more than 1 month. Who breaks the law is imprisoned for a period of 6 months to 5 years. Another law rules that it is disallowed to have a room temperature in your home of more than 18°C. Any policeman has the right to enter a private home on the pretext that he must control the temperature. Recently, there have been power cuts: often during the day and especially at noon and in the evening when the meals are to be pre-

pared. The country has a deficit of 13 billion dollars. The interest rate alone costs more than 1 billion yearly. Since there is a lack of currency, food is exported. The American troops in Germany are supplied with meat from Rumania. Of course, only the scraps remain for the Rumanians. Abnormal conditions have been prevailing since 1941. With the invasion of the Russians the entire intelligentsia was liquidated. Most of them died in work camps or during the construction of the Danube-Black Sea canal. The students were tortured under the direction of Russian experts. They were subjected to an indoctrination in which the prisoners beat themselves mutually.

Immediately after the establishment of the communist governments in the East European countries a Rumanian politician, Iuliu Maniu, attempted to realize a plan against the Russian terror. All of the politicians of the occupied countries were to take part. His plan was delivered to the American Embassy in Bucharest. Letters to the individual politicians were to be brought abroad by American diplomats. However, these did not reach the East European politicians but came into the hands of the Rumanian secret service. Who the traitor was is still unclear today. Iuliu Maniu died in prison.

In 1977 was the last straw. From that time on Rumania has become restless. 35,000 mine workers revolted in Valea Iuliu. A member of the Central Committee was taken hostage. Ceausescu rushed to the scene and freed the hostage in that he promised bread and better conditions. Afterwards, the food supply had actually improved, yet many of the miners had disappeared without a trace. In October 1981 there were protests in another mine. Ceausescu appeared in a helicopter, was stoned and quickly had to disappear again. At the same time, Party officials were stabbed to death in 2 cities. Bombs exploded in a bookshop which had displayed Ceausescu's book. Moreover, there were strikes in different places. Therefore, the wheels have also set in motion here.

If only all Western politicians took a stronger position and the East European nations could be assured of the West's solidarity, then they would be capable of even more activities. Military aid or war are not necessary to bring about changes. Only a steadfast and consequent position of all — and that is all Western countries, is necessary. The Eastern nations are prepared to make sacrifices for their freedom. This is evident in Afghanistan and in Poland.

In the long run, tanks and bombs will not be able to stop the collapse of the Russian empire. This is our solid conviction.

---

### World Freedom Day

*The week-long observance in the Republic of China on Jan. 18-24 was quite successful with active participation by some 120 visitors from 33 countries along with tens of thousands representatives from local circles. The foreign guests included 19 incumbent parliamentarians, one former Vice President (of Costa Rica).*

*We strove well under this theme: "Adopt A Global Anti-Communist Strategy! Put A Decisive End to Marxism-Leninism!" Activities included 11 lecture meetings on college and highschool campuses, three forums (on Chinese mainland affairs, trade and economic matters, etc.), two national mass meetings of 50,000 and 3,000 participants, and a number of municipal rallies.*

*Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Honorary Chairman, WACL  
President, WACL/APACL ROC Chapter*

## Nations and States — an Alternative

The nation, as an integral unit, is the natural basis of a State. This has been so throughout history, and indeed most States, if not entirely all of them, have been founded on such a national unit. Where this is not the case, we are almost invariably confronted by a situation of conquest — that is where a stronger nation has conquered one or more weaker ones. Quite obviously, this is an unnatural state of affairs which runs counter to all modern ideals of self-determination and the other rights of that political unit — the nation.

Yet, here we face a paradox, for a weaker nation will always be in danger of becoming the prey of a stronger one, and inequality of size and strength is a natural phenomenon. This inequality must, therefore, be balanced out by the weaker units associating into stronger, and thus larger, multinational formations. These, unfortunately, are apt to degenerate into various forms of tyranny, *viz.*, the domination of one national unit by another.

What is the answer to the dilemma? Mr. Chairman, in my opinion, it is definitely *not* the abandoning of the idea of national states. All nations desire, yearn after that form of self-expression, of self-realization which is independence in their own, self-governed State. Indeed, this desire, this yearning and natural impulse is the basis of the potentially most effective alternative to a thermo-nuclear conflagration.

The only power threatening the world with this catastrophe is the Soviet Union. Yet the USSR is itself a prison of many nations that were formerly free. This whole so-called "socialist bloc" is in reality the largest and most inhumane GULag in all of history. It is a prison camp not only for individuals, but for whole nations. We have heard at this Conference of many instances of heroic resistance to this tyranny. The situations in Poland and Afghanistan are constantly the focus of interest and attention in the Free World. The spirit of freedom, the desire for rights and justice, is not easily suppressed. But Soviet-Russian tyranny was able in the past to cope with individual attempts at liberation, like in 1956 in Hungary, and the 1968 endeavor of the Slovaks and Czechs to at least mitigate their serfdom. The Russians could cope with these uprisings, because the Free World, the West, did not realize the enormous strength, the irresistible power hidden in this desire for national freedom and independence.

Mr. Chairman, this situation has been undergoing a change recently. There is a growing understanding for the fact that what had been artificially created at Yalta is not only unnatural, but also entirely unnecessary. Yalta has been invoked as the basis of the enlarged Soviet-Russian empire, the Communist Bloc. But it is now beginning to be clear even in the Free World, that not even at Yalta did anybody allow the Russians to do what they are in fact doing to the Poles, the Slovaks, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Germans, etc. What is now needed is effective moral and diplomatic support on the part of the Free World of the liberation struggle of the enslaved nations in the Soviet-Russian camp. All the modes of communication and the mass media (radio, television, the printed and spoken word) must be utilized to make clear to the entire world that the captive nations have the right to national self-determina-

## Preconditions for the Victory of World Freedom

It is the purpose of this address to give an American perspective on the preconditions needed for the victory of World Freedom. A major precondition is that the United States clean-up its own house, especially in the area of Foreign Policy.

Foreign Policy in the United States has been dominated by a small circle of what I call "noble dreamers" for at least the last 70 years. I call them "noble dreamers" because they have a world view that they work for regardless of the will and opinions of others, i.e. a new aristocracy. With their plans for a "New World Moral Order" they have been able to influence Foreign Policy contrary to the will and *cultural* inclination of the majority of the United States. When the manipulations of this small clique become too great, a reaction sets in, such as the isolationism after the First World War. There are even indications that this group counts on the blind reactions of the people of the United States to further their own aims.

Perceived externally, the United States gives the impression that it is unable to evolve and pursue a coherent Foreign Policy. The truth is that an elite has overlaid its own ideas on a population whose common sense runs contrary to those ideas. It is this battle that has sent States off to war for freedom and then participate in such crimes against human freedom as Yalta, Potsdam and Teheran. This state of affairs has, unfortunately, led to mutual disillusionment in the States and the rest of the world.

The major vehicle in the United States for these "noble dreamers" is the Council on Foreign Relations (C.F.R.), counterpart to the various European Round Tables, other vehicles such as the Trilateral Commission come and go, but the C.F.R. continues to supply Secretaries of State and key policymakers. Some students of the C.F.R. and related organizations make a strong case for a conspiracy to rule the world, however, the Foreign Policy errors that have been made by these people should be enough to dethrone them. Regrettably, this has not been the case, for instance; Robert Strangelove McNamara, who started the gutting of American military power and helped create a no-win situation in Vietnam, is now the head of the World Bank. Others have also been reshuffled and repackaged only to come out later in positions of influence. This situation has only partially been changed by the 1980 elections.

The geographical situation of the U.S. has made questions of Foreign Policy

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tion and national independence. The nations of the Free World must explicitly and publicly make clear to the Soviet-Russian regime that it will no longer tolerate the brutal suppression of these rights. And this message of freedom must also be broadcast to the captive nations in *all* their languages, not excluding such important languages as Ukrainian. The resulting weakening of Soviet-Russian power will abolish fear of a nuclear war and will lead to a disintegration of that prison of nations — the Soviet-Russian empire. Mr. Chairman, this, in my opinion, is the real alternative to thermo-nuclear war.



remote indeed to the average citizen, but this is not the only factor that has contributed to this sad situation. Considering the errors committed by various "noble dreamers" even their own "good old boy" network could not keep them in power if there *were* an active, co-ordinated alternative.

Another factor that has kept this "Foreign Policy" elite in power, is a travesty that has been imposed on the people of the United States under the name of the "Great Melting Pot". At the beginning of this century, the concept was put forth that all citizens of the U.S. were to melt into something called a "True American". What that meant is that all ethnic groups should give up their cultural ties and become alike. As a "True American" has yet to be defined, outside of the political and economic spheres, an Anglo-Saxon role model was the one put forward. This theory of cultural schizophrenia effectively isolated many groups and individuals that *could have* had a positive influence in Foreign Policy by countering disinformation or providing correct information.

It has only been since the mid-60's that the non-Anglo-Saxon majority in the U.S. has begun to flex its political muscle. It is now well understood, that the U.S. is a multicultural land, unified by a political and economic system. The various ethnic (cultural) groups have started to unify in the defense of old American concepts of individual liberty; that sovereignty belongs to the people and is only partly ceded to the government, that conformity is not a requirement to be a "True American", that a "True American", as far as there can be one, can only be defined by his belief in our common system embodied by the constitution, its amendments, and the Declaration of Independence. This ethnic revolution in America has brought about a re-examination of the basic principles that hold the United States together and it is not at all compatible with the "dreams" of the Foreign Policy elite.

What is needed to counteract the old Foreign Policy establishment, is to foster an informed, aware, and active public in the U.S. and to create an alternative to the same tired individuals.

This requires a realistic evaluation of the problems and potentials facing us, some of these have been mentioned very briefly and they deserve closer study and examination.

Based on those statements, there are several things that can be done and are being implemented by WESTERN GOALS EUROPE, some of these programs are; close study and publication of findings regarding Communism, terrorism and European history so as to correct misconceptions and expose disinformation. These studies provide intellectual ammunition for freedom-minded people in the United States with which they can combat the multitude of publications produced by the "noble dreamers". (It should be remembered that the number of publications available in a free society make it difficult for an individual to decide what is valid and what is not.)

To sponsor study groups which attack areas untouched or ignored by the "noble dreamers". An excellent example of this is the paper being presented at this conference, the publication of which was sponsored by WESTERN GOALS, called "From stalemate to victory" which examines the possibility of a Polish-Ukrainian cooperation. WESTERN GOALS plans to sponsor a meeting of key Ukrainian and Polish leaders in the West to develop this theme. A cooperation is already in the planning stages between the Poles, the Czechs and

the Slovaks. This is a delicate area of study because of past prejudices and history, however these problems must be examined if any of our people are to have a sovereign existence.

Another area of study we are very interested in is the area of psychological warfare. The Russians have spent billions in this area while the West has done practically nothing. This has allowed the Soviet propaganda machine to obtain an easy victory with obvious lies. General Singlaub's presentation examines this in depth and I am proud to say that he is an advisor to WESTERN GOALS.

The final example of what can be done is to use the existing possibilities in the United States to provide a direct information bridge from an ethnic group in the United States to its cousins in Europe. WESTERN GOALS has started a pilot project called "Radio Free America" which consists of current information being taped in the groups' original language and being broadcast via ethnic radio stations in the United States. The program consists of preparing five-minute spots here in Europe and then finding the appropriate sponsors in the United States. It is unfortunate that the "noble dreamers" control the major networks and filter out news that does not fit their plans. It must be understood that the "noble dreamers" do not have a monopoly on newspapers, television and radio stations. They have concentrated on the news gathering aspects of the communications system. There are several hundred ethnic radio stations in the United States that are highly interested in this material and could spread the truth without difficulty, to many millions of ethnic Americans. An English version of this program could reach even more millions; as an example there are over three thousand conservative, religious radio stations in the United States alone.

The above programs are ones in which WESTERN GOALS has already taken active steps. There are many more possibilities that need to be explored in the fight for world freedom.

The underlying theme of this talk is that the people of the United States need the practical experience and information which can only be supplied by the people of Europe, just as the people of Europe need the strength of the United States to obtain world freedom. This must be an active partnership, otherwise world freedom will be lost and a nuclear war will become very probable.

In considering the ethnic population of the United States we have a huge potential for furthering the cause of world freedom, but we need to activate it and we must take into account the peculiarities of the United States. The majority of ethnics in America are now two or more generations in the United States and have developed along different lines from their counterparts in Europe, just as the difference in environment and experience has caused a difference. This does not mean that they are no longer interested in their cousins in Europe, it does mean that special care has to be taken in mobilizing them. Another factor to be considered is that the largest group in America is the German-American one, over 52 million, of which 29 million actively identify. Forty years after World War II, it is time to remember that a portion of Germany is under Soviet occupation and to actively enlist Germany in the fight to free the Captive Nations.

A negative example of what can happen is underscored by a picture that came out few weeks ago with Speaker of the House Th. O'Neill surrounded by European ethnic leaders. This picture is interpreted by the average American ethnic as indicating that Mr. O'Neill is voting correctly in questions affecting their European cousins. The fact is that Mr. O'Neill has one of the worst records regarding the liberation of enslaved peoples in Congress. Mr. O'Neill comes from a district that has a considerable ethnic population and he needs the votes. We must be careful with our actions in the United States and not be content with declarations and resolutions which are only paper, we must pay attention to how these individuals voted in very practical areas such as how they voted on matters affecting Radio Free Europe, military expenditures and on various treaties such as Helsinki. A possible solution would be to create an index of key votes in the Congress so that we could have a practical idea of how various members of Congress vote and could inform our ethnic counterparts accordingly.

It is my hope that this small presentation has shown some methods by which the cause of world peace and freedom can be victorious, that the situation in the United States can be redirected into a positive channel by an active partnership with Europe, that the people who produced Yalta, can be thrown out and kept out of power, that a people-to-people bridge of ideas and mutual assistance can and must be built. Over two hundred years ago, during our own American war of independence, an observation was made that is just as valid today regarding the quest for freedom; "Gentlemen, we shall all hang together or most assuredly we shall all hang separately."

*Post script: This talk was directed to an audience that understood many of the problems mentioned above from experience. Further the audience had the opportunity to ask questions and in fact the speech was designed with that ability in mind. Therefore I must apologize to any readers behind the Iron Curtain who do not have this ability and find the context confusing.*

(ABN/EFC Conference, London, September 24-26, 1982)



*Demonstration before the Soviet Mission to the UN in New York, protesting the 60th anniversary of Soviet Russian atrocities — December 1982. Speaking — Prof. M. Chirowsky.*

## NORILSK UPRISING

(Continuation)

### IV. The Uprising

We realized that the *Gulag* could not tolerate such a situation and would institute decisive action against us. We were prepared for anything, save for relinquishing our gains. The Russians proposed that we jointly make preparations for three prisoners to escape, who would cross the frontier and inform the world community of our plight.

Suddenly Stalin died. The prisoners celebrated — they had hopes for amnesty. But for naught. As true Bolsheviks, Stalin's successors had not the slightest intention of leaning in the direction of *rotten liberal reforms*. The Soviet government remained firm, immovable and merciless.

We felt this on our own skins. They began to shoot at us without reservation. In the *Gorstroy*, a convoy guard, for no reason whatsoever, shot a prisoner who was lifting a board to his work station. After some time, they took one prisoner and led him into the tundra, where he was shot *while attempting to escape*.

Yet, this was but a test of nerves or a minor skirmish. The principal attack began when General Semenov, chief of the *Gorlag* administration, returned from his trip to Moscow.

It started like this: In zone 5, they hastily separated several barracks as a penal sector and began to collect all the suspect and unrepentive prisoners there to be suppressed. At the same time, they carried out a series of executions in several zones. In this manner, two men were shot in zone 1 (First Lieutenant Shiryayev did the shooting), one man, Petro Safroniuk, was shot in zone 4, and in zone 3, the hard labor zone, all of the barracks were unexpectedly machine-gunned. As a result, six prisoners were killed and fifteen wounded.

On the 25th day of May, 1953, we came out of the barracks, totally depressed. Suddenly, from zone 5, which lay adjacent to the *Gorstroy*, we heard the crackle of automatic weapons. Everyone's arms dropped. We were certain that this time, it would not pass without casualties. Finally we heard the news — one killed, six wounded.

Work at the *Gorstroy* stopped spontaneously. No one worked. People bristled about. The entire *Gorstroy* was filled with running prisoners, shouting: "*We are being murdered! We will not work! We demand a commission from Moscow!*"

But as the initial anger decreased, the enraged elements subsided. Some of the more fearful and cautious prisoners returned to work. Around the entire *Gorstroy*, first here, then there, the grinding sound of the ubiquitous pneumatic hammers began biting into the permafrost, as though announcing to everyone to return to work.

We, the supporters of the strike, had to do something to halt the work, for after all, this was exactly the incident which *touched everyone* and for which we had been waiting since Karaganda. To allow such an opportunity to slip away would have been an unforgivable sin.

We dispersed in small groups throughout the entire construction area in order to stop those who were already working. The people listened to us, agreed with us, but, upon hearing the grinding of the pneumatic hammers, all of which could not be silenced at once, they again returned to work. All of our efforts seemed to be in vain. Finally, an idea struck me to proceed to the compressor station, which supplied compressed air for the entire *Gorstroy*, and shut it down. All of the pneumatic hammers became silent at once and work stopped everywhere. And this time it was final. In this manner, our spontaneous fury developed into an organized action.

The *Gorlag* administration fell silent. Now no one shot at us, no one even threatened us. But, they did decide to subdue us through hunger. There was no food brought to the *Gorstroy* the first day, the second, nor the third.

On the morning of the third day we were approached by Lieutenant Colonel Sarychev and several officers, accompanying Major General Paniukov, who had flown in especially from Krasnoyarsk. Authoritatively and self-assuredly he demanded that we immediately return to work and stated that he supposedly would investigate all of the illegalities having taken place here.

We did not come to any agreement with him and told him that we would return to work only after a governmental commission arrives at Norilsk from Moscow.

"You are hampering the governmental plan!" Sarychev began to threaten. "The *Gorstroy* has been idle for three days now! This is sabotage! If you don't want to, the devil with you, don't work! Go to your zones and wait for the commission there, and we will bring in other workers. We have plenty of people!"

"Hrycyak," he turned to me in order to make it clear that I would be responsible for everything, "lead your people out of the *Gorstroy*!"

"There is no hampering of plans here," I answered. "Let us be analytical — since the end of war (we won't count the war), eight years have passed. During that entire time, the Norilsk prisoners have not had a single day off. It appears that we preempted the construction graphics by more than four hundred days. So what kind of hampering of plans are you talking about?"

Sarychev remained silent for a minute, then turned to address all the prisoners: "Go into the camp," he said. "Here you are hungry, but there your rations await you. Get going!"

We did not accept any compromise. However, many of the prisoners began to lean toward returning to the camp. As they say — hunger is no friend of anybody's. And, in addition, the smokers had exhausted their supplies of tobacco, which bothered them more than hunger.

In order to somehow handle this weakness, a sign was placed on one of the buildings that we were erecting, which stated: "*We are being killed and starved!*"

The sign accomplished its purpose, that same day supper was brought; however, no one ate it. Most of the prisoners were pressing for an immediate return to the camp.

After reaching agreement with prisoners from zone 5 that we would continue the fight in the camp, we parted company.

In our own zone 4, we found the following situation. As a symbol of solidarity with us, all of the prisoners who remained in the zone announced a hunger strike and had also gone hungry for three days. We decided to discontinue the hunger strike, but not to come out for work in the morning.

The administration felt triumphant. In the morning, as though nothing had happened, the electric bells sounded in all the barracks, announcing which columns were to report to the guardhouse to be led to work. The zone was divided into four columns. The first column was to approach the guardhouse first, then the second, and so forth. I was in the fourth column, which usually proceeded to the guardhouse last. In our barrack, as had been agreed, no one was preparing to go out to work and, we thought, that similar situations existed everywhere. Suddenly, one prisoner ran up to me and told me that the first column was moving out to go to work. This constituted a total collapse. I ran to the guardhouse.

Seeing that twenty-five to thirty prisoners from the first column were already standing outside the open gate, with the remainder ready to leave, I approached the senior guard commanding the exodus and, unexpectedly, snapped at him:

“What’s this?” I asked in an insistent tone. “Who gave you the right to let people out for work? What kind of self-rule is this? Close the gate!”

“And where do you think you are going, you sheep?” I turned to the prisoners. “To be slaughtered? March right into your barracks, so that not a soul is left here!”

Everyone scattered. Those who were already outside the gate returned. The gate closed; the work party was halted.

For years, the electric bells had called the prisoners of zone 4 out for work; they had replaced the command: “*Every last one of you out!*” So-called work *refusers* did not exist in Norilsk. All individual protests were smothered promptly, absolutely and brutally.

Once, a prisoner of zone 4 decided not to come out for work. So that he could not be forcibly removed from the barrack, he laid down on his berth unclothed. Outside there was a crackling frost. After the prisoners had left for work, the guards pulled him off his berth, dragged him outside, shoved him into a wooden crate for transporting corpses, threw his clothes in with him and, having carried him out beyond the guardhouse, overturned him into the snow. The poor fellow had no other choice, but to quickly dress and accompany the special convoy guard to work.

Six other prisoners, who had been brought under guard to the bathhouse in zone 5, refused to dress and leave the bathhouse until they met with the public prosecutor. But, instead of the public prosecutor, they were met by a first sergeant, who stood before them with a sub-machine gun in his hands.

“Here is your public prosecutor!” he said and shot all six on the spot.

In this manner in Norilsk — and not only in Norilsk — any notion of protest was crushed at its very inception. All attempts at opposition produced only negative results.

Therefore, it wasn’t surprising that the prisoners, despite their wishes, still left their barracks when they heard the ill-tiding signal to “*Get out!*”

Even on the fourth and fifth days of our strike, people would still dress for work. However, on the sixth day, we disconnected the electric bells and none of the prisoners even stirred.

The camp administration bolstered the external guards, but did not attempt any decisive action. Only in zone 5 did the administration try to let loose upon the prisoners soldiers armed with clubs. But the soldiers could not manage to do anything and were repulsed. Then General Semenov gathered all the officers of the Norilsk garrison and led them into the zone. The officers advanced, shooting off their pistols into the ground in front of them. When they neared the solid wall of prisoners, a fistfight erupted. The officers were also repulsed. Attempts to take the prisoners with bare hands failed. We totally paralyzed the internal camp administration and governed ourselves.

Taking advantage of this uncontrolled situation, we put on a performance of Taras Shevchenko's "Nazar Stodola" on the stage of the camp club. This play had been rehearsed prior to the strike, but, upon seeing the stage decorated for the first act, the chief of the *cultural-educational section* attempted to ban it, because, as he put it, said play contained too much Ukrainian patriotism. But this play enjoyed such tumultuous success among all the prisoners, it had to be performed six times...

On June 6th a group of highly placed individuals entered our zone. One of them, wearing the uniform of a colonel, stepped forward and said:

"Moscow has become aware of the disorder going on in Norilsk, including your zone 4. In order to investigate the matter on the spot, Moscow has sent a governmental commission. I, Colonel Kuznyetsov, as chief of the prison administration of MVS of the USSR and personal assistant of Lavrentiy Pavlovych Beria, have been placed in charge of the commission. Commission members are commander of the prison convoy guard forces of MVS of the USSR, Lieutenant-General Seryodkin, and representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, comrade Kiselyov. Since we cannot speak with all of you, we suggest that you choose five representatives, who could present to us all of your grievances. We guarantee that none of your parliamentarians will be punished."

Shortly thereafter, each of the more numerous national groups in the camp named a single representative. The Ukrainians were represented by myself, the Russians by Volodymyr Nedorostkov, the Byelorussians by Hryhoriy Klymovych; the names of the Lithuanian and Latvian representatives are unknown to me.

In the meantime, near the guardhouse and, presumably for greater security, close to the watchtower, a red-covered table was placed, behind which were seated the members of the Moscow commission with their secretary.

Slowly, hands behind our backs, we approached the table. One of the commission members, whom Kuznyetsov had called comrade Kiselyov, pointed his finger at me and asked, "Name? Name?" I did not answer, just looked pointedly at my identification number. Kuznyetsov understood the hint and said: "What do you need his name for? Don't you see his number, U-777? That is his name." Then, turning to me, he added: "That's okay. We will dispose of those numbers, they are not necessary for you nor for us. Sit down and

talk. But, specifically, did you come on your own, or were you sent by the people?"

With my hand I indicated the prisoners, who stood as a solid wall at a distance of thirty to forty meters, and said: "Ask them."

"Very well, very well, we believe you," Kuznyetsov said, accepting us as rightful representatives. "Speak, we are listening."

At this point, General Semenov came to the table; I stated that we would not talk in his presence.

"Semenov," roared Kuznyetsov. "What are you doing here? Get out of here!"

I began with the most blatant incidents of illegality, which had taken place in 1946. Crimson with anger, Kuznyetsov cut me off.

"What are you talking about? You yourself, when did you arrive here?"

Less than a year ago," I answered, "but I am relating to you the facts which, the people who are standing here before you, have mandated me to relate. This is what they are telling you."

Kuznyetsov did not interrupt me again and, after I had enumerated all of our grievances, I dictated to him our demands, which sounded approximately like this:

1. To halt the shootings and all other incidents of arbitrariness in the prisons and camps.
2. To change the entire administration of the *Gorlag*.
3. To shorten the work day in the *Gulag* camps to 8 hours.
4. To guarantee prisoners days off from work.
5. To improve prisoners' food.
6. To permit correspondence and visits with family.
7. To transfer all invalids from Norilsk to the mainland.
8. To remove locks and bars from the barracks and identification numbers from the people.
9. To revoke the decisions of the so-called *Special Consultation Commission*\* as an unconstitutional organ.
10. To halt tortures during questioning, as well as the practice of closed trials.
11. To organize a review of individual cases of all of the political prisoners.

At the conclusion of the discussion, Kuznyetsov stated that he would bring all of our demands to the government's attention and, guaranteeing that we would no longer be shot at, recommended that we go back to work. We agreed.

Later Kuznyetsov held similar discussions with representatives of zones 5, 6 and 1 of the *Gorlag*. To his great amazement, he revealed that, despite being strictly isolated, all of the zones presented identical statements and demands.

Zone 3, the hard labor zone, acted differently. The prisoners of this zone did not accept the mandate of the commission and did not enter into any discussions with it.

The women of zone 6, numbering over six thousand, proved themselves especially steadfast in the face of this unequal battle. In addition to refusing to work, they proclaimed a hunger strike, which lasted for six days before the arrival of the commission.

On the 9th day of June, all of the zones, except for zone 3, returned to work.



That same day, Kuznyetsov related that the government had examined some of our grievances and had resolved the following:

1. To change the *Gorlag* administration.
2. To shorten the work day to 8 hours.
3. To guarantee days off from work.
4. To permit the prisoners to send up to two letters per month and to receive visits from family.
5. To remove locks and bars from the barracks and identification numbers from prisoners.
6. To transfer all of the invalids out of Norilsk.

“In addition to this,” stated Kuznyetsov in conclusion, “the Soviet government gave assurances that, in time, all of the individual cases of the prisoners would be reviewed.”

The first stage of our struggle ended with this great victory. The battle had progressed far beyond the limits of an ordinary strike in terms of its scope and its implications.

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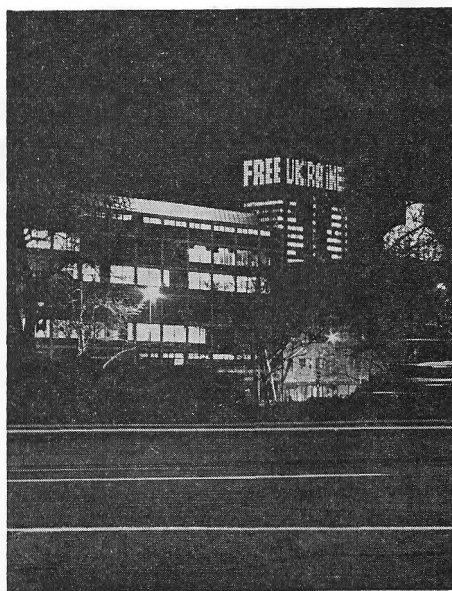
\* Special Consultation Commission or OSO was a three-member commission created as an arm of the NKVD (Soviet secret police) in November, 1934, consisting of the two highest ranking NKVD officials and the Attorney General of the Soviet Union. This commission was empowered to impose penal sentences by administrative decree, initially for five year terms, then, from 1936 on, for terms of from three to twenty-five years. Said commission was finally liquidated in December, 1953, six months after the events related herein took place.

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### A MESSAGE IN LIGHTS

The Ukrainian Community of Philadelphia, Pa., USA celebrated the Ukrainian Day of Independence (22 Jan.) in a flashy manner.

The idea to send the message in lights was conceived and presented to the Phila. Electric Co. by 30-year-old Andrew Kozak, an architectural designer and Philadelphia resident. Support and intervention of the Ukrainian Anti-Defamation League was provided by Mr. Kozak in his effort to have the Phila. Electric Building light up the skies of Philadelphia (the birthplace of the American Nation and freedom) on January 21, 22 & 23, 1983.



## The Revolutionary Processes in Ukraine

The struggle of the Ukrainian nation for its national independence, sovereignty and statehood in a common front with the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its "satellites" had entered a critical phase in the 1980s. The revolutionary processes in Ukraine have acquired greater strength, as can be witnessed by the ever-increasing number of mass strikes and open protests recently held in a number of larger cities of Ukraine.

The Russian colonialists have responded to this heightened revolutionary activity by instituting a new wave of severe repressions, mass arrests, even outright murders (e.g., Volodymyr Ivasiuk, Ukrainian popular composer, murdered in May 1979; M. Melnyk, Ukrainian historian, murdered in 1979), together with a more brutally enforced policy of Russification, which in the long run will even further accentuate the ripening dichotomy between the national-revolutionary authority, represented by the nationalist underground, and the colonial pseudo-authority of Moscow.

The elevation of Yuri Andropov to supreme power in the Russian empire, and the recent appointment of V. Fedorchuk — the former head of the KGB in Ukraine — to the post of all-Union KGB Chief harbors only ill tidings for the liberation movement of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations. Both men built their careers on a reputation of brutality and ruthlessness, particularly with regard to suppressing any and all manifestations of national liberation.

Nonetheless, the Ukrainian underground national-liberation movement remains undaunted in the face of this new wave of repression. In fact, rather than succumb, the Ukrainian underground managed to organize a series of sabotage

actions on all levels of the forcibly imposed colonial socio-economic system in Ukraine, i.e., in the "kolkhozes" (collective farms) and factories. Moreover these revolutionary liberation processes are further exacerbated by the increasingly more acute internal contradictions of the Russian communist system, ranging from the bankruptcy of Marxism-Leninism as a viable political ideal, to the catastrophic ineptitude of the colonial economic system of the USSR. This economic ineptitude is most clearly revealed in the agricultural policies of the Russian empire. Agricultural output over the last three years in the USSR has been catastrophically below quotas projected in the Five Year Plan. Moreover, all indicators point towards yet another catastrophic grain yield in 1982. When one considers that Ukraine, once known as "the breadbasket of Europe", occupies a crucial link in the total agricultural policy of the empire, then one can only conclude that the revolutionary consequences of these disastrous grain yields four years in succession will be most severely felt in Ukraine.

### Russification Campaign Intensified

Nowhere are Moscow's intentions and priorities regarding the subjugated nations more clearly demonstrated than in its brutal Russification campaign, led under the deceitful guise of "building a Soviet people". This process is not only linguistic, or cultural, but in fact pervades all levels of Russian policy vis-a-vis the nations that Russia has forcibly enslaved. It represents Moscow's traditional aim of transforming these nations into one, great (sic.), albeit artificial entity — a Russian "super-nation". This policy is a systematic attempt to forcibly and by means of outright terror impose upon the sub-

jugated nations Russian values, Russian morals, an essentially Russian way and philosophy of life. In short, the subjugated nations in the USSR are not only to speak in Russian, to act as a Russian, to adopt Russian traditions and culture as their own, they must also THINK as a Russian and even PRAY in Russian. To act otherwise is tantamount to "anti-state activity", i.e., treason.

Even the "kolkhoz" system in the USSR is a significantly powerful variable of this Russification campaign and a subtle device of national subjugation. The system is totally inimical to the rural population of the subjugated nations, particularly of Ukraine, essentially because it represents Moscow's desire to impose on these nations Russian social norms, a traditionally Russian collectivist social ideal, based on the inherently Russian historical institution from tsarist times of the "obshchyna", i.e., the collectivized ownership of land and the complete negation of private ownership and initiative.

Over the past few years Moscow has intensified its Russification campaign in Ukraine in a total assault on the spiritual essence of the Ukrainian nation. The use of the Ukrainian language in the capital of Ukraine — Kyiv, and in the other larger cities has become taboo; to speak Ukrainian is inviting arrest. Publications in Ukrainian are far and few between. Russian is a prerequisite to advancement on all levels of society, including academic institutions. Historical Ukrainian cultural artifacts are continuously being destroyed. In the arts, the official line of "social realism" is nothing more than a clever colonial device to squash any attempts at displaying a separate Ukrainian cultural identity.

This all-out, frontal Russian assault on the vital life-élan of the Ukrainian nation has been further intensified by a systematic quasi-academic campaign

against Ukrainian history. Historical facts are grossly distorted, manipulated and even completely altered, so as to "prove" that the Ukrainian and Russian "people" (sic.) sprang from a common source. Ukrainian history textbooks are always written as an unimportant addendum to Russian history. All heroic elements in Ukraine's history, that may inculcate the younger generations with a "dangerous" sense of national consciousness and pride, are immediately labeled "bourgeois nationalist" and subsequently effaced from officially-censured history books.

Students are strongly encouraged, even forced to pursue their academic studies in strictly technical and scientific fields, where there is less of a threat that they may develop a latent "bourgeois nationalist" attitude. In fact, Ukrainian humanity studies are practically non-existent and the few university-level courses in Ukrainian history, literature, culture and the like are generally second-rate, if not worse, ridiculously distorted and therefore, ill-attended. Russian humanity studies, on the other hand, have an exceptionally preferred status in universities in Ukraine.

Over the last few years the Russification campaign has taken a peculiar ideological-philosophical twist. Not since Stalinist times has the imperialist regime expended so much energy on seeking to justify and rationalize its brutally repressive colonial policies and its expansionist measures that often require a bloody military invasion and occupation of foreign countries (e.g., Afghanistan), despite excessively high casualty rates from among Russian and non-Russian soldiers in the Soviet army. Among the plethora of articles and books on this subject that have recently flooded all bookstores throughout the USSR, one of the most characteristic is a novel by N. Prokhanov entitled — "A Tree in Kabul", in which the peculiar nuances of this

ideological campaign are clearly brought out. The central figure in this novel is a Russian soldier who is depicted as a hero and who rides around the streets of Kabul in a jeep indiscriminately shooting down helpless women and children, later repeating this monstrous act several times over only in different circumstances, e.g., in a helicopter over the mountains of Afghanistan. This barbaric, albeit typically Russian "hero" is completely convinced that he is rendering the Afghan people and all of humankind a special service, since he is portrayed as a "carrier of happiness". The twisted rationalization behind all this is that if there are people in the world too "stupid" to realize the "great happiness" that Russian-style communism offers, then it is the sacrosanct duty of the "Soviet", i.e., Russian soldier to force this "happiness" down these "idiots'" throats.

The function of this ideological campaign seems to be threefold: a. to instill terror and fear into the minds of the subjugated nations by subtly suggesting that no matter how bad things are at present, they could get much worse, even bloody; b. to quell any dissatisfaction that may arise over the many thousands of corpses of soldiers killed in Afghanistan, or elsewhere; in pursuit of Russian imperio-colonial aims; to prepare and mobilize the already chauvinistically-inclined Russian people in the USSR for even further "glorious" (sic.) conquests.

### **"An Offensive Defense of the Nation"**

Despite all these efforts to forcibly amalgamate the Ukrainian nation into a greater Russian "super-nation", the Kremlin leaders can hardly pride themselves with any success in this brutal Russification campaign. Led by the underground Ukrainian national-liberation movement, all strata of the Ukrainian nation have taken up what has been

termed in clandestine revolutionary circles as "an offensive defense of the nation", in preparation of the final stage of the revolutionary processes, *viz.*, the armed appropriation of national authority.

In order to properly analyze the situation in Ukraine, it is necessary to develop a full understanding of just what is meant by "revolutionary processes" from a total, whollistic perspective. The system of national subjugation in the Russian empire is a total, highly centralized, complex and intertwined system, in which the slightest deficiency in any, even the least significant segment of the system will reverberate throughout the system as a whole. Hence, by undermining the workings of one segment of this system, the revolutionary liberation movement undermines the whole system. For example, by staging a sabotage action in one factory creates problems for the entire industrial complex of the USSR.

In such a system, an act need not be overtly revolutionary, meaning of a directly military nature, to be in fact revolutionary. For instance, a child who refuses to speak Russian in school is committing a revolutionary act. The raising of the Ukrainian national flag, singing of patriotic songs, or writing nationalist slogans on walls, — all this must be considered factors in the revolutionary processes, since every revolution is first and foremost a process of consciousness-building. In its initial stages a revolution is primarily a moral and ethical process. Only when these processes are about to reach their apex, that is when most of the nation has been mobilized, does a national-liberation revolution enter into its final, overtly military stage.

At a certain stage in this progression, individual revolutionary acts are transformed into acts of mass protest and manifestations of opposition to imperialist policies, acquiring mass social proportions.

In light of this, we can say that Ukraine has entered this stage, where we can see the beginnings of a mass movement. For example, over ten thousand people took to the streets of Lviv to protest the brutal murder of Volodymyr Ivasiuk. This mass demonstration was held during Ivasiuk's funeral procession in May of 1979. The demonstrators continuously and defiantly chanted anti-Russian, nationalist slogans, such as: "Russia — out of Ukraine", "Glory to Ukraine", "Freedom for Ukraine", etc. Although KGB agents were to be seen everywhere along the route of the procession and at the burial site, they feared making any outright arrests that would have incensed the crowd even further. Several KGB agents were even beaten up by the demonstrators. Another example of such heightened revolutionary awareness is the mass workers strikes held last year in Kyiv and in other cities. The strike in Kyiv lasted for several days and the colonial authorities were forced to make several concessions. The protestors were heard to shout slogans such as: "Give us our independence", "Give us bread".

### **A Heroic Christianity — the Church in the Catacombs**

One of the most significant aspects of the Ukrainian national-liberation struggle is the struggle for religious freedom. Despite all the efforts of the imperialist Russian regime to eradicate all forms of religious worship in the USSR, a heroic Christianity has grown in Ukraine, manifested in the growth of a Church in the Catacombs. Clandestine religious services are always being held in most of the cities and villages of Ukraine. They are always attended by a large throng of people, even though there is the constant threat of arrest and incarceration. At a time when the Catholic Church is experiencing a critical dearth of vocational callings for the priesthood, in Ukraine no such shortage exists.

The colonial regime has resorted to terror tactics to combat this religious wave in Ukraine. In recent years, several priests have been murdered outright. Others have been arrested on trumped-up sexually-related charges, so as to discredit these priests in the eyes of the people. Many of the faithful in Ukraine have been arrested and sentenced to long prison terms. Yet, the Ukrainian Catacomb Church continues to exist.

What little churches and cathedrals that the Russians have not yet destroyed are always full (when open) with faithful worshippers, praying in silence. Young people are increasingly seen openly wearing crosses on chains around their necks in a courageous act of defiance. The Ukrainian nation as a whole has completely rejected the officially-sanctioned Russian Orthodox Church of "patriarch" Pimen.

### **A Search for Ukrainian Roots**

Among many young Ukrainian intellectuals, a growing interest in Ukrainian antiquity can be noticed in recent years. For instance, several scholarly articles have appeared in Ukraine, in which the archeological diggings in and around Kyiv and in other parts of Ukraine are described in great detail. Although the authors of these articles do not say as much, nonetheless after reading them anyone can clearly see that these scholars are trying to prove that Ukraine has an ancient tradition of statehood and that it had developed a highly civilized society long before a Russian people came into being. This, of course, is completely antithetical to the official line, that the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Russian peoples all have one common root.

One of the more prominent Ukrainian intellectuals, who has taken up this courageous search for Ukrainian historical roots, is a young Ukrainian historian — Mykhajlo Braychevskyj. In one article Braychevskyj subtly but persuasively

shows that the roots of Ukrainian independence and statehood can be found in the great Antae state, which existed over 1500 years ago. In this same article Braychevskyj boldly proves that the Russian people came into being several hundred years afterwards and that its roots are Finnish and, hence, are not to be found in the Antae state. In another article Braychevskyj shows that Kyiv — the capital of Ukraine — was established approximately 2000 years ago and that it can by no means be considered the “mother of all Russian (sic.) cities”, since the Russian nation was created only several hundred years afterwards.

Articles such as these are significant factors in the development of a revolutionary consciousness in Ukraine. A young Ukrainian, who possesses even a slight amount of national consciousness, cannot help but be proud of being Ukrainian after reading such articles and scholarly works.

### **The Destruction of the “Ukrainian Helsinki Group”**

In 1976 the so-called Helsinki Accords were signed. The Western Democracies were hoping at that time that these Accords would become a significant vehicle for realizing several basic human liberties in the USSR and its “satellites”. In return for these human rights provisions, outlined in the so-called “Third Basket” of the Accords, the West had to recognize the “inviolability” of the borders of the Russian empire.

By signing these Accords, the West created a false illusion in Ukraine and in other subjugated nations that it would now begin a strong offensive to force the Kremlin leadership into abiding by the human rights provisions of the “Third Basket”. Subsequently, a number of so-called “Helsinki Monitoring Groups” were formed. One such Group was established in Kyiv. Many well known Ukrain-

ian freedom fighters became members of this Group. Also, many other Ukrainian patriots, who had until then kept their liberation activity secret, now openly stated that they were members of this Group. Later it was revealed that none of the members of the Ukrainian Group were aware of the fact, that the Accords recognized the “inviolability”, “integrity” and “state sovereignty” of the Russian empire. On the other hand, they were convinced that the Accords could be utilized as an instrument of the national-liberation struggle. In many of the documents from the Group that found their way to the West, the Group’s members oftentimes emphasized the fact that they were fighting for a free and independent Ukraine.

The colonial authorities in Ukraine began to systematically decimate the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. First, its more prominent members were arrested and sentenced to excessively harsh prison terms. Individuals, such as Lev Lukianenko, Oles Berdnyk, Ivan Kandyba, Vyacheslav Chornovil and many others were sentenced to ten and more years in Russian prisons and concentration camps. Some were sentenced on ridiculous, trumped-up criminal charges, so as to avoid a possibly embarrassing “political trial” for Moscow. In due time, all the known members of the Ukrainian Group were sentenced. As a result the underground national-liberation movement was bereft of some of its most representative leaders and spokesmen. And all the while the West hardly did anything in defense of these courageous individuals, who went to jail expecting to see the Western Democracies initiate a campaign on their behalf. Moscow, of course, never showed any alarm over the fact that this complete destruction of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was in violation of the Helsinki Accords.

(To be continued)

## **ABN Delegation in Great Britain**

The Delegation of the ABN in Great Britain is composed of a number of organisations, whose countries are enslaved by the Soviet Russian and other communist regimes, and is carrying out activities laid down by the Central Committee, headed by the President, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine. In his full and comprehensive report at a recent Press Conference, Mr. Stetsko described the background concerning the creation of that organisation in Ukraine during World War II, which in November 1983 will be celebrating its 40th anniversary.

The main aim of the ABN could be summarised in two short sentences:

a) Continuous, concentrated and united struggle directed towards the disintegration of the multi-national Russian colonial empire and other communist regimes and the establishment of Free and Independent States within their ethnographical boundaries.

b) To expose the violation of Human Rights by the KGB's arbitrary arrests of people for their political, religious or cultural convictions thus openly defying the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Agreement, both signed by Moscow's representatives.

The last report of the activities of the ABN Delegation in Great Britain was submitted to the Central Committee in 1979, the present one will cover, only partly, the last three years. I must frankly admit that the most active were branches of the ABN in other cities like Coventry and Nottingham, but the most energetic, effective and successful was the Captive Nations Committee at Bradford, a member of the ABN, which in November 1982 will be celebrating its 19th anniversary. Their activities were fully described in a booklet (58 pages) published in 1981.

### **Activities of the ABN Delegation in London**

1) Nearly every year all members of the Delegation of the ABN observe two very important events:

(a) "Captive Nations Week" — on the third week of July adopted by the 86th Congress of the United States of America in July 1959. (It constitutes Public Law 86-90). It enumerates numbers of nations subjugated directly or indirectly by imperialist communist Russia, invites the people of the United States to observe the week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and requests: "THE PRESIDENT IS FURTHER AUTHORIZED AND REQUESTED TO ISSUE A SIMILAR PROCLAMATION EACH YEAR UNTIL SUCH TIME AS FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE SHALL HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED FOR THE CAPTIVE NATIONS IN THE WORLD." (my emphasis).

(b) Designated by the United Nations "International Human Rights Day" on December 10, 1948, proclaimed by the General Assembly of the UN, and adopted by Resolution 2200 (XXI) of December 16, 1966, known as: *International Covenants on Human Rights*, also signed by Moscow's representatives.

(It would be appropriate to quote art. 1 of the mentioned Covenants: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." (Art. 72 of the last Soviet Constitution): — "Each Union Republic shall retain the right to secede freely from the USSR", the most spiteful joke or the most sinister mockery?)

Demonstrations with banners were held opposite the Russian Embassy and tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed.

II) Every year greetings were sent to the President and participants of the WACL Conference held in different countries with best wishes for success in their fight for the realisation of the same ideas as laid down by the ABN.

III) We continue to sell and distribute over one thousand copies of each issue of the periodical "ABN Correspondence", whose chief editor is Mrs. Slava Stetsko (head of ABN Press Bureau), and other publications in English.

IV) During the time of the Olympic Games, appeals were made for the boycott of this event, which was to take place in Moscow, the capital of the worst totalitarian and cruel empire to ever have existed in the history of mankind.

V) Continual efforts have been made to encourage people to appeal and send protests to the mass media.

In 1979 a demonstration and vigil were held in London opposite Earls Court during the USSR National Exhibition with the displays of two of the fifteen constituent Soviet republics — Byelorussia and Georgia, including performances of folk dance ensembles of those republics (all guides, mainly young people with a good knowledge of English, were using among themselves only Russian; none spoke Byelorussian or Georgian).

The organisers of the Exhibition had shown the technological, industrial and economical achievements and the way of life of the "happy Soviet citizens", demonstrating "the enormous advantages of the socialist system compared to the capitalist". The catchword displayed on the building was: "PROGRESS THROUGH COOPERATION".

Just opposite the building there was a row of people with a multitude of banners of various nationalities with inscriptions: "Freedom for Ukraine, Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania," "Freedom not Sputniks, Human Rights for Soviet Jews", "Where are the exhibits of Mass Murders?" and tens of others.

The Delegation of the ABN issued a special leaflet: "Cultural Exchange and Cooperation, the double faced policy" of Moscow, in which we read: "national and cultural freedom is not respected, where many thousands of patriots of the enslaved nations are languishing behind bars or barbed wire for trying to preserve their national identity, language and culture"... "where the liberation movement is most brutally suppressed". In addition, that leaflet underlined the expansion of the Russian Empire from 260,000 square miles in the 14th century to 10,070,000 square miles in the 20th century, nearly FORTY TIMES IN SIZE in which two thirds of the population is non-Russian.

In 1980 there was a demonstration outside the Russian Embassy organised by the Union of Afghan Fighters which was supported by some nationalities affiliated with the ABN Delegation. The most numerous and active group was the Ukrainian. There were banners with slogans condemning the military Rus-



sian aggression and occupation of that peaceful and independent country, demanding the withdrawal of Russian troops.

The speakers underlined the danger of the Russian drive to the Indian Ocean with the aim of strangling the West by cutting the flow of oil. Thousands of leaflets were distributed with a number of copies of the Afghan newspaper "Afghan Voice" in which were described Russian atrocities with pictures of Afghan villages and residential settlements completely destroyed by Russian bombardment, pictures of killed unarmed and defenceless elderly people, women and children, some with burned faces and bodies, some with missing limbs. That was a picture of a new 'liberated' country similar to that of Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia at the time of their 'liberation'.

"The Delegation of the ABN and national organisations fully supported and support the Polish Solidarity and its democratic principles, condemning the brutal and inhuman military regime in Poland and Moscow's destructive and dominating role in the Polish crisis".

Unfortunately in our work and struggle for our just cause and the interest of the Free World we have not been helped in Great Britain or to be more precise, in London, by the mass media which is a very powerful, and maybe even crucial weapon in that struggle.

Noisy, sometimes violent demonstrations of small groups, mainly communists, their "fellow travellers" or just left wingers are given almost always full coverage and a lot of publicity. Although the Communists' chief objective is the destruction of Western civilisation, its national morals, and its religious spiritual and social life with the final goal: world conquest and domination.

Our impressive mass rallies and demonstrations, sometimes 2-4 thousands strong, marched from Hyde Park Corner through the centre of London with flags and banners condemning violations of Human Rights by Moscow and other communist regimes, demanding liberation of countries occupied by force and release of prisoners of conscience from prisons, concentration and slave labour camps and psychiatric hospitals who committed no crime whatsoever. Our activities were hardly mentioned at all, if ever, by the media.

Despite various difficulties we have achieved some success by acquainting a great number of inhabitants in Great Britain with the conditions of life in our enslaved countries and our aims.

There can be no lasting peace or co-existence between tyranny and freedom. The ideas of freedom and independence are immortal, and with God's help, justice shall prevail.

On behalf of this ABN Delegation I have to thank our Ukrainian friends for their generous financial support and the accommodation which they have provided.

**"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**

## AF ABN Chicago Chapter 1978–1982

Under the able leadership of its long time Chairperson, the late Mrs. Ulana Celewycz-Steciuk, and since September 19, 1981, its newly elected Chairman, Dr. Myroslaw Charkewycz, the AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter is constantly striving for betterment of its interrelations among its numerous member-nationalities, for expansion of its many-faceted activities, rejuvenation of its membership, and for improvement and enlargement of its influence upon official governmental positions with reference to subjugated nations.

The regular annual activities of the Chicago Chapter include the commemoration of Captive Nations Week in July, ABN Festival held in Palatine, Illinois in August or September, and the ABN Evening held in the first part of December.

The main speakers at the Captive Nations commemorations were Prof. Valentyn Moroz in 1979 (Ukrainian freedom-fighter, poet, writer, historian, who was released after fourteen years of incarceration by the Soviet Union in exchange for convicted Russian spies); Mr. Simas Kudirka in 1980 (Lithuanian patriot released by the Soviet Union); Rev. Paul Lindstrom in 1981 (American anti-communist activist and writer); and Mr. Sviatoslav Karavansky in 1982 (Ukrainian freedom fighter, poet, writer, released by the Soviet Union after incarceration of over thirty years in Russian concentration camps and prisons). In addition, said commemorations were addressed by Congressmen Henry J. Hyde and Frank Annunzio, Illinois States Representatives Myron Kulas and Borys Antonowych, as well as various other Federal and State officials.

The yearly ABN Festival in Palatine, Illinois constitutes sort of a friendly community celebration, organized by the Ukrainian Branch and attended by representatives of other AF-ABN nationalities. This Festival not only serves as a pleasant summer get-together, but proves to be monetarily profitable.

The ABN Evening is organized in form of a banquet by the Ukrainian Branch, with representatives of all other nationalities participating as honored guests. In 1978, the main speaker at said Evening was one of the editors of the "Liberation Path", published in London, Mr. Yulian Zablockyj; in 1979, member of ABN Central Committee, Prof. Stepan Halamay; in 1980, Chairperson of the Foreign Affairs Department of ABN Central Committee and Editor-in-Chief of "ABN Correspondence", Mrs Slava Stetsko; and in 1981, Chairman of AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter, Dr. Myroslaw Charkewycz, and Hungarian freedom-fighter, Mrs. Maria Baksay.

On May 18, 1980, the Ukrainian Branch organized a banquet for Congressman Henry J. Hyde, as a staunch defender of Yuriy Shukhevych (son of fallen Ukrainian Insurgent Army General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka), the son being imprisoned by Russians for the past thirty-five years.

On December 5, 1980, a conference was held by AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter, for the purpose of greeting and being addressed by Mrs. Slava Stetsko.

On April 30, 1981, Dr. Charkewycz and Mr. Andriy Steciuk took part in a chartered trip entitled "A Day In Washington", where they were briefed by various Senators, Congressmen, State Department and Pentagon officials.

On May 2 and 3, 1981, Dr. Charkewycz, Dr. Alexander E. Ronnett, Messrs. Yaroslaw Zahorodnyj, Osyp Panchyshyn and Ms. Zena Matla-Rychtyc-

ka attended the AF-ABN Congress in New York, where a comprehensive report of Chicago Chapter activities was submitted.

On September 19, 1981, a General Meeting, for the purpose of electing new officers of AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter was held, at which the following roster was unanimously elected: Chairman — Dr. Myrosław Charkewycz (Ukraine), Executive Vice-Chairman — Dr. Alexander E. Ronnett (Rumania), Vice-Chairmen — H. Jausuff Azem (Albania), Prof. Anton Bonifacic (Croatia), Dr. Do Dang Cong (Viet Nam), Vice-Chairmen — Dr. John F. Drac (Slovakia), John Hebling (Germany), Dr. John Kosiak (Byelorussia), Dr. George Paprikoff (Bulgaria), Rev. J. Prunskis (Lithuania), Prof. Arthur Voobos (Estonia); Treasurer — Andrij Steciuk (Ukraine); Secretary — Correspondence — Natalia Humaniuk (Ukraine); Secretary — General — Zena Matla-Rychtycka (Ukraine); Secretary — Recording — Victoria Mazur (Ukraine); Alternate Executive Officers — Dr. Augustin Vasques (Cuba), Mykola Yaremko (Ukraine), Yaroslav Zahorodnyj (Ukraine).

On October 15, 1981, Dr. Charkewycz and other members of the Ukrainian Branch accompanied the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko, Prime-Minister of Ukraine and President of ABN Central Committee, to Springfield, Illinois, where the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko addressed the joint session of Illinois Congress. In addition, the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko, together with Mrs. Slava Stetsko and members of the Chicago Chapter delegation met privately with Illinois Governor Jim Thompson, and placed a wreath at Abraham Lincoln's grave.

On October 17, 1981, an AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter conference was held at the Americana Pick Congress Hotel, which was addressed by the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Mr. Charles K. Andreanszky, Secretary-General of AF-ABN Executive Board and Prof. Arthur Voobos, Vice-President of AF-ABN Presidium and Vice Chairman of the Chicago Chapter.

Delegations of fifteen AF-ABN member nationalities took part in the banquet commemorating the Fortieth Anniversary of the Restoration of Independence of Ukraine, held on October 18, 1981, which was addressed by the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko and Congressman Henry J. Hyde.

On November 7 and 8, 1981, Dr. George Paprikoff and Ms. Matla-Rychtycka represented AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter at Conference of ABN-Canada held in Toronto.

On December 16, 1981, under the sponsorship of Ukrainian Branch, a conference of Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian representatives was held in connection with incorporating activities in aid of the Congressional Committee on Baltic States and Ukraine under the jurisdiction of AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter, as well as with reference to an appeal to said Congressional Committee to expand its activities to include all member-nations of the ABN.

On May 9, 1982, an AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter conference was held, with main speakers being the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko.

On June 28, 1982, Dr. Charkewycz and Ms. Matla-Rychtycka took part in a chartered trip entitled "Second Annual Day in Washington", where they were briefed by CIA and FBI officials, Secretary of the Department of Interior James Watt, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal

Reserve System Paul S. Volcker, and Secretary of the Department of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige, as well as have had an opportunity to privately converse with Senators Charles H. Percy and Alan J. Dixon, and Congressman Henry J. Hyde.

Dr. Charkewycz, accompanied by Ms. Victoria Mazur, Mr. Steciuk and other members of AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter, Ukrainian Branch, took part in Afghanistan Day, Baltic Solidarity Days, Commemoration of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of Hungarian Uprising, two "Solidarity" Rallies, manifestation against statements by Rev. Billy Graham about religious freedom in the Soviet Union, Cuban manifestation against Mexican policy in the Caribbean, Cuban manifestation in support of Radio Free Cuba — "Marti", two manifestations in defense of Lithuanian patriot David Scubis Scott, as well as Independence Day celebrations of Albanians, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Chinese, Croats, Cubans, Latvians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, and others, and had the pleasure to greet representatives of different AF-ABN nationalities at Ukrainian Independence Day celebrations.

Representatives of AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter held numerous private meetings with Senators Charles H. Percy and Alan J. Dixon, Congressmen Henry J. Hyde and Frank Annunzio, and other Federal and State officials.

Regular meetings of AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter, are held approximately four or five times a year, being supplemented by written and telephone communications. AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter corresponds with President Ronald Reagan, Senator Charles H. Percy and Alan J. Dixon, Congressmen Frank Annunzio, Charles F. Daugherty, Brian Donnelly and Henry J. Hyde. Publicity secretary, Mr. Borys Jurkiw, has written various articles, in both English and Ukrainian, with reference to different AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter activities. In addition, plans have already been made to commence publication of a quarterly "Informational Bulletin of AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter", with Ms. Victoria Mazur as its Editor-in-Chief. Preparations are already in progress for organization of a "Panel" covering situations in North America, South America, Central Europe, Western Europe, Asia and Africa, to take place sometime in November, 1982 with various dignitaries taking part, in addition to multi-national panelists.

Members of the Chicago Chapter, individually as well as collectively support Federal and State officials, Senators, Congressmen, etc., regardless of their party affiliations, Republican or Democratic, who possess a positive outlook toward the independence of subjugated nations. Any and all information in connection with prosecution or imprisonment of clergy or political advocates in the Soviet Union, Afghanistan or Cuba is shared unconditionally among all nationalities comprising the AF-ABN. The Chicago Chapter enjoys a truly close cooperation among all its member-nationalities and, because of that, we have high hopes for expansion of our activities and ever greater success in the future.

As you undoubtedly noted, my report covers the activities of only one Chapter of AF-ABN, however I believe it illustrates in general, the activities of our organization in the USA. To complete my remarks, I would like to stress several aspects of our work, which, even if they pertain only to USA, have to be improved and modified, in order to secure better and faster achievement of our plans and goals.

I believe that we can attract the highest political and military governmental echelons to our ideas and plans only with wide "grassroot" support. We have to show a substantial number of vocal and informed voters, who support our demands. In order to make the name and the goals of our organization a "household article", we have to have a well organized membership in the local divisions of ABN of all nation-members, as it is the case with Ukrainians. Even if the carriers of our ideas are at present time middle aged people — we have to rejuvenate our membership and attract more youth with high intellectual background.

Complex of Captive Nations if properly addressed, can and must become a great ally of ABN. It is our duty to become involved in local Captive Nations Committees. We have to see that a historical resolution is not altered in order to placate "partocrats", who claim that the source of all evil is not the traditional Russian imperialism, that is very clearly stressed in the primary proclamation, only the non-existing communism. Here lies the reason for bitter criticism of Captive Nations idea by Khrushchev, Suslov, Brezhnev and recently by Arbatov and Solzhenitsyn. ABN members and friends, faithful to their ideas must remember the motto; "freedom for nations — freedom for the individual". The Captive Nations Resolution is equal in the historical perspective to President Wilson's "Fourteen Points". It must be kept not only alive, but also gain significantly in vitality every year, as an officially accepted document which secures the right of independence for all subjugated nations.

In the USA, gaining momentum and publicity is the s.c. "Ad Hoc Committee for Baltic Nations and Ukraine", which counts over 50 congressmen and several senators in its membership. This congressional organization is meant, as the name implies, for one particular case, without consideration of wider application. We are thankful to the promoters of this committee, which is trying to win a wide congressional support for our mutual goals: for decolonization of the Soviet-Russian empire and reestablishment of freedom, democracy and sovereignty for all our nations We believe very strongly, that there will never be a free Tallin, Riga, Kaunas and Kyiv, without free Minsk, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Baku, Tashkent, Seoul, Hanoi, Addis Ababa, or without a free Warsaw, Sofia, Prague, Berlin, Bratislava, Zagreb, Beograd, Budapest, Bukarest, Tirana, Kabul and a dozen others. We have to work harder, so, that "ad Hoc Committee" will broaden the scope to all other enslaved nations and will be able to accept as its base of activities the ideas and the organizational frame of ABN.

Our friends, the free Cubans, are working very diligently to gain official, moral and financial support for radio Marti, to send to Cuba the truth from American soil. They feel that activities of such institutions as "Voice of America", "Radio Free Europe" are a great achievement. They forgot or are unaware of certain regulations and rules, which make said costly broadcasts practically useless. All mention of the right for national independence for the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism in the USSR is strictly forbidden, the essential, truthful informations are ignored. Forbidden is any mention about national liberation struggles against the Russian oppressors. If radio Marti should be organized along similar guidelines, the successes of free Cubans appear dim. It is unwise to talk only about a free Washington or a free Havana without

mentioning all captive nations united in ABN, or about 105 countries all members of World Anti-Communist League. The Red Army, as other Russian imperialistic armies, will never retreat even one step. It will always increase the terror and other inhuman methods of enslaving the free.

*Dr. Myroslaw Charkevycz*

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Mr. O. Steciw

## **ABN CANADA 1981-1982**

In the past one year and a half ABN-Canada has entered a new stage in its activities in Canada. The highlight of these renewed activities was the ABN-Canada Conference held in Toronto, on November 7-8, 1981. Obviously, there was a need to reactivate ABN in Canada on a higher level, and it is clear that this renewed interest resulted in a very successful event.

The key issue under scrutiny at the Conference was "The politics of the countries of the Free World and the liberation struggle of the nations under Soviet Russian and communist domination: current trends and future prospects". Yaroslav Stetsko, the President of ABN, addressed himself to the issue of the subjugated nations being a "neglected superpower" in the political and strategic planning of the West. Dr. Edward O'Connor said that "the Captive Nations are a most powerful deterrent to nuclear war", and that the policy of detente was a "profound mistake in judging the motivations of the Russians, whose aim to dominate the world is unmoderated". Mr. John Wilkinson, British Member of Parliament, warned about weakening Western defence systems, condemned opposition to attempts at strengthening Western defence capabilities, named Moscow as a key role player in the current "pacifist" outcry about the West's rearmament, and stressed the potential of the subjugated nations in any confrontation with Moscow. Prof. Truong Quang Si analyzed the situation in Vietnam and the rest of South-East Asia.

Dr. Anatoliy Bedriy analyzed from a historical perspective ABN's strategic and tactical principles of struggle. Imam Said Zafar spoke about the role of Islam in the struggle against bolshevism as an ideology and a system, while Dr. Bashir Zikria and Masood Khalili addressed themselves to the current situation and struggle in Afghanistan. Among other guest speakers who addressed themselves to issues of vital political interest to the subjugated nations were the Hon. Michael Wilson and Mr. John Gamble (members of the Canadian Parliament), Mr. Yuriy Shymko (Member of Provincial Parliament of Ontario), His Worship Mayor Dennis Flynn, and others. In addition, several historical dates marking the independence of the various subjugated nations were fittingly acknowledged.

At the beginning of 1982 a general meeting of ABN-Canada took place where a National Executive Committee was elected for a period of three years. During the past year, a number of rallies and demonstrations have taken place in many Canadian centres, particularly in Toronto and Ottawa. The nationalities that belong to ABN-Canada are: Bulgarians, Cambodians, Croatians, Estonians, Laotians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Romanians, Slovenians, Ukrainians,

and Vietnamese. One of the main objectives of ABN-Canada is to extend its activities across the country and establish a close working relationship with ABN chapters elsewhere in the world.

The following is an outline of projects currently under way:

1) A yearly Proclamation of Captive Nations Day (or Week) on all three levels of government-municipal, provincial and federal.

2) Annually-held Freedom Rallies and Freedom Festivals to portray on all levels the struggle for freedom of all the subjugated nations under the Soviet Russian and communist domination.

3) Political exhibits will be planned from time to time.

4) Political conferences, seminars and panels, particularly with youth.

5) The prime long-term objective of ABN-Canada is to establish its lobbying group with wide grass-roots support for ABN goals. For example, an ABN-Canada delegation took part in the Progressive Conservative Policy Conference earlier this year. An ABN position paper was presented to various M.P.'s and several important contacts were made.

In conclusion it is imperative to mention some of the problems we are faced with in Canadian politics today. It is clear that many of the Canadian government's policies are not conducive to the liberation efforts of the Captive Nations. This is quite clear from Prime Minister Trudeau's record of so-called "flexibility" towards the USSR and its bloc, which is also true to a greater or lesser extent of other Western countries. It is this vicious political double standard and immorality that we must address ourselves to.



*Turkestanis demanding from Soviet Russia freedom for their country —  
New York, 1982.*

## The European Parliament's Resolution

The European Parliament,

A. having regard to the joint declaration of 45 nationals of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, in April 1979, calling on the United Nations to recognize the rights of the Baltic States to self-determination and independence, and demanding a referendum on this issue,

B. having regard to the bilateral peace treaties between the Soviet Union and the three Baltic States in Dorpat (2 February 1920), Moscow (12 July 1920) and Riga (11 August 1920), in which the Soviet Union guaranteed the three Baltic states the inviolability of their territory and eternal peace,

C. having regard to Article VIII of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation, which secures the right of self-determination of peoples and their right, in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wish, their internal and external political status,

D. condemning the fact that the occupation of these formerly independent and neutral states by the Soviet Union occurred in 1940 following the Molotov/Ribbentrop Pact, and continues,

E. whereas the Soviet annexias of the

three Baltic states has still not been formally recognized by most European states and the USA, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and the Vatican still adhere to the concept of the Baltic states,

F. having regard to the eight-year long struggle and armed resistance of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians fighting for their freedom, the thousands of victims of this struggle and the 665,000 Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians who have been resettled and removed to labour camps in Siberia by the Soviet rulers since 1940,

G. having regard to the motion for a resolution by Sir James Scott-Hopkins and others on behalf of the European Conservative Group on the situation in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (Doc. 1-777/80),

H. having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. 1-656/82).

1. Calls on the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation to form a common favourable approach to the declaration addressed to the United Nations in 1979;

2. Suggests that they submit the issue of the Baltic states to the Decolonization Subcommittee of the UN;

3. Considers that the plight of the peoples of these states should be the subject of review during the conferences to monitor implementation of the Helsinki Final Act;

4. Expresses the hope that the Conference of Foreign Ministers will use their best endeavours to see that the aspirations of the peoples of these states as to their form of government are realized,

5. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation and to the governments of the Member States.

*Strasbourg, January 14, 1983*

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### Demonstrations in Vilnius

A spontaneous anti-Russian demonstration involving several thousand Lithuanians erupted in Vilnius on September 23, 1982, according to the Associated Press and several other sources. The demonstration was triggered by the victory of the local football team *Žalgiris* over a Russian team from Yaroslavl. The demonstrators sang nationalist songs and shouted slogans. They were dispersed by the police, some were detained. Later an official of the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Moscow denounced the AP report as "deliberately slanderous invention and falsification".



## ABN Report to the 15th WACL Conference

Tokyo, Japan — December 6-9, 1982

It is insignificant whether the post-Brezhnev Soviet Russian empire has already entered a "new" era, or is only in a "transitional" phase. What is significant is the fact that Andropov was the KGB chief for 15 years. Some commentators praise him in that he was more humane in crushing dissidents and freedom-fighters. However, it is an established fact that he put healthy people into psychiatric asylums and it is also a fact that the KGB is a continuation of the MVD which in turn is a continuation of the GPU and this of the tsarist "Okhrana". Deportations to Siberia did not only take place under Stalinist rule (of Ukrainians, North Caucasians, Volga Germans, Balts, Tartars) but also during the tsarist regime. There are three million deported Ukrainians now living in the region near Vladivostock. The renowned city of Leningrad, previously called Petrograd, was built on the bones of political prisoners. The same situation will repeat itself with the construction of the gas pipeline. The world renowned journalist, Robert Conquest, writes in the **Daily Telegraph** (12. 11. 82): "Collectivisation was not merely the herding of an unwilling peasantry into the new collective farms, it included also the turning of Ukraine into one vast Belsen, when millions died simply because their food was all requisitioned by armed bands of police and party officials, backed by the Communist student activists of the Brezhnev generation. *The death toll was 14 million people*".

The Free World, instead of giving the subjugated nations support, pays too much attention to the Kremlin's respective leaders and forgets that it is an elaborate system of terror. These nations already constitute the majority of the population

in the Soviet Russian empire representing a ratio of 1:2. When regarding this ratio, some Western critics ask: "Why don't the subjugated nations overthrow the hated foreign regime forced upon them by the communist Russian bayonets?"

There is a very important answer to this Western question: favourable preconditions must be created for such a life or death action. It is not a favourable precondition when the Free World trembles to see if the new Kremlin leader will be able to keep his vast empire under control so that business with the West will go on as usual. Nor is it a favourable precondition for the insurrection of the subjugated nations when technical, electronic, scientific, agricultural and other methods of Western aid always rescue the Russian empire — this center of world terror, from collapse. What were or are possible signs of such an insurrection?

Crushed hopes in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the present state of martial law in Poland makes it clear that open resistance or resistance based on the official communist constitution is impossible because as stated by one prosecutor at a dissident trial: this constitution is only for export.

"An Appeal" from behind the Iron Curtain (signed by political prisoner Vyacheslav Chornovil and others) to all the representatives of democratic countries to the Madrid Conference, warned that repressions in the USSR have worsened: "The entire world was outraged by the deportation without trial of A. R. Sakharov; the world community, however, is not as well acquainted with yet another "harmless" practice in the repressive arsenal of the KGB — fabrication of cri-

minal cases against political oppositionists". All Helsinki groups are now liquidated. This corroborates our continuous assertion that the Helsinki Accords are only of benefit to the Russians. They guarantee the Russians' conquest, but Russia is not inclined to respect any human rights whatsoever. Cultural and religious activists are dying from planned accidents on the streets, put into psychiatric asylums or bestially murdered like the young Ukrainian composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk, Ukrainian Catholic priests Lutsykyj Ivan and Luchkiw Ivan, Lithuanian Bronius Laurinavicius, and many others are victims of Andropov's cruel terror.

However, after 60 years of Russian communist rule, the subjugated nations continue to fight for their national independence, thus undermining from within the strength of the Russian empire. The millions of Polish workers manifested their desire for freedom. The situation in the Baltic countries is becoming more acute. The demonstrations of Lithuanian youth in Vilnius against Russification and colonial exploitation continue to take place. And recently, just a few weeks ago, five thousand young Estonians demonstrated in Tartu when the 35th anniversary of its university was being celebrated. Estonian songs were sung, their national flag was hoisted, as the Soviet hammer and sickle was torn down. Several young people were arrested. "Moscow stop terrorizing Balts" — such signs were seen on the roads of Latvia.

Last year in March and April, over a thousand Georgian students demonstrated outside the Tbilisi State University. The students carried placards with such slogans as: "Stop the persecution of Georgians". They also demanded that Georgian history be taught in Georgian schools. Written demands were handed over to the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, the main item of which was the

defense of the state status of the Georgian language.

The increase of Russian-language schools in Ukraine was protested last year by the spread of underground leaflets, in particular in Lviv (Western Ukraine). Open letters from Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, concerning the violation of fundamental human rights and demanding the founding of independent labour unions, were received by Amnesty International in London. Extensive documents, such as "Frontiers of Culture" and "The Tree of National Tasks", "Dissident Movements", were smuggled out of Ukraine. These documents speak about the undermined conscience of the young Ukrainian generation and that only a sovereign Ukraine can guarantee the life of their nation.

Because of its serious national, political and social problems, the USSR is a society potentially close to the "trigger pull" of upheaval: an unwieldy, highly bureaucratized political and administrative system, class conflicts aggravated by national differences, incompetence and lack of discipline in various social sectors, and, perhaps most importantly, an ever increasing defection of the allegiance of its intellectuals from a moribund official state ideology.

Providing that moral and political support will be rendered by the Free World to the increasingly more active underground movements in the Soviet-Russian empire, and close cooperation established with them, simultaneous revolutions of the subjugated nations will be possible, this being the only alternative to a thermo-nuclear war.

### **From the ABN Activities in the Free World**

*Chicago Hosts Conference of AF ABN*

On Saturday, October 17, 1981, the Chicago Chapter of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of

Nations hosted a review conference which was attended by several members of the AF ABN National Executive, many members of the Chicago Chapter and several guests from other Chapters in the USA. In addition, the Conference was attended by the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the ABN Central Committee and Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Department of the ABN Central Committee and Editor-in Chief of "ABN Correspondence".

The Conference was opened by the Chairman of the Chicago Chapter, Dr. Myroslav Charkewycz, who in turn introduced keynote speaker, the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko. Mrs. Slava Stetkso presented the Conference with an overview of ABN activities with respect to various international events of the past year, centering around the preparations for and the conference of the World Anti-Communist League which took place in Taipei, Republic of China. Mr. Charles Andreanszky, the General Secretary of the Executive Board of the AF ABN, concentrated on the requirements of the AF ABN in order that it should become a more active body in the future. Professor Arthur Voobos, Vice-President of AF ABN Presidium and Vice-Chairman of the Chicago Chapter, afforded the Conference a rare insight into the perspective of the Arab peoples on the conflict between East and West.

#### **Executive Body of the AF ABN, Chicago Chapter, Elected**

The Chicago Chapter of the AF ABN held its General Meeting on September 19, 1981. Dr. Myroslav Charkewycz delivered an address in which he analyzed the functions and priorities of the AF ABN and the need for renewed vigor in the future activities of the Chicago Chapter. Lengthy remarks with reference to Dr. Charkewycz's address were voiced by Mr. John Kosiak.

The following officers of the AF ABN, Chicago Chapter, were unanimously elected: Chairman — Dr. Myroslav Charkewycz (Ukraine), Executive Vice-Chairman — Dr. Alexander E. Ronnett (Rumania), Vice-Chairman — H. Jausuff Azem (Albania), Prof. Ante Bonifacic (Croatia), Dr. Do Dang Cong (Viet Nam), Dr. John F. Drac (Slovakia), John Hebling (Germany), Dr. John Kosiak (Byelorussia), Dr. George Paprikoff (Bulgaria), Rev. J. Prunskis (Lithuania), Prof. Arthur Voobos (Estonia), Treasurer — Andriy Steciuk (Ukraine), Secretary-General — Zena Matla-Rychtycka (Ukraine), Secretary-Correspondence — Natalia Huminiak (Ukraine), Secretary-Publicity — Borys Yurkiw (Ukraine), Secretary-Recording — Victoria Mazur (Ukraine). Alternative Executive Officers — Dr. Agustin Vasquez (Cuba), Mykola Yaremenko (Ukraine), Yaroslav Zahorodnyj (Ukraine).

#### **ABN Conference in Toronto**

Over 250 delegates representing organizations of 15 national communities whose countries of origin are under Moscow's colonial rule, met in Toronto on November 7-8, for the Canadian Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Representatives of the Afghan liberation movement participated in this Conference and they presented a film documenting the use of chemical warfare by the Russians occupying Afghanistan. Delegates of the Polish Canadian Action Group outlined the current situation in Poland and recent refugees (boat people) from Vietnam documented the tragic results of the abandonment of that nation by the United States. Other participating nationalists represented: Ukraine, Slovakia, Slovenia, Rumania, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Croatia, Albania, Bulgaria and Byelorussia.

The Conference passed a number of resolutions and communiques and estab-

lished a framework for the reactivation of the Canadian Chapter of ABN.

The main speaker at the Conference Banquet was Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko. The banquet, which drew close to 600 guests, also marked the 40th anniversary of the re-establishment of Ukrainian independence in 1941 led by Mr. Stetsko.

Further speakers of the two-day Conference included Mr. W. Bezchlibnyk, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Dr. Edward O'Connor, British Conservative M.P. John Wilkinson, Prof. Truong Quang Si, Canadian Liberal M.P. Jesse Flis, Ontario M.P. Yuriy Shymko, Conservative M.P. John Gamble, Mayor of the Borough of Etobicoke Dennis Flynn, Dr. Anatoliy Bedriy, a Ukrainian publicist. Mr. Imam Said Zafar spoke about the role of Islam, while Dr. Bashir Zikria and Masood Khalili addressed themselves to the current situation in Afghanistan. Greetings from Ontario Premier William Davis were read to the conference by Ontario M.P. Yuriy Shymko, while alderman William Boychuk provided greetings on behalf of the City of Toronto.

The Conference was covered extensively by the Canadian national and local press.

### **Canadian ABN Executive Elected**

A General Meeting of ABN Canada held in Toronto, Ontario on Tuesday, March 12, 1982, elected a new National Executive Committee for a term of three years. Mr. Orest Steciw, a Toronto educator became the national Chairman of this organization.

The ABN in Canada presently consists of representatives of the following nationalities: Bulgarians, Croatians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Slovenians, Ukrainians and Vietnamese. Several other groups are contemplating ABN membership as well.

The newly-elected National Executive Committee has planned a number of activities for 1982 in defense of the right to

national independence of the peoples that are currently oppressed by Soviet Russia and communism.

### **ABN Chicago Meeting**

In May 1982 the Chicago Branch organized a meeting of its members with the participation of representatives from the Central Committee of the ABN from Munich. After the speech of Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, the ABN President, a lengthy discussion followed with many national groups participating.

The ABN resolution from the New York Congress of May 1981 was reprinted in the Congressional Record in June 1981.

### **ABN/EFC Conference in London**

The Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and the European Freedom Council (EFC), convened in London, Great Britain on September 24-26, 1982, successfully concluded its deliberations, elected the respective leaderships of the two organizations and adopted a set of future policy guidelines.

The EFC is a West European anti-communist, anti-Bolshevik organization whose primary aims are: to mobilize support in the Free World for the subjugated nations' liberation struggle; to promote the necessity of waging a Western political-psychological offensive against Russian imperialism and communism; and to combat Russian communist subversion and infiltration of Western free and democratic societies. The former Prime Minister of Ukraine and present Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, was re-elected President of the ABN. Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. (Great Britain) was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee of the EFC. An EFC Honorary Presidium was also elected, composed, among others, of the following distinguished individuals: His Ro-

yal Highness Otto von Habsburg, M.E.P., Air Marshal Sir Neil Cameron (Great Britain), Hon. Manuel Fraga Iribarne, leader of the "Alianza Popular" (Spain), Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, Hon. Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu (former Senator of Turkey), and others.

The 222 delegates and 302 guests that took part in the Conference came from various countries of the world, such as: the USA, Canada, Australia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Spain, France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, and others. Among the subjugated nations represented at the Conference were the following: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Latvia, Slovakia, Lithuania, Rumania, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Georgia, Estonia, Albania and Turkestan.

Among the many distinguished guest speakers to address the Conference were the following: Gen. John Singlaub (USA) — former Supreme Commander of United Nations forces in Korea, Hon. John Wilkinson (Great Britain), Hon. Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu (Turkey), Hon. Douglas Darby (Australia), Councillor Reg Davies (Great Britain), Mr. Sviatoslav Karavansky — a Ukrainian political prisoner of the USSR for 31 years, Dr. Bertil Häggman (Sweden) — Director of the Foundation of Conflict Analysis, and others.

The main theme of the Conference was — "The Alternative to Thermo-Nuclear War". The Conference voiced its conviction that the only viable and realistic alternative to a nuclear holocaust lies in the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, who are internally dismantling the Russian prison of nations, thereby eliminating the primary threat to world peace, freedom, justice, and international security. This threat lies unilaterally in the continued existence of the Russian neo-colonial empire and in Moscow's unabated drive to conquer the world.

The resolutions and statement of the Conference emphasize the fact that the subjugated nations are the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire. In their liberation struggle, led under the revolutionary slogan of the ABN — "Freedom for Nations — Freedom for the Individual!" — are to be found the rudiments of a future world order, based on freedom and justice, and on a mutual respect of each nation's right to independence, sovereignty and statehood. The delegates and participants of the Conference wholeheartedly endorsed the words of General Singlaub, that "the subjugated nations are the West's strongest allies".

In conjunction with the ABN/EFC Conference, a mass rally was held on Sunday, September 26 in Trafalgar Square, to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Approximately 3,000 people took part in the rally. The highpoint of the rally was a reading of excerpts from the pastoral blessings of His Holiness Yosyf I — the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, bestowed upon the heroes of the UPA. Mrs. Slava Stetsko, who was elected Executive Chairman of the ABN, read a partial list of the members of the international Honorary Committee in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the UPA.

The ABN/EFC Conference was concluded with a concert held in Hammersmith Town Hall with an elaborate cultural programme. The events of the entire three days were covered by the British press — "The Guardian" and by the "Mail on Sunday" in its colour magazine supplement "You".

### **Freedom Weekend in Canada**

In order to highlight the plight of the Captive Nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and communism, ABN-Canada sponsored on October 30-31, 1982 a **FREEDOM WEEKEND** in Toronto,

which consisted of the following events: 1. FREEDOM RALLY at Nathan Phillips Square, Saturday, October 30, 1982 at 11.30 am. 2. FREEDOM FESTIVAL at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre, 83-85 Christie Street, Sunday, October 31, at 2.30 pm.

While Moscow prepared to mark the "60th anniversary" of the USSR, this Freedom Rally called for support of the struggle for national independence and human rights of the subjugated nations, and demanded the release of all political prisoners, in particular: Mart Niklus (Estonian), Zanis Skudra (Latvian), Lech Walesa (Polish), Rev. Gheorghe Calciu (Rumanian), Helena Gondova (Slovak), Yuriy Shukhevych (Ukrainian), Vo Dai Ton (Vietnamese). The keynote speaker at the Rally was Hon. Michael Wilson, M.P.

The Freedom Festival on Sunday featured a cultural program highlighting the rich heritage of the Captive Nations. The keynote speaker at the Festival was John McDermid, M.P.

The following communities participated in the Freedom Weekend: Afghan, Bulgarian, Cambodian, Croatian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Slovak, Slovenian, Rumanian, Ukrainian, Vietnamese, and other groups and organizations.

The Freedom Weekend was concluded with a Vietnamese documentary film which portrayed the current struggle of the Vietnamese people for their liberation from Bolshevism.

The Freedom Weekend was reported by the Canadian media.

### **Other Activities**

The ABN President addressed the Illinois House of Representatives in Springfield on October 14, 1981. He actively participated with his co-workers in the regional Conference of the North American Region of the World Anti-Communist League (NARWACL) which

was held on April 24-26, 1982 under the leadership of Major General John K. Singlaub in Arizona. A position paper on the American radio broadcasts was elaborated on and forwarded to the State Department and to several members of the American Congress.

Freedom rallies were staged throughout 1981 in such large cities as New York (November 7), London and Canberra — all in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the re-establishment of the independence of the Ukrainian state on June 30, 1941.

On January 26, 1982, the ABN Central Committee organized a press conference in its Munich offices for Mrs. Keshvar Kamal, the head of the revolutionary League of Women of Afghanistan. Mrs. Kamal, whose husband is fighting against Russian imperialist occupational forces in the ranks of the Afghan insurgents — the Mujahideen — made a tour of Europe propagating the cause of independence for her country.

During 1981 and 1982, Mr. & Mrs. Stetsko made extensive tours to different cities of the United States and Canada, meeting ABN Branches everywhere: — New York, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Los Angeles, Toronto, Montreal. At every opportunity they propagated the cause of liberation of the subjugated nations, holding press conferences and giving television interviews. They visited Washington several times in order to discuss the liberation problem of the subjugated nations with different Congressmen, Senators and representatives of the State Department.

In November 1981, the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations sent separate copies of a memorandum to the Chairmen of the delegations of the nations of the Free World to the Helsinki-Madrid Conference. This memorandum which, in a concise and convincing manner, presented the current

state of national and human rights violations in the nations subjugated by Russia, was entitled: — "The Helsinki Accords should be Annulled". It was signed by the following members: — national representatives of the ABN on behalf of the Central Committee — Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko — President (Ukraine), Mr. John J. Kosiak (Byelorussia), Prof. A. E. Voobos (Estonia), Mr. Charles Andreanszky (Hungary), Dr. Alexander Ronnett (Rumania), Mr. Jacob Sola (Croatia), Mr. George Paprikoff (Bulgaria) and Mr. Volodimir Tomko (Slovakia).

On June 25, 1982 Gen. John K. Singlaub — the President of the United States Council for World Freedom visited the Headquarters of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in Munich. A conference was held with leading members and representatives of the ABN. General Singlaub was travelling throughout Europe with his wife on a political lecture tour.

In his address, Gen. Singlaub stated that he has made it his objective to organize all anti-communist forces in the world, so as to not only contain this communist threat, but to bring about its final and unequivocal demise. He also stated that the driving force of this global "communist gangrene" is Russian expansionist imperialism.

Campaigns for the release of Yuriy Shukhevych and other political prisoners were organized during 1982, especially in Canada and Australia. Yuriy Shukhevych, who has endured Soviet-Russian prison camps for over 30 years simply because of the fact that he has refused to denounce his father — General Taras Chuprynka — Roman Shukhevych — the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), has recently been blinded by the KGB.

Captive Nations Weeks were organized and took place in Sydney, Australia and throughout the United States; particular-

ly large celebrations were organized in New York and Chicago.

### **Publications**

The ABN Central Committee has been publishing now for 31 years the bi-monthly magazine "ABN Correspondence" in English. 12,000 copies of each edition are sent out to selected addresses in the Free World and a limited number are smuggled behind the Iron Curtain. In France the French language magazine "L'Est Europeen" is published and in Brasil the ABN Bulletin is published in Portuguese. All literature smuggled out of the Iron Curtain is translated into English, French and other languages. This literature is not only published in our own magazines and newspapers, but it is also forwarded to the mass media in the entire Free World.

In connection with different actions organized in the Free World, thousands of pamphlets were published and distributed on the streets of the capitals of the Free World. On several occasions during 1981 and 1982, memorandums were sent to foreign ministers of the Free World and to delegates participating in the Madrid Conference. In these memorandums the ABN analyzed the situation behind the Iron Curtain, the failure of détente policy and called upon the Western Powers to discontinue their "balance of power" and détente policies towards the USSR and to terminate all forms of technological, economic and other forms of aid to the Russian colonial tyrants, including Western grain sales. Such aid only serves to strengthen Moscow's policies of national subjugation and repression of basic human liberties, and its military industrial complex, which forms the base of its expansionist drive.

### **Publications for Behind the Iron Curtain and Afghanistan**

Not only are various magazines and newspapers published in the Free World sent regularly to the countries behind the

Iron Curtain, in particular into Ukraine, the Baltic Countries and several satellite countries, but also thousands of specially-prepared miniature publications, cultural works, history books, bibles and the Koran are smuggled behind the Iron Curtain through various channels.

A great deal of attention has been paid to influence the soldiers of different nationalities in the Soviet army not to fight against the Afghan freedom fighters — the Mujahideen. For this purpose small leaflets were distributed three times during this year in Afghanistan. They were printed in Ukrainian, Afghan, Lithuanian and Russian. The Ukrainian delegation sponsored and delivered into Afghanistan a mobile radio station for the use of the Afghan freedom fighters.

A whole series of leaflets was published in connection with the action in support of the Polish workers' struggle for freedom.

The 40th anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), commemorated by the Ukrainian community in the

entire Free World during 1982, was accompanied by various publications, memorandums, brochures, position papers and leaflets for street actions. In commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the UPA an international Honorary Committee was created, composed of prominent religious, state, political, military and cultural dignitaries from different countries of the Free World.

The Free World must come to understand one irrevocable truth: that the SUBJUGATED NATIONS can eliminate the threat of Soviet Russian aggression. It is they who place the perpetuation of the Soviet Russian empire at risk despite being subjugated to continuous Russian terror and despite the fact that Western policies vis-a-vis the USSR often actually tend to facilitate the Russian system of subjugation. The key to a just and lasting universal peace lies in the dissolution of the Russian empire into independent national democratic states based on the presently subjugated nations, each within its own ethnographic borders.



*Political forum of the anti-communist symposium in Taipei, National China — 1982.*



## ABN Conference Resolution

(London, September, 24-26, 1982)

*Whereas*, all of freedom-loving humanity is presently faced with the ever-greater threat of Russian imperialism in its historically-uninterrupted drive to conquer the world, and

*Whereas*, to this end, Bolshevik Russia has utilised direct military means as in Afghanistan, or proxy military intervention as in Poland, and

*Whereas*, Moscow is the centre of international terrorism, which has continuously led a psychological-political war with the Free World having the intention to internally subvert and demoralise Western democratic societies, thereby paving the way for a Moscow-directed communist takeover, and

*Whereas*, the USSR Constitution explicitly obligates the Soviet Russian government to support all so-called national liberation movements and social revolts throughout the Free World in order to camouflage its expansionist aggressions, and

*Whereas*, the Western response to this Russian imperialist drive was primarily dictated by a "balance of power" strategy — an unrealistic strategy when the two powers concerned are striving for diametrically opposed political aims, and

*Whereas*, the nations subjugated in the USSR and the "satellite" countries are continuously leading a determined national-liberation struggle which is tearing the Russian prison of nations apart from within, thereby eliminating the potential prime cause of thermo-nuclear holocaust, and

*Whereas*, the West's "balance of power" strategy and the policies of "containment", "appeasement" and "détente" neglect the importance of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations — the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire

— as the only viable alternative to thermo-nuclear war, and

*Whereas*, the Western Governments, by signing the Helsinki Accords with the USSR, did not deny the "inviolability" and "integrity" of the status quo given the Russian communist conquests, and

*Whereas*, the moral and political weakness of the West was demonstrated by NATO which allowed the USSR and its "satellites" to develop a great military advantage in terms of conventional armaments, and

*Whereas*, the policy of détente has created a false sense of security among peoples of the Free World, and

*Whereas*, NATO has primarily targeted its thermo-nuclear missiles on the territories of the subjugated nations, on which Moscow has deployed the overwhelming majority of its thermo-nuclear arsenal, and

*Whereas*, in the national-liberation struggles of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, Georgia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Azerbaidjan, North Caucasus, Poland, Armenia, Czechia, Slovakia, Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Albania, Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Idel-Ural, Angola and the other subjugated nations are to be found the rudiments of a new, just and free world order, founded upon a mutual respect of each nation's right to national independence, statehood and sovereignty, and

*Whereas*, with the dissolution of the Russian empire a considerable number of crises in various geo-political complexes of the world in the Middle East, Africa, South and South-East Asia and South and Central America, will automatically be resolved, thereby guaranteeing a stable and just international political order,

*Now, therefore, be it resolved* that the Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, convened in London, Great Britain on September 24-26, 1982, call on the nations of the Free World to proclaim a GREAT CHARTER OF INDEPENDENCE for the nations subjugated in the USSR and the "satellite" countries by Russian imperialism and communism. This will reflect the Free World's moral and political support for the re-establishment of national, democratic, independent and sovereign states by the subjugated nations, each within its own ethnographic boundaries; for the reunification in freedom of China, Korea and Germany.

*We propose* to the Western Powers the creation of a centre of psychological-political warfare based on the ideological concepts of the Great Charter of Independence, and with the aim of assisting the subjugated nations in the USSR and its "satellites."

*We suggest* to the countries of the NATO Alliance to establish an ABN radio broadcasting station, through which the representatives of the national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations can freely propagate their national ideals and concepts of liberation.

*We suggest* that the United States government-sponsored radio broadcasts of Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, and the BBC be changed in the spirit of the ideal of national liberation, independence and the necessity of the dissolution of the Russian empire and of the Communist system.

*We suggest* that the NATO Alliance, in developing its strategy, recognise and take into account the potential of the subjugated nations and their national-liberation struggles as the only alternative to a thermo-nuclear holocaust.

*We ask* that the Western Powers declare the Helsinki Accords null and void since they serve to preserve the Russian empire,

and since Moscow has never had any intention of abiding by even the most elementary human rights provisions in the Accords.

*We ask* that the West European countries terminate the natural gas pipeline deal with the USSR, which to a large extent will be constructed by political and religious prisoners from the subjugated nations, currently languishing in Russian concentration camps. With their economic aid, Western European countries are indirectly strengthening Russia's military potential and simultaneously, leaving themselves dependent on the USSR. The pipeline, if completed, will in reality be an infamous monument to Russian terror and tyranny and a mockery of the noble Western traditional values of liberty, justice, freedom, democracy and national independence, and will stand as a constant reminder of the growing "neutralization" of Western Europe.

*We appeal* to the Free World to use all possible means to attain the liquidation of all concentration and slave labour camps and psychiatric asylums — disgraces in the twentieth century — and the release of all political and religious prisoners in the USSR and all communist dominated countries.

*We appeal* to the Free World to rise in support of the immediate release of Yuriy Shukhevych, son of the late Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Yuriy Shukhevych, blinded by the KGB, has been a prisoner in Russian concentration camps for over thirty years. His only crime was the refusal to denounce his father and the ideals of national independence for which he fought and died.

*We declare* our wholehearted support for the United States Council for World Freedom presently chaired by General John K. Singlaub in its endeavors to bring substantial assistance to the national liberation movements of the peoples

## Greetings to ABN/EFC Conference

(London, September, 24-26, 1982)

*Exactly 65 years ago, carried to power on the wings of dozens of promises, the Bolsheviks seized the government of Russia. None of their promises for a better society was fulfilled. Unfortunately, their promises for the liquidation of untold numbers of human beings and for the destruction of economic, cultural, and human values, and rights, were overfulfilled hundredfold.*

*The fourth generation of Bolshevik leaders is now leaving the scene, and a fifth generation is getting ready to exercise the tyranny in the spirit of Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev, with the expectation that the Bolshevik successors have forgotten and learned nothing and won't change anything.*

*Whether the project of the CPSU to perpetuate itself in the Kremlin can be carried out, only the future will tell. But since, on their part, the Democracies haven't forgotten and learned anything either, and remain unwilling to change*

---

←  
subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

*We support all Western attempts to disperse and eliminate all terrorist groups actively supported by Communist Russia which are acting against Western societies with the primary aim of subverting and weakening the West, thereby making the West more vulnerable to Russian conquest.*

*We urge all free labour movements in the world to expose the Marxist-Leninist state as a slave system for workers. The Bolsheviks use the inmates of concentration camps for slave labour in the building of vast construction projects in inhuman physical and working conditions — a disgrace to all freedom-loving humankind.*

*their policies, the Bolsheviks will be helped by the Free World to increase the military strength of the USSR. The Bolshevik regime also will be protected against hunger, and the aggressions and oppressions of the communists will be tolerated and even financed from the world markets. In the style of the last twelve years, the debts of the communist empire, which now exceed \$ 80 billion, will be allowed to grow steadily, and their payments will be postponed forever. The USSR is permitted to pay lower interest rates than any other debtor.*

*Time and again, the U.S. has been providing the food without which bolshevism might have collapsed long ago, and would not be an aggressor today.*

*During the crisis of 1982, several European states are insistent on building for the USSR gas installations, whose ultimate cost no one knows. The gas fields have not been investigated by Western experts, and it is more than doubtful that the gas price will be competitive with world market prices. In this undertaking European NATO states are willing to acquiesce in that the communists are using labor from tropical Southeast Asia in the Arctic.*

*The alternative to nuclear war requires six key elements:*

- 1. The U.S. must preserve its capability and its willingness to deter the CPSU from launching nuclear aggression.*

- 2. The Free World must no longer supply the technology, the material, and the finances which the USSR needs to acquire superior nuclear and military strengths.*

- 3. The Free World must at long last be serious about its friendship with the anti-communists in the communist-ruled states and with the dozens of nations who*

want to be free, but who are exploited, oppressed, and enslaved by the Moscow-commanded communists.

4. The Free World must cease forthwith to negotiate with the bolsheviks about measures which the Kremlin proposes in order to perpetuate its domination and its threats.

5. Communist propaganda and black-mail are allowed to be effective, because counter-measures are kept deliberately ineffective. This situation can and must be remedied.

6. Various pressures must be applied to stop the ongoing massacres in Afghanistan and (by proxy) in Central America, to terminate the persecution of Solidarity in Poland, and to stop slave labor in Soviet industries, including that imposed on Vietnamese for the payment of Vietnam's debts. So far the resistance against communist criminality is largely verbal and platonic.

The alternative to thermo-nuclear war — the only realistic alternative — is to forestall and prevent nuclear aggression by the CPSU, and to facilitate, by psycho-political operations, the replacement of Bolshevik despotism by national self-determination and by constitutional and free government. In order to establish self-determination throughout the communist empire Cuba, Vietnam, and the GDR must be prevented without delay to practice surrogate despotism for the CPSU in Africa, Asia, and Central America.

The 1982 Conference in London of the European Freedom Council (EFC) and of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) will make a most valuable contribution to the prevention of nuclear aggression and to the struggle for political, national, economic, and personal freedom.

My best wishes for a successful Conference!

Stefan T. Possony  
(Hoover Institute)

Dear Madame Stetsko:

Many thanks for your invitation to the European Freedom Council and Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations Conference in London on September 24-26, 1982.

I am very pleased to learn that the ABN, under you and your distinguished husband's continued efforts, is holding another Conference to promote our common anti-Communist cause. Some issues for discussion at the Conference appear to be very interesting current topics.

Unfortunately, I am scheduled to attend a conference in San Francisco on September 23-26 and therefore unable to take part in your Conference this year. However, I shall be glad to send you a message of greetings for the Conference. Can you kindly arrange for me to receive your Conference proceedings?

I sincerely wish the Conference every success under your leadership.

With my best regards,  
Sincerely yours,  
Han Lib-wu, Secretary-General  
Asian Peoples'  
Anti-Communist League Secretariat

---

Dear Mrs. & Mr. Stetsko,

Thank you very much for your kind invitation to the European Freedom Council's Conference in London.

I wish all the best for the conference and for your untiring work and struggle for independence of nations and freedom for the individual.

I wish success for the conference and hope that you both are of good health and send my best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Edith Nielsen

---

Unfortunately I will be unable to participate with you at the Conference of the European Freedom Council and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in

London. But as you know our organization fully supports the aims and views of the conference organizers and hopes that your deliberations in support of the national liberation struggle of the enslaved nations will hasten Western appreciation for our message and our goals.

On behalf of the Ukrainian Cultural Workers' Association please accept our best wishes for a successful conference and for an early realization of the just and noble principles for which you stand.

Yours very truly,

Bohdan Stebelsky, President  
Ukrainian Cultural Workers' Association

---

Dear Mr. Stetsko:

Allow me to express my appreciation for your invitation to the September 24-26 Conference to be held in London, Great Britain. I am a firm believer and supporter of the promotion of world peace and understanding among nations, but due to my present urgent and compelling duties, I regret to inform you that I will not be able to accept your invitation. I shall, however, miss this significant opportunity to be present with other world leaders who share the same convictions, understanding and interests.

Thank you again for your invitation, and please accept my sincerest wishes for a successful and fruitful conference.

Very truly yours,

Ramon D. Bagatsing, City Mayor  
Mayor of Manila, Philippines

---

Dear Mr. Stetsko,

Greetings to you and your Wife from myself and Mavis A. Cleaver...

We look back with pleasure upon our meeting with you on several occasions at conferences of the World Anti-Communist League or Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League...

Thank you for your invitation to attend, if at all possible, your London Conference 24-26 September. It is extremely doubtful whether either of us or both of us can make the trip. I note the subject or theme of your Conference with interest, and do appreciate the helpful background detail which you have set out in your letter of the 5th July.

Please convey to my associates from those early conferences my best wishes when you are in touch with them again.

Yours sincerely,

Richard Cleaver C.B.E J.P.  
M.P. (Australia)

---

Dear Sirs,

We of the Byelorussian Orthodox Church of St. Euphrosynia in London extend our wishes of success to the EFC/ABN Conference and are wholeheartedly behind you in your work for the freedom of all our peoples who are subjugated by Russian imperialism.

We hope and pray that with God's help our dreams of freedom for our peoples will become reality.

For and on behalf of the Church Committee.

P. Junach  
Byelorussian Greek Orthodox Church  
of St. Euphrosynia in London

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## REVOLUTION GEGEN JALTA

Wolfgang Strauß  
(Softcover, 211 pp.)

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THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT  
IN UKRAINE — documents of the  
Ukrainian Helsinki Group 1976-1980  
(Hardcover 277 pp.)

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# News and Views

By Ian Black

## Subject Nations Denounced "Cruel Soviet Empire"

About 1,500 people bearing the flags of nations in the Soviet orbit gathered in London's Trafalgar Square yesterday to denounce what the principal speaker and former Ukrainian prime minister described as the "last cruel empire in the world."

The crowd came to mark the end of a weekend conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and European Freedom Council and to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The placards called for a free Ukraine, free Croatia, and liberty for the other "captive nations" of the Soviet Union and its satellites. They were carried by Georgians, Vietnamese, Byelorussians, and Afghans, but most of all by Ukrainians; veterans of their people's two-front war against Stalin and Hitler, or drawn from the younger generation with accents of the English regions and a fierce commitment to a distant and disappearing heritage.

Peter Rewko, an 18-year-old student from Ashton-under-Lyne, whose parents were born in Lviv, clutched his gold-embroidered Ukrainian Youth Association banner proudly as he listened to speaker after speaker call for an end to Soviet imperialism.

"This is not going to have any impact on Russian policy," he conceded, "but at least it'll let them know that we're still fighting for our country, which one day will be free again."

Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, a 70-year-old former Ukrainian prime minister and president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc, pins his hopes on the youth of the 45-million strong population of Ukraine.

"Our young generation is patriotic, religious and anti-Communist," he said. "They fight the system and the Russian way of life by force. This is not only a hope but a realistic conception."

"We appeal to the West to proclaim a great charter of independence for all the subjugated nations in the Soviet Union and its satellite states so we can liquidate this last cruel empire in the world," he said.

A Minority Rights Group report last year estimated that Ukrainians form at least 40 per cent of the political prisoners held in Soviet labour camps and gaols. They are, the report said, "probably the largest nation in the world to have been denied real and lasting independent statehood."

The Ukrainians, who say that their offices in Britain and West Germany are bugged by the Russians, argue that armed uprisings in several of the subjugated nations simultaneously, would end the Soviet Union which could not fight a war on more than one front.

"Our people," claims Roman Zwarycz, Mr. Stetsko's aide, "have the power to destroy the Soviet empire. It's just a matter of acquiring enough political and moral support in the West."

*The Guardian,*

*Monday, September 27, 1982*

## Lithuanian Priests Condemn Religious Persecution

As of November 1, 1982, four hundred sixty eight Lithuanian Catholic priests including exiled Bishop Julijonas Steponavičius and a parish priest from Leninograd rejected the highly restrictive Regulations for Religious Associations, reported the leading underground journal — *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*, in a statement issued last summer.

The latest *Chronicle*, which has just reached the West, said the priests would welcome normalization of relations between the Church and State as long as believers are not forced to go against Catholic Church dogma and morality. In the letter to the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev, and to the Bishops and Administrators of Lithuania, the priests said they refuse to implement the Regulations, as contrary to their conscience.

“Some paragraphs of those Regulations do not square with the gospel of Christ, with the Decrees of the Second Vatican Council, nor especially with the Constitution of the USSR..., the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Final Accords...”, said the statement.

Too many unreasonable demands have been placed on believers and clergy in the predominantly Roman Catholic country of Lithuania, say the priests. For instance, the Regulations prevent priests from administering sacraments to the sick and dying outside of their assigned territories. The civil government selects the candidates and limits their number at the only existing seminary in Lithuania, in direct contravention to canon law, which affords that responsibility to the Church hierarchy.

“We demand that on the part of the government, no obstacles be placed in the path of bishops and administrators of dioceses in Lithuania, freely and on their

own authority to appoint clergy to various spiritual duties, without the consent of the Commissioner for Religious Affairs in Lithuania...”, emphasize the priests. Recently, the Commissioner transferred a young priest, Father Ričardas Černiauskas, to another parish, where he is denied the right to preach. A prolific preacher and vociferous critic of the system, Černiauskas is especially popular among Lithuanian youth. He was reportedly detained in late 1982, but has since been released.

The Regulations even attempt to dissuade priests from visiting the faithful by monetary fines. One of the signatories to the statement, who has been repeatedly fined for transgressing the Regulations by organizing processions annually and holding children’s meetings, has been arrested by Soviet authorities. The prominent Lithuanian priest, Alfonsas Svarinskas, was charged with “antistate activities” in late January. He is the first priest in ten years to face trial in Lithuania for religious activity.

“We must obey God rather than men” (Acts, 5,19), write the dissenting priests. They censure the authorities for condoning slanderous attacks on believers in the Soviet press, discrimination at work and at school, destruction of shrines and church property and physical assaults on priests.

Signatures for this statement are still being collected in two of the six Lithuanian dioceses. As of June 1982, there were 701 Roman Catholic priests in Lithuania.

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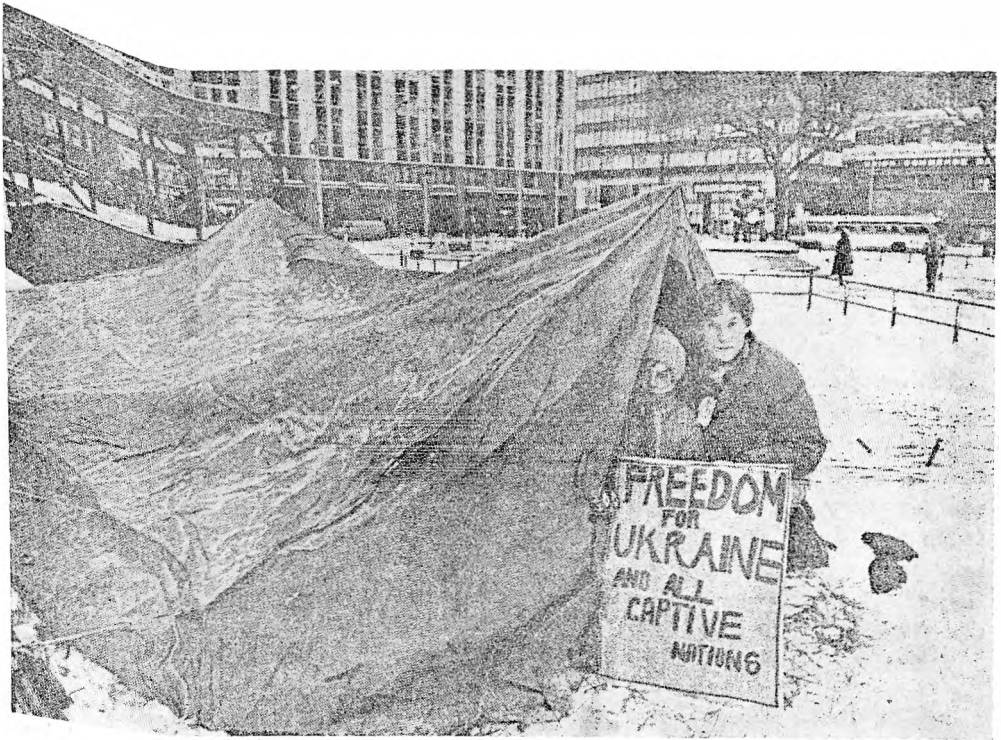
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*Student organization (TUSM) staging a hunger strike protesting reprisals of political prisoners in Ukraine — Cleveland, January 1983*

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# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

## HUNGER, DESPAIR, DEATH IN UKRAINE, AGONY



# Genocide 1933

Thomas Walker  
(Chicago American)  
March 4, 1935

"On the outskirts of Kyiv, I met a little black-eyed girl of nine in a ragged man's greatcoat, of whom I asked some questions. "Where do you live?" "Nowhere." "Where are your parents?" "Dead." "Where did they die?" "At the village of Chernyhiv." "Why did they die?" "We had no food." "Where did you sleep last night?" "In an empty goods wagon on the other side of the fence." "When did you eat last?" "I don't remember." "Do you want to be a Communist?" "No, I want to die and be with my mother."

I walked further from Kyiv towards the southwest and met a little boy carrying a bucket. He stated that his father had been sent away to Siberia for refusing to join a Collective Farm, that his mother had died two months ago from hunger, and that he had walked many miles

(Cont. on the back cover)

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## GENOCIDE IN UKRAINE — 1933

Fifty years ago, in 1933, over eight million people starved to death in Ukraine. They were the victims *not* of some natural disaster that resulted in a catastrophic lack of food staples. Let us remember that Ukraine was once known as “the breadbasket of Europe.” In fact, in 1932 Ukraine produced over 18 million tons of grain, enough to feed a population of 55 million for an entire year!

The fact is that these eight million Ukrainians were the victims of an artificial famine, instituted by the Russian colonial, communist regime in Ukraine on the direct orders of Stalin himself. This brutal and deliberate act of genocide is unparalleled in the annals of history, comparable only to Hitler’s extermination of six millions Jews in 1939—1945. But even Hitler needed six years to achieve his aim. Stalin managed to murder eight million Ukrainians *in the course of one year!*

Eight million victims... a figure that is so astounding, that one is almost inclined to completely dismiss its validity. Hence, so as to avoid the pitfalls of “propagandizing”, we will let the facts speak for themselves:

— Item: according to official census reports, there were approximately 32 million inhabitants living in Ukraine in 1927.

— Item: the population of Ukraine in 1939, before the outbreak of World War II, was officially reported to be *28 million!* These figures represent a population gap of nearly *12 million (!)*, based on normal demographic growth rates.

*Why did Stalin find it necessary to murder eight million Ukrainians?*

By 1933 it was becoming increasingly more evident that the Bolshevik collectivization program was a complete failure, particularly in Ukraine, where the Russians were faced with a growing underground national-liberation movement and with stiff resistance to their policies. Collectivization was completely inimical to the traditionally Ukrainian individualistic values and way of life. On the other hand, it was well suited to the spiritual composition of the Russian people, who traditionally maintained a form of collectivized farming long before the Bolsheviks came to power in 1917.

In light of this, Stalin’s forced collectivization program, instituted with the First Five Year Plan in 1929, cannot be considered simply an economic policy. This was an attempt to finally resolve the acute “nationality problem” in Ukraine, on which Stalin was the acknowledged “expert.” His “instant remedy” was to simply annihilate a considerable segment of the most nationally-conscious stratum in Ukraine and, thereby, terrorize the rest of the population into submission by instituting a brutal artificial famine. Moreover, almost all of the Ukrainian intellectual elite was liquidated at this time.

It should be noted that 1933 was not the first and only instance that an artificial famine was instituted by the Russian regime in Ukraine. This Russian colonial practise of genocide through mass starvation was used in 1891, and later in 1921. In 1946, when Ukraine was leading a stubborn and heroic armed struggle against the Russian occupational forces, Stalin again reverted to this barbaric method of suppressing all forms of liberation activity. This was the Russian “Final Solution” to the “Ukrainian problem”.

It should also be noted, however, that despite this series of Russian atrocities in Ukraine, the Ukrainian nation has continued to steadfastly fight for its national independence and freedom. In 1941, Ukraine proclaimed her independence and launched a determined armed struggle to preserve her bitterly won statehood. This war of liberation was led by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the armed underground of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and was fought on two fronts against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. After Germany's defeat in World War II, Ukraine continued her armed liberation struggle against the Russian occupational forces well into the 1950's. Although the guns have been silenced in Ukraine today, the struggle continues in a number of other forms, led by the underground Ukrainian national-liberation movement. *Nothing will ever stop the Ukrainian nation in its quest for freedom!*

*Citizens of free countries!*

In calling your attention to this act of Russian genocide, that claimed over eight million victims in 1933, we do not seek your sympathy. What we need is your moral and political support! We call upon all freedom-loving peoples in the world to stand up in support of our just cause! Demand from your Governments that they denounce the Russian prison of nations — the USSR and its "satellites" — on all international fora, as the most brutal imperialist system of subjugation the world has yet known!

Ukraine has long since buried her dead — the victims of the Russian artificial famine of 1933. But their cries of sorrow and pain are calling upon you, the free countries of the world, to join our front of liberation, *lest this legacy become yours also!*



*Horrors of the Famine in Ukraine, 1933*

## EFC STATEMENT

In the light of Moscow's recent more aggressive pursuit of its imperialist-expansionist aims in practically every geo-political region of the world, in Central America, Africa, South-East Asia and the Middle East, the European Freedom Council (EFC) strongly endorses the policy of strengthening the military capabilities of NATO and of raising the level of political awareness of the citizenry of the Western Democracies, faced with this Soviet-Russian threat.

The EFC welcomes the strengthening of NATO by the conservative Governments of Great Britain and the CDU/CSU/FDP of the Federal Republic of



*H.R.H. Otto von Habsburg, Honorary President of EFC with EFC President Hon. John Wilkinson (right) and Vice-President Hon. G. Kirkpatrick.*

Germany, by which the defensive capacity of the Free World in general has been increased. Furthermore, the EFC supports the integration of Spain into the NATO Alliance, particularly in light of Spain's geo-political and military potential. The EFC also urges the Italian people to raise their level of vigilance in the face of an increasing communist threat.

In light of the alarming number of Soviet-Russian submarines that have been recently found in the territorial waters of Sweden and elsewhere, the EFC strongly condemns Soviet-Russian encroachment on the sovereignty of independent nations as blatant and unwarranted acts of aggression wherever it occurs. Western public opinion should especially take notice of this Soviet-Russian policy of encroachment and recognise in it Moscow's true aggressive militarist aims.

The EFC supports US Public Law 86—90 (1959), by which the USA pledged to support the re-establishment of national, independent, sovereign and democratic states of the presently subjugated nations. In pointing out that the liberation struggle of Afghanistan and Poland, and the developing national-liberation

revolutionary processes in Ukraine, the Baltic countries, in the Caucasus, in Turkestan, Byelorussia and other subjugated nations serve as testimony to the indomitable strength of these nations, the EFC believes that US Public Law 86—90 on the Captive Nations ought to become the cornerstone of a practical Western policy vis-a-vis the Soviet-Russian empire.

In commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in 1943, at the very height of World War II and during Ukraine's two-front war of liberation, led against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, the EFC calls upon all freedom-loving peoples, particularly the Western Democracies, to render a full measure of moral and political support to the national-liberation struggle of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Slovakia, Czechia, Croatia, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North-Caucasus, Turkestan, and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 did not even receive the West's political support. Today the heroic Afghan nation needs Western technical-military assistance. The recent mass demonstrations in Poland attest to the fact that an occupational regime can never subdue a nation that aspires towards national independence and freedom.

The EFC calls upon the Western Powers to initiate a psychological-political offensive, as a significant factor of support for the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, with the aid of strengthened radio-broadcasts, whose content will reflect the aspirations of these nations towards national independence, sovereignty and democracy.

In light of Soviet-Russia's growing military and nuclear threat to the Free World, the EFC feels that the subjugated nations are the West's most reliable allies, since potentially they represent a force capable of freeing the imprisoned nations in the USSR and the so-called "satellite" states and of dismantling their



*From the EFC Executive Board Meeting May 13, 1983.*

communist system from within by coordinated and synchronised national uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations, thereby eliminating the Communist Russian threat of nuclear war.

The EFC fully supports President Reagan's position regarding the "zero-option" on European-based US and Soviet-Russian missiles. Moscow only respects a policy of strength.

In cognizance of the fact that fifty years ago, in 1933, nearly eight million Ukrainians were starved to death by the Communist Russian colonial regime in an organised man-made famine, known in Ukraine as the "Velykyj Holod" (the Great Famine), the EFC calls upon the Western Democracies to convene an International Tribunal that would further investigate, document and condemn this deliberate Communist act of genocide. The "Holod" was Moscow's instant "final solution" to the problem of Ukrainian resistance to its colonial policies, particularly its collectivisation programme. The Russian empire has repeatedly used this form of suppressing the national-liberation aspirations of the peoples that it has enslaved, albeit not on such a large scale, most recently in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Vietnam, and elsewhere.

The EFC wholeheartedly endorses the recent resolution of the European Parliament (of January 14, 1983), proposed by H.R.H. Otto von Habsburg, M.E.P., which expresses the European Parliament's full support of the re-establishment of national, independent and sovereign democratic states in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Furthermore, the EFC encourages the European Parliament and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe to adopt similar resolutions voicing support for the national-liberation struggles of the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, by demanding the application of the United Nations Resolution on De-Colonization and other relevant resolutions to the USSR and its "satellites".

The EFC expresses its conviction that the present "peace movement" in Western Europe, which has deceived many truly idealistic people, is, nonetheless, a Moscow-sponsored and financed instrument, designed to spread and further exacerbate anti-American sentiment in Europe, thereby entrenching Europe's "neutrality", that is, Soviet-Russian hegemony over the European continent. The EFC appeals to all freedom-loving peoples in the world to uncover and denounce Moscow's links with international terrorism, as the USSR is the only inherently aggressive power that may precipitate World War III.

The EFC appeals to the free nations of the world to use all the means at their disposal to put pressure on the Kremlin to liquidate all the concentration camps, the slave labour "GULag", all political and psychiatric prisons and to demand the release of all political and religious prisoners in the USSR and other communist-dominated countries, particularly Yuriy Shukhevych, who has spent over thirty years in Bolshevik prisons and concentration camps and was recently blinded by the KGB.

*Executive Board of the European Freedom Council*

## **Analysis of the Current Situation in the Russian Empire**

In the 1980s the national-liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its "satellites" will enter a critical phase. The multi-faceted liberation processes behind the Iron Curtain have developed to the point that Moscow may soon be faced with an irreversible revolutionary situation, that is, the existence of two irreconcilable, diametrically-opposed poles of power and political authority: on the one hand, the colonial regime representing the central, imperialist pseudo-authority of Moscow, and, on the other hand, the revolutionary, legitimate authority of the respective subjugated nations representing a *de facto* "underground state", whose national sovereignty will be guarded by an armed, insurgent-guerilla force.

Our aim in this paper is two-fold: a) to analyse the manifold revolutionary processes of liberation and b) to assess the military capacity of the existing underground national-liberation movements.

### **Revolutionary Processes in the Russian Empire**

Soviet-Russian imperialism is essentially different from all past historical imperialisms in that it attempts to forcibly implant a Russian Bolshevik way and philosophy of life on all social, political, economic, cultural and religious levels in the nations that it dominates. Moscow's aim is to transform these nations into one, artificial entity — the "Soviet people", or in reality a Russian super-nation.

The now non-existent Western empires never attempted to destroy the distinctive national fibre of their colonies. Bolshevism, as a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, has instituted a brutal policy of Russification in the subjugated nations.

Russification is a total, all-pervasive policy and is led on all levels of life. Even the Bolshevik collectivized system of agriculture, that has been forced upon the subjugated nations, is an inherently Russian by-product. The forerunner of the "kol-khozes" (collective farms) was the strictly Russian institute of the "obshchyna" from the tsarist period, in which ownership of the means and modes of agricultural production was collectivized. The Bolshevik collectivist social ideal aspires to destroy the subjugated nations' individualistic and traditionalist way of life and to substitute it with an inherently Bolshevik way of life. Eight million Ukrainians were starved to death by means of an artificial famine in 1932 and 1933.

Moscow need not always maintain its occupational troops on the territories of the nations that it has conquered, since Bolshevism is in itself a total system of occupation. The Russian system of occupation that is enforced by the Communist Party, the KGB, and the terror apparatus, is an aggregate of means and modes of repression, whose purpose is to uproot and destroy the traditional institutions of a given nation, while simultaneously replacing them by force with Bolshevik, Russian communist, collectivist, etatist, atheistic, anti-individualistic, and anti-national institutions. The Bolsheviks recognise only their own code of law, justice, and ethics, which cultivates and encourages lying, cheating, and corruption as a system on all levels of society. Moreover, the overt psychological threat of an immediate Russian military intervention, whether directly (Afghanistan) or by proxy (Poland), always hangs over the heads of the subjugated nations.

Also, we must remember that none of the empires of the past adopted world



domination as a major policy imperative. The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, have rejuvenated the Russian messianistic ideal in its present communist form and seek to establish a "World USSR", that is, a global Russian empire. In the words of the former German Chancellor — Helmut Schmidt: "Russia was and is an expansionist power — whether under the tsars or the communists. It has to be checked by a decisive counter-force in the future, just as in the past." (*Die Zeit*, No. 19, May 6, 1983). In consideration of all the above factors, the national-liberation revolution of the subjugated nations is more complex than any of the historical revolutions of the past.

In spite of the Bolshevik all-out assault against the individual subjugated nations, paradoxically enough, this condition *sine qua non* of Bolshevik imperialist domination is also a potential source of internal systemic weakness, since it gives the subjugated nations that many more targets at which to direct their revolutionary activity. For example, given the fact that in the Ukrainian SSR to openly speak Ukrainian would be inviting harassment, a child that refuses to speak Russian in school or elsewhere is, in fact, committing a revolutionary act. The more the Bolsheviks try to totally enslave the subjugated nations, that much more is the revolutionary significance of even a least offensive act of defiance magnified.

Moreover, the Bolshevik system of occupation is highly centralized and intertwined, so that the slightest deficiency in any segment of the system, resulting from the revolutionary activity of the national underground, will reverberate in much greater magnitude throughout the system as a whole. For example, by sabotaging an oil refinery plant, the revolutionary underground can effectively cripple the entire industrial network of one or more economic regions in the Russian empire.

The primary weapon that the Bolshevik

regime can utilize against a national-liberation movement is to apply indiscriminate terror against the nation as a whole. However, there comes a point, when such terror tactics become counter-productive, since they transcend an enslaved people's threshold of fear, and only further accentuate the dichotomy between Moscow's imperialist authority and the revolutionary authority of the national-liberation underground. Furthermore, the internal contradictions in the Russian empire, the ideological bankruptcy of communism as a viable political ideal, and the empire's systematic economic failures further exacerbate the revolutionary situation.

A revolutionary national-liberation process is not an isolated "event", but a series of phases, incrementally increasing in intensity and culminating in an armed uprising and the embodiment of authority and sovereignty in the nation. The initial stage in this struggle is primarily one of consciousness-building, that is, an ideological-political mobilization of the nation as a whole, by which a subjugated nation comes to understand the inherent nature of its own system of values as opposed to the anti-national Bolshevik value-system.. The subjugated nations have already passed this stage of mobilization and have successfully confronted Bolshevism on as many fronts as possible. For example, on the cultural anti-Bolshevik front the subjugated nations have begun a search for their spiritual roots. Leading cultural activists have in an increasing number begun to academically prove the distinctiveness and uniqueness of their respective nations and their cultures. The stronger this feeling of national distinctiveness, the stronger the antipathy for forcibly implanted Bolshevik norms and values and, hence, the stronger the spontaneous desire to have this national uniqueness concretized within an independent and sovereign national democratic state.

The subjugated nations' liberation struggle has entered into a second phase: a structural revolution of all aspects of life and the building of an incipient underground state. This stage requires the complete rejection of Bolshevism in form and



*H.R.H. Otto von Habsburg discussing with President Yaroslav Stetsko.*

content and the systematic realisation of the subjugated nation's values and norms in life.

Solidarity's mistake was that they believed that Polish national structures can co-exist with the existing Russian structures that had been forcibly imposed on Poland. There can be no coexistence between two centres of authority in the Bolshevik system. The leaders of Solidarity did not realise that they were negotiating not with a Polish partner, but with Moscow itself in the person of General Jaruzelski, who is maintained in power by a Bolshevik system of occupation. Polish national structures could not be built parallel to Bolshevik Russian institutions, but only in diametric opposition to them in the course of a continuous liberation struggle. Either/or — either the Russian imperialistic regime is the sovereign power in Poland, or the

Polish nation. There can be no compromise between the two. Solidarity succeeded in revolutionizing the nation. However, without a clearly defined goal — *away from Moscow* — the Polish revolution cannot triumph. And the same holds true for all the nations subjugated by Bolshevism.

The path to this goal is a concept of liberation of coordinated and synchronized national uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations, leading to the dissolution of the Russian empire and its communist system and the reestablishment of national, sovereign, independent and democratic states of the presently subjugated nations, each within its ethnographic borders.

In its full scope, the national-liberation revolution of the subjugated nations is a struggle between two polar worlds, two systems, two worldviews: the world of theism, faith in God, a heroic Christianity, and religion in general against the atheism and Caesaropapism of Moscow; a mosaic of national cultures, each of which adds its own jewel to humankind's treasure-house against Russification and "social realism"; the right of private property against collectivist slavery; the national against the imperialist ideal, et cetera. This struggle is a monumental revolutionary process, which sprung from the ideological-political struggle of the initial revolutionary phase and which will end only with a final, decisive phase of an armed uprising on the territories of the subjugated nations.

### **The Military Capacity of the Subjugated Nations**

The first factor to be considered when assessing the capacity of the subjugated nations to lead an armed insurgent liberation struggle is the fact that the Russians are in a minority in their own empire by a proportion of 1:2 with the populations of the "satellites" included. According to

the most recent census reports, which are invariably doctored to the Russians' favour, the subjugated nations constitute approximately 50 % of the population of the USSR. Moreover, if present demographic trends continue, every third inhabitant of the USSR will be Islamic in the near future. From a military perspective, these figures are significant, since the population breakdown of the USSR is reflected *per se* in the Soviet army. Thus, every second Soviet soldier is an enemy of the empire. We would also like to emphasise that our ideas will lead to the demobilisation of a considerable number of Russian soldiers as well, because we are fighting only for the dissolution of the Russian empire and not against the Russian national state within its ethnographic borders.

The Soviet army is not isolated from the revolutionary processes in the subjugated nations, but is also vulnerable to the pressures that these processes evoke. Thus, the level of political-ideological mobilisation in the subjugated nations is reflected in some measure throughout the ranks of the army. The significance of this consideration is magnified further in light of the fact that most of the lower-level officers and a considerable number of middle-level officers in the Soviet army are non-Russian. In a conflict situation it is these officers who must implement the Soviet generals' strategic plans, and who may ultimately decide to sabotage these plans, particularly if ordered to shoot at their own people. That is why the infiltration of our ideas and our concept of liberation in the Soviet army is so crucial to the final success of our struggle. In this respect, Western radio-broadcasts to the USSR can be an invaluable tool. The Western Democracies ought to remember that in the first months of World War II nearly three million Soviet soldiers, primarily from the subjugated nations, voluntarily deserted to the German side.

The Soviet Union is a totally militarised empire. School children and university-level students receive military training. On all levels of industry Moscow has applied a military principle of labour organisation. The collective farms are run within a military form. Without this militarised principle on all levels of society, the Kremlin would hardly be able to keep the lid on the national disaffection and unrest in the subjugated nations. However, in a revolutionary situation, this militarisation can be used to the advantage of the subjugated nations, since it will not take much time or effort on the part of the national underground to organise the population into pockets of resistance to Russian imperialist rule. For example, given the proper preconditions, a collective farm can quickly be transformed into a nucleus of guerilla activity, enjoying the full support and material assistance of the surrounding rural population. This is one example of the internal contradictions of the Bolshevik system.

The potential that insurgent-guerilla warfare offers to the subjugated nations and the immense difficulties that it would create for Moscow have been shown in the past. In 1940 Finland managed to withstand the immense onslaught of the Soviet army by also employing guerilla strategy. A better example is the war of liberation fought by the Ukrainian nation on two fronts against both Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia during World War II, under the leadership of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). After the defeat of Germany, the UPA continued this insurgent war of liberation against the Russian occupational forces in Ukraine well into the 1950s. The UPA even carried out so-called "raids" onto the territories of other subjugated nations and helped organise insurgent units there. Moscow was able to force the UPA to discontinue its open insurgent guerilla activity only sever-

al years after signing a Tripartite Pact with the CSR and communist Poland in 1947 then engaging their armies in the anti-UPA front.

The technological improvements of the Soviet Armed Forces over the years has been of no avail to Moscow in Afghanistan, where the Afghan Mujahideen have been able to withstand a 110,000 strong Soviet army. A recent CIA report calculated that it would take twice as many soldiers for Moscow to be able to establish full control over the major Afghan cities. But this would then create a potentially hazardous situation for Moscow on its other, as yet non-military fronts in the subjugated nations.

The present Bolshevik leadership has been able to divert the attention of the Western Democracies from the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations by terrorising the population of the Free World with their overt thermo-nuclear threat in the form of middle-range nuclear missiles (SS-20, SS-5, SS-4), most of which have been deployed on the terri-

ories of the subjugated nations. Nuclear war can only be prevented with the elimination of its only potential *causa sui* — the further existence of the Russian communist empire bent on establishing its impericolonial domination over the world. In this light, the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, which can lead to the dissolution of the Russian empire from within, given the West's moral and political support, is the only viable alternative to a thermo-nuclear holocaust.

In the words of US General John K. Singlaub: "We must recognise that the Free World's most reliable allies are the enslaved peoples within the Russian Communist empire. The real Achilles' heel of the whole Soviet-Russian system is the unrest and disaffection of the peoples within the Soviet-Russian empire. Can you imagine the terror it would strike into the hearts of the Kremlin leadership if it were faced with a dozen Polands inside the Warsaw Pact and a dozen or more insurgent armies similar to the Ukrainian army



*Meeting of the Executive Board of the European Freedom Council, Munich, May 13—14, 1983.*

of 40 years ago inside the USSR? Can you imagine the immobilizing panic of the Soviet-Russian Armed Forces if it was faced with a few more Afghanistans on and inside its borders?... (The subjugated nations) are, in fact, the West's strongest allies and constitute the only real alternative to nuclear war."

But in order for this alternative to become a reality several changes must be made in the Western political and military strategy vis-a-vis the USSR. First, the West must target its nuclear missiles only at Russian ethnographic territories and Russian military industrial centres, as was recently suggested by General Maxwell Taylor, a former Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff. This change will reflect the West's understanding of the basic imperialist nature of the USSR and its desire to seek the allegiance of the subjugated nations. In the words of the British General J. F. C. Fuller: "If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved

peoples, it must inspire them. To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic; to think in terms of liberation is democratic... To use this weapon indiscriminately is to repeat Hitler's blunder and the way in which it should be used will determine whether the millions of enslaved peoples in Europe and the USSR are to be the allies of the West, or the unwilling defenders of Moscow".

Secondly, and most importantly, the West must render a full measure of moral and political support to the subjugated nations' national-liberation struggle. It must create the necessary preconditions for this struggle to be most effective and ultimately successful, by terminating all forms of technological and economic assistance to the Russian empire. Such a policy would be not only in the interests of the subjugated nations, but of the Western Democracies as well. If the West refuses to help us in our liberation struggle, then at least it should cease helping our enemies!



*President Yaroslav Stetsko with Bulgarians, headed by Dr. K. Drenikoff, and Ukrainian participants at the 45th anniversary of the Death of Col. Yevhen Konovalets. Rotterdam, Holland, May 21, 1983.*

## **A Chemical Reaction to the Freedom Fighters**

**A report on the International Afghanistan Hearings held in Oslo.**

**March 13—16, 1983.**

The Soviet MI 24 helicopter swooped low over the small Afghan village, dropping two canisters which tumbled towards the yellow, dusty earth. The canisters exploded and yellow-grey smoke billowed thickly towards the heavens.

The film crew, which had retreated at the sound of approaching helicopters entered the village of Faizabad, 150 Km north-east of Kabul, two hours later, Bernd de Bruin, the Dutch journalist leading the crew, was appalled at what he found. 14 women and children had been killed in the attack but what was different from other similar attacks he had witnessed was that the bodies did not have any bullet or shrapnel wounds but the corpses had all turned a garish blue colour. Bernd de Bruin realised he was the first film journalist to have recorded a Soviet chemical weapons attack.

This startling film was part of the evidence presented at the International Afghanistan Hearings held in Oslo, Norway between March 13 and 16, 1983, which traced the course of the conflict between Afghan freedom fighters and the Red Army which invaded Afghanistan on December 27, 1979, in a bid to force that mountainous country into the Russian empire.

The hearing was instigated on the initiative of friends of a Norwegian journalist, Stalle Gundhus, who was killed by Soviet occupation forces last year whilst covering the Afghan war. The hearing was supported by Norwegian politicians of all political shades and took place in the Folkets Hus, Oslo, headquarters of the country's Labour Party.

The hearing took the form of an "examination" of "witnesses" by a panel of dis-

tinguished politicians, journalists, clergy and members of various organisations.

The panel included Dr. Claude Malhuret, president of *Medicins Sans Frontiers*, Paris, Mr. P. N. Lekhi, senior advocate of the Indian Supreme Court, Stuart Schwarstein, senior fellow of the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Cambridge, Mass., USA, Mr. Peter Carter, former British ambassador to Afghanistan, Walter H. Rueb, editor of the German newspaper *Die Welt* and Anders Bratholm an Oslo University law professor.

The "witnesses" were composed of Afghans — exiles and freedom fighters — who had been flown in from Pakistan for the hearings and others such as doctors, journalists and persons interested in chemical warfare who had all visited Afghanistan since the conflict began.

The "witnesses" presented their accounts of what they had seen or heard and were asked questions by the panel. The audience of journalists and various observers were allowed to draw their own conclusions.

The most powerful evidence indicated that chemical weapons were being used by the Red Army in Afghanistan in an attempt to crush the national resistance movement of the Mujahideen and, as in other countries occupied by the Russians, that torture was used routinely.

The hearing was opened by the chairman of the organising committee, Bjorn Stordrange, a Conservative member of the Norwegian Parliament who said: "We must not fool ourselves into believing that we safeguard peace in Western Europe by forgetting the violence and lack of peace which exist in other parts of the world.

"Furthermore, we must not forget that our own peace has little value if it does

not safeguard those values on which freedom is founded.

The official opening was done by Mr. Knut Frydenlund, also an M.P. and a former Norwegian Foreign Affairs Minister. He pointed out that like Afghanistan, Norway was also a small country adjoining the Russian empire.

He said: "In 1964 when the then foreign minister visited Russia he was told that Afghanistan was a model of how a small country should arrange its relationships with the USSR. When I myself visited Moscow nearly 20 years later they did not repeat this proposition."

In all 11 Afghans attended the hearing to give first-hand accounts of different aspects of the war in their country. Some told of the heroic way in which the Afghan freedom fighters continue to struggle with inferior weapons and an appalling lack of medical supplies against the 100,000-strong army of occupation armed with the most sophisticated killing machines that modern technology can provide.

Others had been imprisoned and tortured by the KGB in the notorious Policharki prison in Kabul. They considered themselves luckier than thousands of their fellow countrymen who, after the most barbarous kinds of torture, were executed by the Russians or their Afghan communist henchmen.

One witness, Mohammad Ayyoub Assil, was a former Kabul police colonel and gave a graphic account of the various methods of torture adopted by the Russians.

Nasir Ahmad Farouqi, a member of the Islamic Union of Afghanistan gave an account of fighting between guerillas and the Red Army in Afghanistan's Logar Valley region describing how enraged communist units gave vent to their frustration after being unsuccessful against the Afghans by pillaging villages and summarily executing civilians or, as

happened in at least one case, by stripping a man naked and leaving him outside all night so that he died by freezing to death.

Mr. Farouqi also said that in January this year communist soldiers entered the villages to try and forcibly draft villagers into the Afghan army to replace those who have deserted to the freedom fighters and have depleted the army strength from around 90,000 to 30,000.

Mr. Farouqi also gave a moving description of the capture of a French doctor, Philippe Augoyard, one of a team of French volunteers who try to give medical assistance to Afghans caught up in the war.

The Red Cross is forbidden to operate in countries where a guerilla war is in progress and M. Augoyard and his colleagues are regarded as enemies by the Russians and their Afghan lackeys.

Mr. Farouqi said that in January the Russians made a concerted effort to capture the French doctors and interrogated and tortured villagers for information as to their whereabouts. Some villagers were executed for refusing to reveal the doctor's location.

But eventually Russian helicopters attacked and landed troops in the village where the doctors and Mr. Farouqi were hiding.

The doctors and Mr. Farouqi tried to flee but they had been exhausted by freezing conditions and nights made sleepless by bombardment.

Mr. Farouqi hauled Dr. Augoyard up mountains through shoulderdeep snow but eventually the doctor could go no further. Mr. Farouqi said he made the agonising decision to abandon Augoyard only when the Russians were approaching. If he had been captured it would have meant certain death. Dr. Augoyard was captured on January 16. He was forced to make a "confession" on Kabul television some time later in the style reminiscent of the Stalin show trials. On March 14

those attending the hearing heard that the puppet Afghan Government had sentenced Dr. Augoyard to eight years imprisonment. Throughout his detainment, the French Government was not allowed access to Dr. Augoyard.

One of Dr. Augoyard's colleagues, Dr. Laurence Laumonier, appealed to the world's governments to press for his release. She said: "This is a very serious precedent for relief in the world as a whole. What they are saying is that a doctor is committing a crime by trying to help those who are suffering."

She described the horrific conditions in which the volunteer doctors have to work and said that the Russians deliberately bombed hospitals even when they were clearly marked with a red cross.

Another French doctor and colleague of Dr. Augoyard, said that medical facilities were almost non-existent in Afghanistan and sick or wounded people had to make the hazardous trek to Pakistan to get help if they could not reach one of the volunteer doctors. He said that apart from physical diseases which were now rife in some parts of the country, many Afghan women and children were suffering from serious psychological disorders of the stresses of war.

Abdul Rahim, a former engineer and now a member of the resistance, described how in 1980 he was working on an irrigation system project in the Helmland Province of Afghanistan and witnessed a massive tank attack on villages in the area. He described how about 50 Afghan women who were being chased by tanks jumped into a river and drowned rather than be captured by the Russians who they believed would rape them.

Mr. Rahim said that the Russians systematically destroyed crops in the areas where guerillas operated to force people to flee and deprive the freedom fighters of supplies.

Other Afghans described the low morals of the Red Army saying that many soldiers, mainly from the Soviet Asian republics, had deserted and joined the freedom fighters and that other prisoners said the occupation forces were disillusioned because their commanders had told them they were going to defend Afghanistan from "Chinese or American imperialists."

For about 18 months now reports have been coming in of the Russians' use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan, something outlawed by international treaties to which the USSR is a signatory.

At the hearing, in addition to the dramatic film already mentioned, there were produced other artifacts which indicated the Red Army uses chemical weapons in Afghanistan including chemical warfare protection gear and pictures of a chemical testing kit with Russian instructions to check whether ground attacked with chemical agents was safe for troops to advance over.

The protective gear and the kit were captured during the heavy fighting which occurred in the Panjshir Valley region last year.

A guerilla commander, Abdul Wahed, told the hearing that on April 2, 1982, he witnessed a chemical attack. The Russians had met with stiff resistance in the Panjshir Valley and started bombing the area. They used bombs which produced smoke. Then we saw the soldiers in the areas near the smoke. They were divided into small groups each containing 25—30 soldiers, all wearing gas masks and protective gear.

"At first we did not know even what they were, whether they were some odd kind of elephant men or robots or what for we were not familiar with these things."

He said the smoke irritated his men's eyes and some were nearly unconscious but a combination of strong winds and



distance from the main chemical attack saved him from the worst effects.

After the fighting Mr. Wahed searched the battlefield and found some of the discarded gas masks and the bodies of some of his comrades. They did not have any bullet or shrapnel wounds and he concluded they had been killed by the gas.

Ricardo Fraile, a French doctor of law and a researcher at the Institut National des Etudes de Defence et de Disarmament at the University of the Sorbonne, told the hearing he and a group of others had studied the various allegations of chemical weapons usage in Afghanistan. He had been to Afghanistan clandestinely although the UN commission investigating the accusations had been barred from entering the country.

He told the hearing that the evidence was overwhelming to show that the Russians used nerve gas, toxins and other chemicals to cause injuries and death in Afghanistan.

Stuart Schwartzstein, director of the Chemical / Biological Weapons Information Project at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis in America, also concluded the same saying that the "yellow rain" agent being used by Russia's surrogates in other parts of Asia, such as Cambodia, was also being used in Afghanistan and was probably the yellowish-grey cloud seen in the Dutch journalist's film.

One of the most moving testimonies came from 22-year-old Farida Ahmadi, a member of the Afghan Women's Revolutionary Association. She attended the hearing despite learning on the second day that both her parents had been murdered in prison by the Russians.

In April 1981 she was arrested by the secret police for being found in possession of an anti-soviet leaflet. There then followed four months of imprisonment and torture for the young medical student.

She said that she shared a small cell in

Kabul's Policharki prison with about 40 other women. She was subjected to a variety of inhuman tortures, some carried out by Afghan communists but always under Russian supervision.

At one stage she was taken to a darkened cell which was littered with amputated limbs and skulls, the walls were covered in blood. The eye of a comrade was plucked out in front of her and she was told the same would happen to her if she did not cooperate.

Miss Ahmadi said that women prisoners were raped and tortured by electrical wires attached to sensitive parts of the body.

One torture involved her being forced to stand up for 14 days, the wardens lifting her to her feet each time she collapsed.

One of Farida's interrogators asked her why she was not completely terrified by what she saw at the prison and she replied: "I would like you to bring everyone here so that they could see just what your Soviet revolution really means."

Eventually she was released but knowing that she was being kept under surveillance in the hope she would lead the Russians to her comrades she decided to leave Kabul and managed to escape to join the Mujahideen.

Mohammad Ayyouh Assil was in a position to describe the various tortures used by the communist regime for he was a police colonel with access to the prison. He was a professor of penal law at Kabul University and was asked to remain in the capital by guerilla groups to whom he passed information.

He eventually defected after he led a 4,000-strong pilgrimage to Mecca. He was supposed to be the Government's watchdog but alone with 1,500 other pilgrims resolved not to return to Afghanistan.

Mr. Assil said that 12,000 people had been tortured to death by the police alone and that from being a body to uphold

law and order and investigate crime the country's police is now merely one arm of the Kremlin's terror machine.

He said that the means of torture included:—

- 1) electrical shocks applied to the genitals
- 2) hair and beard being pulled out by the roots
- 3) prisoners being denied visits to the toilet and otherwise being humiliated
- 4) interrogators urinating into prisoners' mouths
- 5) dogs attacked prisoners
- 6) people being suspended upside down for long periods
- 7) women being raped and sharp objects being inserted into their vagina
- 8) table legs being placed over prisoners hands, people sit on the table thereby crushing the prisoners' limbs.

Mr. Assil said: In March 1980, I personally witnessed the arrest of a women

eight months pregnant, and her husband who were tortured in Kabul.

"The wife was raped several times in front of her husband's eyes, who was being forced to watch without being able to turn away. I will never forget the screams of the woman being raped."

Mr. Assil also stated that some Russian officers conducted "man-hunts" for pleasure. The procedure was to bomb a village and then to shoot villagers with rifles from helicopters as they fled.

He said: "21 years ago I came across a book in a Kabul library which said that the Russians would never be civilized. I could not believe this at the time. Today I can only confirm that this is true."

But despite the grim evidence of the Afghans which painted vividly the horrors inflicted on their nation by the Russians the overall message of the hearing was that Afghanistan would continue to fight the Kremlin and its forces until the country was free.



*A cemetery in Kharkiv, 1933 — the stiff bodies of those who starved to death.*

## **PRESS STATEMENT**

### **On the Occasion of the Forty-Fifth Anniversary of the Death of Colonel Yevhen Konovalets**

Forty-five years ago, on May 23, 1938, in Rotterdam, Colonel Yevhen Konovalets was killed by a Russian GPU agent. Colonel Konovalets was one of the leading military figures and strategists of Ukraine's anti-Russian war of liberation of 1917—1921, the Commander of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), and the founder of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

The OUN was established in 1929 to lead a national-liberation struggle on all levels of life against all of the occupants of Ukraine, with a wider and deeper ideological, anti-Bolshevik base.

Bolshevism, as a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, forcibly imposes upon a nation that it had previously militarily conquered a total system of occupation, a Bolshevik way of life on all levels, from Russian Bolshevik metaphysical concepts to a Russian Bolshevik system of collectivization.

Therefore, the Bolshevik system of occupation must be confronted not just by armed force. The Bolshevik way of life, forced upon Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, must be opposed and rejected in the course of an all-out struggle, that is led on all levels of life inherent to a given nation, to its particular philosophy of life. For example, the system of collectivization must be confronted by the institute of private property, "socialist realism" in culture must be opposed by the traditional cultural values inherent to every nation, militant atheism by a fervent faith in God, colonialist-imperialist centralism by disintegration, the Russian Caesaropapist Orthodox Church of Pimen, with its doctrine of

non-opposition to evil, by the heroic Christianity of the Catacomb Churches, the artificial concept of a "Soviet people", in reality a Russian super-nation, by the distinct national organisms of the enslaved peoples.

Russification is identical with the Bolshevization of the life of a nation. This is not only a policy of extermination of the distinct national languages of the enslaved peoples, but even collectivization, or "socialist realism", which forces the subjugated to praise their subjugators, are all categories of Russification.

The central aim of our struggle is the appropriation of all political authority from the Russian occupant for our nation. This can only be achieved by means of an armed struggle. Colonel Konovalets' epoch demanded an ideological, political and military organization, capable of leading such an armed struggle and of cultivating the authority of the nation, as an alternative to the pseudo-authority of the occupational regime. An organization was needed that would represent the Ukrainian nation's incipient underground state. The OUN under Colonel Konovalets' leadership was such an organization.

In the initial stages, the OUN accentuated ethical-heroic elements in the struggle for a Sovereign and Independent Ukrainian State, so as to rejuvenate the fighting spirit of the Ukrainian nation with a reborn faith in its truth, as the truth of God. This faith inspired the Ukrainian nation to the point that it was able to lead a war of liberation on two fronts against two of the largest totalitarian and imperialist powers of all times — Bolshevik Russia and Nazi Germany. This

two-front war of liberation, that was led by the armed OUN underground and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), was begun with the Proclamation of Independence of June 30, 1941. After Germany's defeat in World War II, the OUN-UPA continued this armed struggle against the Russian occupational forces well into the 1950s. Even the Tri-Partite Pact of the USSR, the CSR and communist Poland could not break the Ukrainian will to fight. In stages the mass insurrectionary armed struggle adopted underground means of struggle.

Ukraine's two-front war of liberation was followed by a period of mass uprisings and strikes of the prisoners in Russian concentration camps in 1953—1959. From the spilled blood of the heroes of the OUN-UPA, the young generation in Ukraine underwent a spontaneous rebirth on all levels of cultural and non-cultural creativity in the spirit of national, patriotic traditions, with a complete rejection of the Bolshevik world-view and way of life, which is completely bankrupt in Ukraine and the other subjugated nations. The present stage of the liberation struggle is in direct continuity to the previous epochs, at the zenith of which was the armed insurrection of the OUN-UPA.

The following examples are illustrative of the various forms of the liberation struggle: the strikes and demonstrations in the 1960s and 1970s in Donbas, Dnipropetrovsk, Kyiv, Dniprodzerzhinsk, and Novocherkask; the attempt to create free trade unions even before Solidarity in Donbas by Klebanov — a Ukrainian worker; the protest actions of the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Georgian, and other Helsinki Monitoring Groups, that clearly advocated national independence, sovereignty and democracy.

The decisive, political nucleus, directing the Ukrainian liberation struggle, is the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

(OUN), which was established over fifty years ago by Colonel Yevhen Konovalets. Moreover, it was on the initiative of the OUN that the UPA was created and organized in 1942 and that the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was founded in 1943, as the coordinating center of the national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations, at the very height of World War II and during Ukraine's two-front war of liberation.

The ABN's concept of liberation of coordinated and synchronized national uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations presents an alternative to nuclear war. This strategy will lead to the destruction of the communist system and the dissolution of the Russian empire from within into national, independent, sovereign and democratic states of the presently subjugated nations, each within its ethnographic borders, thereby eliminating the only real threat of a nuclear holocaust without a World War III.

Colonel Yevhen Konovalets formulated the basis of this concept. It later became a reality in the military strategy of General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, who was killed in a battle with Russian MVD forces in 1950, and in the political concept of liberation of Stepan Bandera, who took over the helm of the OUN after Konovalets' murder, and who was also murdered in Munich in 1959 by an agent of the KGB on the direct orders of Khrushchev and Shelepin — the KGB chief at that time. On May 25, 1926 Symon Petliura — the head of the Ukrainian State, the President of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces — was murdered on the streets of Paris.

Moscow was then and continues to be now the center of international terrorism.

## NORILSK UPRISING

(Continuation)

### V. Resumption of Struggle

We raised our heads high and our jailers hung theirs down. No matter what, but a promise to change the entire camp administration did not prophesize anything good for them. And indeed, in a short while, we were informed that Major-General Semenov was removed from the post of administration chief and re-assigned as second-in-command. The new chief became Lieutenant-General Tsaryov. In addition, we were told that First Lieutenant Shirayev and officer Beyner, whom we had accused of the murders of many prisoners, were themselves thrown into prison.

Yet all of this was done for show only, so we continued to be on our guard. We realized what our fate would be, after the commission returned to Moscow, and we would again find ourselves eye-to-eye with the old administration.

The commission, however, was in no rush to leave Norilsk. Zone 3 of hard labor prisoners continued its opposition. Enraged Kuznietsov tried to subdue them through hunger. Food shipments into the zone were halted, the water was shut off. The prisoners decided to inform the city civilian population of this. It was discovered that prisoner Petro Mykolaychuk was able to pour out printers' type using tin. This type was set into a brief text and anchored into an appropriate frame. The people gathered all of their reserves of paper and leaflets were printed. The first series of leaflets informed the city's inhabitants that the prisoners were being starved and deprived of water.

The leaflets were distributed around the city in a most ingenious manner. For this task, seven paper kites were fashioned, which, when lifted into the air, carried with them three hundred leaflets apiece. The leaflets were rolled-up and tied with a thread underneath the kite. Beneath the thread hung a lit wadded wick. As the kite rose up, the wick smoldered, burned through the thread, and the leaflets floated down in all directions. The wind carried them throughout the city and even far beyond it.

As the kites rose into the air, the guards shot at them, at times even hitting the target, but to no avail — no harm came to the kites. In this manner about forty thousand leaflets were released over the city. Special Komsomol\* brigades were organized in the city to gather up the leaflets.

Nonetheless, the first series of leaflets accomplished their purpose; food was brought into the zone and the water was turned on.

Encouraged by their victory, the prisoners of zone 3, on a daily basis, were informing the city population of their situation and their demands to the government.

But Kuznyetsov could not focus all of this attention on zone 3, because he feared that the other zones could again revolt; this time, as a sign of solidarity with the hard labor prisoners. Therefore, he decided to punish the initiators and

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\* Komsomol — The Young Communist League.

activists of the opposition in those zones that had already abandoned their fight and only then would he deal with the hard labor prisoners.

In the meantime, Assistant Attorney General, State Legal Advisor Second Rank Vavilov arrived at Norilsk from Moscow.

The reprisals began in this manner: On June 22nd, seven hundred prisoners were being transferred from zone 3 to zone 4, "for economic reasons". The transfer list was compiled in such a way that it contained, in addition to the ordinary, unobtrusive prisoners, all of those who were to be subjected to immediate isolation. As usual, the prisoners were led by convoy guards, but not all together, rather in groups of about a hundred. And, they were led straight through the tundra. In the middle of the tundra, in a hollow where they could not be observed from any direction, the first group was met by Colonel Kuznyetsov, accompanied by members of his commission and a group of officers and guards from the *Gorlag*. Five prisoners were separated from the group and taken under special guard in an unknown direction. The rest were led into our zone 4. All seven groups of prisoners, before completing their transfer from zone 3, went through this weeding-out procedure.

In this mode, the reprisals, which we had expected only after the departure of the Moscow commission from Norilsk, began not only in its presence, but under its immediate direction. We realized that this was only the beginning, that this weeding-out process would unfailingly take place in all of the zones, and somehow we felt that the reprisals against us would be "wet".

"They will all be shot!" I appealed to the prisoners who had arrived from zone 3. "We have to save them! Let us do this: You go to the guardhouse and demand that everyone be returned. If they are not returned — you will refuse to work and we, as a sign of solidarity, will also refuse to leave for work. We must make them understand that they simply cannot do with us whatever they wish."

Unfortunately, the prisoners of zone 3 rejected my proposal. Perhaps their attitude regarding this problem was elicited primarily by their instinct of self-preservation. Now, when the storm had passed over their heads without touching them, they preferred to remain silent, rather than, once safe, risk calling down misfortune upon themselves. No one wanted to place his life on the line.

Like it or not, we prepared to leave for work, but were still waiting for the return of the first shift. Suddenly the electric bells rang in each barrack, the guards ran up, quickly herding the people to the guardhouse.

I went to the guardhouse, but some of the prisoners climbed onto the roof of the tallest barrack, to scout out what was going on in the *Gorstroy*, where our first shift was working.

The guardhouse gate was already open; near it stood the commander of the zone, First Lieutenant Vlasov.

"What is going on, Vlasov?" I asked him.

"What do you mean? The usual work shift transfer," he answered.

"Why are you starting it early?"

"It's not early. It's time for you to leave."

"Do you know that, since the establishment of an eight hour work day, we leave for work only after the first shift returns from work?"

"The first shift is already on its way back. You will meet it."

In the meantime, the roof-top lookouts reported that no one had as yet left the *Gorstroy*.

"Not true," I contradicted Vlasov. "No one has as yet left the *Gorstroy*. So be advised that, until the first shift enters the zone, we will not leave for work!"

Vlasov went to the telephone and I remained on watch near the guardhouse. The next announcement came from the roof: A group of prisoners, approximately one hundred men, had left the *Gorstroy* and was headed for the tundra.

Vlasov came up to me and said:

"Your people are coming now. Go out and convince yourselves of this."

"One hundred men left the *Gorstroy* and they are being led into the tundra, not towards the camp," I told Vlasov. "I am again informing you that we are not leaving for work until we see everyone here and become convinced that no harm has come to them."

Seeing that the first group of men was being led by the guards into the tundra, the rest of the prisoners of the first work shift refused to leave the *Gorstroy*. In this way, not only the plan to weed-out the prisoners of zone 4 collapsed, but it sparked a new wave of organized protest.

Eventually the group of prisoners, that had originally been led from the *Gorstroy* into the tundra, approached the guardhouse. This constituted the last attempt by the camp administration to correct the situation.

"Well, Hrycyak," Vlasov said, "the people have arrived, now get out to work!"

"One hundred men have returned," I answered, "but more than two thousand were at work. Where are the rest?"

"We are not even a hundred," some prisoners called out from beyond the gate, having overheard my conversation with Vlasov. "Seven of us were taken away in the tundra."

"In that case," I told Vlasov, "our conversation is ended. We are not leaving for work until you return the seven that were kidnapped from us in such a criminal fashion."

Then, turning to the prisoners who had gathered nearby, I explained the entire situation and advised them all to retreat from the guardhouse and not to go to work.

We all scattered. Ninety-three men from the first shift entered the zone. The second stage of our fight for the right to live had begun. Along with us, the prisoners of men's zone 5 and women's zone 6 resumed their struggle.

The prisoners of the first work shift, who had remained at the *Gorstroy*, finally agreed to return to the camp, but only on the condition that they would not be led in separate groups, but all together.

We felt intuitively that we had to continue the fight at all costs, that our gains were not steadfast, that the concessions which Moscow had so easily agreed to were just a delaying manoeuvre, which inevitably will be followed by reprisals and renewed pressure by the regime.

For this, there was no lack of precedents. We knew very well that any attempts at organized or individual protest would end, for those who were protesting or complaining, tragically. Among us, rumors were circulating that in

one of the camps near Salekhard four hundred men were shot for attempting to organize a protest.

My fellow countryman, Borys Horbulevych, related to us that in 1947, in one of the zones of the *Ivdel-lag*\*, the following occurrence took place:

A former Colonel of the Red Army, prisoner Vyshniakov, in some way expressed his indignation against the high-handedness and outrages to which the camp administration subjected the prisoners. He was immediately placed under guard and put through the investigation process. Along with him, the investigation involved additional twenty-nine former army officers and two prisoners, who had never served in the army.

One of the latter two was Borys Horbulevych. This entire group, the leader of which was considered to be Colonel Vyshniakov, was accused of maintaining contacts with foreign intelligence agencies and having had as its purpose no more and no less than the overthrow of the Soviet government. *The plan* for this overthrow was absolutely simple — Vyshniakov's group would organize an attack on the guards of their zone, disarm them, and distribute the weapons to the prisoners. The armed prisoners would then attack the neighboring zones, again disarming the guards, arming the freed prisoners, and then, having joined forces, would conquer the city of Sverdlovsk. In Sverdlovsk, Vyshniakov would announce a provisional government, organize a march on Moscow, and — period!

Moscow was immediately informed of Vyshniakov's *plan*. The investigators were given the task of obtaining confessions from the entire group as soon as possible. Of course, the investigators performed their task honorably — all thirty-two prisoners not only confessed their guilt, but indicated where, when, and from whom they received their orders.

Inasmuch as no one was able to resist the tortures of the interrogation, they all decided to „confess“ and purposely told absurdities, so that afterwards, during the trial, these could be contradicted and the entire investigation placed in an idiotic position.

Thus, Colonel Vyshniakov recalled an episode from a detective novel and utilized it in his “confession”. He named a restaurant in the city of Gdansk and the name of an agent who gave him his orders. The names of the restaurant and the agent were taken from the novel.

Another prisoner, former Comintern\* courier Trybrat, gave the name and Viennese address of a real person — the Secretary General of the Austrian Communist Party, to whom he, Trybrat, had at one time relayed Comintern mail. In this manner, the chief of the Austrian communists was transformed, at least in Trybrat's testimony, into an agent of the CIA.

The investigation was concluded. A special commission from Moscow arrived at Ivdel to look first-hand at these dangerous rebels.

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\* Ivdel-lag — a camp, providing labor for the logging industry, located in the Ivdel region.

\* Communist International — an international forum dominated by Soviet Russia, dedicated to the spread of world communism by concerted activities of the various Communist Parties that were members of the Comintern. Actually and historically this was a Soviet Russian rubber-stamp organization.



Finally the trial began. But to the great surprise of the accused, the court accepted all of their confessions as credible and utilized them as basis of the trial. They were all sentenced to twenty-five years of incarceration (at that time, the death penalty had been abolished).

Well, what were we up against, now that we had stirred up all of Norilsk and challenged Moscow itself?

No matter what dangers threatened us, we decided to fight as long as our strength lasted. The first step in our resumption of struggle was the proclamation of a period of mourning for those who had been taken away from us for punishment. As a sign of mourning, a black banner was placed atop each of our two tallest barracks. Black banners also appeared atop the barracks of zone 5.

These banners distressed the administration more than our refusal to work. Many prisoners also objected to them. Numerous prisoners approached me with questions as to the significance of the black flags. I explained that this was a symbol of mourning for those who had been taken from us, as well as a symbol of our sorrowful existence. There were arguments:

"This is the anarchist flag. What are you doing, proclaiming anarchy? The flag of mourning is red with a black border!"

"The anarchists have a skull-and-cross-bones on their flag," I rebounded, "and a red flag with a black border is a bolshevik flag. We will not rally underneath such a flag. Our flag is black, as black as our existence."

We could not come to any agreement, the lack of which resulted in division into two groups — the first in favor of the black banner, the second — against it. However, this was only the outward expression of our differences, the roots of which were hidden far deeper. The group which was against the black banner included those prisoners who were against continuing the struggle, believing that by it we would simply strengthen Moscow's anger and bring down upon ourselves even greater misfortune.

This group was headed by Ivan Klachenko-Bozhko. He was an old man, a former communist, who by then had completed his twenty-first year of imprisonment (such persons were scarce at the time). He was well-known and respected by all the prisoners in our camp. In his twenty-one years of imprisonment, Klachenko-Bozhko had seen everything, thereby having good reason not to believe in the potential of success of any kind of fight. Since this group was in the minority, it limited itself to the status of opposition.

After a short time, the following conversation took place between Klachenko and myself:

"Why are you doing this?" Klachenko asked me.

"In order to make it more difficult for them to finish off those who were taken from us and to caution them against further repressions against us. We must convince them that, at the slightest attempt at additional pressure, we will again rebel."

"They'll shoot all of us, and then be absolutely certain that there won't be any more rebellions."

"They won't shoot us!" I rashly cut him off.

"And what will they do, maybe feel ashamed? Haven't you heard what happened in East Berlin? Before the eyes of all of Europe, they crushed German

workers with tanks; but, of course, here, in the uninhabited tundra, they will be ashamed to shoot their own political prisoners? Are you thinking about what you are saying?"

"They won't be ashamed and they won't be afraid," I answered. "We know what they are capable of doing. But I say once again, we rebelled in order to put a stop to the shootings, not to induce them. I will not force any one into a bullet's path, and I will not allow them to shoot at us. For the time being, we have no reason whatsoever to fear and capitulate."

Klachenko remained dissatisfied by our conversation, and we coldly went our separate ways.

I was called to the guardhouse. I went together with Volodymyr Nedorostkov. Kuznyetsov and Vavilov entered the zone, accompanied by the members of the Moscow commission and senior officers of the *Gorlag* administration.

"What's this!" Kuznyetsov barked angrily. "This is how you come to terms with me? Thank you! I obtained such grand improvements for you, I was successful in getting the Soviet government to promise to review all of your individual cases. And this is how you repay me? Into what kind of position are you placing me?"

After this general introduction, he appealed to Nedorostkov and me:

"What do you want?"

"We want you to return all those who have been taken from us, because we have reason to fear that you have taken them to be shot."

"Where did you get that idea from?" Vavilov interjected. "Tell the truth, now, have you heard even one shot fired since the Moscow commission arrived here?"

"No, we haven't. But explain to us, why you grab people in the tundra and take them away to parts unknown?"

"They were transferred," Kuznyetsov explained. "The camp administration always has the right to do this."

"We were not born yesterday and we know how transfers are carried out. For transfers, people are taken directly from the zone, not grabbed in the tundra."

"We assure you that no harm has come to them. Now go back to work."

"So return them all and we'll go."

"Again we assure you," said Kuznyetsov, "that they are quite safe. Here before you stands the Assistant Attorney General. He has come here to ascertain that there have been no violations of socialist legality here at Norilsk. We will take whomever we need; we have an absolute right to do this."

"In that case," I said, "let's compromise. We will choose a delegation from among us that will go with you and see where those people are and what their condition is. When the delegates return and assure us that everything is in order, and if you agree never to repeat this kind of behavior, then we will come out in an organized fashion to work."

Kuznyetsov did not accept my proposal and left the zone.

*(To be continued)*

# The Life of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Catacombs

## A Samvydav Document from Ukraine

*Translated from Ukrainian as published in the Ukrainian weekly newspaper "Shlach Peremohy", Munich, Nos. 35-38/1982.*

That the Ukrainian Catholic Church is one of the particular churches of the Ecumenical Catholic Church is due to the ecumenical endeavours of the Church of the Ukrainian people which has never officially lost or broken off its unity with the Holy See after the enmity of 1054. However, because of the complexity of historical events, ties between the Ukrainian church and the Holy See were decreasing as time went by. The church in Ukraine began to experience impoverishment and decline, and in order to save the church from complete destruction and to safeguard a real and free acknowledgement of the primordial faith, Catholic in essence, Orthodox in terminology, the Ukrainian episcopate after extensive deliberations arrived at the same decision: They would ask the Holy See to restore and grant juridical security to the unity of the Ukrainian church with the Ecumenical Church of Christ, and to bind it more closely to the Vicar of Christ on earth, the Pope. This act was historically documented by the "Union of Brest" (1596). From this time the unified Ukrainian Catholic Church (often called "Uniate") suffered brutal persecution in various forms, ranging from falsification and defamation to actual physical punishment, designed to destroy the hated "union" by all means, not excluding bloody retribution. Extensive bloodshed and persecution between 1795 and 1875 left no traces of the "Union" in many areas of Ukraine.

On the territory of Western Ukraine, which remained under Austrian and later Austro-Hungarian rule since 1772, the Ukrainian Catholic Church experienced conditions favourable to progress and development, and was even able to

flourish. The people of Western Ukraine (formerly Galicia) used to profess and still profess today the Catholic faith and celebrate Mass in the Eastern (Byzantine) rite. Despite reports that since 1946 Ukrainian Catholics are non-existent in the Soviet Union, and that the population professes the Orthodox faith with Mass being celebrated in the Eastern rite by Orthodox clergy, this is only formally true. In reality only individuals genuinely belong to the Orthodox church. The majority of the population regard themselves conscientious Catholics and a considerable proportion continues to remain loyal to the Holy See and prove to be conscious practising Catholics. In the western regions of Ukraine the so-called "Russian Orthodoxy" is being enforced by terror and physical means.

### **Religious life in Western Ukraine**

This brief account of the religious life of the Ukrainian Catholics in Western Ukraine cannot fully reflect the entire complexity and nature of the problem of the whole religious life at the present time (1980), and does not even attempt to do so. Therefore, let the facts, the examples from real life, serve as some source of information concerning our religious life and also as a plea to all Catholics and to all people of good will to say a prayer in our intention so that we could bear with integrity the Lord's cross in the form of all these persecutions, endure all His tests, and hold out to the bitter end in the faith of Christ and in his church, with loyalty to the Holy Father, because through loyalty to him we are loyal to St. Peter and to Our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Soon after the death of the Head of the

Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Andriy Sheptyckyj, on November 1, 1944 preparations were started for the "liquidation" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. On April 6, 1945 a libelous pamphlet defaming the memory of the late Metropolitan Sheptyckyj was circulated. A few days later, on the night of April 10—11, 1945 were arrested the Metropolitan of Halych and Lviv, the Bishop of Kamianets, today's Archbishop Major, His Beatitude Cardinal Yosyf Slipyj, and six Ukrainian bishops: Mykyta Budka, Mykola Charneckyj, Yosaphat Kocylovskyj, Hryhoriy Lakota, Hryhoriy Khomshyn and Ivan Liatyshevskyj. It was not made known until March 1946 that all the Ukrainian bishops had been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment by a military tribunal.

The "Lviv Sobor" (church council) convened on March 30, 1946 announced the "liquidation" of the Union of Brest (1596) and the "unification" — the return of the Ukrainian people to the bosom of the Orthodox church, to its ancient faith.

### **Distortions of historical events**

It was never mentioned and even today little is said about the two deliberate distortions of historical events. First of all the "Lviv Sobor" of 1946 was not a legally convened body. It was illegal and thus unauthorised to liquidate the Union of Brest of 1596. Although these facts are being kept secret, the "sobor" was convened only by the archpriest Havryil Kostelnyk, while the seven Ukrainian bishops were still alive. At the above-mentioned "sobor", in violation of all canon laws of both the Eastern and Western churches, not one single bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was present. All of them, including the Metropolitan, were at that time in prison, because having refused to "sign over to orthodoxy", that is to be forcefully united with and subordinated to the hierarchy of that public institution, which was control-

led by atheists, and had the boldness to call itself the "Russian Orthodox Church", they refused all honours and titles in this Orthodox church and remained faithful to the Holy See and to the Holy Father, at that time Pope Pius XII.

The "Lviv Sobor" was only attended by one archpriest, several priests, a number of the faithful (persuaded by terror), and representatives of the government.

Secondly, historic facts are crudely falsified and all information withheld of the fact that the ancient faith of the Ukrainian people was in essence Catholic because Christianity was accepted by Prince Volodymyr in 988 A.D., that is before the split in the church in 1054. At that time in spite of the term "Orthodox faith", as it was then called, it was still essentially Catholic, since Byzantium subordinated itself to the Holy See and was in unity with the whole Ecumenical Church.

Finally, after the space of a thousand years the "Orthodox faith" of the 9th and 10th century and the "Orthodoxy" of 20th century, especially "Russian Orthodoxy" came to differ enormously in substance. Thus, the time has come to stop concentrating on the ill-intended falsification of the facts, and to turn our attention to appropriate terminology, in the future, for portraying the diametrically-opposed conceptions.

In his Pastoral Epistle to Cardinal Yosyf Slipyj, His Holiness Pope John Paul II set down some very important words about the foundation of the ancient Ukrainian faith. He said "The Christian faith came to Rus' (the name of medieval Ukraine) from Rome, through Byzantium!" However, this question is a whole problem in itself, which is here only dealt with briefly, in passing, because it sheds light on the heavy distortion of historical facts.

After the conclusion of the 1946

“sobor” the “liquidation” of all the aspects of Catholic life and everything related to Catholicism was initiated. All the monasteries (some two hundred buildings), were closed down and the monks and nuns chased away. Only one fate awaited the 2000 or so diocesan priests and clergy, who refused to “sign over to orthodoxy” — imprisonment and often exile, without trial, to the far off regions of Siberia in severe regime labour camps. Not one single bishop or monk of the Ukrainian Catholic Church “signed over to Orthodoxy”, and, thus, a great number of them perished in the Siberian snows.

### **His Beatitude Yosyf Slipyj the sole survivor**

Out of all the Ukrainian bishops only one remains alive today, His Beatitude Yosyf Slipyj, as the sole survivor and witness of the religious persecution. He was released in 1963 after 17 years of hard labour, as a result of many attempts by the Holy See, numerous institutions and organisations to obtain his freedom. However, even in Rome the Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is not allowed to live in peace. From time to time he is portrayed by the Soviet press in dark light and slandered.

Here we ought to pay tribute to all the Ukrainian bishops, who suffered in the name of Christ by quoting several short extracts from the encyclical of Pope Pius XII under the heading “Eastern Churches”. He wrote: “Now with great sorrow we turn our attention to another people very dear to us, that is to the Ukrainian people. Especially we wish to mention those bishops of the Eastern rite, who were among the first to suffer grief and contempt for their beliefs...”

### **Priests refused to accept “Orthodoxy”**

All Catholic properties and possessions were confiscated by force; around 5000

churches and chapels were defamed and desecrated.

A great number of priests refused to accept “Orthodoxy”, and they shared the fate of the bishops and monks. However, the majority of the married parish priests (marriage is allowed in the Ukrainian Catholic Church according to the Eastern rite) through fear for the safety of their families “signed over to orthodoxy”, thus, officially breaking away from the Holy See and subordinating themselves to the Hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church. (But now many of them, reaching retirement or on their death bed make official declarations asking for their signatures to be annulled and to be counted, once again, among the ranks of Catholic priests). Usually after “signing”, such apostate priests were allowed to return to their parishes and the congregations followed the pastor to whom they were accustomed, and income came in once more. In a short while parish churches, served by such apostate priests, became forcefully transformed to Orthodoxy and the faithful were compelled to reconcile themselves with the “innovations”. However, part of the married clergy, the faithful predominantly from the towns and also from those villages where the congregations were more aware, and more conscious Catholics (actually there were several such families in every village) continued and still continue to be loyal to the Holy See. The clergy was subjected to repression and the faithful were left without Catholic priests. Ukrainian Catholics fulfil their spiritual needs in official Roman Catholic churches (where all Masses are said in Polish), or else were and still are served by Ukrainian Catholic priests, who are under the threat of imprisonment.

Up to this day priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, both those who returned from exile and the newly-consecrated

priests, who acquired the necessary knowledge and experience to work in the clandestine conditions, are not officially registered as priests, but all of them are automatically "registered" for persecution... For the performance of any religious function, be it confession, or funeral, etc., priests are fined 50 karbovantsi for each "offence", (the average monthly wage is 70 to 90 karbovantsi), and a threat of 7 years' imprisonment for any further religious service. Father Didych was fined 50 karbovantsi on three separate occasions for performing a funeral. From time to time each priest is summoned in front of the government official responsible for religious affairs, where he is subjected to all kinds of persuasion to sign a document obliging him not to perform any functions of a priest. Usually no one signs such statements and, thus, has to face punishment. Some priests are thrown out of their place of residence, others are relieved from their jobs or suffer similar penalties. Every priest who is not yet due for retirement is compelled to work anywhere he can in public institutions. The majority of them work as watchmen, stokers or janitors and in other similar positions.

During searches, which are organised at any time of day or night for no particular reason, the police, which cooperates with the K.G.B., confiscates all items necessary for pastoral duties, such as breviaries, books, vestments and other articles needed for a Mass, not to mention the gold chalices, discs and monstrances. After such "inspections" it is impossible to serve the Holy Mass or perform other pastoral functions.

*We, Ukrainian Catholics, have absolutely no rights whatsoever.* We do not exist in the Soviet Union, regardless of the fact that Article 52 of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R guarantees its citizens the right "to profess any faith... and to per-

form the religious cult". It seems that this right was probably inserted to decorate the constitution. The constitution and some religious activities are always shown to various foreign delegations to demonstrate the "freedom of conscience" in the Soviet Union, but in reality it is purely a veil skilfully placed over the eyes of the visitors. We take full responsibility for these words, because our statements are supported by life itself.

Regardless of the numerous attempts, for the plea of three years ago to the Department for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R to register the religious communities of the Ukrainian Catholics (e.g. in the village of Mshana, in the Horodockyj region of the Lviv district), and despite many promises to "solve the problem positively", up to now (the beginning of 1980) we do not possess a single officially registered church or a place of worship. We simply "do not exist".

We are excessively and maliciously persecuted on every occasion and being compelled throughout the last thirty years to forget everything related to Catholicism. The authorities attempt to force us to become atheists or in the final event to become members of the "Russian Orthodox faith". For over thirty years now the forceful liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Catholic faith in the Western Ukrainian areas continues.

Periodically we are warned that "we shall never again see the Church of Sheptyckyj. Also we are being systematically persuaded that "the Union was enforced on the Ukrainian people by Polish magnates and the Vatican", and that "Volodymyr accepted the Orthodox faith." All their articles, books and pamphlets skilfully distort facts, insert into the concept of the ancient Orthodox faith the Orthodoxy of our times, and, thus sug-

gest only one conclusion to the reader — that there was always in existence a Catholic West and an Orthodox East. Such falsification does definite harm to the population, since many families do not own any books, catechism, prayer books or other sources from which they could discover the Christian faith and the truth.

Nevertheless, however, much the authorities attempt to “successfully introduce atheist” propaganda, the result has been the recent increase in the interest of the people in religion. It is obvious that the population has had enough of atheism and material happiness as expressed by St. Augustine: “My heart is restless and troubled until it finds its rightful place in You, O Lord”.

### **The dogs were set upon the faithful**

On our territory some of the churches are closed because there are not always enough parish priests, or there were instances when the congregation boycotted a priest, who “signed” (i.e. went over to Orthodoxy) and he was forced to leave the parish. In these closed churches the faithful keep order, supplement the necessary church articles, and gather for communal prayer on Sundays and religious holidays. And in May, June and October they gather every evening to sing a Litany to the Virgin Mary or to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Mass is sung by the congregation itself (the special parts), and occasionally (when a Catholic priest turns up) there is a Holy Mass and distribution of the Holy Sacraments.

It was in the last two or three years that the “assault” on these Catholic shrines was commenced. Because the people worship in these churches, they are themselves persecuted and the shrines either knocked down, turned into storehouses, or closed. The representatives of the local authorities (the police, K.G.B.,

party and executive committees) arrive in cars often carrying arms and bring with them police dogs, which they proceed to set loose on the praying congregation, just as the Nazis used to do, and turn the churches into slaughter houses. Such was the case of Mshana, a village in the Horodokyj region of the Lviv district. Without any warning from the local authorities at 10 a.m. on December 8, 1977 four cars full of police, K.G.B., representatives of the regional authorities, as well as armed persons with dogs, arrived at the church. The faithful did not have a chance to come anywhere near the church because the dogs were set upon them and they were beaten. The shrine was mercilessly desecrated. All the altars were destroyed, the benches, icons, banners and the iconostasis torn down from their place. Everything including the empty sanctuary for the Holy Sacraments was removed. All that could be carried off was taken away: vestments, cassocks, chalices, various church utensils, numerous embroidered tablecloths, icons, and even all the broken pieces.

The faithful appealed to the Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (Moscow). At first the authorities shouted at the delegation of faithful and frightened them, then on the next day they heard their case and promised to “look into” the matter, even to accept the documents for the registration of the religious community. As it happened later, these documents “could not be found” and copies of the particulars of the necessary 20 people, and a statement (for the registration of a religious community) about the registration of the religious community had to be sent by registered post.

Although this affair has now dragged on for three years no positive progress has been made. Over one hundred different letters have been written and

eleven delegations of the faithful have already been to see the Council for Religious Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other relevant central institutions. These either sent the delegations off to the Orthodox church, as the sole "Ukrainian church", or made promises, which they never followed up with positive deeds.

One of the applied tricks was the promise in the Council for Religious Affairs that the religious community would be registered when "the faithful renounce the jurisdiction of Cardinal Slipyj". Nobody ever signs such a statement or document. Recently the delegation was told that even the Pope appealed on their behalf but the government can "never register a church which lies under the jurisdiction of Cardinal Slipyj, because he is an enemy of the Soviet state, because he collaborated with the Nazis, and because the Catholic church is generally hostile to the Soviet state..."

It is difficult to reconcile such statements with Article 52 of the new Constitution of the USSR where it states that citizens of the USSR have the "right to confess any religion at all". The authorities should have been consistent and should have written in the Constitution consecutively "any religion except Catholic", or otherwise following the Article 52 not to make such nonsensical statements.

The faithful of Mshana submitted an official statement and all the required documents including the particulars of the necessary twenty people. The Council for Religious Affairs did not accept these documents where it was stated that the faithful ask for the registration of the religious community of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, despite the fact that this church is in existence and its title is accepted throughout the whole world. It was only after extensive attempts and pleas that a "favour" was done and the documents were accepted only when the

faithful wrote that they "ask for the registration of a religious community of a Roman Catholic Church of the Eastern rite".

Already several commissions from Moscow and Kyiv have come to the Mshana church, which is still closed, and turned it into a television factory store stacked now with rolls of paper. The persecution continues. The majority of the faithful have been fined 10 rubles on many occasions, and Anna (Bosa) Hurka, Maria Chornenka and the Mykhailyshyn family were all fined 50 rubles. Nobody is bothered that Anna Mykhailyshyn has brought up nine children and does not have a state pension, or other forms of financial aid or the means to pay the fine.

The citizens Olha Duda and Anna Oliyarnyk were summoned to appear at the regional authorities. Since one of the women had been on the last delegation to Moscow she expected to be called in order to receive the result of her efforts. The women went to Horodok-the regional capital, but from there they did not return home. They were locked up in prison for fifteen days for "hooliganism".

Later it was revealed that they were charged with „hooliganism”, because one of them dared to go to Moscow, and the other, ill and elderly along with other faithful attempted to defend the church during the second incident in the spring of 1979. At the start of 1979 all the television sets were removed from the church and the people held hopes that in a short while they would have their shrine back and more so because of the numerous promises from Moscow and Kyiv to regulate this affair.

But to their disappointment one day the people saw once again armed men around the church, guarding a convoy with rolls of paper on its way to the building. The faithful asked for an explanation as to why, without a previous



decision, manufactured goods were once again delivered to the church turning it into a warehouse. In response to some people physical force was applied. Elderly women, who formed the majority of the congregation, were thrown in the mud, their hair torn from their heads; other people were beaten.

The local authorities explained their

behaviour as "the preservation of law and order" because the people of Mshana's religious community, not officially registered, gather for illegal prayers. At the same time they stubbornly refuse to register the present religious community of the Ukrainian Catholics.

(To be continued)

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*Dr. I. Bankowski*

## **The Soviet Russian Blackmail Strategy**

The famous Prussian Commander-in-Chief, General von Clausewitz, founder of the modern military strategy, said already in the previous century: "Negotiations that end in naked words and declarations, that do not cost a lot, are preferably used to cunningly mislead", i.e. by which the dumb and naive are deceived. Lenin meant something similar with the recommendation that in order to deceive the foe and to gain one's own best advantage it is advisable on the International Political Forum always to take two steps forward and one step backwards.

These two principles constitute today the basis of the Soviet-Russian Diplomacy. Under this aspect, therefore, it seems that whatever Agreements are made with the USSR, that do not wholly serve their interests, are fully illusory. As a matter of fact: if all treaties and agreements made with the Soviet Union since its existence through the past 60 years are closely considered one has to state that clauses of the Treaties that were disadvantageous for the Reds, have been totally ignored by the Soviet Union and not fulfilled. On these grounds, the Free Western World can also expect no benefits whatsoever from the present,

long-outdrawn and delayed negotiations on disarmament, limitation of rearmament, etc.

The main aim of the Soviet Union in these negotiations is namely to retain the already achieved superiority in warfare potential — especially in the atomic and submarine domain — and at the same time stop the American strive for balance regarding this matter. Only then would Soviet Russia be prepared to carry out so-called „correct" negotiations on a two-sided reduction of armament.

In this case though, the Soviet Union would practically retain its superiority, which is also the aim of the Red Power and so reach its final goal which is without a doubt the communisation of the whole world under the rule of Soviet Russia. Already in his time Lenin also said that in order to reach this goal all means are allowed without exception.

The Strategical Blackmail must be recognised as the main resource employed in this direction. In the conception „Strategy" each and every political, military, economical and also ideological step must be understood, established for and directed towards obtaining the

final victory. This Strategical Blackmail is seen mainly in the form of publicity of perpetual modernisation of their weapons: atomic (strategical and tactical) as well as conventional (artillery, tanks, aircraft and marine especially submarines).

Moreover, the Soviet Union from time to time puts its threat of Blackmail into reality, as formerly in Hungary, CSSR, Angola and Abyssinia, Cuba and Afghanistan and finally also through the encroachment of their submarines upon the territorial waters of Norway and Sweden — the latter apparently with the aim of testing the West as to how it is prepared to react. Simultaneously to such aggressive activity the Soviet Union has the habit of shouting the loudest about detente between East and West.

The threat through Soviet Russia's Blackmail Strategy hangs in the end like a true Damocles Sword over the whole of the Free World, so that it seems necessary to take even more serious steps as have been up until now.

So firstly — measures of a political-diplomatic nature, in that the Kremlin in unambiguous and harsh language that is alone understood there, will be warn-

ed that the Russians will not be allowed to make a laughing stock of the West, and a detente of the East-West relationships, if they are really interested in this, only on both sides and to the same conditions can be considered and at all possible.

Secondly — thoroughly clarify the Western public psychologically about the Soviet Russian threat and also point out the fate that awaits the Free Western World if this threat were to be fulfilled without any resistance whatsoever.

Thirdly — strengthening of armament in the West according to the Roman principles „Si vis pacem, para bellum!”

Only so can the world be spared a new war. The Soviet Russian power is slyer but also more anxious than all other known dictatorships in the world, for their rule is mainly built upon fraud and force, so that they would be prepared to make concessions, but only then when they see themselves confronted by a superior power.

Good will alone and only empty words that appeal upon common sense and are not accompanied by any power whatsoever are ineffective for Moscow.

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## 7 MILLION UKRAINIANS GET MEMORIAL

A memorial to seven million Ukrainians who died of starvation in the “Russian inspired” famine between 1932 and 1933 is to be unveiled tomorrow at a Ukrainian church in Newton Avenue, Acton.

During the artificial famine in the Ukraine the population was decimated while Stalin pursued a farm collectivisation policy aimed at destroying Ukrainian nationalism, according to historians.

*The Daily Telegraph, May 28, 1983*

## **The Development of Revolutionary Processes in Ukraine and other Subjugated Nations**

There are, basically, two approaches to analysing a political phenomenon of the 20th century, known as the USSR and its "Satellites", namely: as a unified and homogenous superpower with its so-called "sphere of influence", and, as an empire of a people — in this case the Russians — with a most sophisticated totalitarian system yet devised, known as communism. The first approach is simplistic and superficial; the second one is analytical and three-dimensional, and, therefore, politically and historically accurate and viable. Unfortunately, in practical terms, the first type of approach still commands the official and public policy and opinion making of the Western and the Third Worlds, whereas the alternate position, upheld by ABN, the EFC and the individual captive nations both within and without the framework of the Soviet Union, is only beginning to gain proper recognition. It is never enough to emphasize that the future security and peace of the world, including a lasting neutralization of the threat of a nuclear holocaust, directly depend on which of the two approaches the Free World will choose to shape its strategy and, literally, its policy of survival. If the Free World chooses a realistic view of the Soviet Union and its "Satellites", it will immediately realize that it is dealing with a Russian empire built of concentric orbits with its centre in Moscow, and which reflect various degrees and types of totalitarian domination of the nations and peoples it controls — directly or by proxy. Within the first orbit of the Russian empire lie the nations which are presently confined within the borders of the USSR; in the second orbit lie the nations termed as "satellite"; and, lastly, in the third orbit lie the latest victims which have fallen prey to Russia as a result of Moscow-supported insurgencies and warfare-by-proxy in the Third World. The cases of Afghanistan and Poland, and before that of Czechia and Slovakia, Hungary, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan, Armenia, the Baltic States, etc. should serve as examples of what happens to any nation that wishes to break away from those Russian imperialist orbits.

It should be understood that the "unity" and "homogeneity" of the Russian empire is only apparent and has no bearing on the real state of affairs. Each nation dominated by Moscow, directly or indirectly, currently finds itself at a given level of struggle for its independence and statehood — the only guarantee it has for a free and unhindered political, social, economic, and cultural development. Each nation has a long history of such a struggle. Although in the Western World the facts about this struggle are well known to those who *want* to know them, some aspects of it should be pointed out if only for the record. The struggle of the Poles and the people of Afghanistan is, fortunately, at least still in the news. But what has been getting hardly any attention at all is the situation in such countries as Ukraine, the Baltic countries, Byelorussia, the nations of the Caucasus, Moscow-dominated, Central and South-Eastern Asian nations — some of which are of incalculable strategic value. The liberation struggle of those nations perhaps at this stage is not as dramatic as in Afghanistan and Poland, but it is just as all-encompassing, persistent and crucial to the world at large.

As an example, let us take a brief look at the situation in Ukraine with which I am better familiar. For the past 65 years Ukraine has been torn by constant strife and warfare in its persistent attempt to regain its independence. The nation took the brunt of the devastation of two world wars, it fought two wars of national liberation (1917—21, 1941—53), suffered Moscow-sponsored artificial famines, mass deportations and execution, and has been engaged in a revolutionary struggle for over half a century under the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The result was that the Ukrainian nations regained, although for a brief period of time, its statehood and independence — in 1918, 1939, and 1941. The cost was great: in 65 years of struggle, Ukraine lost between 15 and 20 million people ( $\frac{1}{3}$  of its population) — not to mention the related demographic damage.

While open warfare ended in the 50's, the struggle for Ukraine continues to this day in different forms: between 1958—75 a number of groups and organizations appeared throughout Ukraine, e.g. "United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine", "Ukrainian Workers-Peasants Union", "Ukrainian National Committee", "Ukrainian National Front", "Ukrainian Youth League of Halyschyna", "Progress", "Democratic Students Organization", "Echo", Ukrainian Helsinki Group", and others. Moreover, in the late 1950's and in the 1960's Ukraine underwent the beginnings of a cultural renaissance. However, all of these activities were terminated by Moscow in wave after wave of repression and terror, in which thousands were imprisoned, and many died. These are the so-called "visible" manifestations of the ongoing liberation processes. But most important is the deeply-rooted and unabated struggle of the Ukrainian nationalist underground. Even this type of information can be collected from the Moscow-controlled media in Ukraine, which frequently reports about arrests, trials, executions, and even actions against the occupational regime conducted by members of the Ukrainian resistance. For example, between 1970—78 the press noted at least 15 major cases involving the Ukrainian nationalist underground. However, much of these overt activities for obvious reasons are not reported. To this should be added the activities of the Ukrainian underground churches — both Catholic and Orthodox the revival of religion and tradition; work stoppages and workers' strikes; attempts to form free trade union; etc.

This, ladies and gentlemen, *is* the reality, which the Free World still chooses to ignore in its truly strange attempts to somehow "balance" the centripetal force controlled by Moscow with the centrifugal forces of the captive nations, which inevitably lead to the breakup of the empire. All the captive nations ask is that the Free World at the very least stop propping up a crumbling empire, and let history take its due course. This is the bottom line!

**"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**

## BULGARIAN COMMENT ON THE ATTEMPT AT HIS HOLINESS' LIFE

In the past months the international press and television brought out a series of reports in connection with the assassination attempt on the life of His Holiness Pope John Paul II. The "Bulgarian connection" mentioned in the reports refers to the oppressive government of Bulgaria but it also presents the Bulgarian people in a false and unfavorable light. We, American citizens of Bulgarian descent, feel it is our obligation to introduce some clarification in defense of the people of Bulgaria, who are not unable to express freely their feelings about crimes such as the attempt on His Holiness' life, a terrorist act most probably done with the knowledge of the Bulgarian communist government.

In fact, crimes such as this are nothing new for the Bulgarian communists. The first victims of their terror were Bulgarian citizens. Here are some illustrations of their terrorist activities in recent history:

1. The detonation of the St. Nedelya Cathedral in Sofia, on April 20, 1925, where over 700 worshippers were killed or seriously wounded;

2. The assassinations of distinguished Bulgarian citizens, such as General Hristo Lukov, on February 13, 1943, Member of Parliament Sotir Yaney, on April 10, 1943, and the Chairman of the Appellate Court Atanas Pantev, on May 2, 1943;

3. On September 9, 1944 the communists seized power in Bulgaria and subjected the country to an unheard of regime of terror. The members of three successive administrations including three Regents, 22 Cabinet Ministers, 86 Members of Parliament and 12 State Counsellors were executed on February 2, 1945. Additionally, more than 3,200 persons were summarily executed in the countryside by orders of the so-called "People's Tribunals";

4. In the period after September 1944 brutal terror swept the country and in less than a year over 100,000 Bulgarians, including a large part of the nation's intelligentsia, clergy, army and administration, were murdered without being formally charged, prosecuted, or sentenced.

5. Over 250,000 Bulgarian citizens, out of a total population of six and a half million at that time, were imprisoned, or sent to concentration camps, such as Rositsa, Belene, Bogdanov Dol, Kutsian, Lovech, etc.

6. A striking example of atheistic violence was the murder of the Bishop of Nevrokop, H. H. Boris, who was shot in front of His church on November 8, 1948. Hundreds and hundreds more priests and Bishops belonging to various religious denominations were also murdered, or sent to vanish in concentration camps.

After the transformation of Bulgaria from "The Land of Roses" to the Land of Blood and Tears, the communist rulers expanded their infamous activity beyond the borders of the country. Following are a few examples of Bulgarian communist terrorist activities abroad:

1. The well-known Bulgarian patriot, Boris Arsov, was kidnapped from Denmark in September 1978. Two months later he was found dead in the Central Prison in Sofia, Bulgaria;

2. The Bulgarian emigrant-writer, George Markov, was assassinated with a poisoned umbrella in London, England, on September 11, 1978;

3. The BBC announcer and commentator in the Bulgarian language, Mr. Vl. Simeonov, was killed at about the same time, also in London, England;

4. In May 1979 a communist terrorist made an unsuccessful attempt on the life of the emigrant-publisher, Vladimir Kostov, in the manner that killed George

Markov. Quick medical intervention, however, saved his life. Keeping in mind the endless list of terrorist activities of the Bulgarian communists, one should not be surprised that their "expertise" was utilized by their Soviet masters in organizing the monstrous crime against His Holiness Pope John Paul II.

Communist violence and terror most probably will not stop in Rome. We have all the reasons to believe in the existence of well-organized groups also in this country. Most of the members of cultural, business, or, religious delegations sent to this country by the Bulgarian govern-

ment are their communist agents.

United States grants should not be given to students who are selected and sent to this country by the Bulgarian communist government. Legal action should be taken against communists who come to visit, or live in the United States of America, and who conceal their party affiliations. The safety of all Americans of Bulgarian descent should be assured against eventual terrorist actions attempted by communists or their agents.

Sincerely yours,  
*Dr. George Paprikoff*  
President B.N.F.

### **Lithuanian Resolution**

The Lithuanian Americans of Cicero, Illinois, assembled this thirteenth day of February, 1983, to commemorate the restoration of Lithuania's independence, do hereby state:

That February 16, 1983 marks the 65th anniversary of modern Lithuania's declaration of independence;

That Lithuania was recognized as a free and independent state by the international community of states including the United States of America;

That Soviet Russia by fraud and force occupied Lithuania and still holds her illegally incorporated in the Russian colonial empire;

That the subjugated Lithuanians, oppressed by the communist regime, are resisting it by any possible way they can, as is evident from the numerous underground press and strong dissident activities;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT

We are thankful for and ask the President and the Congress to pursue the continuation of the policy of non-recognition of the occupation of Lithuania; and

We urge the President and the Congress to support the European Parliament's resolution requesting European govern-

ments and the United Nations Committee on Decolonization to dissolve the Russian colonial empire; and

We request the President and the Congress not to authorize and not to appropriate any more of our tax dollars to the Office of Special Investigations, since it is working in cooperation with Soviet Union authorities and harrasses loyal citizens of the United States of America;

We request the administration in international negotiations to demand the non-deployment of Soviet nuclear weapons in the Baltic States; and

We request that this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States of America, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Security Advisor, United States Senators from Illinois, Chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Congressman from our district, Chairman of the House of Foreign Affairs Committee, and the news media.

*Stanley Dubauskas*  
Secretary of the meeting  
*Dr. Brone Motusis*  
President of the Cicero Chapter of  
Lithuanian American Council and  
Chairperson of the meeting

## **Various Facets of the Dissident Movement – Differences of Ideological and Political Outlook**

As accepted in the Western world, the notion of dissidence calls to mind a relatively important and diversified movement that shows itself within the complex social reality of the Soviet Union. This movement shapes the currents of thought; it awakens the social and national consciences, the action of the intelligentsia, the rise of humanist trends in the culture; it urges its promoters towards open and united action against the regime.

The evolution of the dissident movement underwent a number of phases, each of which represents a search for more effective means of opposition and struggle. These phases can be characterized as follows: the emergence of a "dissident" attitude immediately following the twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1956; the emergence of a cultural-literary dissident movement after 1961; later, the emergence of a strong workers' oppositional movement, as a consequence of glaring social systematic inequalities; and finally, the emergence of a so-called "legal", and open opposition in the 1970's.

Dissidence has broadly contributed to unmask the ethical and legal amorality of totalitarianism. Within two decades, it managed to pose the human rights issue as one of the most important current values and a universal lever against totalitarianism.

A certain number of common aspects of dissidence can be identified: the specific and personal way of acting of each member, the will to use strict moral principles in its struggle, open writings and public actions based on human rights principles — or tactically on the Soviet Constitution — instead of clandestine actions.

Being a dissident means to withdraw from the official conception of the ideology- and the political system based on it. The notion of dissidence appears nevertheless to be much too wide and might cover without any distinction, conflicting or even incompatible ways of thinking. As a matter of fact, it would not be correct to put on the same level nations with a different status, nations with different intellectual or social surroundings, nations with unequal opportunities to spread ideas or information within or outside the Soviet Union.

Dissidence reflects the various degrees of bondage and the consequences of the pressure that the regime exerts towards people and the nations- oppressors, subjugated or satellites.

New facets of crisis appear nowadays in the Soviet Union, bound to economic stagnation, demographic mutations, awakening of nationalities. Up until now, albeit in a symbolic way or for a very short period of time, the opposition has not succeeded in polarising the discontent in the Soviet Union but nevertheless, the fear generated in the Kremlin leaders by this outlook was certainly a ground for an increasingly harsh repression.

The subjugated nation's dissidents complain, quite often with reason, about the lack of understanding by the Russian opposition. Their varied attitudes towards national claims cover their individual characteristics but they also reflect

the existing political divergences: neither Solzhenitsyn with his friends, who believe that the Russian people have suffered the most, nor the liberal marxists who try to limit their claims to an acceptable level for the regime, can recognise or even admit the national aspiration of the subjugated peoples of the Soviet Union. Now it happens that until today only the so-called stateless people as the Jews apart and the non-Russian opposition movements managed to gather a mass audience especially through factors like cultural, religious or national identity.

To secure its domination in a multinational empire like the Soviet Union, an autocratic power has to confirm the pre-eminence of one people, the Russian people, over all the others.

The open and brutal racism is not illogical, but it is the extreme consequence although inevitable of that system. It goes along with the clampdown on each revolt, each uprising, as for example the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army that fought an unknown war well into the fifties; that racism takes its roots in the *Russian chauvinism* which is the *only way* in the Soviet universe. To quote an Uzbek delegate at the 25th Congress of the CPSU "The Uzbeks, equals among equals, as all our own peoples, have an older brother — the great Russian people".

Tacking the issue of dissidence, one has to draw a clear distinction between two main streams: the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations and the fight of the Russians in the human rights movement.

The current social situation in the Soviet Union is the result of a scientific and technical situation that, along with the growth of the productive forces has favoured the continuous rise of the national liberation movements within the Soviet Union and in the satellite countries — these much more obvious movements in the satellite countries are now growing both from the top and from the bottom gathering a much larger base of support than before.

Because of the continuous repressive terror, among other reasons, the opposition movements are showing individualised, differentiated and group aspects. They could not develop in a structural way and generally do not have strictly defined programmes or international co-ordination centres.

In addition to these external reasons we find purely internal ones. The national movements of subjugated nations remember the bitter experiences of the past and have lost confidence in the Russians who are considered as bearers of the Russian nations' interest despite of their anticommunist struggle. This means that the national liberation movements do not want to get involved with the Russian movement, which anyway tries to avoid the national question.

Having chosen as an aim the protection of H. R. the Russian movement disclaims or even bluntly opposes the self-determination and liberation of the subjugated nations.

For the moment, because of the very localised character of the dissidents' actions, we cannot speak of systematic contacts and mutual assistance between national liberation movements of the Russian empire or the satellite countries.



The co-operation is uncommon and on a very specialised or individualised basis. But the reality is such as the Ukrainians for instance have an easier contact with dissidents in Moscow than in Lithuania, Estonia or other countries. The other oppositional movements are in the same position.

The reasons for such a situation are quite simple: Moscow's position as a capital, much easier conditions of work for the dissidents of the oppressing nation, the elitist composition of the movement, access to the international information means and support by the citizens of the Free World. This is why Moscow became the centre of the dissident movement.

In the current situation on the one hand we have to underline that most of the Moscow members and particularly the Jews do understand the interests of national movements but, on the other hand, we have to admit a very peculiar situation, for the prerogatives or initiative and the centre of information, exchange and contacts are in the hands of forces — even though democratic — of the oppressing nation.

The main problem is, therefore, the convergence or the divergence of the aims of subjugated and oppressing nations.

The human rights issue was at the base of the dissident movement; for the Russians on the one hand, it represents the ultimate aim — for the other nationalities, on the other hand, it is only aspect, although important, of the final aim. — Namely, national liberations.

It is important that the human rights issue is not used as a facade by the Russians to mask the main aim of the non-Russian dissidents — the liberation of the subjugated nations.

The peculiarity of the Russian dissident movement is to be the opposition within the occupying nation, promoting H. R., the improvement of the economic system, the possible democratisation of the centralistic regime by conceding cultural and national identities within the untouchable empire's frontiers.

The national liberation movement on the contrary share the following aims — sovereignty, democracy and justice.

To conclude, I would say that dissidence today finds itself in a very difficult situation, with broad possibilities on the one hand and on the other a current situation made up of the toughest repression since Stalin's era.

Although the struggle of the dissidents movement is dangerous for the stability of the regime, these movements are not able to overthrow it.

But, if the important national groups under Russian domination were to start an uprising, this would be different. At the moment, many, but still only a small section of Ukrainians, Armenians, Georgians, Lithuanians and other populations give their open support to the dissident movement and we can not say that their influence abroad is more important than is the Russians' Human Rights movement. And today, central Asia raises the most fears for the regime, even though they still have not openly declared any oppositional movement as the others.

This is why the current situation takes the shape of a bloody race against the clock where the KGB tries to destroy the resistance movements before they undoubtedly become so powerful that their impact would be impossible to resist.

## From Greetings to the ABN/EFC Conference, October 1982

Dear Sir,

For your letter of July 5th I am deeply grateful and write to tell you so. Time was when I thought that I could have been happily with you at the Conference to be held in London on September 24—26. However, that ceased to be more than a dream when the date of the Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Hierarchy was changed.

From a study of the exposition of the issues to be discussed it is evident that the EFC and ABN have much work ahead in tackling so many problems. The present world is in great turmoil and solutions to the problems are not easy to even work out in theory much less put into practise. The situation is ever changing, agreements broken, treaties betrayed, and unexpected things happening.

I hope that there follows after the Conference a publication of the materials dealt with, for I am sure that much light will come of these meetings. I personally get much of great value from the bi-monthly Bulletin of the ABN, for which I now take the opportunity of thanking you.

Because the Conference is really so important I do not leave you with a mere expression of my interest and some words of encouragement but I assure you that I commend the matter to Almighty God and ask His Holy Mother to assist with Her powerful prayers and obtain for the Conference abundant Blessings from God.

Renewing my apologies for my absence and with every good wish,

Sincerely yours

**Bishop Ivan Prasko, D.S.E.O, M.B.E.**

Apostolic Exarch for Ukrainians  
of Byzantine rite in Australia

It is indeed a great privilege and honor for me to extend my warm salutation and sincere solidarity with the dedicated freedom leaders gathered on the occasion of

the EFC/ABN Conference in London.

I believe that great significance can be attached to this EFC/ABN Conference as it takes place at the very heart of Free Europe, renewing once again our determination to stand united against Communist totalitarianism and enslavement. Your Conference here is extremely important to illuminate the hope to all peoples of subjugated nations in their long struggle for national liberation and independence.

Despite the endeavors of the Free World to pursue peace, freedom and justice, we are yet far from achieving the world order of freedom, peace and prosperity, owing to subversive expansionism of international Communism. The goal of freedom cannot be achieved until the complete liberalization of all the subjugated nations. It will not be complete if the fundamental aggressive goal of the Communists — World Conquest and Human Enslavement — remains unchanged and until it is totally checked.

Therefore, I am of the belief that we, freedom leaders, who know the real nature of Communism better than any one else, having personal experience under the Communist totalitarianism, should redouble our efforts to strengthen unity among freedom-loving peoples all over the world, and resolutely deal with Communist aggression and subversion.

It is my sincere hope that the EFC/ABN Conference today will become a historic occasion to bear fruits of our endeavors for human freedom and national self-determination, and to march forcefully toward a brighter future for mankind.

I wish all of you continued success in the struggle against Communist tyranny and imperialism. I sincerely hope that this Conference will end in great success.

Sincerely yours,

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

Dear Sir,

*It is with the greatest pleasure that I extend to you and to all the organisers and participants, our warmest regards and sincere wishes for the very best outcome of the forthcoming ABN/EFC General Conference...*

*Looking at the global events we instantly see that the general political situation in the world has not improved and, furthermore, it is clear that the situation can never improve until such a time when the source for this tension, aggressions is eliminated and permanently removed...*

*It is also a well-known and well-documented fact that the source of the permanent instability, oppressions and conflicts was and is the so-called Soviet Union, which is just a new name for the traditional Russian Empire, whose policies and activities reflect the traditional expansionist aggressions of Russian imperialism..., this must be destroyed, because it is only through the destruction of the Russian Empire that the enslaved nations shall again be Free and Independent and the world at large can hope to escape the horrors of the thermo-nuclear war.*

*Long Live ABN and EFC!*

*Yours sincerely,*

**A. Olechnik**  
*Byelorussian Liberation Front*

*To the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the European Freedom Council on the Occasion of their Conference in London, England, September 24—26:*

*We deeply appreciate the opportunity to participate, if not in person, with this message to you in response to a letter dated July 5, 1982 signed by President Yaroslav Stetsko.*

*The subject of your Conference, "What is the alternative to thermo-nuclear war?" is an important, imperative one indeed. Your work in America, Canada, Great Britain as well as in other countries, is known to us through such channels as the*

*ABN Correspondence, American Friends of the ABN, and other sources, with which you are familiar.*

*The "alternative to thermo-nuclear war" should, perhaps, be understood to be a pluralism for the implications surely include several options.*

*America was called by that brilliant American, General Douglas A. MacArthur, a "shining beacon of hope in a war-weary world." Today, following a long siege of misinformation, disinformation, and blatant, persistent gallexes of lies by the skilled communist craftsmen of evil, the "war-weary" has seen a continued, unending assault. Communism, properly defined, is nothing else but "an international criminal conspiracy aimed at the destruction, by force and violence, of both freedom and capitalism."*

*Today the battle, as always, is truly "a battle for the minds of men." How well your great patriots, including the poets, the intellectual giants, the dissidents against communist tyranny, understand this fact. For it is they — your leaders — who have suffered the most for their beliefs and faith. It is they who understand the mind must rule, not brute force.*

*And so, we are faced with those options, those alternatives to a thermo-nuclear war. In the event of such a war, imperial Bolshevism, Communism, has temporarily outstripped America in its focusing on thermo-nuclear blackmail by the would-be world-wipe imperialists.*

*Thus, option one: America and Western Europe, in our opinion, must face a simple fact — nuclear blackmail by Bolshevik Russia must be met with equal protection, nuclear protection, by the West. Fires require "fire-fighting" equipment."*

*Option two: The true facts disputing the lies of Communism must be spread to the world. We are sure that the ABN as well as the EFC will continue to do so, as*

*we and other organizations are battling lies with truth and facts.*

*Option three: Greater efforts must be made on the part of the Free World to combat and correct the insidious, consistent barrage of lies, treachery, treason of Communism. In America, several publications including, of course, ABN Correspondence, are doing this. Television, newspapers, all mass media have often erred in the above. We are taking them on!*

*Option four: The support of important and effective dissident movements; the elimination of "Russian-sponsored subversion of free societies."*

*These options, among others, were to some extent at least implied in your letter. These, and related options, were selected by us as most significant and most practical.*

*We send our good wishes and our prayers are with you. We do not consider it presumptuous to add that many Americans — our ethnic friends, our politicians and statesmen — are indeed aware and working toward these ends.*

*God bless the ABN-EFC in this important "March to Freedom!"* Cordially,

**John K. Crippen**  
Executive Secretary  
Anti-Communist League of America

*Our Hearts and thoughts are with you. The Croatian Liberation movement, on behalf of the oppressed Croatian people, is fighting against both Russian and great Serbian imperialism and seeks dissolution of these two unnatural and inhuman artificial States.*

*The Croatian people can be free and happy only in their own independent State of Croatia and Europe can be again free and great when communism is removed from all nations upon whom it was forced.*

**Croatian Liberation Movement  
in France**

*On behalf of Latvians throughout the world, I would like to extend to this gathering my sincere greetings and wishes for success. Today when Soviet aggression is making in-roads in Asia, Africa and other places — when vigil and principles are exchanged for trade and profit, it is of the utmost importance that Soviet expansionism is continuously highlighted and exposed.*

*We must all work towards the goal of the disintegration of the Soviet empire and the resulting world peace.*

**President: Olgerts R. Pavlovskis,**  
World Federation of Free Latvians

*Dear Chairman and Honorable Members of the Conference,*

*On behalf of the Byelorussian Liberation Front I would like to extend our sincerest wishes for the success of the EFC/ABN Conference, which is to open on September 24, 1982 in London, Great Britain.*

*We assure the Delegates of the Conference of our solidarity in the fight against the international Communist subversion, for human rights, freedom and sovereignty for all nations.*

**Dimitry Kosmowicz,**  
President of the Byelorussian  
Liberation Front,  
Chairman, Byelorussian EFC Chapter

*Dear Mr. President:*

*On behalf of the National Executive, Branch Executive and the entire membership, please accept our sincere greetings on the occasion of the ABN-EFC Conference held in London, Great Britain, on September 23—26 1982.*

*The Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine as a longstanding participant and supporter of ABN in Canada, fully endorses the principles and activities of ABN-EFC in their struggle for the national liberation of the peoples dominated by Moscow and Communism, and wishes you*

and all the delegates and participants a very successful and productive meeting.

Sincerely yours,

**President: Theodosius Buyniak**

Secretary-General: Wasyl Didiuk

Dear President,

Further to our verbal notification of our wholehearted acceptance of Your very kind invitation to the ABN and EFC Conference in London on September 24—26 inclusive, we write this letter as a formal acknowledgement of Your kind invitation, dated July 5, 1982.

The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain is very glad to know that this Conference will be held in London. We feel that the time for such a Conference is most appropriate. Western politicians are deeply concerned with the international situation at present. They are deeply worried with the future prospects under the threat of thermo-nuclear war which hangs over the world because of Soviet-Russian expansionist policy. This state of affairs affects also the population in different countries of the West and East. It seems that as yet no one has any alternative conception for winning the struggle with Soviet Russia and achieving desirable peace with freedom and national sovereignty of the subjugated nations and nations threatened. We very much hope that this Conference will indicate to the world that there is a way out of this present predicament. Our Association will take part in the Conference and is willing to help the Organisers at any stage or in any way.

The Association will be represented at the Conference by Mr. I. Dmytriw — its President, Mr. J. Deremenda and Mr. M. Schuplak — Vice-Presidents, Mr. I. Rawluk — Secretary General, Mr. W. Oleskiw — Member of the General Council and Presidium, and Mr. M. Zacharchuk — Member of the Executive Committee.

Wishing You, Hon. President and the Organisers all and every success during the Conference and in the future,

**President: I. Dmytriw**

Secretary General: I. Rawluk

Mr. President, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Australian League for the Liberation of Ukraine and on behalf of all freedom-loving people in Australia, we would like to convey our most hearty greetings. May YOU ALL achieve the greatest success in formulating the new policies with regard to the Russian imperialism and in your talks on the alternative to the nuclear war.

For decades now, the threat of nuclear holocaust hangs over the Western World, resulting in great concessional gains for the so-called USSR, eg. Helsinki Accords, and in consequent capitulation of American policies.

We, in Australia, would like to draw this Conference's attention to the continuous suppression of national and human RIGHTS and persecution of political freedom fighters in Ukraine. We urge YOU to exercise the strongest pressure on your respective Governments to enforce appropriate sanctions against Soviet Russia, until in all the occupied countries HUMAN RIGHTS are respected and their independence restored.

**FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL!  
FREEDOM FOR NATIONS! LONG  
LIVE FREE UKRAINE!**

For the Executive of the Australian League for the Liberation of Ukraine:

**President: T. O. Andruszko**

Secretary: M. I. Dobrydenko

Dear Chairman,

On behalf of the Croatian Liberation Movement, Canadian Council, and their representatives — members, I send you our warmest greetings and best wishes of the

success of this great ABN — EFC Conference.

The Croatian people are fighting against both Soviet and Yugoslav imperialism and seek the dissolution of these two unnatural and inhuman artificial States.

The Croatian people can be happy and free only in their own independent State of Croatia. Europe can be again free and great when Communism is removed from all nations upon whom it was forced.

Long live freedom and solidarity of all oppressed nations!

Yours Sincerely,

**Ivan Orsanic, Chairman**

Dear Delegates,

We, the members of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain, respectfully greet all guests, delegates and participants of the 1982 ABN/EFC Conference.

We would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm our Association's resolute and active support for the aims and ideals of the ABN and EFC. Ideals, which we the Ukrainian Youth, see as an integral part of our common battle against a common enemy — Russian Imperialism.

Russian Imperialism presents a very grave threat to World peace. Thermo-nuclear war will not be initiated by the West, but will be a calculated tactical move on the part of Moscow to ensure total world domination. By pursuing such a course, Moscow will have little to lose. But we, the subjugated nations, on whose soil Moscow has planted her nuclear weapons, will become the centre of a new holocaust, that will destroy the world. This must not take place. We, therefore, wholeheartedly support the Conference's slogan. The Ukrainian Youth believes that an alternative to thermo-nuclear war exists. The Subjugated Nation's strategy of co-ordinated, simultaneous and synchronized revolutionary uprisings against

Russian Imperialism is the only way to eliminate the threat of world destruction.

Therefore, we the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain, firmly support this Conference, and are convinced that this year we are one step closer to achieving our common goal: the destruction of the Russian empire and freedom for all subjugated nations.

**J. Rutkowskyj**

Chairman  
of the National Executive Committee  
of the Ukrainian Youth Association

Dear Mr. Stetsko:

Thank you very much for your most gracious invitation of July 5. The meeting that you have scheduled for London on September 24 appears to be a most interesting one. It will, however, be impossible for me to be in Europe during that week. I trust you will keep me informed of the proceedings.

All my best.

**Max M. Kampelman**

Chairman, US Delegation to  
Madrid Conference on Security  
and Cooperation.

With gratitude I acknowledge to have received Your kind letter of August 6, 1982, regarding the ABN Conference to be held on September 24—26, in London, England, for which I thank You very much.

Because of health reasons, with deep regrets, I will not be able to participate at the Conference, but I am sending my best thoughts to You and to all the participants in the Conference and sincerely wish that the success of the Conference be so great, that next year, our nations and our lands be free and celebrate the victory over Russian imperialism and international communism.

*With God's help and with the strong determination of all men of good will, who love God, Justice and Freedom for all nations and for all the individuals, the victory of the Light over the Darkness will come.*

*Sincerely Yours,*

**Ciuntu Chirila**

*Best wishes to your Conference. May it show the world that without national rights there are no human rights without decolonization of the Soviet Russian Empire there cannot be peace.*

**I. Wenglowsky, President**  
*Organizations of Ukrainian Liberation*  
*Front Australia.*

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### **The Pastoral Letter on Peace and War — Another Contribution to the Pandemonium of Confusion**

More and more actions are set in motion, generated skilfully to paralyze the mind and will of the nation. All this has created much confusion. On top of all this come the revelations laid down in the Pastoral Letter on Peace and War. In this letter the Roman Catholic authors have usurped the claim of leadership in these times of peril, demanding deep cuts in the superpowers' nuclear arsenals and an immediate ban on the testing and development of new nuclear weapons.

However, the authors cannot claim the right to be trusted. This must be said on behalf of all those who have not only recently awakened but who, for the last forty years, have already made desperate efforts to arouse the conscience and the sense of responsibility also among the Roman Catholic leaders. I account myself to one of these people, having published numerous books, essays and countless declarations and warnings. Through them I have pleaded with the clergy, right up to the Pope himself, to open their eyes and see the clear signs of

the coming perils. I have urged them to act as responsible men and avert the coming catastrophe, and not to give, through their neglect and disinterest, encouragement to the enemy for the conquest of the rest of the world. This was at the junction of history when responsible actions would have turned the course of history completely, and today we would not have to face all these frightening prospects. However, all these efforts have remained futile.

Who, among intelligent people, now needs the advice of men, who in past crucial situations have shown their inability in leadership and, thereby, have deceived their own people and nation?

In the present situation the only alternative for intelligent and responsible people is to listen to men who have the credentials of responsibility and clairvoyancy, who have defended freedom, were absolutely correct in their judgement in the past, never deceived the people nor had any part in this unpardonable man-made catastrophe brought upon this nation and the rest of the Free World.

*Prof. A. Vööbus*  
*University of Chicago*

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### **NEW BOOKLET**

**THE AGONY OF A NATION** by **Stephan Oleskiw**  
**foreword by Malcom Muggeridge**

## President Reagan and Vice President Bush Send Messages 50th Anniversary of Mass Genocide in Ukraine

Washington, May 22, 1983

US President Ronald Reagan has told Ukrainian Americans that their commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the forced famine in Ukraine serves as a "stark reminder to the world's conscience" of what transpired a half-century ago.

He said in a message read at a rally in Washington: "This event provides an opportunity to remember those who suffered and died during the farm collectivization and the subsequent period of starvation and severe repression."

Reagan said: "You have accepted a sacred task to ensure that our thoughts regarding this great tragedy do not fade and that its lessons are not forgotten. The memory of the victims inspires our continuing commitment to a moral vision that expresses our humanitarian concern for all people."

Vice President Bush said in his message to the rally that the Ukrainian people's struggle for freedom "reinforces America's determination to deter abuse of human rights."

He said "This great tragedy of a people lost to the savagery of communist repression remains heavy on the hearts of free people everywhere." Bush said the courage of the Ukrainian people "humbles free nations to renewed commitment" to fight injustice.

About 300 people attended the rally at the site of the monument to Ukraine's poet Taras Shevchenko. The event was sponsored by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, a leading Ukrainian American organization. A spokesman said that a much larger crowd had been expected but that the heavy rain kept the number down.

Congressman Larry McDonald of Georgia did attend. He denounced the policies of the Soviet government in Ukraine, and said Ukraine "is the center of the most active struggle against communist domination." McDonald pledged: "We stand shoulder to shoulder with you in your efforts."

Other members of Congress could not come and sent messages instead. Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey expressed "deep and heartfelt sadness at the loss of the seven million Ukrainians who perished under the merciless rule of Joseph Stalin." He said: "Although it is our painful duty to remember, 50 years later, the tragic fate of these brothers and sisters; and the Soviet attempt to destroy the unique cultural heritage of the Ukraine, we must also remember the culture, the spirit, and the courage of the Ukrainian people who survived this brutal attack."

Congressman Don Ritter of Pennsylvania, said in his message that "No amount of time will ever lessen the tremendous suffering that Ukrainians have experienced and indeed continue to experience at the hands of their Soviet oppressor."

Ritter said of the famine: "It is a story of individual suffering on a catastrophic scale and of a great people dying. It is a story, America and the world,



should know just as they know about the Holocaust perpetrated against the Jews.”

Another New Jersey Congressman, Bernard Dwyer, said in the 50 years following the famine “Ukrainian citizens continue to suffer relentless persecutions at the hands of totalitarian communism.” Dwyer said: “I believe, as do all of you gathered here today, that the Great Famine must never be forgotten.”

Congressman Bill Green said in a message that the famine “was a terrible act of genocide” that is not well known to the American people. “It is imperative that we recognize this tragedy for what it is: a famine willfully created by Soviet leaders and heinously used for their own ends that killed over seven million innocent men, women, and children,” he said.

Congressman Sherwood Boehlert of New York said the world “must never be allowed to overlook or ignore the crimes perpetrated against the Ukrainian people.” He said that the American people must use their freedom “to fight for freedom everywhere, to strive for human rights throughout the world.”

Several members of Congress said in their messages that they would co-sponsor a concurrent resolution on Ukraine that was introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Gerald Solomon of New York. The resolution urges President Reagan to issue a proclamation in tribute to the victims of the famine.

The resolution says in part that the famine “constitutes a deliberate and imperialistic policy of the Soviet government” to destroy the intellectual elite and large segments of the population of the Ukraine and thus enhance its totalitarian communist rule over the conquered Ukrainian nation.”

Meanwhile, the Mayor of the city of Washington, Marion Barry, designated last Saturday (May 21) as “Ukrainian Day of Remembrance”. He said in a proclamation that the observance of the anniversary “is to inform the public of this tragic event as a reminder that such a thing must never be repeated.”

This has been the second event within a week designed to pay tribute to the estimated seven million Ukrainians and others who died from starvation in 1933 when the Soviet regime forcefully removed grain from the villages. Last Sunday more than 13,000 Ukrainian Americans attended a ceremony at the Ukrainian Orthodox Center in South Bound Brook, New Jersey, where Ukrainian Church Leaders denounced Soviet policies.

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### **ARREST OF LITHUANIAN PRIEST SPARKS PROTEST**

In a dramatic display of solidarity, over 36,000 Catholics in Lithuania signed petitions protesting the arrest of Father Alfonsas Svarinskas, a prominent Lithuanian Catholic priest. The Soviet authorities apparently deemed the case important enough for TASS to report both on the arrest of Svarinskas earlier this year on January 26 and the trial itself, which ended on May 6. Svarinskas, charged with “anti-state and anti-constitutional activities”, was sentenced under Art. 68-1 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code to 7 years prison and 3 years internal exile.

## 民族の自由を 個人の自由を

ソビエト社会主義連邦設立60周年。

6000万人が殺害さる。

2000箇所のにぼる強制収容所。

800万人の奴隷労働者。

人為的飢餓がウクライナに起こされて50周年。

700万人のウクライナ人が飢餓により死亡。

ボルシェヴィズムのもたらすものは残虐、奴隷化、貧困。

弾圧された民族の運命に無関心であってはならない。昨日ウクライナやポーランドに、又、ハンガリア、チェコスロバキア、アフガニスタンに起ったことは、明日はあなたの身に起こるかもしれないのです。人間としての尊厳、自由、正義のための、独立解放闘争を支援して下さい。ABN（反ボルシェヴィキ諸国連合）に御参加を。ABNは「鉄のカーテン」の内側や衛星諸国内の人々2億7000万人を代表しています。

最後に勝利を手にするのは我々です。

ABN 日本支部

TEL. (03) 653-3706

A leaflet recently distributed by the ABN Branch in Japan. The text of the leaflet succinctly depicts the inhuman atrocities committed by the Russian empire in the subjugated nations, for example, the murder of 7 million Ukrainians by means of an artificial hunger in 1933. The ABN Japan Branch calls upon the Japanese people to support the subjugated nation's cause of liberation.

98th CONGRESS 1st SESSION

H. CON. RES. 111

*To commemorate the Ukrainian famine of 1933.*

**IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

*April 14, 1983*

*Mr. Solomon submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs*

**CONCURRENT RESOLUTION**

*To commemorate the Ukrainian famine of 1933.*

*Whereas over seven million Ukrainians in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which was created as the result of direct aggression by the Russian Communist military forces against the Ukrainian National Republic in 1918-1920, died of starvation during the years 1932-1933; and*

*Whereas the Soviet Russian Government, having full and complete control of the entire food supplies within the borders of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, nevertheless failed to take relief measures to check the disastrous famine or to alleviate the catastrophic conditions arising from it, but on the contrary used the famine as a means of reducing the Ukrainian population and destroying Ukrainian national, political, cultural, and religious rights; and*

*Whereas the Soviet Russian Government targeted the Ukrainian people for destruction as a whole by directing special draconic decrees against Ukrainian peasants as "an enemy class", against the Ukrainian intelligentsia as "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists", and against the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church as "a remnant of the old prejudicial 'opiate of the people'" — committed on a gigantic and unprecedented scale the heinous crime of genocide, as defined by the United Nations Genocide Convention; and*

*Whereas numerous appeals from prominent organizations and individuals throughout the world, such as the League of Nations, the International Red Cross, and several groups of parliamentarians from the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland who earnestly appealed to the Soviet Russian Government for appropriate steps to help the millions of starving Ukrainians, went unheeded by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and*

*Whereas intercessions have been made at various times by the United States during the course of its history on behalf of citizens of countries persecuted by their governments, indicating that it has been the traditional policy of the United States to take cognizance of such destruction of human beings as the famine holocaust in Ukraine in 1933; and*

*Whereas on May 28, 1934, some six months after the formal recognition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the United States, Congressman Hamilton Fish, of New York, introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution (H. Res. 399, 73d Cong., 2d sess.) calling for international condemnation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for its genocidal and barbarous destruction of the Ukrainian people: Now, therefore, be it*

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that the President of the United States shall take in the name of humanity immediate and determined steps to —*

*1) issue a proclamation in mournful commemoration of the great famine in the Ukraine during the year 1933, which constituted a deliberate and imperialistic policy of the Soviet Russian Government to destroy the intellectual elite and large segments of the population of the Ukraine and thus enhance its totalitarian Communist rule over the conquered Ukrainian nation;*

*2) issue a warning that continued enslavement of the Ukrainian nation as well as other non-Russian nations within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics constitutes a threat to world peace and normal relationships among the peoples of Europe and the world at large; and*

*3) manifest to the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and national independence.*



**"I want to die and be with my mother," cried this homeless orphan girl, found wandering on the outskirts of Kyiv.**

**Father in a concentration camp, mother gone two days in search of food, this boy was found near collapse from hunger.**

**This homeless Ukraine boy, ill with fever, carried water in a bucket to quench his incessant thirst. No hope for him.**

about the country since her death, as he was afraid to sleep in the hut alone.

He said that he did not have any relatives he could go to.

I asked him why he carried the bucket, and he told me he had been terribly thirsty these last two days and carried drinking water in the bucket. His lips were swollen and he appeared to have a high fever.

At a deserted-looking hut I found a little boy in tears, wearing a man's heavy coat.

He stated that his father had been sent to a labor concentration camp early in the Spring, and that his mother had gone into Kyiv to try to get food for them two days ago.

She had not returned. She was so weak, he stated, when she left that she could hardly walk, and he was afraid she had died on the way.

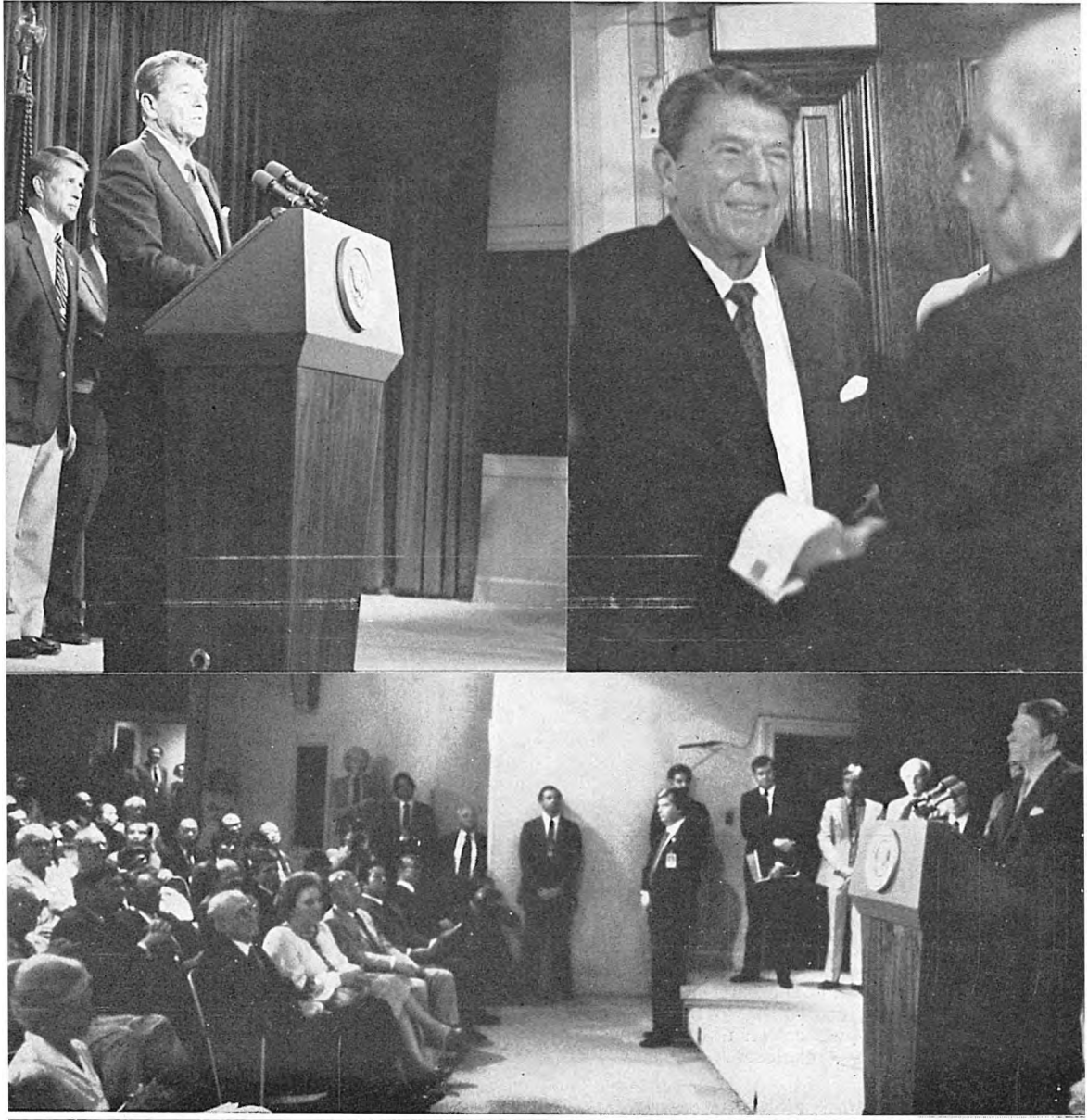
There was not a crumb of bread in the house, and this boy had not eaten for five days."

# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

*"Your struggle is our struggle. Your dream is our dream."  
— President Ronald Reagan, White House, 19 July 1983*



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 Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M.A.  
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 Verantw. Redakteur Frau Slava Stetsko.  
 Zeppelinstraße 67/0. 8000 München 80,  
 Telefon: 48 25 32.

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## **On the Fortieth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)**

Forty years ago, on November 21—22, 1943, a Conference of Subjugated Nations was held in an area of Ukraine that had been liberated from the colonial occupational forces of Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the armed underground of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). This Conference was attended by the representatives of the national-liberation movements of thirteen subjugated nations, that were leading a determined war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia — two of the largest military, imperialist and totalitarian powers of all times.

The Conference was sponsored and organized by the UPA Supreme Command, headed by its Commander-in-Chief — General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, and the leadership of the OUN, headed by Stepan Bandera. Its purpose was to create a coordinating political and military center of the insurgent, national-liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Russian and/or German imperialism, based on a common platform of cooperation. With these aims in mind, the delegates to the Conference called into being a Committee of Subjugated Nations, which later became known as the ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN).

The political tenets upon which the ABN was founded were first formulated in an OUN Manifesto from December, 1940. This Manifesto called for the creation of a just international political order, the cornerstone of which would be the universal principles of national independence, sovereignty and statehood, democracy and basic human liberties, against all forms of imperialism and totalitarianism. Specifically, the OUN called upon all the subjugated nations to rise up in a common front and to bring about the dissolution from within of the Russian prison of nations — the USSR — and its communist system, which would result in the re-establishment of national, independent, sovereign and democratic states of the subjugated nations, each within its ethnographic borders.

From this Manifesto we read the following:

“We, Ukrainians, are raising the banner of our struggle in the name of freedom for nations and the individual . . .

We are fighting for the liberation of the Ukrainian nation and of all nations enslaved by Russia . . .

We are fighting:

against the extreme degradation of the individual at work and at home,  
against the deprivation of the individual's happiness in life, against the total privation of the people,  
against the oppression of women, forced to do the most difficult physical labor under the pretence of 'equal rights',

We are fighting:

for dignity and freedom of the individual,  
for the right to freely express one's beliefs,  
for freedom of religion,  
for complete freedom of conscience.”

On the basis of the political precepts of this OUN Manifesto, the re-establishment of Ukrainian Statehood was proclaimed on June 30, 1941. On the initiative of the OUN, a sovereign Ukrainian Government was created, incorporating all the major national political groups and social strata in Ukraine at that time. Yaroslav Stetsko was elected Prime Minister. This courageous Act heralded Ukraine's subsequent war of liberation, that was led on two fronts by the insurgent forces of the OUN-UPA, almost six months before the USA was maneuvered into the war in December, 1941.

The principles of national independence and democracy, enunciated in the OUN Manifesto of 1940 and in the Ukrainian Act of Independence of June 30, 1941, were later incorporated into the platform of the ABN at its founding Conference of 1943. The Conference also appealed to the Western Democracies to discard their strategy of only combating Nazism at the expense of bolstering the Bolshevik system of subjugation — the original prototype of the former — and to enter into a common front of liberation with the subjugated nations, as the only viable means of defeating both imperialist and totalitarian powers. From the Resolutions of the Conference we read the following:

- “1. The First Conference of Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia greets the heroic struggle of the nations of Western and Central Europe against Nazi imperialism and proclaims its complete solidarity with them.
2. The Conference deems it necessary to bring to the attention of the nations of Western and Central Europe the struggle of the nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet-Russian controlled Asia, and the aims for which this struggle is being waged.

The Conference appeals that everything possible be done to prevent the transportation of non-German formations in the German army to Germany or to the fronts against the Western Allies.”

The armed forces of the UPA organized a series of so-called “raids” into the Caucasus, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Byelorussia, Hungary, Lithuania and other subjugated nations, so as to further cement the common front of liberation. The Chairman of the Committee of Subjugated Nations — Rostyslav Voloshyn (Stecenko — pseudonym), fell in battle with Russian NKVD forces.

In 1946 Yaroslav Stetsko, a former prisoner of Nazi concentration camps, was elected President of the ABN Central Committee. Alfred Berzins, a former minister of Latvia and also a former prisoner of Nazi concentration camps, was elected Chairman of the ABN Council of Nations. Since that time the ABN has grown to 28 national representations.

The ABN has sponsored a number of international Conferences in the past, most recently in New York (1980), in Toronto (1981) and in London (1982). The ABN has been most active behind the Iron Curtain. Utilizing the various means at its disposal, the ABN — through its respective national representations — has been systematically preparing and mobilizing the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism for the final stage of the national-liberation struggle.

In this nuclear age that we live in, all of humankind is faced with the deadly specter of a global holocaust of unprecedented proportions. The ABN feels that



the roots of this global threat lie in the continued existence of the Russian empire — the USSR and its “satellites” — in its historically uninterrupted drive to establish its neo-colonial hegemony over the entire world. No “deterrence” theories will ever be able to completely eliminate this threat, but will at best only postpone a thermo-nuclear confrontation and the incalculable destruction and loss of human life that will accompany it.

The only alternative to this apocalyptic specter lies in the ABN concept and political and military strategy of liberation. The subjugated nations, with the moral and political support of the Free World, are capable of dismantling the Russian prison of nations from within, thereby eliminating the threat of a nuclear holocaust. In the words of US General John K. Singlaub:

“The subjugated nations are the Achilles’ heel of the Soviet-Russian empire... They are, in fact, the West’s most reliable allies and constitute the liberation alternative to nuclear war.”

Once this threat is eliminated, then a truly just and free international order can be erected, based on the slogan of the ABN —

**FREEDOM FOR NATIONS!**

**FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL!**



*Afghan freedom fighters at the International Afghanistan Hearings held in Oslo, Norway, March 13—16, 1983.*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1983

## 50th Anniversary of the Famine in Ukraine

I am indeed proud and honored to send my warm greetings to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America as you gather to remember the fiftieth anniversary of the forced famine in the Ukraine.

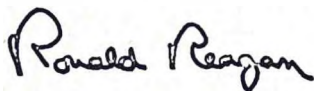
This event provides an opportunity to remember those who suffered and died during the farm collectivization and the subsequent period of starvation and severe repression. That attempt to crush the life, will, and spirit of a people by a totalitarian government holds important meaning for us today.

You have accepted a sacred task to ensure that our thoughts regarding this great tragedy do not fade and that its lessons are not forgotten. The memory of the victims inspires our continuing commitment to a moral vision that expresses our humanitarian concern for all people. Your rally and march serve as a stark reminder to the world's conscience of what transpired a half-century ago. Your actions will also strengthen our resolve not to remain silent and inactive in times of moral crisis.

You have my prayers in remembrance of those who endured this heart-wrenching persecution and transcending human disaster.

*"The memory of the victims inspires our continuing commitment to a moral vision that expresses our humanitarian concern for all people."*

— President Reagan



### The Vice President's Message

Our prayers are with you on the fiftieth anniversary of the famine in Ukraine. This great tragedy of a people lost to the savagery of communist repression remains heavy on the hearts of free people everywhere.

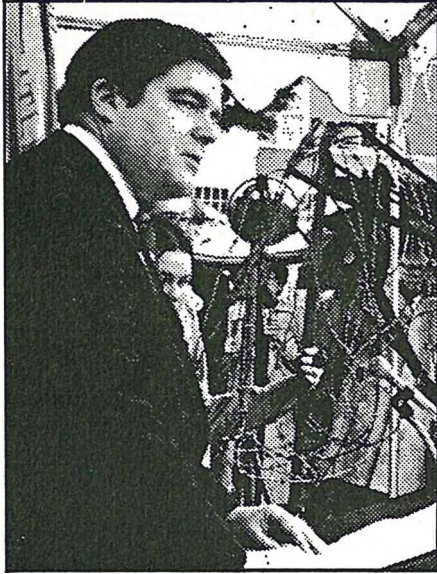
The Ukrainian people's continued struggle for freedom reinforces America's determination to deter abuse of human rights. This magnificent courage of your great people humbles free nations to a renewed commitment to fight injustice on every battlefield, strong in our faith in the dignity of each human being, and the hope of peace for all mankind.

Sincerely,

*George Bush*

## **Russian Genocide Denounced in Washington...**

Ladies and Gentlemen, I appreciate the opportunity to address your group today. I greet you as a fellow fighter for the freedom of us all trying to turn back the forces of evil and barbarism as exemplified by the international communist movement which is actively at work around the world. I further greet you as a group who has suffered the tyranny of communism the longest and struggled the hardest. You need no recital from me on the struggle of the Ukrainian



people to be free and masters of their own destiny. Every person reaching the West from the Soviet Gulag has spoken of the disproportionate number of Ukrainians who are present in the forced labor camps of the Soviet Union.

Ukraine, as all historians know, is the homeland of both the religious and cultural heritage of much of what is now called the Soviet Union. The so-called Kyivan Russia stood as a cradle of civilization at its peak. Therefore, it is not surprising that Ukraine, with such a heritage, is the center of the most active struggle against domination. It is further no wonder that the Politburo attaches so much importance to the repression of Ukraine.

The head position of the Ukrainian SSR KGB is only filled with the most trusted person. This was most notable when Vitaliy Fedorchuk was moved recently from being head of the KGB in Ukraine to being Minister of Internal Affairs by Yuri Andropov. The Politburo knows better than anyone else where their political opposition lies. Overlaying all of this is the fact that the Great Russians, even under communism, continue the policy of occupying the majority of high places with their own kind to the detriment of other peoples such as the Ukrainians.

The amazing thing to me is the way which the Ukrainians have survived and persevered in their efforts to be free. Ukraine suffered from 5—8 million deaths due to the Soviet-induced famine and collectivization. This is to say nothing of 2,400,000 Ukrainians deported to other parts of the USSR and sent to forced labor camps in order to break the back of the resistance to collectivization.

Ukraine provides an abundance of raw materials for the industries of the USSR with its rich iron and coal deposits, plus its excellent farmland feeds the rest of the USSR. Not so pleasing to the Soviet masters is the abundance of heroes and martyrs the Ukrainian opposition supplies, who daily demonstrate that man's spirit cannot be subjugated in spite of the KGB. Who has suffered more than Valentyn Moroz or Leonid Pliushch? Who suffers more now than Ivan Svitlychnyj? To say nothing of Yuriy Shukhevych or the Polovchak boy? It is

worthy to note that in Washington, D. C. we do not have any statues of Russian literary figures, but we do have a statue of your famous Taras Shevchenko.

I do not need to tell you of the heroic deeds of the many Ukrainians who have fought the Soviets as well as the Nazis. Suffice to say that a general of Ukrainian blood named Buniachenko as one of General Vlasov's ROA Division commanders liberated fellow Slavs in Prague from Nazi rule long before the Red Army fought its way there. In fact, General Buniachenko was the first, the American Army second and the Red Army ran a poor third.

With all the foregoing in mind to let you know that the efforts of Ukrainians to be free are not unappreciated and that we stand shoulder to shoulder with you in your efforts, I do have a short message for you. It is this; be active politically. By this I do not mean simply to be active in your own Ukrainian organizations. Do that by all means. Be active also in local politics, state politics and national politics as well as international matters. Do not simply vote or praise a politician who comes to one of your meetings and says nice things about you and against communism. Watch his or her voting record on defense, internal security and all matters relating to freedom. I say this, and I say it with deep regret, that I see members of Congress saying one thing before their constituents and voting in the exactly opposite manner in the House of Representatives. I see members paying lip service to freedom and anti-communism, but when confronted with a clear choice, voting against the forces of freedom. With your years of struggle, you should especially be well attuned to detecting false notes among politicians. So, let us work for the day of a truly free world when Ukraine will again be free and the church bells of her renowned places of worship will ring for all believers and Kyiv will again be a free cultural center of that part of the world.



*... in Copenhagen, Denmark and throughout the world.*

## **The Current Military Situation**

The first thing we ought to be aware of is that Mr. Andropov became General Secretary for two reasons: first he had the support of the KGB, of course and secondly, he had the support of the Soviet military hierarchy, which is very important. In view of the continuing economic failure of the Soviet system, both within the USSR and in the eastern "satellites", I think that there will be increasing military emphasis. This is, indeed, the trend. It is a continuing trend. The build-up has been going on throughout the 1970's. The proportion of the Soviet Gross National Product that goes towards defence is of the order of 14%. The increase in real terms per annum on defence is of the order of 5%. This seemingly inexorable build-up is creating a growing disparity between the forces of the Free World, the NATO forces in particular, and those of the Soviet bloc and the Warsaw Pact.

In nuclear terms, we have moved from a state of rough parity to what I would regard as growing disparity. There is an approximate equivalence in the sense that deterrence still holds, but, at an intermediate level — that is here in Europe — the balance has been increasingly upset by the deployment of SS-20 ballistic missiles with their range of 2,000 nautical miles, their triple warheads, their mobile nature and their potential re-useability or reloadable capacity. 351 of those systems have been deployed so far; two-thirds of them targeted at Western Europe and the rest targeted against eastern targets in the Far East, largely against the peoples of Red China and Japan, threatening also the Asian countries. Interestingly, now there are still more sites being constructed in the east, which could actually be targeted against Turkey and against Iran and important Middle Eastern countries of a strategic nature.

The nuclear balance is exceedingly precarious. At a strategic level it is especially precarious, because three-quarters of the Soviet Union's strategic nuclear forces have been constructed in the last five years. I think there is no more awesome figure that demonstrates the rapidity of their build-up in recent years, the modernity of their force and the fact that it is aggressive in nature. By contrast, the United States's strategic deterrent, the landbased component of that — the Minuteman missiles, are some twenty years old.

It is an awesome situation. The negotiations that are currently under way in Geneva, the INF reductions and for strategic arms reductions are particularly crucial. The principles that the US negotiators have espoused on behalf of all of us are clear and simple. I think that they are essentially totally correct. The principles are these: that any agreement that is to be reached must be based on balance and on verification. Without verification any agreement would be illusory and balance, of course, is fundamental.

The negotiations are difficult. At every stage we found that the Soviets have been muddying the issues and putting forward essentially propaganda suggestions that are directed more towards Western public opinion, than they are serious negotiating proposals. The latest one, of course, was the suggestion from Mr. Andropov that we should at last count warheads. That is an important develop-

ment, but, of course, it was offset by the fact that in that totality of warheads the Soviets want to see included the French and British strategic systems. We have insisted, and I think totally correctly, that there is no question of that. The French and British strategic systems have, after all, existed for about a generation now. To suggest that those long-standing systems of a strategic nature, that in the case of the UK are sea-based (submarine launched), can be put into the balance against new systems — the SS-20s, which have been deployed since the end of 1977 and are land-based and not strategic but theatre systems, — is a preposterous idea. What the Soviets have in mind is to do away with the two alternative centres, that are additional and supplementary centres in nuclear decision in Western Europe, in France and the United Kingdom. Those supplementary centres of nuclear decision are a very important overall deterrent, because those centres ensure that the Soviets have to take into account French and British reaction to any move they make. One can take it for granted that the ultimate deterrent nature of the French and British nuclear forces mean that if the sovereign independence of both the United Kingdom and France were threatened by an act of military aggression on the part of the Soviets, they do, at least in their planning, have to take into account the possibility of nuclear retaliation on the part of the French and British deterrents. So the French and British systems are very important for the preservation of peace in our continent and in the world.

The Soviets very wisely understand that our defensive capability rests above all on the will and the determination of the free peoples of Western Europe to defend themselves. This is the foundation actually, upon which Western defence is based. They want to pervert and weaken that determination to the point, for example, where we in NATO would not be prepared on our part by the end of this year, if an agreement on Intermediate Nuclear Forces is not forthcoming, to modernise our theatre nuclear forces by the deployment of Pershing II rockets in the Federal Republic of Germany and cruise missiles in Britain, Belgium, Holland and Italy. If they did that they would have moved a long way towards the “Finlandisation” of Western Europe, i.e., to putting Western Europe within the Soviet sphere of influence. They would, in effect, have forced us to forego an important aspect of our military modernisation. It would be an extremely serious development. It would, I think, be doubly serious for this reason: those modern systems are not only important, because we have to offset the SS-20s, but also because they represent the coupling of our security in Western Europe with the security of our friends and brothers in North America. What the Soviets have in mind is to eliminate that theatre nuclear component of our deterrent forces, so that if they attacked or even threatened to escalate at the theatre level and if we did not have ourselves theatre nuclear forces, then the retaliation would have to be at a strategic level by our American friends. In the eyes of the Soviet planners, that might not in the actual result be credible, because the Americans would in that dire eventuality have to invoke on our behalf their strategic deterrent, which would, of course, mean that their homeland, their heartland would itself be subject to Soviet strategic nuclear bombardment. It is that reason, that essential, crucial coupling between the West European and the American parts of our Alliance

that is so vital to the preservation of peace. That is why these modernisation proposals must go ahead, if we cannot get agreement at Geneva.

Of course, there is much more going on than that. While deterrence holds, no one believes, really, that nuclear weapons are likely to be used. The conventional aspect of nuclear power is important to maintain the balance between East and West. Here the increasing modernity, the effect of that additional spending, that growing funding for military programmes, that is going on on the part of the Soviets, is alarming. One thought in years gone by that the numerical disparity between NATO and the Warsaw Pact could readily be offset by our technological advantage. That is less and less the case.

The growing modernity of the Soviet's armoured fighting vehicles, the modernity of their missile systems, of their aircraft is striking. Their Air Force has been transformed from what essentially was an instrument of close support of armoured formations of armies to what is now a highly modern, much more flexible, deep-penetrating instrument to project military power deep into the heartlands of the West, in all weathers; it is better trained and with far more formidable equipment. Moreover, since the Cuban episode of 1962, the Soviets have realised the political importance to their plans to spread Soviet-style communism throughout the world of having a blue-water navy that could sail to all the oceans of the globe to spread Soviet influence and power. Here again the growing modernity of that Soviet fleet is striking. For example, the new Typhoon class ballistic missile submarines, that are coming into service this year to the Soviet fleet, have a displacement as great as the British Invincible class Harrier carriers — that is 25,000 tons. If you put them on end they would be as high as St. Paul's Cathedral in London. They are the new capital ships of the future with guided ballistic missiles with a 5,000 nautical mile range.

They are filling what was the great gap in their fleet, which was naval air power, with the "Kiev" class carriers and we have good reason to believe that they are laying down strike carriers, like the strike carriers of the United States Navy. They have formidable amphibious capabilities, which are important to them to secure the outlets, the choke-points, that inhibit the deployment of their fleet, for example, in Northern Norway, which is very, very vulnerable to Soviet offensive forces and where the Soviets have a very impressive amphibious component. In the Baltic too they have an impressive amphibious capability, which would be the key for them to getting out of the Baltic and is very serious for us.

So what are we to do about it? First of all, I think the most important thing is to make absolutely plain to our public that the only basis upon which to secure peace is balance and strength, that if there are to be negotiations with the Soviet Union, we must not in advance give away our negotiating cards. We must negotiate from a position of strength and only negotiate on the basis of balance and verification.

What ought we to do practically? First of all, we ought to collectively carry out the force improvement, we ought to meet the force goal that the Supreme Allied Command in Europe sets us. That is the first thing. The second thing is the Governments in the Western Alliance ought actually to meet the targets of additional expenditures in real terms to which the Alliance has agreed — 3% per annum increase in real terms. At the present time many of our nations are

falling short of that. Then, I think, we ought to realise that our American friends have borne the burden for a very long time almost alone. That is they, almost alone in global terms, carry out peace-keeping on behalf of the Free World and yet, they have a sizeable burden in Europe and it is important that they should still have. We ought to at least do more to recognise that American public opinion feels that we, the rich Western Europeans, who enjoy a standard of living at least as high as their own in some instances (certainly that is true in Germany), are not doing enough ourselves. This burden-sharing argument could become increasingly divisive within the Alliance, unless we in Europe show that we are doing our part more fully than we are at present.

I am in the final stages of presenting a major report to the Assembly of the Western European Union, which is a parliamentary assembly dealing specifically with security policy and defence, comprising Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. I am due to present it next month and try and suggest ways in which we, for example, in Europe can compensate the Americans for the deployments that they have to make to underpin our interests in areas such as the Middle East and elsewhere. I think this is a very important issue.

Above all, it is in the hearts and minds of our people — and I say our people advisedly — that the battle will be won or lost. The question remains whether the peoples of Western Europe succumb to the Soviet brandishments and the designs of the “peace movement” which are quite clearly to neutralise Western Europe. That is their purpose. It’s as simple as that.

Looking at our friends and brothers and in some cases compatriots behind the Iron Curtain, the battle there can be won or lost in the hearts and minds of the peoples there. I thought it was very instructive and interesting, and I certainly will not forget this in our forthcoming election campaign in the UK, that five newly elected members of the *Bundestag*, members of the “Greens”, the ecologist-pacifist party, were detained in East Berlin when they tried to demonstrate along typical “peace movement” lines. That is the sort of duality of standards: on the one hand the East bloc is prepared to finance the peace movement here, but on the other hand they put in jail anybody from the West who wants to suggest that swords ought to be turned into plough-shares and of course, they will not allow any peace agitators from the Lutheran Church, the Evangelical Church in East Germany to come to the West — no exit visas for them.

So I think our message is clear. It is crucially important. I hope I have underscored the military situation and it does underpin the political one critically. This is very much the year of the nuclear debate. By the end of this year if an agreement is not forthcoming at Geneva, we must deploy, because if we don’t it will give the Soviets the dangerous impression that we are allowing the western part of our continent to fall into their sphere of influence. I think that it is equally vital too to explain to people, who wish to disarm unilaterally, that there could be nothing more dangerous than to give a monopoly of the possession of these instruments of mass destruction, more terrible and more powerful than any that the human race has wielded throughout its history, to put those instruments in the monopoly possession of what is undoubtedly the most evil power on earth. It would undoubtedly be the most dangerous thing that the human race could do.



## RUSSIFICATION

### Official Soviet-Russian Policy

a) "A nation is a historical concept and like any other such concept will ultimately disappear . . . through the gradual emergence of a new Communist classless society in which the state frontiers will become irrelevant. Western sovietologists deny that nationalities in the USSR are voluntarily drawing together. They assert that the Russians are forcing them together, "Russifying" them to tie them closer to the Soviet system — that the rapprochement will ultimately lead to a single nation state with Russian features; that theories about the moulding of "Soviet man" and the "drawing together of national cultures" — really mask the aim of achieving forcible, if gradual, integration of the nationalities and the merging of their cultures into a dominant Russian culture.<sup>1</sup> "The supreme goal of the Soviet State is the building of a classless Communist society, on the basis of the drawing together of all classes and the juridical and factual equality of all its nations and nationalities — and their fraternal cooperation — a new historical community of people has been formed: the SOVIET PEOPLE."<sup>2</sup>

b) "Culture cannot develop in a non-national form as long as a nation exists. Communist culture is that of a classless society deprived of its nationality. The cultural autonomy advocated by Lenin means to transform the pre-existing bourgeois-national culture into a proletarian culture of an international character, which would serve the interests of the "socialist" nations, abolishing the frontiers of chauvinist-national cultures. The *Russian* classical and Soviet literature, music, arts, . . . *were, are and will be* instrumental for enriching all the national cultures of the USSR. The role of the Russian language is to guide the other nations of the USSR into a new world culture. There will be the need of a universal language and Russian could fulfill this role, with several secondary languages remaining in use; it is already an official language at the United Nations Organization; 200 million people speak it."<sup>3</sup>

c) *The Constitution of the USSR* (1977), Art. 36: "Citizens of the USSR of different races and nationalities have equal rights; exercise of these rights is ensured by a policy of all-round development and "*drawing together*" of all nations and nationalities of the USSR, by educating citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist *internationalism* and by the *possibility of using his native language* and the languages of other peoples of the USSR."

Art. 45: ". . . the opportunity to attend a school where teaching is in the native language."

Art. 19: "The State helps . . . the elimination of class differences . . . and the all-round development and drawing together of all the nations and nationalities . . ."

Art. 6: "The leading and guiding force of Soviet Society is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union . . ."

d) The Constitution of each of the National Soviet Republics of 1977 imposed Russian as the official language of each Republic (but as a result of a protest by the Georgians, the Georgian language was re-instated. The Armenians and Azerbaidjanis followed suit).

e) The All-Union Conference on Education (Tashkent, May 29, 1979), held under the title — “The Russian language — a language of friendship and co-operation of the nations of the USSR”:

“The necessity of further essential improvement of the Russian language in the National Republics is determined by the growth of its importance as an international language . . . of brotherly unification . . . of the nations of the USSR and as an important factor in the education of the younger generations in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and International Socialism.” The following recommendations were made at this Conference:

— for kindergartens (from age 5): all opportunities must be utilised (playing time and sports) to effectively teach spoken Russian, so that it may be fully understood and spoken;

— for national schools of general education (classes I to X): Russian language and literature must be emphasized;

— educational textbooks are to be in Russian; make use of Russian in various subjects in the higher classes; get the students into the habit of conversing among themselves in Russian; utilise audio-visual aids and the T. V. for this purpose; organise inter-class work in Russian jointly with the Pioneer and Komsomol organisations; aim at extensive knowledge of Russian.

### Under the Tsarist-Russian Regime

Russification was a policy implemented in the name of the Russian nation, as Russians were assumed to be superior to the other subjects of the tsar, who had an obligation to prefer Russians to others. It was adopted as a purposive policy under Alexander III, the driving force behind it being the Russian bureaucracy.<sup>4</sup> In 1863 P. O. Valuev, the Minister of Internal Affairs, declared: “There was not, there is not, there never can be such a thing as a Ukrainian language.”<sup>5</sup> Russification, which was first practised against rebellious peoples (like the Poles) now became in part a reaction against the growing national sentiments of different peoples and in part a response to the rising nationalism of the “Great” (sic.) Russians.<sup>6</sup> After the Revolution of 1905 a short period of relaxation set in, but, in the last years before 1914, russification was the unifying ideology of a nationalistic monarchy and was based on the mass support of Russian nationalism against the non-Russians.<sup>7</sup>

It may be said that the tsarist-Russian triune formula of “Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality” is being gradually re-introduced by the Soviet-Russian regime in a new form: “Atheist Marxism-Leninism, Communist Party Dictatorship, Internationalism.” Again it is backed by Russian chauvinism, as its primary driving force, but this time it is supported by the higher (political and intellectual) hierarchy of the non-Russians.

### The Non-Russian Nations and Russification

Soviet Nationalities Policy has two objectives: dominance by the Russians and the assimilation of the non-Russians. It is a purposeful, systematic policy of ethnocide.

Total dominance by the Russians in all four spheres of central power has already been achieved: in the Politburo (14 of 16 members are Russian), in the

Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, in the higher ranks of the Armed Forces and in the secret police.

Ukrainians and Byelorussians are allowed to share a lesser part of higher power in the hope that, because of the similarity of their languages to Russian, they may more easily become linguistically russified, then assimilated.<sup>8</sup>

“The highest party leadership of the Soviet Union, in essence the political representative of Russia implementing Russian chauvinist policies, utilizes the Marxist thesis of amalgamation of all peoples as a theoretical justification for its imperial policies which systematically assault the national interests of the non-Russian peoples and prepare the theoretical base for the liquidation of the USSR.”<sup>9</sup>

Internationalism is a mask for the egoistic interests of one nation (Russia), which is trying to swallow up the interests of other nations. The most negative phenomenon is that russification (in Georgia for instance) has become the basis of state policy.<sup>10</sup> The “nationality problem” occupies a unique place in the internal politics of the USSR. The Soviet Union is the only major power where the dominant nationality barely has a majority (52,4% in 1979 according to official estimates). Over the years the minor national groups have been disappearing by assimilation, while the larger nations have remained stronger, thereby reducing the likelihood of their russification.<sup>11</sup>

*Significance of a national language:* Languages are pedigrees of nations. They are sacred to man. A people lives through its language, which is the expression of its innermost being.<sup>12</sup> The language of a people is the renewed flower of its whole spiritual life, which begins in prehistory — the results of each generation’s life remaining as the language’s legacy to posterity.<sup>13</sup> Language is the most vital, the richest and the finest bond uniting past, present and future generations of a people into a single historic living whole.<sup>14</sup> It is the shrine of a nation’s history, culture, traditions, beliefs. Without them a nation virtually ceases to exist. Language is the fundamental characteristic of a nation. Without its language, a nation cannot exist. A language expresses a nation’s soul, its past and present, its typical qualities.<sup>15</sup> The downfall of a nation begins when it forgets its own history and its past. This leads to the physical and spiritual dissolution of a nation. The past is the foundation of the present, just as the present is the foundation of the future. These three periods are so interlinked with the life of a nation that it becomes impossible and incomprehensible without any one of them.<sup>16</sup> The annihilation of historical nations is impossible. After a great deal of suffering and humiliation they will rise again, but they will keep in their hearts an irreconcilable hatred towards their persecutors.<sup>17</sup>

No one denies the phonetic beauty and expressive elegance of the language of Lermontov, Tolstoy, Pushkin, Turgenev and Dostoyevsky, as it was once spoken in Petrograd. It is regretful that it can now be heard only in London, Paris, or New York, while in present-day Leningrad a vulgar variant of the Russian language is spoken, as a result of “Communist culture”. But in due fairness, the same compliment about such beauty and elegance must be paid to the languages of each of the nations, large or small, incorporated into the USSR and the same regret expressed at its degradation under Communist culture.

If you ask a child — “whose mother is the most beautiful?” — it will reply

simply — “my mother!” Similarly for each human being, the most beautiful language is his own mother-language, his native national language. This is a fact, that every civilized person ought to respect.

*National identity* is a creation of history. It is a psychological sense of unity among people sharing a common language as its essential basis; *one language, one nation, one national state*, such is the modern concept of national activity.<sup>18</sup> *National consciousness* is a mystical belief, akin to a religious belief. It is an ill-understood manifestation of the human mind, based on a sense of belonging to one's nation, with a feeling of pride and loyalty. It has a multitude of facets such as: national language, traditions, customs, an economic way of life, national history, historical national territory, national culture (literature, music, folklore and songs). Sometimes this sense of belonging to a certain race or to an exclusive religion may play an overall dominant role. Any number of these characteristics, including a national language, may disappear for one or more centuries under foreign rule. But, if there is enough resilience in a people, then a national consciousness reappears intact and the nation rebuilds all of the above characteristics one by one.

National language and consciousness are affected by external environment, which may play a decisive role from early childhood to early adult life. It is the mother who teaches the child to speak the “maternal language”, then the kindergarten, the primary and secondary schools, the youth organisations, the schools of higher education and finally the army, — all play their role, parental influence notwithstanding. But it is mainly at school that a child learns the language, history and literature of his nation.

“The assimilation of an evolved nation is impossible, if it has created in its past its own literature and thus established the foundation of its national identity.”<sup>19</sup> The 12th century epic poem of Shota Rustaveli — “The Man in Panther's Skin”, which in its 300 pages embodies Georgian cultural traditions, used to be known by heart by all Georgian girls. It was the cultural dowry they took to their husband's home to educate their children. The Georgian language and traditions as well as a Georgian national identity survived thanks to this, despite foreign domination.

Poets and writers have played a dominant role in the revival of national consciousness in all countries. The greatest Ukrainian poet — Taras Shevchenko (1814—1861), with his lyrical poems, played a major role in the Ukrainian national revival. The young Byelorussian writer and patriot — Kastus Kalinouski (1838—1864) led the Byelorussian peasant uprising of 1863—64 and was executed for this, while their greatest national poet — Janka Kupala (1882—1942) remains an inspiration to Byelorussians to this day. The great Azerbaidjani lyric poet, one of the greatest in the Orient, Fizuli (1498—1556) and the Turkeistani poet Ali Sher Nayayi (1441—1501) and the Turkeistani national patriotic poet — Choltan (1897—1938), all played a significant role in the national revival of their nations. The Georgian national revival in the 19th century was led, among others, by Ilia Chavchavadze and Akaki Tsereteli.

*National self-determination* is impossible without a knowledge of past history. The formation of nations and national states may take several millennia of struggle.<sup>20</sup> In the 20th century national self-determination has become the natural

right of every historical nation, but an overwhelming majority of Russians do not think so, insofar as the Soviet-Russian empire is concerned.

“National history is a living testimony of the past achievements and mistakes of a nation from its origins to modern times. By learning its past, the new generation will easily recognize friend from foe. They need to know: who were we, what are we, what have we got to do for the future to prepare an independent national life? The Russian people deprived the Georgians of their national soul in 1801 by wiping off the map any vestige of our national statehood (which no other foreign invader ever considered doing). Can you imagine a body without its soul, mummified over a long period, as if it were an object displayed in a museum? Some very remarkable nations have disappeared from the earth through the effects of cruel fate. Yet their history widens the horizons of mankind. The past forms the basis of a nation, through the deeds of our ancestors who fought bravely for the defence of our country. They are trying to convince us, that it is better for our new generation to learn the (falsified) history of the USSR, rather than the three millennia old history of our ancestors. The three volumes of the **History of the USSR** (in which Georgian history is passed over in a scant 10 pages) is in fact the history of the *Russian* people. Only 5% of the text relates to the history of 65 nations, while 95% is that of Russia. You can see what is “unique” about the history of Russia. You see the difference between the Russians and the other peoples. The same is true of the central authority ruling the USSR. Such is the concept of equality and unity of the Great Russians.”<sup>21</sup> The same could be said about the ancient history of Turkestan, Armenia, Estonia and the remarkable history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Middle Ages, which stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea and provided an enlightened rule to the Lithuanian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian peoples.

Russification has a number of aspects, each of which deserves a full chapter. 100% bi-lingualism is the target for all the peoples, but linguistic russification and then full assimilation is directed mainly at the Byelorussians and Ukrainians. The idea is that it would increase to nearly 80% the number of “Russians” in the USSR, and give an extra century or two of life to the present or future form of the Russian empire.

The Red Army is a foremost russifying force for all conscripts, who are sent far from their homeland and are subjected for 2 or 3 years to brainwashing by the regime, in a purely Russian linguistic and cultural environment. They return disoriented and often ideologically agitate other youngsters.

Shifts of population have had a damaging effect on the ethnic composition of most Republics. a) Deportations alone have resulted in a 10—20% decrease in all nations (including the Russians) during the forced collectivization or the Great Terror. b) Forced or voluntary settlement in other Republics of skilled workers or specialists for various schemes of industrialization or work in the virgin lands, replaced by similarly qualified Russian and non-Russian settlers (who russianise the local population as well as themselves becoming russianised).

As a result, we see the following statistical breakdown in the 1979 Census:

<b>% of Russians:</b>	<b>Number of Russians in other Republics:</b>
Kazakh SSR: 40.8%	Ukraine: 10,472 million
Latvian SSR: 32.5%	Kazakhstan: 5,991 million

Estonian SSR: 27.9 %  
Kirgiz SSR: 25.8 %  
Ukrainian SSR: 21.0 %

Byelorussia: 1,134 million  
Latvia: 821,000  
Estonia: 409,000  
Lithuania: 303,000

From these figures one can readily conclude that both the Latvians (who now comprise only 53.7 % of the population of the Latvian SSR) and the Estonians are threatened of becoming a minority in their own countries, if this process of settlement and industrial colonisation continues.

As many as 23,875 million Russians (17.37%) live outside of their Republic.

New languages and nationalities have been artificially invented by the Soviet-Russian rulers in accordance with the imperialist principle — divide and conquer:

1. Turkestan has been divided into 5 Republics for which 5 languages have somehow been found. The entire population speaks a common Turkic language in a local variation (the exception being the Tadjiks who speak an Iranian language, but insofar as their history, culture and religion (Islam) are concerned, they belong to the territory of Turkestan).

2. The “Moldavians” are simply Rumanians (and number 2,968 million), but if they say that they are Rumanians and not Moldavians, they are immediately deported.

3. The North Caucasians, the people of ShamyI, have been particularly badly treated. They have been denied a National Republic, although they had declared their independence on May 10, 1918. Instead they have been split into several “Associated Republics” and “oblasts” (provinces) and sub-divided into 20-odd “nationalities”. In spite of not having any Republic status and facilities, they have preserved their national language. Their population numbers 3,973 million (calculated from: *Nar. Khoz. SSSR*, 1979) with an 80 % concentration on their territory.

The Meskhetians (of which 198,000 were deported on November 15, 1944 by Stalin and Beria for purely strategic reasons and are still not allowed back to their native Georgia, being branded as “Turks”) are one of the oldest surviving Georgian tribes from Hittite times, then known as the “Muskhi”.

Together with their neighboring Georgian tribe — the Tabals, the Muskhi were renowned master metal-workers in antiquity — an art which the Georgians have retained to this day. At the fall of the neo-Hittite empire at the end of 200 B. C., they formed a powerful Muskhi-Tabal Confederation in Eastern Anatolia. Tiglatpileser I of Assyria defeated a coalition of five Muskhi kings in 1116 B. C. Part of the Muskhi then conquered Phrygia. Midas, known as the “king with the golden touch”, was a Muskhi king of Phrygia and died in battle against the Cimmerians in 676 B. C. The other part, after the downfall of Urartu, migrated north to their present territory of Meskheta, in south-west Georgia, which was the birthplace of Georgian culture. Shota Rustaveli, who wrote the epic poem — “The Man in Panther’s Skin” at the end of the 12th century, was in his own words a Meskhetian. His poem of 300 pages, which embodies Georgian customs and traditions, used to be known by heart by all Georgian girls. It was the cultural dowry they took to their husband’s home to educate their children. This is how the Georgian language and traditions survived under Mongol,

Persian, Turkish and tsarist-Russian rule. The Georgian language has remained nearly unchanged until the present day.

### The Dilemma of the Russian People

The Russians are not guilty that they are Russians. Nobody among the non-Russians has ever suggested to deprive them of their human and national rights. Their country is Russia proper, without its colonies and they are entitled to keep it and have the type of government that they choose.

As Richard Pipes points out, when the Russian state arose, after overthrowing the Mongols, it had no geographical frontiers. Before it first consolidated itself, it started an imperialist expansion by contiguity, simultaneously. So when Russian nationalism started to crystalise, it did so together with the concept of imperialism. Russians genuinely find it nearly impossible to differentiate between the two concepts; for them it is one and the same. The other difficulty they have is that they are scattered over a huge territory. This makes it very difficult to organise any action. This may also be the cause that they have always had a dictatorial rule throughout their history. Alone they may think quite differently, but when they are in a group, they are subjected to "mass psychology" and are unable or unwilling to frankly express a different opinion.

An increasing number of Russian intellectuals (in the USSR) are unhappy about the treatment of the non-Russians and about the trend the Soviet-Russian regime is following, but they do not know how to deal with it. They did try expressing their dissatisfaction in the dissident (constitutional) movement; they may try something else in the future. Privately they share the opinion of non-Russians about human and national rights for the subjugated nations, but they have a huge population of politically uneducated Russians that supports the Soviet-Russian regime. For the time being only a handful of Russians have taken a step forward in our direction. We should wait and see and hope for a broader Russian response sometime in the future.

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## Communism or Soviet-Russian Imperialism?

Since the year 1945, we clearly see that the Free world has suffered from a misunderstanding of the Soviet Union. For this reason we often ask ourselves what is the magic that enchanted the Western world, so that with very little persuasion it made unsound concessions and did not take the path of security and stability. As much as we would like to, we are unable to find the reason why, after so many instances, when technological and financial aid have been used to bolster the military strength of the USSR rather than the underprivileged population of the subjugated nations, this bloody monster continues to receive the same aid. What is this magic — charm, fear, treachery, ignorance, apathy or weakness?

How can we define this light-hearted approval to the Soviet-Russian ultimatum which comes as a “request” to obtain the aid they require? It is no wonder that the so-called “Third World Powers” have been misled, when the Western worlds policies accept the absurd statements about “cooperation and peace.”

We can hardly believe that this is due to the large geographical territory and the heterogeneous population of the Soviet Union, the third largest in size and population, after China and India. The Soviet Union also exercises a great influence on the union between Eastern and Central Europe, and became ever more powerful after taking over other countries, which it holds through cruel dictatorships over the military and civilian sectors.

This fact puzzles and depresses us, the more so when we see that this impertinent and bold beast creatively uses all means to persuade its ignorant competitors to believe in its “national authenticity and patriotism.”

We cannot deny the fact that by using

these clever manoeuvres the Soviet Union is manipulating skilfully the psychological “nerve system” of those from whom it is seeking aid or whom it is trying to attract. For the same reasons we can explain why the “ransom” is always received. It is clear that the “threat” of a merciless war is used cleverly against these already very confused nations.

It is an unpleasant fact, yet we cannot deny that the tactics of this “psychological” phenomenon, which attacks and disarms the free world, including the United States, whose Government is taking sudden, unexpected, political turns, because of advice from incompetent politicians, as well as the influence of the cleverly manipulated leftist press, T.V. etc. All these factors are used by the Soviet-Russian leaders, so that they may be considered the greatest power of the 21st century, and keep the opposition in suspense.

In analyzing past and present events which took place, and are still taking place inside and outside the Russian empire, we come to the conclusion that the power of this “conqueror” does not come from the “ideology” attributed to him by others as well as himself, but through his well-organized psychological manipulation and the lack of will power, and misunderstanding on the part of the Western countries, which allow for the growth of the arrogance of the Soviet-Russian Government.

Pleased by the “troubles” it creates in the economically poor countries, as well as in those with rich historical pasts, the attacks of the Soviet Union are getting stronger and people find themselves trapped in those games that have been played on them for years.

Naturally, the poor peoples are the ones to suffer, because the Western



powers are so much involved in making their profits, that they do not understand the true situation. They do not want to interfere in the "internal affairs" of different countries, particularly after the conferences held on a "high level" in Helsinki, Belgrade and Madrid! The Soviet Union is not a bit hesitant to interfere on every possible occasion. Today we are the sad witnesses of this stagnating condition and our hopes for freedom fade away, while Russian terrorism spreads over the world. That is what the "Soviet genius" wants. By bluffing "communist threats" it keeps its rivals in suspense.

### **Masking the Communist "Ideology"**

As much as the Soviet Union relies on the "psychological" instability of the Free World, there are politicians and vigilant people who understand that under the mask of "communist ideology" and "dangers" hides a "soviet-ism", that bears little resemblance to Marx's and Lenin's theories. However, those theories are used as a front to reach the imperialistic goals of Moscow.

Even when they have to quote the communist ideology, the Bolsheviks alter it, stating that: "We do not consider Marx's theory as perfect, unconditional, or unchangeable".

Reluctantly, the followers interpret the guidelines according to the instructions for each specific case. The Communists spend huge sums of money to build up that fear of the "communist threat." This fraudulent plan is used by them for the purpose of obtaining "billions", for the "underprivileged countries". If the funds are not granted those countries turn their backs on the United States and become tools in the hands of the Soviet-Russians. Using these devices, as well as propaganda for "peaceful co-existence" and "détente", we see the "communist threat" transformed into a commercial venture gaining

industrial and military might to support the Soviet Union. It is truly an acrobatic strategy of "cooperation" that has cost the Americans many billions of dollars, which of course, the Soviet-Russians have no intention of repaying.

The game of "the communist threat" played by the Soviet Union is difficult to identify, because all its "satellites" follow a political trend, imposed upon them by Moscow. This game has little to do with "pure" communist ideology, because the main goal is to enlarge the Soviet-Russian empire, and strengthen its power.

We know that the word "communism", represents an ideology, which does not reflect economical nor military concepts only. Therefore, we should know that the "communist ideology" is used as a front by the Soviet-Russian materialists for taking over the world. It is a skilful disguise behind which all military goals are hidden.

As we already mentioned, the Soviet-Russians do not consider Marx's philosophy as a solid foundation, yet they use his idea of "communism" to threaten the freedom, and the security of the world. Under these false allegations, the Soviet Union took part of China, the Baltic countries, Eastern and Central Europe, and some Japanese islands; Cuba, Indochina, Ethiopia, Angola, South Yemen, Mozambique, and Nicaragua became faithful customers. Using these same tactics the Soviet Union tried to annex Afghanistan, planning further to encroach upon the South American countries, Africa and others.

We may say that Soviet-Russian imperialism is a threat to the security of all nations. It has nothing to do with true "communist ideology" which, is nothing but an utopic idea anyway. Unaware of that fact, even many Moslems who never before toyed with "communist ideology" are today under the rule of the Soviet Union!

Unfortunately, we cannot deny the fact that the Soviet Union has great experts who distort the truth, so that they can pass for great humanists, working for peace on earth, cooperation and democracy! Only the people who have already suffered under the Soviet-Russian regime may say, if they have the courage to do so, that the Soviet Union is the most cruel, bloodthirsty despotic system the world has ever known.

Can we blame it, if we can not resist it? This is its program and game, that started even before Stalin's era.

### **The Resolutions of the Russian Revolution, did they ever Materialize?**

The Russian Revolution ostensibly erupted against "extreme capitalism" to aid the proletariat and the farmers, and also to create a socialist country with "equality for all", thus eliminating the different social classes. At least those were the slogans that brought the Bolsheviks to power. By eliminating Trotsky and with the coming of Stalin, the so-called idea of the "rule by the proletariat" was completely changed. According to Stalin, Soviet Russia had to become a great power prior to spreading the communist system in Russia. Stalin adopted the old tsarist idea, which is that he should be a leader of Europe and then the entire political world. Even today this same principle is adopted by his followers. They have not changed their goals, only some of their tactics and their "doctrines".

For some time many people have opened their eyes and they can see that by using the "ethics" of the extreme socialist-communistic ideas, the Soviet Union exploits its citizens completely, to satisfy the needs and the ambitions of the party. This causes the people to be apathetic, corrupt and negligent. In spite of the "admiration" and the "propaganda" for this unrealistic ideology, the Soviet Union still could not find the magic to create a nation that

works for establishing a happy future for its people.

### **Could it Be?**

It could not be any other way, because in these countries terrorism reigns. Under the pretext of humanism and happiness, the new class of barbaric-lunatics rule the empire of Soviet-Russian "communism" with cruelty and social injustice. The top leaders are not human beings but rather small, petty, scary creatures, products of a system that has deprived them of their most precious possessions: their hearts and self-reliance.

### **Dictatorship of the Proletariat**

Trying to establish the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "equality" on a social level, practically and philosophically, the "Revolution" turned into a fiasco; many people still cannot recognize the situation as it actually exists. Bolshevik propaganda, preaching equality and abundance, actually has the tendency to undermine any individuality, robbing the people of their moral and material values, to satisfy the interests of a newly created class of top party leaders. Many slogans and bribed agents are trying to convince the world that communism is a "classless society" and they use a proletariat's doctrine. However, in practice we see a dictatorship by a small group of Russian party leaders. There is total contradiction of those theories. Instead of a classless society, the Soviet-Russian regime has one top class — (gobza visir) — its own. It takes away the rights of individuals, transforming them into slaves to the party and the country.

The right of ownership is taken away from the ordinary citizen, yet the proven communist still preserves that right. The party interferes with the private lives of people and it decides for them what they should do and think. In respect to social life, instead of improving the social con-

dition of the population, the party favors only a small group of party members. This distorted communism, practised by the Soviet-Russians and the countries occupied by them brought injustices in the lives of citizens and nations. Instead of establishing social order, it brutally interferes with the normal build-up and growth of society.

It is obvious that the Bolshevik's materialism is not based on the truth and the mutual understanding between the ruling class and the workers. It is a fact that the owners (i.e. the state employees) and the workers do not work together in the administration of the enterprise, nor plan together the production. The principles of "equality, justice and humanism" are non-existent.

Practically speaking "communism" is non-existent either. It is a demagogy, a vain slogan for deceiving the people. A country that pretends to have reached social equality, is divided into party and non-party members, into favored members and enemies, and into absolute rulers and workers-slaves. The distributions of the work and positions is done exclusively by the Bolshevik party leaders. The criteria for judging a person is based upon his/her attitude toward the party. The party members are placed in high positions. The "unreliable" for the party individual is assigned to heavy, back breaking work, regardless of his qualifications. The only way to succeed is through the party; the best qualifications would be: total obedience, losing one's identity, and becoming merciless. These are the kind of people who dispose of the lives of the entire population. In spite of the fact that this is not a secret any more, in order to keep the "peace", the Free World overlooks what is going on in the Bolshevik occupied countries and what eventually may take place in their own countries. They sacrifice important principles and

their own security. As amazing as it may seem, the reality is obvious.

### The Question of Peace

The motives and the actions of the Soviet-Russians are not for peace, but for sadism, forcefulness, provocation and terror. The Soviet Union and its leaders use every possible means to hide their true ideas, for the purpose of promoting their demagogy.

We are relieved to see that some leaders of the Free World are beginning to understand the true reasons behind the Soviet Union's politics and tactics when they say that they are for peace and understanding. Actually, anyone who has followed the developments in past and current events, knows the Soviet-Russians are still thinking about revolutions, civil wars, street fights and demonstrations. These events we are now witnessing in many places. Pretending that the "communist ideology" is theirs, (which we know is not true), the Soviet Union is using it to spread and establish its hegemony.

### Is Something being Done?

It becomes apparent that in the ensuing years, the world will witness new and important events, which may not change drastically the international structure of the world, yet will lead the way to certain changes. Many reasons lead to the division of the world into two factions. The declaration for peace, disarmament, co-existence and cooperation took us nowhere. The Soviet Union unnoticeably increases its number of slaves. Their threats did not scare the Western countries; instead they are trying to pave the way for "understanding", which would eventually lead to a capitulation. The Soviet-Union says one thing; their actions are contradictory. The international situation is worrying the world. The number of persons that may be easily bribed and

similar types of agents are multiplying like mushrooms, and they poison people with their "communist" propaganda. Helped by those that still scream against the cruelties of the "Nazis" and the "Fascists", who have been buried long ago, no one dares to speak in favor of the hundreds of millions that are tortured or killed today.

People talk — but is anything done for the destiny of the peoples of the East? Nobody seems to be learning from the history of the countries occupied by Soviet Russia. This enables the Soviet-Russians to continue their strategies and their farce.

The inactivity of the Western World not only startles, but also worries sound-thinking people, who unfortunately are not strong enough to turn the clock back. These anomalies of human nature help to increase the demonic appetite of the Soviet-Russians and their helpers from the Eastern and the Western Worlds. Therefore, we should not be surprised to see what is happening as long as things are left on their own to follow the natural flow of the current (a rather cowardly and two-faced attitude). In spite of every-

thing we must continue to follow our path; we should try not to deviate, or stop working for our cause, to which we have devoted our lives! As "small" and numerically few as we may be, as insignificant and ridiculous as we may appear in the eyes of the "wise", and as steep and rough as may be the road to Golgotha, people must know that the willpower and the human spirit may survive and overcome everything, when it comes to defending our ideas and our love for truth and freedom! Supporting the evil to create depression and misery, will put us on trial that each one of us will face, when judged by the future generations and history. It is time we decide: Where are we going and with whom? We need courage (nothing comes easy in this world), if we want to survive and maintain our dignity and our principles. We know we need strength and we need to make sacrifices; we probably will have to give up the commodities of a quiet, comfortable life. Yet who can predict for how long this life will remain comfortable? The choice is ours. Let us hope it will be the right one. Let us pray to God to guide us, when the time comes for us to decide!

### **"Yuriy Shukhevych Week" in Canada, March 28 — April 2**

*To the Council for the Release of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the USSR.*

*I sincerely regret that I cannot be with you to-day. I applaud your efforts to echo the voices of those behind the Iron Curtain. I am proud to sponsor Yuriy Shukhevych whose heroism is as great as any in the history of mankind.*

*Like all of you I feel a deep sense of humility when I think of the plight of Yuriy Shukhevych and the tens of thousands of others who, like him are imprisoned in the Soviet Union and whose only crime is that they want freedom. We must all be grateful to Yuriy Shukhevych and those others for the shining example they have set for all the world to see. We must speak out against oppression in all countries that deny human rights and dignity.*

*We must ask ourselves each night what we have done this day to help Yuriy Shukhevych, the symbol of courage and forbearance. We must do our utmost to gain his freedom and that of the others. We must keep the torch of freedom burning brightly in Canada in the hope that it will be seen in the darkest corners of the slave camps, the prisons and the asylums.*

*The Honourable Michael Wilson, M. P.  
Ottawa, Ontario, April 2nd, 1983*

## Failure of Balance of Power and Detente Policies

Immediately following the Second World War the unholy alliance between the Western Powers and Soviet Russia began to crack because militant Russian imperialism under its communist cloak does not recognize peace, only the march forward and conquest.

While the Russians speak of peace they only think of war; while they speak of freedom and democracy they practise slavery and tyranny; and while they speak of the liberation struggles of other peoples, they think of their subversive fifth columns which want to lead their own people into Russian slavery.



America and her allies did not pay much attention to these facts and they thought that because they possessed the atomic bomb they had the military supremacy which could never be surpassed by Russia and that they could sleep peacefully. Alas, that dream did not last long because Russia also soon

possessed the atomic bomb and built a very vast and powerful military machine. At the same time she was training her fifth columns all over the world to subjugate free peoples. Thus the balance of power between the West and Soviet Russia was a reality which did not last long. In order to appease Russia, America and her allies supplied her and her satellites with modern technology, loans and grain and Russia was able to expand her armed forces. At the same time she was exposing the danger of a nuclear war and started to preach co-existence and detente. That was a well designed, deceitful trick in order to buy time to destroy the balance of power and to gain military supremacy.

First, Russia succeeded in getting the representatives of European nations and of America to Helsinki to sign the Agreement on European security which in fact was confirmation of the Yalta Agreement in which two-thirds of Europe were given to Russia. The Helsinki Agreement was never honoured by Russia and instead of European security, Europe became the very centre of European and world insecurity. The Helsinki Agreement really means the shameful sell-out to Russia of the sovereign national rights of all European people who, in accordance with the Agreement, provisionally found themselves under Russian influence. This Agreement is also equivalent to the denial of the sovereign national rights of all people already enslaved by Russia.

At the same time Russia was establishing new colonies in Africa and Asia. Her Cuban mercenaries helped the Russian fifth columns take power in Angola, Ethiopia and South Yemen, and her Vietnamese mercenaries took power in Laos and Cambodia. Yet, in spite of all of this, American President Jimmy Carter signed the SALT II Agreement in Vienna which gave Russia the military ad-

vantage. He and Brezhnev sealed that Agreement with kisses and following Carter's return to America, he announced to the world that "we must get rid of the inordinate fear of Communism!" But the American Senate thought otherwise and refused to ratify that Agreement.

Events in Afghanistan and Poland have shown that Russia has never changed her imperialist aims, but the brave Polish and Afghanistani people showed the world how to fight Russian imperialism and Communism. Babrak Karmal and Jaruzelski are not patriots, as Russian propaganda would like to depict them, they are traitors. Karmal is an insult to all of those Afghanistani leaders and heroes who, in the past, fought foreign aggressors for the freedom and independence of Afghanistan. When we think of great Polish patriots and heroes like Marshal Pilsudski, General Sikorski and General Anders, the pitiful little figure of Jaruzelski is not worthy of bearing the title of general. Poland and Afghanistan are Russia's Vietnam and we are convinced that Solidarity and the Mujahideens will win!

We, the oppressed peoples, are not in support of the balance of power between the West and Soviet Russia because that would mean the perpetuation of the slavery of all of our oppressed peoples. We are against détente because it is an illusion and a Russian design for the gradual conquest of the world.

We are against those who preach about the so-called, "China card". We cannot fight tyranny in Soviet Russia and her "satellites" and condone it in China. Playing the Russian card during the Second World War brought us Yalta, the enlargement of the Russian empire and untold misery. Playing the "China card" can only bring us closer to a world catastrophe.

Today we also want to stress that we shall always fight those who just want to change the regime in Soviet Russia and communist Yugoslavia. We want to make clear that we are fighting for the dissolution of these two monstrous and artificial State structures and for the establishment of a sovereign national Ukrainian State, a free and independent state of Croatia with freedom for other peoples within Yugoslavia and freedom for all oppressed peoples within Soviet Russia.

The Western policy of retreat and capitulation must be stopped. The only realistic policy which should be adopted by America and the West is to recognize the Liberation Movements of all oppressed peoples as equal partners in the common struggle for freedom and democracy in the world. Then the prospect of internal revolutions in the Soviet Russian empire and in other communist countries will become reality and no nuclear weapons will be able to stop or destroy the might of the oppressed slaves!

We hope and pray that the West will hear and understand our message. We have been preaching this message for decades. Our brothers and sisters in our oppressed homelands were and still are suffering and dying for the truth of this message. We were never wrong and we are not wrong now.

The world is a beautiful place to live in, but all people, all individuals must live in freedom. Can this be achieved? Yes, with unity of purpose and the decision to fight for the preservation of freedom where it still exists and for its restoration where it has been lost.

## Russification Grows Daily

The one million Estonians in Soviet captivity and the 65,000 exiled Estonians in the Free World greet all of you, who are here today. We greet you and take great comfort from the knowledge that we are not alone in our struggle for freedom, in our fight against Soviet domination; against Soviet denial of self-determination and human rights, against Soviet inhumanity.

The dissident movement in Estonia is now stronger than at any time during the last decades. Trials against patriots are becoming an every-day event, and the sentences usually range from 3 to 9 years in labour camps of an especially strict regime. When the Republic of Estonia was overrun by the Red Army in June 1940, she had a Russian community of approximately 46,000. By now russification has reached such proportions, that more than 40 per cent of the total population of 1,5 million people do not speak any language other than Russian.

The Western Powers have never recognized the annexation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union, and these states — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania — still maintain their diplomatic representations in the Free World.

The University of Tartu, which was founded 4 years prior to the first American university and 123 years before a university was established in Russia, — celebrates its 350th anniversary in three weeks time. It is now totally controlled by Moscow, although the Soviet-Estonian constitution states in Articles 73, par. 11, that the educational system in the Republic is “the matter of the Estonian Government”. Since 1979 all dissertations for higher academic degrees can be submitted and defended in the Russian language only.

The pressure of russification grows daily. The official first language in Estonia is still supposed to be Estonian, but in reality it is impossible to live your everyday life without the knowledge of Russian. On the other hand, the Russian population of more than half a million, hardly ever make any serious effort to learn Estonian.

At a time when a number of small nations in the West have lately become officially bilingual — just to mention Wales and Catalonia — the small nations in the Soviet Empire are brutally forced to accept the Russian language as the one and only way of communication.

Here you see a copy of the birth certificate of the Estonian writer and publicist Einar Sanden, living and working in Great Britain. It was issued in Tallinn, the Estonian capital, only last November and is in the Russian language only. It also states that he was born in Soviet Estonia 50 years ago. There was no Soviet-Estonian Republic 50 years ago, and Einar Sanden was born in independent Estonia 8 years before it was occupied by Soviet Union and became a Soviet-Estonian Republic.

If the Free World does not see the danger of the Russian aspiration for world domination, we will, sooner or later, all be issued death certificates in the Russian language only, that may also state for instance, that we were born in the Soviet Republic of England.

## Hon. Sen. Don Levin's Remarks on the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

Congressional Record-Senate: October 1, 1982

Mr. President, October 14 will mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and is an important date in the history of the struggles of subjugated peoples for independence and statehood.



The UPA was created in response to a momentous event in the history of Ukraine. On June 30, 1941, in a move spearheaded by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Ukrainian nationalists boldly and with right and justice on their side, declared their independence and issued a proclamation of the restoration of independence. Defiantly throwing off the yoke of oppression, the UPA launched a national liberation struggle against Hitler's Germany on one front and Stalin's Soviet Union on another.

The UPA's struggle to recapture their independence was a light in the Ukrainian story that was bright but all too brief. It was darkened by the German occupation forces — the Proclamation of Independence was negated and the Ukrainian's proclaimed prime minister, Yaroslav Stetsko, was forced into a concentration camp.

Later, the Red Army took control and to this day, the Soviet Union maintains an oppressive government in Ukraine which persistently tries to obliterate all dreams of regaining independence. It saddens, and at the same time angers, freedom-loving people everywhere to see that where the Ukrainian spirit of independence once soared without restraint, it now is in the stranglehold of the Soviets — another "captive nation".

Mr. President, during the first half of October, the Ukrainian community throughout the United States will be commemorating the founding of the UPA and its heroic actions. In Michigan, the Southeastern Michigan Branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America will mark the event with a special program on October 3. I lend my voice to the chorus in commemorating the 40th anniversary of the creation of the UPA and in honoring their outstanding courage and determination.



## NORILSK UPRISING

(Continuation)

Now, he decided to leave us without water, which was supplied to the zone from the tundra via a water pumping station. A prisoner was always stationed there, watched by two convoy guards. During the work shift of a prisoner with the grand name of Lev\*, an officer approached him and ordered him to shut off the water. Lev categorically refused. The officer became threatening. Then Lev told the officer. "Have you considered what could happen if we shut off the water? A fire will immediately start in the zone. The prisoners will burn all the barracks. Who will answer for that? If you will take all of the responsibility upon yourself, then write it down in the log, and I'll carry out your order."

The officer returned empty-handed.

At first glance, it would appear that Lev acted absolutely logically and that there was nothing unusual in his action. But actually, this was an extremely heroic deed, since Lev realized very well in whose hands he was and that, for such insubordination to a guard officer, he could have been shot on the spot.

I was acquainted with this man, who was Polish, born in Zhytomyr, Ukraine, and studied at the Taras Shevchenko University in Kyiv. This is all that I know of him. Of the other heroes, I don't even know that much. Weren't those heroes, who picketed the guardhouse to prevent the entry of camp guards, convoy guards and officers into the zone? They steadfastly stood there at a distance of fifteen to twenty meters from the bore of a machine gun that was pointed at them, which, at any moment, could spit death-bearing fire. Nonetheless, they stood firm!

Others, more cautious, were stopping me at every step of the way, questioning, what more were we demanding, why the black banners, and whether this struggle was worth being shot for.

"It's worth it," I answered. "We rebelled in order to stop the shootings, not to induce them. Who can say how many thousands of our brothers have been laid to rest at the foot of the Schmidtykha\*\* for no reason at all? One way or another, death awaits each of us daily. Why, you who are not afraid of dying individually, are so afraid of dying together? After all, no one is forcing anyone to die. If I see that a critical point has been reached, we will stop the fight, and there won't be any shootings."

Again I went to the guardhouse, because a messenger informed me that Vlasov wanted to see me.

He stood on the threshold of the open door, intentionally awaiting me there, so that I will be forced to approach as close as possible. But I stopped at a safe distance — with two prisoners guarding me on either side — and asked what he wanted.

"Come with me to headquarters," Vlasov said, gesturing with his head. "Vavilov wants to speak with you."

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\* Lev — literal translation — lion — nomenclature in English — Leo.

\*\*Schmidtykha — Schmidt Mountain.

"Let him come to me."

"He can't, because he is ill."

"That's too bad," I said, "but there's no hurry. When he is feeling better, let him come. I'll wait."

In the meantime, the guards watching Lev at the water pumping station told him: "Soon this will all be at an end. Your leader has been arrested. He has been called to headquarters on the pretext of negotiations and the idiot believed that we really wanted to talk with him, so he went. But as soon as he crossed the threshold of the guardhouse, he was seized, handcuffed and thrown into a car. Now you won't last even two more days."

Kuznyetsov had spread this rumor among the soldiers, probably because he was certain that this plan would be successful. Also, he had to give the tired and worried soldiers at least some hope in order to bolster their morale.

We didn't ignore the soldiers either; we threw notes to them in which we explained who we were and what we were demanding, and called to them not to shoot at us.

The commanders could no longer depend on such spoiled soldiers, so they were all replaced by others.

This change put us on our guard. New soldiers, who didn't know us at all, were very dangerous to us.

As a result of this change, the opposition among the prisoners began to grow and became more active. It was reported to me that the Lithuanians, Byelorussians, and even some of the Ukrainians who had followed Klachenko, were threatening to return to work as an organized group. Sad but true!

I sought out Klachenko, who was at the time lying on his berth in the barrack. Upon seeing me, he asked.

"Why did you come here?"

"I want to talk with you."

"I have nothing to say to you, and don't wish to. Get out!"

I left him and met the Byelorussian Klymovych.

"Hrisha," I said to him, "I want to talk to you."

"I have nothing to talk to you about," was his answer.

After this, I didn't even go to the Lithuanians.

So, ultimately, we divided into two opposing camps — for and against continuing the struggle. The supporters of the struggle were still considerably more numerous.

Now we began to expect that the soldiers would burst into the zone and engage us in fistfights, as happened in zone 5; so we prepared our defense.

In the face of the danger hanging over us, people's feelings of blood-unity sharpened and everyone began to group more closely by nationality. However, this did not mean we splintered. On the contrary.

Three Estonians came up to me and said:

"We are Estonians. In this dangerous time, we want to be together with everyone. For this reason, we would like you to keep us informed, in detail, of your negotiations with Kuznyetsov and of the situation in general. We also want you, in time of need, to completely depend on us. There aren't many of us, but we are all former Estonian military officers. We assure you that we will do every-

thig that you ask of us. We ask that you do not forget about us. Here is our representative, through whom we will be maintaining constant contact with you.”

The Latvians behaved the same way, as did the Poles and the Germans. With the other national groups, I was in personal contact from the very beginning.

After all this, yet another delegation approached me in order to establish contact.

“We are Germans,” they said.

I scrutinized them and explained that there must be some misunderstanding, that Germans had already been to see me and that I was already in contact with them.

“Who could that have been?” the Germans asked, bewildered.

After I explained, they laughed.

“What kind of Germans are those? They are German Germans. We are the true Germans — Russian Germans.”

In this manner, each national group expressed its willingness to unitedly carry on our fight.

At the same time, the prisoner opposition groups consolidated. With increasing forcefulness, they demanded a stop to the fight. Leaflets appeared calling on the prisoners to concede. In addition, the administration was successful in spreading among the prisoners the rumor that the “disorder” at Norilsk was created by the Ukrainians, wanting to take advantage of this situation to break away the Soviet transpolar region from Russia and annex it to Ukraine. Idiotic? Yes. But the more idiotic the rumor, the more difficult it was to contradict.

In the meantime, the Ukrainians were led to believe that they could wipe their slates clean, if they themselves would liquidate their leader.

Our guess was that the administration was spreading these rumors among the prisoners through the female doctors, who were not only permitted into the clinic, but were guaranteed complete safety.

Again Kuznyetsov entered the zone and called me out. Again I went with Nedorostkov.

“Who gave you the authority?” Kuznyetsov asked derisively. “How is it, that you can be the representatives of a working people? Come on, show me your hands, let me see your callouses.”

I did not show my hands, but Nedorostkov somehow reflexively pushed his forward. Nedorostkov was an invalid with a weak heart and, therefore, did not go out to work; his hands were soft and smooth.

Kuznyetsov looked at them and began again:

“So, what kind of laborers are you? There aren’t even any callouses on your hands. Now everything is clear to me! The people want to work, but Hrycyak is holding a knife to them. We will talk with the people yet, and without Hrycyak.”

I raised the flaps of my field jacket and said:

“Look, no knives! If you want to talk with the people, then please, approach closer and speak. If the people express a desire to go back to work, then let them. No one will prevent them.”

Kuznyetsov did not indicate the slightest desire to approach the prisoners,

who stood in a throng at a distance of thirty to forty meters from us. First Lieutenant Vlasov glanced at Kuznyetsov, then turned his gaze to me and said: "Come on! I'll go and speak with them."

After nearing the prisoners, Vlasov asked in a weak and somewhat trembling voice:

"Well, boys, are we going back to work?"

#### **No-one is Going to Work**

"Until the Attorney General arrives at Norilsk, no one is going to work," was the answer given by Stepan Venhryn, whose voice I recognized.

"So, you see, Hrycyak, how it is?" Vlasov spoke up with more certainty. "Someone here needs the Attorney General, and five thousand refrain from work. Leave them be, let them go; the people want to work."

"Work?" the prisoners answered in a chorus. "You work. We have worked enough for you. You are asking for our callouses? What kind of callouses do you need? Bloody ones? You bloodthirsty devils!"

Kuznyetsov immediately rushed beyond the guardhouse, but Vlasov at first fearfully retreated backwards, then turned and also ran to the guardhouse.

We felt that Kuznyetsov had used up all of his patience and that Moscow was not exactly patting his head over the fact that he was taking such a long time to deal with us. We knew that the end for us was near, but we did not want to give in. We were pleased that we had forced Moscow to deal seriously with us.

Although on the surface we appeared to be united, internally the debate among us never ended, not for a moment. Should we continue the fight or should we end it?

Some of the prisoners asked me:

"Well, are we going back to work?"

"What work? Who told you that?"

"Klachenko. We have known Klachenko for a long time, but you only briefly. Klachenko says to go back to work, and you — not to. Who are we to listen to?"

"Listen to whoever you wish," I answered, because I saw that the reason they were asking was because they would rather listen to Klachenko.

These types of conversations between me and many other prisoners were taking place ever more frequently. Some of the prisoners even began to act more aggressively toward me, and some questioned:

"All right, at first we rebelled against the shootings and demanded a commission from Moscow. The commission arrived, reviewed our grievances, gave us great concessions... so what more can we demand?"

In the meantime, a group of highly educated prisoners wrote an appeal from the prisoners of zone 4 of the *Gorlag* to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., to the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.

The appeal began with criticism of the socio-economic structures which led to the formulation of the most favorable conditions for the trampling of all of the basic human rights and freedoms. Then they explained the plight of political prisoners in the prisons and camps of the *Gulag*, and finally they repeated and expanded on the demands which we had orally presented before the commission. Contained in this appeal were clearly stated demands to halt throughout the

country the practice of closed trials and tortures during pre-trial investigations, to abolish all of the decisions of the *Special Consultation Commission* or OSO, so-called “triumvirate”, as an unconstitutional organ, to halt the arbitrary shootings in prisons and camps and, finally, to review the individual cases of all the political prisoners.

However, regardless of such open criticism of the existing order and the protests against the pressures to which we were constantly subjected, we did not take a hostile stand in relation to the central government itself, because we expected that, after Stalin’s death, the newly formed government would at least attempt to lead the country onto the straight and narrow path. Therefore, we declared to the government: “Our goal is freedom...” and “We want to be talked to not through sub-machine guns, but in a language of father and son.” The appeal ended with a warning to the government: “If our demands are not realized, we will continue our present tactics, no matter where we may find ourselves!”

### **The Meeting of Prisoners**

Then, we had to somehow manage to read this appeal to all of the prisoners and obtain their acceptance. However, I did not dare call a meeting, because I was afraid that my opponents would break it up. But, if there is a will, there is a way. I asked two young boys to carry out of the club a table and a podium and set them up on the dais in front of the doors to the library; then cover the table with a blanket, place a glass of water on it, and step aside. I revealed my plan only to Volodymyr Nedorostkov.

When the construction of this improvised tribune was completed, I locked myself in the club and observed through the window the behavior of the prisoners. The people gathered in no time, as though drawn by some irresistible magnetic force. Everyone understood, of course, that something very important was about to happen — someone was going to speak. Speculation spread as to who would be doing the talking; perhaps it would be Kuznyetsov himself.

At that time, our zone numbered five thousand two hundred twenty-one (5,221) men. And, undoubtedly there was no one who wouldn’t come to find out for himself what was going to be said.

When, in this manner, the gathering was completed, I left the club and, together with Nedorostkov, who was already waiting for me, climbed onto the dais. Nedorostkov opened the meeting and gave me the floor.

“Dear friends!” I began. “Everything that is taking place today in Norilsk is not a separate or isolated matter, but part of a great struggle of all our people for their dignity and human rights...”

The people all around had been transformed into attention itself. Everyone stood silent and poised, as though turned to stone. It was easy to speak. It was obvious that everyone was listening attentively. This deathly silence and tension were the result of two factors. Firstly, everyone wanted to hear something new and, secondly, everyone was afraid that the guards might not tolerate such a large gathering of people and open fire.

As it happened, in a moment of the greatest tension, one of the prisoners unexpectedly, in a whisper, warned me:

“Hide, they are shooting!”

The irreparable happened — in a second all of the prisoners fell face-down to the ground. The panic spread even to the soldiers, who stood grouped near the barbed wire, and they all began to run away. I became lost and did not know how to behave — should I also hide, or should I somehow try to correct the situation?

I had placed a lot of faith in this meeting, because I was somehow certain that it would unify us, that here we would be able to overcome all of our differences. I had even prepared the convening of this meeting so very carefully, that no one could disrupt it. And now? Everything was lost.

In order to somehow salvage the situation, I stepped down from the dais and tried to lift one or two prisoners to their feet, so that the others, seeing them, would get up. However, I was not successful; it was as though the people had frozen to the ground. Upon returning to the dais, I stepped back to my original place and, leaning my elbows on the podium, began to watch calmly to see what would come of all this.

Finally, some of the prisoners, who were in the back rows, one by one, began to get up and flee to the barracks. But the others, who had risen earlier, tried to stop them:

“Cowards, where are you off to? Get back here, all of you!”

The people quickly quieted down and again started to wait tensely. I continued my speech and this time completed it successfully. The prisoners listened with their previous attentiveness and tension, as though nothing had happened.

After I had finished reading the appeal, all of the prisoners answered with a joyous “Hurrah!”, throwing their caps into the air. Everyone was as happy, as though we had already attained our goals.

As I was stepping off the dais, a courier came up to me and handed me a message. I was reading the note and saw, from the corner of my eye, an aged man, by appearance an Asian, who was not taking his eyes off me and edging ever closer. When I put the note in my pocket, the Asian removed the cap from his gray head, shook my hand and said:

“Well, dear brother, permit me to thank you for all that you have done for us!” and, squeezing my hand tightly, he added, “I am Chinese.”

“I am Ukrainian,” I answered, also strongly squeezing his hand.

Many other prisoners followed the example of this old Chinese.

“I am Estonian!”

“I am Polish!”

“I am German!”

“I am Byelorussian!”

I have to admit that I could not suppress my national pride and replied to everyone that I was Ukrainian.

My close acquaintances and friends greeted me silently. Lastly, Ivan Klachenko-Bozhko came up to me. He also shook my hand and said:

“Greetings! I too wish to tell you that I have known this regime since its inception and, I can assure you with certainty, that since its establishment in Russia, a freer meeting on its territory has never been held. Greetings!”

Our hostility ended. My relations with Hryhoriy Klymovych also improved considerably.

However, this meeting also had some negative results; some of my closer friends began to fear for me, and some even began to avoid me, to escape bringing some sort of evil down upon themselves. One of my countrymen, Stepan S., called me aside for a secret conversation. It seems that even today I recall every word.

“What are you doing?” he asked contritely. “Do you know that they will shoot you?”

“I know.”

“So why don’t you watch out for yourself? What’s with you, don’t you know how many of us have already been destroyed? No other nation has suffered as much as we. Now let some others sacrifice themselves a little.”

“I am not sending anyone to be sacrificed,” I replied to him. “But I have the right to sacrifice myself. And besides, what is the meaning of one more life in comparison to all those losses which we have sustained? If you see me doing something bad — tell me and I will listen to you.”

“No, I don’t see anything bad, on the contrary, everything is commendable, but I am worried for you.”

“There is no reason to be afraid now. What I had done at the *Gorstroy* was enough reason for them to shoot me. Now I do not fear anything, except perhaps inactivity. The more I annoy them, the easier it will be to die.”

### **Your Small Nation will Never Die**

Another similar meeting took place with two Latvians, who told me the following:

“We see that one of our young, fair-haired boys often talks to you. We beg you not to allow him near you, send him away. You don’t know what kind of boy he is. He is our nation’s pride and all of our hope! We can’t allow him to risk his life but, because he meets with you so often, he could be shot. We will be very grateful to you!”

I explained to them that their young countryman gave me many helpful suggestions, that he helped me quite a bit, and that I had no reason for turning away from him. However, I calmed them by the fact that I understood their anxiety and that in the future I would try to avoid him. I thought to myself, “My dear Latvians! Your small nation will never die when you so carefully watch over your prominent people!”

The next day, which was, as I recall, June 29, a messenger from the picketers at the guardhouse ran up to me and said that administration officials had entered the zone and were heading directly for the people. The picketers did not know what to do.

“Form a wall and do not let them pass,” I said and headed for the guardhouse. Suddenly — machine gun fire. I ran. Along the way I saw a prisoner, his face covered with blood, running among the people and calming them:

“Brothers, don’t be afraid, they are using blanks!”

The shooting quickly ended, the people quieted down. There was no panic, everyone stood his ground.

This incident happened when Kuznyetsov, together with his retinue, approached the people and the picketers tried to stop them by shouting *halt!* But he paid no attention and came closer. Then one of the picketers lost control and angrily threw a rock which hit Colonel Mykhaylov in the head. Mykhaylov grabbed his head and also angrily gave the command: "Convoy guards, fire!" The soldiers opened fire and wounded twenty persons. There were no dead.

Kuznyetsov retreated with his retinue back to the guardhouse, from where he silently began to watch us. We, for our part, silently watched him. A deathly silence descended. Finally, General Seryodkin couldn't stand the silence and, cupping his hands, shouted:

"Soviet youth! Drop everything and come over to us!"

The prisoners burst out laughing; witty and not-so-witty remarks showered down. When everything had quieted down, I shouted to Seryodkin:

"Why are you conversing with your youth from such a distance? Come here closer and talk. Who knows? Maybe the Soviet youth is really sick of this place and will gladly go with you."

"How am I supposed to come nearer?" Seryodkin replied in a trembling voice. "They have busted the Colonel's head; they could even kill me!"

Again there was a burst of laughter.

### **I Want to Donate my Blood**

The commission left the zone and we broke up. I went to surgeon Omelchuk to determine the condition of the severely injured. One of them was already lying on the operating table. The surgeon was preparing himself for the operation.

Leaving the clinic, I met a young German, who was being accompanied by two older prisoners, also Germans. Inasmuch as they did not speak Russian very well, nor I German, we communicated in a mixture of Russian and German. Here is our conversation, almost word-for-word:

"Oh, it's good that I met you," said the young German.

"How may I serve you?"

"I heard that there are seriously wounded here. Is this true?"

"Yes."

"I want to donate my blood. Don't refuse to accept it. I am young, healthy, and I cannot help in any other way. I would like to be with you in this, but, unfortunately, I haven't got the courage nor the fortitude. Therefore, I ask you to accept my blood, so that at least in this small way I can be of assistance in your battle."

"In that case, go and see the doctor," I advised him.

The German became visibly happy and, darting past me, quickly disappeared into the dark corridor of the clinic. I never saw him again and don't know his name.

It was as though the people had been reborn, their souls having been uplifted. Examples of self-dedication occurred at every step of the way. Some were visible, others passed unnoticed. The characteristic trait of nearly all the people was the prominent feeling of responsibility and individual accountability. Everyone felt that the entire brunt of the battle lay specifically on his shoulders, that on him alone "the status of millions depends"\*. And this was true. For without a deep



understanding of the issue by each and every one of us individually, we couldn't have lasted even one day.

Here I would like to point out yet another striking example of dedication from zone 3.

The term of incarceration ended for one of the hard labor prisoners, a former Captain in the Romanian army, at the precise time that our battle sparked. He was summoned to have his papers drawn up. When he came to the guardhouse, he declared:

"Inasmuch as my term of imprisonment has ended, I am not participating in this fight. However, until it comes to an end, I cannot leave the zone, so as not to breach the principle of insubordination established by my comrades and so as not to induce envy in those who remain here behind the barbed wire."

Incidents of returns of prodigal sons also occurred.

Serving his term of punishment in our zone was a prisoner, Popov, who held the post of manager of the *construction operations*. He was very insolvent toward the prisoners and everyone hated him. Similarly, the prisoners hated his lackey, our countryman, Pavluk, who served Popov faithfully and trustingly, as Sancho Panza did the courageous Don Quixote.

This happened on June 22, when our first shift returned from the *Gorstroy*. Seeing Popov and Pavluk standing side-by-side at the head of the column, the prisoners began shouting from the zone:

"Popov, don't try to enter the zone, we will kill you! Stay there with your beloved superiors!"

Popov gladly stepped aside.

"And you, Pavluk, why did you stop? Get over there with your lord and master, so you can serve him further!"

Pavluk angrily looked at Popov and, waving his hand, headed straight for the gates.

"Pavluk, go back! Pavluk, we'll kill you, go back!"

Pavluk did not stop. When he had come closer, the crowd opened up to allow him to get further inside the zone. I rushed after him, in order to prevent mob-law court.

"You scoundrel, why did you come here? Where is your place?" the enraged prisoners shouted at him.

"My place is here, among you," Pavluk said and sat down on the ground. "If you don't want me alive, then kill me on the spot, so that at least in death I can be with you!"...

After the June 29th incident, a complete lull set in. Kuznyetsov left and did not appear again. On June 30, we noticed that none of the officers of our camp could be seen beyond the zone. What did this all mean? Perhaps they were holding a council of war... The quiet put us on our guard.

On the morning of the 1st of July, 1953, the prisoners of zone 5 were fired upon by sub-machine guns and automatic rifles. As a result, twenty-seven men were killed and an unknown number wounded.

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\* A quotation from a poem entitled *Preparation for the Great Moment*, by Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko.

### **They had begun to talk with us in the language of sub-machine gun fire**

From the roofs of our barracks we could only see the roofs of the barracks of zone 5. Everything that took place below was invisible. We only heard the sub-machine gun fire and the angry, despairing cries of the men and women.

The men's zone 5 and the women's zone 6 were situated side-by-side. When they began to shoot at the prisoners of zone 5, the women approached the forbidden zone and, with pleading outstretched arms (many of which held babies), shouted:

"Do not shoot at them, shoot at us!"

Finally everything quieted down. The banners disappeared from the barracks.

"Again the blood of our brothers had been spilled," I appealed to the prisoners of our zone. "Let us commemorate this incident on our banner!"

After about a half hour, a huge black flag with a red stripe in the middle floated from the tall chimney of our bakery.

Someone had even composed a hymn of the Norilsk prisoners, written in Russian, and ending in these words:

"And the black flag with the blood-red stripe.  
Will point out the path in our righteous fight!"

On July 2nd, the young fair-haired Latvian approached me and said that two loudspeakers had been affixed to the soldiers' barracks, aimed at our zone.

"This is a dangerous development," he explained. "With sub-machine guns they will only bring us closer together, but with words they can corrupt us completely. But I have an idea how to prevent this. The electricity for them is supplied by our transformer. We must cut off their energy."

I sought out the electrician. He began to beg off, saying that he had only six months of his term left to serve and was afraid to jeopardize his position by fooling around with the electricity. However, he gladly gave me the key to the shack, and I assured him that, if asked about this, I would tell them that I took the key away from him by force.

Spontaneously, the people started to gather closer to the loudspeakers, not unlike several days ago — to my improvised tribune.

Kuznyetsov arrived from the city. The radio-announcement began:

"Attention, attention! This is an important announcement from the administration of the Mountain Camp! Repeat!..."

At the word "repeat", I shut off the electricity. The transmission was cut off. The prisoners began to scorn:

"Well, let's go, let's go, repeat it. Why did you shut up?"

After waiting a while longer and seeing that the transmission would not resume, the people dispersed.

Then, after about two hours, the lookouts reported that soldiers were laying a cable through the tundra.

I entered the shack and switched on the electricity. When they saw that the power was restored, they probably thought, as I had anticipated, that we, interested in hearing what they had to say, decided not to hinder them further.

The soldiers stopped laying the cable. The announcer made an adjustment and the transmission resumed:

“Attention, attention! This is an important announcement from the administration of the Mountain Camp! Repeating...”

At the word “repeating”, the transmission was again cut off, although the electricity remained unimpaired. The announcer blew into the microphone, made an adjustment, and again:

“Attention, attention! Repeating...”

At the word “repeating”, the transmission was again cut off, again the lines were checked, another adjustment, and again:

“Attention, attention!...”

The same thing again. The prisoners burst into uncontrollable laughter. But, undoubtedly, the poor announcer did not see the humor. However, there was nothing he could do, while I sat in the shack and, after each “repeating”, snapped off the feeder, then, in order to confuse them, turned it back on immediately.

Only after the fifth attempt to continue the transmission, did Kuznyetsov understand that he had been made a fool of. He climbed into his car and drove off.

The soldiers again took to laying the cable and this time completed the task.

In the morning on July 3, Kuznyetsov came back. The announcement began: “Attention, attention!... You will now hear the list of people who have been designated for transfer...”

A thousand people were named.

After reading the entire list, the announcer added:

“All those who have been designated for transfer should appear immediately at the guardhouse with their personal belongings!”

No one moved. Then the announcer started to attack me personally, calling on the prisoners not to fear me or to listen to me.

Afterwards, a list of some seven hundred invalids, who had supposedly been designated for transfer to the mainland, was read.

The invalids bustled about and began to gather. In response to my warning that it was only a provocation and that, at this time, no transfer to the mainland could take place, they started to complain that the administration wanted to transfer them from here and that I was preventing their going.

I did not contradict them and they quickly gathered and headed for the guardhouse. The gate opened; the inspector of the special formation entered the zone with a list in his hand. I came up to him to make arrangements for the exit of the invalids out of the zone. At that instant, a messenger ran up to me and stated that the soldiers had cut through the barbed wire at the rear of the zone, making a wide opening in the *barrier*.

“What’s this?” I asked the inspector. “What did you do, dream up this transport so that, while we were involved with the transfer of the invalids, you could hit us from behind?”

“What are they doing there? I cannot function under such conditions!” the inspector stated angrily and left the zone.

“Now you understand to what mainland they were transferring you?” I turned to the invalids. “We stated our demands to Moscow that you should be transferred from here and we will continue to insist on this. But you’ve got to understand that you are not going anywhere at this time. If you don’t want to

stand firm with us, go to your barracks, lay down on your berths, and stay there; just don't cause any trouble!"

Obviously unhappy, the invalids dispersed. The gate did not close and the path to the forbidden zone also remained open. Our defenses became vulnerable from both sides.

In the meantime, the announcer had begun to attack me and my close friends ever more vehemently:

"We know," he kept repeating continuously, "that the honest people here are innocent, that they are being enticed and terrorized by a small band of trouble makers, such as Yevhen Hrycyak, Ivan Klachenko-Bozhko, Ivan Halchynskyj, Volodymyr Nedorostkov, and Ivan Strygin. Prisoners, don't be afraid of them and don't listen to them. Break down windows, doors, come over to us through the guardhouse gate or through the opening to the forbidden zone. We will welcome you gladly."

"Do you hear what they are saying about you?" asked my good Georgian friend Chubuk.

"I hear."

"And what are you thinking of doing now?"

"The same."

"I think, that it would be better for you to go to the guardhouse and declare the following: 'You say that I started everything. Here I am in front of you; take me away and you will see that nothing in the zone will change.' In this manner," continued Chubuk, "you will be able to somewhat ease your fate."

"No! I will never do this!"

The announcer ever more pointedly repeated his hypnotic formula:

"Break down windows and doors, come over to us."

The announcer's voice, magnified by two loudspeakers, fell on the heads of the prisoners, not unlike heavy blows from a sledge hammer. It seemed as though, with each such blow, the prisoners squirmed and became ever smaller.

Suddenly — shouts and whistles were heard from the vicinity of the guardhouse gates. What happened?

One of the prisoners had heeded the announcer's call and escaped to the guardhouse. After some time, shouting began near the passage through the *barrier* — again someone had escaped.

### **Our Defenses Became Vulnerable from all Sides**

Finally, three more openings were cut into the forbidden zone and the gate to the *recreation yard* was opened. Our defenses became vulnerable from all sides. Each passage was guarded from outside by a reinforced detachment of convoy guards, and from the inside — by us. We had to defend the passageways not only from the soldiers, but also from potential escapees.

However, the soldiers did not enter the zone and it was impossible to stop the escapees because, anyone deciding to escape would join the front line of defenders and then, having chosen the right moment, would break away from the rest of the prisoners and run as fast as possible to the passage, where soldiers were waiting.

But, at one point I was told that one escapee was nonetheless caught and was being beaten in the second barrack. I ran there.

“Stop!”

Everyone stepped aside. The terrified prisoner was sitting on the floor.

“What happened?” I asked him. “Why were you running away? Perhaps you noticed that we were doing something wrong?”

“Oh, no!” he said. “On the contrary, I like it here, but believe me, I’ve never been in such a situation before and my nerves simply can’t take it.”

I ordered the prisoners not to touch him, and told him not to be afraid, because what would happen to everyone would also happen to him.

Former activists of the camp were given the opportunity to rehabilitate themselves. We did not remind them of their past and we did not push them aside, when they wanted to stand next to us. Many of them were successful in finding the strength within themselves to make a stand on the side of the majority. Others remained faithful servants of the regime.

They fled, with knives in their fists, so that no one would stop them. At one point, after the escape of two activists from the fourth column, the announcer commented:

“We have become aware that among you are many prisoners, who would like to come over to us, but are afraid of reprisals from the current mutineers. Don’t be afraid of them! Come on over! We guarantee that not one of these bandits will ever be together with you again. Break down the windows, doors...!”

The announcer would periodically call on us to break down windows and doors, solely to create disorder among us. No one, regardless of whether they wanted or did not want to escape, was locked in the barracks. On the contrary, all of the barracks were empty, not a living soul in them. The first barrack constituted the only exception, the said barrack being occupied by the engineering and technical workers, or, as they were called by the prisoners, “half-wits”.

These people had privileged jobs. They worked in the project office or as foremen or skilled laborers directly involved in the construction. Most of them were afraid of losing their favorable positions and did not wish to take part in the struggle with the rest of us. Also, they did not flee, but only lolled around on their berths reading books.

But, among them were also such who actively participated in the fight and placed their lives on the line as did the other prisoners. One of these was the Estonian engineer Skeyres. At the very time that our situation had become most difficult, he grabbed some sort of stick, flew into the barrack, and began to hammer each and every one within his reach.

“Oh, you, you mercenaries!” Skeyres insulted them. “Now when our fate is being decided, when the people have placed their bare chests against sub-machine guns, you loll around and read books? Let’s go, march outside!”

There were very few escapees. But at one point a prisoner approached me and told me that a handful of Poles, whose actions aroused suspicion, were gathered near the second barrack. It appeared that they were planning something.

“We have very good contact with them,” I answered. “I’ll go and find their representative right away and get an explanation for everything. I meet with him

very often. It is true that lately he has disappeared from my view and, for some reason, doesn't show himself. But, there he is now!"

At that very moment, the Polish representative Yura, as he was called in the Russian fashion, was walking past us. He threw a not very friendly glance in my direction and went on.

"Yura, hold on! What's happened? How are your people?"

"So, So," Yura replied evasively. "They are standing over there near the second barrack, but what each of them is thinking — I cannot tell. You cannot enter into a person's soul!"

We parted coldly. Suddenly, near the second barrack, we heard violent screaming, whistling and hooting. I ran over there only to find that fifty-two Poles, headed by Dr. Matoshko, with a sudden bolt, darted out of the zone.

The people had already overextended themselves and were hardpressed to withstand such great tension. After all, since the prisoners of zone 5 had been shot at, none of us had slept a wink, no one entered the barracks; everyone remained on his feet and waited for them to begin shooting at us. We could not expect anything else.

Nonetheless, escapes from the zone became more infrequent. Kuznyetsov realized that he could not defeat us in this manner, so, amending his tactics, he changed from persuasion to ultimatum.

"All prisoners are to take their personal belongings and prepare to vacate the zone!" echoed his harsh voice over the loudspeakers.

Afterwards the loudspeakers fell silent.

We realized that this was Kuznyetsov's final demand and that he would not talk with us any further.

I called Nedorostkov and went with him to the guardhouse, where I announced that I wanted to talk with Kuznyetsov. Following us, almost stepping on our heels, were several dozens of warmly dressed prisoners.

Kuznyetsov asked angrily:

"What are we going to talk about? Didn't you hear my order for everyone to leave the zone?"

"We heard it," I replied. "Tomorrow we will pack up and leave."

"No tomorrows," stated Kuznyetsov. "Today or never!"

In the meantime, a prisoner on my left, pushed forward and said in a frightened voice:

"Citizen Commander! Citizen Commander!" (This was the official mode of address of a prisoner to any commander.) "Permit me to speak, permit me to speak!"

"So speak up already," Kuznyetsov snapped contemptuously.

But the prisoner did not say anything more, he just rushed, past Kuznyetsov, to the guardhouse.

From my right side, another prisoner took to fleeing, and after him yet another.

"Why are you doing this? Isn't there a time for everything? Return to your barracks, take your things, and quietly and calmly cross into the jurisdiction of the administration."

Kuznyetsov froze, for he had worked out a totally different plan — *in two and a half hours we were to be shot.*

Now, after all the prisoners had already dispersed among their barracks, I considered what I was to do. Should I give myself up, or, perhaps, go for my things which, I was certain, would be of no further use to me?

“Oh! No, boy,” I said to myself thoughtfully, “go gather your things, for after all, you should be the last one to leave the zone.” And — slowly I went off in the direction of my barrack.

People with bags on their backs were continually coming to meet me. They walked quickly and silently. When suddenly one of my countrymen blocked my path and asked me very emotionally:

“What have you done?”

“And what else could I do? There is no other way out.”

“There is a way out — fight to our deaths!”

“But the people don’t want to die, they are fleeing.”

“How many of them have fled? Even if it had been one hundred fifty, okay, I’ll even grant you two hundred. But how many more remained? Five thousand! Out of these five thousand, let even four thousand flee, then a thousand of the kind that could not be defeated will fight until we are all killed. We will gather together and we will show them that we know how to die!”

“No,” I answered him. “I will not lead anyone to certain death. You need to live! Farewell!”

Having neared my barrack and seeing that people were still departing it, I went to the clinic to say good-bye to my good friend Vasyl Rykov. After leaving him, I went to my barrack, where I came across two prisoners who were swiftly packing their things. After gathering my things, I accompanied them to the guardhouse. The zone became quiet and empty.

As I was walking towards the guardhouse, I saw a guard climbing up the ladder of the bakery chimney. I stopped to watch as he took down the flag. To my great amazement, the guard did not drop it from above, but took it under his arm and carefully descended with it to the ground.

At the guardhouse, I met a small group of prisoners and, together with them, crossed the threshold of the gate.

Now, everything was behind me.

## **The Life of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Catacombs**

### **A Samvydav Document from Ukraine**

(Continuation)

The faithful are persecuted because they wish to pray — to pray in their own shrine, built by their grandfathers in 1771 and demand that the church, a place both holy and dear to their hearts, should not be transformed into a warehouse... Nobody demands the impossible... only to register their religious community, (this has been dragged on now for three years) and the return of the church to the faithful. Also they ask for the realisation of that “freedom of conscience”, which is advertised so emphatically in the Constitution by Article 52. That is all the

faithfull ask for. How long do they still have to wait for the realisation of this?

This is how the "freedom of conscience" appears in reality in Western Ukraine, despite what is written into the new Constitution of the USSR.

The church in Kolodynka, a village in the Kaminskyj-Buh region of the Lviv district, was destroyed to such an extent that even the electric wiring was ripped out of the walls and excrement was left on the main altar...

In the village of Nadorozhna (Tlumachskyj region, Ivano-Frankivsk district) on one occasion the sectional representative of the KGB and the head of the village council broke into the church. They began to strangle an eighty year old woman in the attempt to find the key. At that moment she was tidying up inside the church and did not have the key, having been let in by another woman. A young man, Slavyk Hrynychuk, rushed in on hearing the old woman's screams. Both of them were taken away and locked up in prison and later fined 50 rubles and then released. When the old woman asked where she was going to get the money to pay the fine, she was told to go out and collect it and then pay. She then had to go round begging for money until she had collected the required amount to pay.

In order to compel the Catholics to pray in Orthodox churches the authorities do not hesitate to use any methods. In 1979 in the village council a fictitious list was fabricated of twenty faithful from the village of Muzhylovychi (Yavoriv region, Lviv district), supposedly asking to be registered into an Orthodox parish and for an Orthodox priest to be designated for them. This was done only to obstruct the Catholic village Muzhylovychi from worshipping God in their own Catholic church.

Article 52 of the new Constitution

guarantees "the right to profess any religion... and to practise religious cults."

In reality things look like this:

During Easter in April 1979 in the village of Nadorozhna, where the faithful are served by Bishop Wasylyk, the church was guarded, from Good Friday until Easter Tuesday (April 20 to 24, 1979) by the police, representatives of KGB, party members and commissars from almost the entire district. The forest, in which the church was situated, was constantly searched and guarded so that there was almost no chance of getting to the church either for Bishop or priests. The faithful, who managed to reach the church had their Easter baskets torn from their hands. The Easter bread was scattered around the forest and trampled underfoot. Butter, cheese, meat and Easter eggs, meant for blessing, were also scattered on the ground. Many people were arrested and the rest fled. So that the people would not be left without the traditional blessed Easter food or without hearing Mass, the Service took place inside the houses of the faithful and the Easter bread was blessed. Everybody prepared hastily what was left of the Easter food to be in time to have them blessed...

...The situation was not better during the Christmas celebration on January 6-7, 1979. The church was surrounded by the police and it was impossible to come anywhere near. The Christmas Service took place in the private homes of the congregation, and they managed to have the Mass for the people in the church only as late as January 13.

In the village of Verkhnyj Hay near Drohobych (Lviv district), two weeks before the religious holiday (Easter, 1979) the sexton was summoned by the local authorities and warned that no services were to take place in the church. Furthermore, all the church utensils must be handed over to the local Orthodox church



of Nyzhnyj Hay, because this church will be used as a store.

The congregation wept during the blessing of the Easter bread, but they managed to carry out the ceremony under cover of night.

These days the church has become a target for frequent police raids with the object of getting control of the building and turning it into a museum. Already on several occasions the "scouts" arrived. The members of the congregation took turns to watch for 24 hours and as in the past the Zaporozhian Cossaks during Tatar raids, in the event of trouble, they let everyone know of the coming danger by a prearranged signal. All who are able gather then in the church with hoes, brooms, scythes and other implements, to defend their church.

The faithful proposed that they would collect the necessary funds to build the premises for the museum on the condition that the church, built by their grandfathers and great grandfathers for the worship of God, is not touched by the authorities. However, the police raids consisting of between twenty to thirty men, still continue unceasingly. The latest of these raids occurred 4 days before Christmas Day in 1980.

Is it not possible for the authorities to agree with the proposition of the faithful? Since the state does not have the necessary funds to build the museum then can it not come to an agreement with the population of the village to build a modern building suitable for these purposes with their own money and to leave the church alone? Surely only such a decision would correspond to the spirit of Article 52; the population would have a museum and the unnecessary "struggle for the church" would be avoided.

However, this fact only goes to stress once more the true situation relating to

the „freedom of conscience”, freedom to profess any religion.

In the village of Vilshanytsia near the regional town of Yavoriv (Lviv district) during Easter Saturday (April 21, 1979) the old church and chapel of the Basilian Order in the grove were surrounded by the police, and in several places near the entrances to the church an ambush was set up for the priest Yosaphat Kavatsev. However, the faithful spotted this in time and at the last moment literally twenty to fifty metres from the village (about half a kilometre from the church) they warned the priest about the danger.

Under the shelter of night the danger was avoided, despite the fact that two police vehicles and twenty policemen were sent in pursuit. The congregation used the opportunity that no armed men were left at the church and sang the Evensong of Resurrection and blessed themselves the Easter bread with water from the well, which is situated in the chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

In the village of Holubotov (Stryj region, Lviv district) during the Easter Evensong police and KGB men came disguised to the Mass with the intention of seizing the priest. However, the faithful soon recognised who they were, understood their intentions and pushed them outside against the fence, allowing the priest dressed as a woman to escape capture.

In the village of Hradovka (Horodockyj region, Lviv district), the congregation is served by the priest Osyp Roman, the church was surrounded for six days (April 19 to 24, 1979) by the police, representatives of KGB and local party members from nearly the whole region. A lock was placed on the church door. The people attempted to break in three times and broke the lock, but still did not open the church fearing to desecrate it in the event of a police raid. Then they gathered

further away from the church and began to sing religious Easter songs and also that Jesus said not to weep for Him but over yourself and your children. Maybe this had an effect. That remains unknown. After some time the officials moved away from the church and the people were able to sing the Easter Evensong and bless the Easter bread outside the closed church.

In the same village four days before Christmas the administration of the kolkhoz along with the representatives of the local authorities organised a conference. During the conference they warned that no services were to take place and not to bother calling a Catholic priest. The Mass was sung on Christmas Eve (January 6, 1979), and from 7 p.m. until morning the police and other representatives of the party and the authorities did not leave the church. The people sung carols and even invited everyone to come and join them and see "what they were doing that was illegal", for what they are persecuted, what kind of crime it is to pray and sing carols. Only in the morning the "commission" left the village.

The officially existing Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches do not possess much greater freedom.

Because moral and spiritual support is given to the Ukrainian Catholics in the Lviv (Polish Catholic) Cathedral, the parish priest is periodically "summoned for cleansing" by the authorities. At one time even the late Father Halanevych received an order forbidding him to carry out any services for a month. Thus, the Holy Mass was not served, no confessions or communion were performed. The priest prayed in the sacristy so that the Lord would shorten the days of heavy testing, and agents constantly watched to see if they could manage to close down the church for the slightest infringement against the law. Priests taught the people

brotherly love because the ferment of hate of the Poles for Ukrainians, and vice-versa, smouldered all the time.

Orthodox priests were forbidden to administer the Holy Sacraments to children and young people up to the age of eighteen. Since the Orthodox church in Russia is a very peculiar institution, because its representatives are atheists and the clergy forced to carry out all their instructions. Thus all christenings, marriages, funerals are registered in detail and everything is handed over to the authorities... in consequence faithful suffer persecution for their religious beliefs. Even for the christian burial of their parents, children are persecuted regardless of the fact that the parents may have left such instructions in their will. Therefore, to avoid all forms of bureaucratic unpleasantness, not all people reveal openly their true faith and views.

In Orthodox academies and seminaries, in the word of one of the students, three quarters of the candidates for priesthood are open atheists, servants of the KGB, whose task it is to compromise religion, and to conduct espionage through confessions and so on.

Children are forbidden to go to church. From time to time Komsomol raids and patrols of teachers prevent the children from entering the church, especially on days of religious significance. Afterwards in school the children are "re-educated" into atheists. On many occasions the people entering and leaving the churches during religious holidays, are photographed by cine-cameras...

School children and students receive so-called anonymous forms to fill. The following facts testify as to their true anonymity. If anybody returns such a form unfilled or "incorrectly filled in", he is immediately made to "rectify this mistake". Under the teacher's dictation the children (aged 7—8), who do not even

understand what it is they are writing, state that they themselves and their parents are non-believers and do not practise any religious cults and have no icons at home. After that such statements serve as proof before the world of the atheism of the Soviet citizens.

Such strange things occurred in 1979 — the Year of the Child.

The situation of the students is not much better. Entrance into an Institute of Higher Education, or even a Secondary Special School such as Technical schools and Teaching institutions, is extremely difficult. Often a large sum of money is unavoidable, so the majority of the students decide that in their conscience they can remain loyal believers, and write “no” in answer to what is their religious belief, only to be left in peace. If, however, somebody decides to write the truth, stating his real views, the school authorities begin to “re-educate” him. Such a person receives a special tutor and both of them “work” together until a statement of the “re-educated” person is produced about his atheism.

To avoid unnecessary worry and stress the people prefer to remain silent about their true beliefs. Priests are, without doubt, against such attitudes to the problem, but they are helpless in that how to teach the people to withstand this spontaneous adversity. They are obliged to teach and educate the people individually. And for the teaching of religion each priest is subject to punishment, as this is against the principles of the state.

The shelves of all the libraries and clubs are filled with atheist literature. Books with a religious content are prohibited. The homebased “industry” of the production of religious literature (some people rewrite books, others photograph them and make copies) cannot satisfy the demand of the population. Catechisation of the population is made more difficult

by the fact that few people can speak Polish (even among the Polish population, as for example in the Vynnytsia region, or in Kyiv). It was also decided that in Moscow, Leningrad and Odessa the word of God is to be preached in Russian. The situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is made more difficult by the following factor.

These days one finds a hostile attitude and behavior towards Ukrainian Catholics on the part of some of the Roman Catholic priests (usually Poles). The Ukrainian Catholic Church is regarded by them as inferior, as one that “thinks differently”, un-Catholic, and of a lower category. On several occasions Roman Catholic priests refused to hear confession, or accused people (among them even Ukrainian Catholics) of participating in services and receiving the Holy Sacraments from Ukrainian Catholic priests.

Perhaps these hostile tendencies, heightened by chauvinism, are strengthened by attitudes from outside. They are indeed, as can be clearly seen from the following occurrences. Recently a group of priests from Poland visited the Lviv Roman Catholic Cathedral. They were literally outraged that Ukrainian Catholics visit the shrine and take part in Services there, and even spoke about having all Ukrainians sent away from the shrine, so that they would not pollute the place of worship with their presence. As it happens however, if there were no donations on the part of these hated “boars” (a derogatory name for Ukrainians) then not one single Polish Catholic church would have survived to this day, because there are not many Poles, and of those not all attend their church. And yet those who are hostile to the Ukrainian Catholics “do not see this”, or rather they see it only too well, but remain silent about it.

It would be advisable for those high and mighty people to reflect whether it

is right for people of their rank to breathe with chauvinism and hostility, instead of brotherly Christian love towards Catholics of a different nationality, and what is more, towards those, who are already persecuted and who do not possess their own place of worship, nor any right as Catholics, only because they are Catholics and do not wish to leave Christ's church...

...We have already asked all people of good will and go on asking them to pray for us. We are not aware as to how many of our pleas manage to get past the borders of the state in which we live (USSR) but this much we know that to some degree they do reach you, and due to your voices being raised in our defence, our persecutors were sometimes compelled to listen to them. Only they are very cunning. Recently the tactics of our persecutors changed. The policy is now such that the Catholic Church does not hinder anybody, but at the same time a powerful campaign is waged against it. The authorities strive to stain it in any way they can, to bring defamation onto the Catholic Church, especially the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and to present it as an alien institution, and accuse it of collaborating with Nazis.

It was in the second half of 1979 that the campaign burst into flames around the incident involving the Italian priest Bernardo Vincenzo, who supposedly arrived with a mission to the Ukrainian priests, especially to Bishop Yosaphat Fedoryk, bringing a large sum of money for "undermining activities" from the priest Ivan Ortynskyj, who lives in West Germany. Involved in the affair was His Beatitude Cardinal Yosyf Slipyj. A press conference was held where an "uproar" was fabricated in the media about the anti-Soviet activities of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which, it was said, col-

laborated with the Nazis and still continues to be hostile to the people.

Perhaps all this speeded up the death of Bishop Yosaphat Fedoryk on December 28, 1979...

...And yet the religious life of the Catholic parishes continues. Once a month and sometimes two or three times, in each Catholic church a Holy Mass is celebrated. During Lent priests do not manage to hear confessions of all those wishing. The same is true on Sundays and other church festivals. Every time Holy Mass ends with the singing of the supplication to the Virgin Mary or to the Heart of Jesus Christ. During Lent, the Passion of Christ and His sufferings on the way to the cross are remembered very solemnly. For the children the great day is the festival of the Holy Eucharist and the Holy Heart of Christ, when they can throw flower petals in the air during the procession, and sing with everyone else the special eucharistical hymns. For many of the faithful the practice of celebrating Fridays in honour of the Holy Heart of Jesus, and the shortening of the Eucharistic Lent to one hour enables people to receive communion regardless of when the Mass takes place during the day, in the evening, or late at night.

And by the closed church in Mshana, where the congregation gathers for joint prayer in all kinds of weather, for the third year in succession on Christmas Eve Child Jesus is born once more as He was so long ago in Bethlehem, in the open air, bringing to us, Ukrainian Catholics, not only His blessings, but also the happiness of Christmas and the strength to face the victorious Easter.

We are grateful to all who help us either through prayer or by a voice raised in our defence. Let the Lord reward you all.

Pray fellow Christians of the whole world, and people of good will, so that God may shorten our period of testing and grant us the strength to bear all persecution for the glory of God and confirm the words of Jesus Christ:

"The door of hell shall not overcome Her". (Mt. 16:18) *January 1980*

Note:

This document can also be located in the Russian language archives of the Samvydav no. 4625 in Radio Liberty, W. Germany.

*Translated by S. Oleskiw*

## Lithuanians Presecuted

### Jonas Sadunas sentenced

Jonas Sadūnas, the brother of Lithuanian human rights Activist Nijolė Sadūnaitė, was sentenced on May 24 to eighteen months of "deprivation of freedom". According to sources, Sadūnas was convicted for "personal libel" under paragraph 132 of the Criminal Code of Soviet-occupied Lithuania.

The Sadūnas family has been the subject of government harassment since 1974, when Nijolė Sadūnaitė was arrested for typing an underground human rights publication.

Harassment of Jonas Sadūnas began in 1980 when Nijolė, his sister, returned to Lithuania after serving a sentence of three years in a labour camp and three of internal exile. At that time, Jonas Sadūnas gave his sister a room in his house. The government then began to interrupt his mail. Since then, the tactics used against him have grown progressively more severe:

— on the morning of September 26, 1981, Sadūnas discovered that his basement had been broken into and that letters written to him by Nijolė from the labour camp had been stolen. Despite repeated requests, the militia did not investigate the break-in until three days later.

— on October 11, 1982, Sadūnas' house was searched and several books and religious items were confiscated.

— on November 1, 1982, Sadūnas, who suffers from myocarditis, had to leave the

hospital where he was receiving treatment to attend an interrogation.

— on November 18, 1982, Sadūnas was forcibly interned in the Naujosios Vilnios Psychiatric Hospital. He was released two weeks later.

— on January 24, 1983, Sadūnas was summoned to the Prosecutor's Office of Vilnius. He was interrogated about some letters he had allegedly written criticizing the Lithuanian Farm Director, Petras Dukštas, and was threatened with a libel suit. The suit was later initiated, resulting in Sadūnas' present sentence.

Jonas Sadūnas wife Marytė and their eight year old daughter live in Vilnius. Their address is: Lithuanian SSR, Vilnius, Architektu 27, Apt. 2.

### Lithuanian Woman Jailed

Mrs. Jadvyga Bieliauskienė, a Catholic activist, has been sentenced to 4 years deprivation of freedom and 3 years internal exile under Art. 68 by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court in Vilnius for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". According to the report released by Reuters on May 24, she was accused of conducting religious activities with children, an offense under Soviet law. News of Mrs. Bieliauskienė's trial was announced in "Sovetskaya Litva", a Russian-language Communist paper published in Lithuania. The newspaper said that Bieliauskienė tried to teach children false ideas of honor and duty and attempted to "poison them with nationalism".

Mrs. Bieliauskienė was also accused of “storing anti-Soviet literature in her apartment and of organizing petitions and letters accusing Soviet authorities of religious persecution from documents she composed herself and others she received from ‘extremist clergy.’”

The *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*, a leading underground publication, reported that Bieliauskienė had been arrested last October 29 for organizing a religious group among high school students in Garliava, Lithuania, collecting signatures under believers’ petitions, and writing a complaint to the Kaunas Prosecutor about the harassment and illegal interrogation of children following a search of her home. KGB sources then disclosed that she faced up to 7 years imprisonment for her conduct.

Her apartment at P. Cvirkos 41-2 in Garliava was searched on October 1, 1982 for four hours. A number of books on Lithuanian history and philosophy were seized, including personal notes from labor camp, sermons and other documents.

Four days later, pupils at Garliava I

Middle School were interrogated about Mrs. Bieliauskienė by security agents. On October 5, seventh-graders were summoned to the Principal’s office and ordered to write down everything they knew about Mrs. Bieliauskienė. Those who refused to cooperate were threatened with lower grades, physical torture and imprisonment. KGB agents informed Miss Zita Dėdianitė that she would not be admitted to any schools of higher education and would be imprisoned for two years should she “lie” about Mrs. Bieliauskienė.

The children, who had been told that the Bieliauskas’ were dangerous criminals, were warned by the investigators not to disclose the contents of their interrogation sessions to anyone.

During the era of Stalinist repression, Mrs. Bieliauskienė was sentenced to 10 years of prison. According to Agence France Presse, she was imprisoned for 8 years, from 1948 to 1956, for treason. She allegedly participated in the partisan movement from 1947 to 1948. The struggle of various underground organizations and armed groups against Soviet-Russians in Lithuania lasted until 1952.

## The Great Famine of 1932/33 in Ukraine

Today the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Derby Branch, along with many English friends have gathered, prayed and marched, to commemorate the greatest human atrocity of all time. 50 years ago, in 1932—33 the Russians attempted total genocide of the Ukrainian people. At this attempt in one single year, ten million people died. These innocent Ukrainian people did not die from war weapons of total destruction, they did not die from some kind of plague or disease, they died of starvation, in a land famed for its unique fertility. These ten million Ukrainians, men,

women, and children, perished at the hands of the Russian government.

The Russians, under the leadership of Stalin, deliberately set out to starve to death those in Ukraine who would not submit to Stalin’s plans. Archvillain Stalin, together with his Kremlin fellow murderers, slaughtered more people than those who perished in the Great World War of 1914—1918. Never before, nor since, has such mass destruction of human beings taken place. What crime did the Ukrainian people commit in order to attract this horrendous ferocity?

1. They wanted to be independent from Russia and
2. They refused to have forced on them the policy of collective farming.

For insisting on these two simple principles the cost was ten million lives. Since 1933 Russia has stood out as the country of mass murder, slavery, power abuse, truce breaking, warmonger, and anti-Christian. Some of these atrocities Russia manages to play down with devastating skill and determination.

At this 50-year commemoration I have this to say to Russia:

You are responsible for ten million innocent Ukrainian lives.

You are responsible for enslaving and terrorizing what remained of the Ukraine nation after the famine.

You did not respond to repeated requests for Ukraine to be set free from your evil grip.

You are set on world domination.

Russia, you will pay for your evil deeds. There are those here who are com-

mitted and dedicated to see that you come to justice. "He who lives by the sword shall perish by the sword."

Now, as never before, there is the beginning of uprising in this land. The Ukrainian people and their English friends require Russia to give back the land known as Ukraine to its rightful owners, the Ukrainian people, so that the ten million did not die in vain. Failure to comply with this request will lead to the ten million people slaughtered by you to be avenged.

I say finally to Russia: — In the name of Jesus Christ let the people of Ukraine free and command some credibility throughout the free world. We shall never give up until Ukraine is a free country practicing self-determination. However long it takes Russia in the final analysis, you cannot win.

*By Reg Davies*

14 North Street, Leek

May 1, 1983

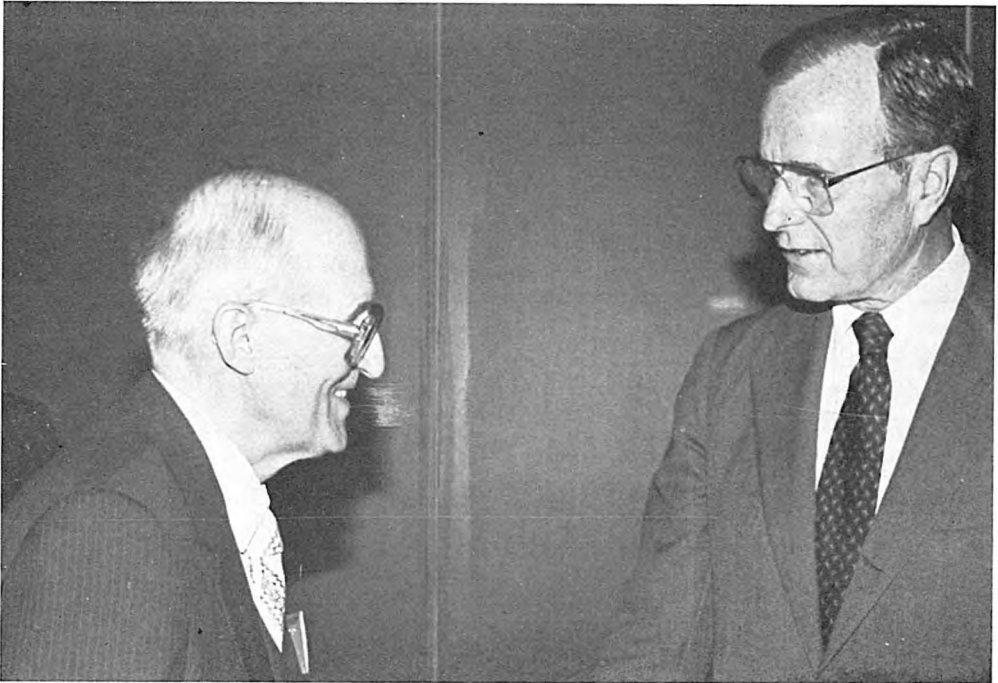
## **REAGAN PROCLAIMS BALTIC FREEDOM DAY**

At a White House ceremony, before some 200 prominent Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian leaders, President Ronald Reagan signed the Baltic Freedom Day Proclamation. In the name of the 26 U.S. Senators and 225 Congressmen who co-sponsored the legislation, the President reaffirmed his administration's moral commitment to the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia.

The President stated, "We are gathered to draw attention to the plight of the long-suffering Baltic people and to show the world that we do not recognize their subjugation as a permanent position. The Soviet occupation of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania is a living reminder of the cynical agreement between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany that perpetrated the Second World War. The Soviets would like to forget this dark chapter of history but it is something that the Baltic people and freedom loving people everywhere will always remember."

A considerable amount of international media attention was devoted to the event. Australian, West German, Italian, and Swedish television networks carried the story, as did two of West Germany's leading newspapers, "Die Welt" and "Frankfurter Allgemeine". In addition, through Radio Liberty, over half of a million Baltic people heard of the day proclaimed in honor of their fight for freedom.

25TH OBSERVANCE OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK  
AND 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF ABN



*Vice President George Bush and Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine.*



*Hon. Jeanne Kirkpatrick, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, keynote speaker at ABN and CNW Jubilee in U.S. Congress and Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko.*

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*(on front cover) President Ronald Reagan expressing American solidarity with the subjugated nations' liberation struggle; the President meeting Y. Stetsko — the ABN President.*



# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



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Lincoln spoke for us: "No man," he said, "is good enough to govern another, without the other's consent."

The second vision believes that religion is opium for the masses. It believes that eternal principles like truth, liberty, and democracy have no meaning beyond the whim of the state. And Lenin spoke for them: "It is true, that liberty is precious," he said, "so precious that it must be rationed."

Well, I'll take Lincoln's version over Lenin's. And so will citizens of the world, if they're given free choice. Now some believe we must muffle our voices for the cause of peace. I disagree. Peace is made, or broken, with deeds, not words.

No country has done more, or will strive harder for peace, than the United States. And I will personally embrace any meaningful action by the Soviet Union to help us create a more peaceful, safe and secure world. I welcome the Soviet pledge of cooperation at the Madrid Review Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. With every ounce of my being I pray the day will come when nuclear weapons no longer exist anywhere on earth. And as long as I'm President, we'll work day-in-and-day-out to achieve mutual and verifiable reductions in strategic weapons.

When Congress approved the MX Peacekeeper program last May, America demonstrated its bipartisan consensus to implement the recommendations of the Scowcroft Commission. This bipartisan step marked progress toward genuine arms reductions.



*President Ronald Reagan delivering his address during the commemorative ceremony in the White House.*

# **“YOU ARE THE CONSCIENCE OF THE FREE WORLD”**

**Remarks of President Ronald Reagan in Captive Nations Week  
Observance Ceremony Washington, D.C.**

July 19, 1983

Thank you very much. Thank you. You know, I have to apologize here for keeping you waiting. And I always, wonder if there isn't some way, without making it sound that way, if in that announcement they couldn't say "the late President" of the United States.

But thank you all very much and members of the Congress and Excellencies here and fellow Americans, and may I add, fellow citizens of the world who yearn to breathe free, we're honored to welcome all of you. I'd like to thank Congressman Gerry Solomon for his strong support of this event.

And today we come to show solidarity with our brothers and sisters who are captives, not because of crimes that they have committed but because of crimes committed against them by dictators and tyrants.

We met here last month with a group of Baltic Americans honoring Baltic Freedom Day. And I said that we gathered to draw attention to the plight of the Baltic people and to affirm to the world that we do not recognize their subjugation as a permanent condition.

Today, we speak to all in Eastern Europe who are separated from neighbors and loved ones by an ugly iron curtain. And to every person trapped in tyranny, whether in Ukraine, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Cuba or Vietnam, we send our love and support and tell them they are not alone. Our message must be: Your struggle is our struggle. Your dream is our dream. And someday, you, too, will be free.

As Pope John Paul told his beloved Poles, we are blessed by divine heritage. We are children of God and we cannot be slaves.

The Prophet Isaiah admonished the world, "... Bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives." Some 25 centuries later, philosophers would declare that "the cause of freedom is the cause of God."

We Americans understand the truth of these words. We were born a nation under God, sought out by people who trusted in him to work His will in their daily lives, so America would be a land of fairness, morality, justice and compassion.

Many governments oppress their people and abuse human rights. We must oppose this injustice. But only one so-called revolution puts itself above God, insists on total control over the people's lives, and is driven by the desire to seize more and more lands. As we mark this 25th observance of Captive Nations Week, I have one question for those rulers: If communism is the wave of the future, why do you still need walls to keep people in, and armies of secret police to keep them quiet?

Democracy may not be perfect, but the brave people who risk death for freedom are not fleeing from democracy. They're fleeing to democracy from communism.

Two visions of the world remain locked in dispute. The first believes all men are created equal by a loving God who has blessed us with freedom. Abraham

In the next few days, the Congress will vote on the question of supreme importance: Do we continue forward, or do we turn back from the Scowcroft Commission's recommendations?

In terms of speaking to the world with one, bipartisan voice, of standing up for U.S. vital interests, and of strengthening America's agenda for peace, no question matters more for this country in 1983.

Rather than seek temporary, partisan advantage, let us work together for the future of mankind. We must not waver in our request for genuine peace and cooperation. We must keep our military strong to deter aggression. And we will never shrink from speaking the truth.

Ask yourselves: Was it our words that destroyed peace in Afghanistan, or was it Soviet aggression? Is peace served by sealing our lips while millions are tortured or killed in Vietnam and Cambodia? Or should we not speak out to demand those crimes be stopped? It's not provocative to warn that, once a communist revolution occurs, citizens are not permitted free elections, a free press, free trade, free unions, free speech, freedom to worship, or property, or freedom to travel as we please.

Many military regimes have evolved into democracies. But no communist regime has ever become a democracy, provided freedom or given its people economic prosperity.

We will speak the truth. Alexander Herzen, the Russian writer warned: "To shrink from saying a word in defense of the oppressed is as bad as any crime." That's why we want improved and expanded broadcasts over the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. And that's why we want, and the Cuban people need, Radio Marti. Now, many of you here have known the suffering that I've described. You are the conscience of the free world. And I appeal to you to make your voices heard. Tell them: "You may jail your people, you may seize their goods. You may ban their unions, you may bully their rabbis and dissidents. You may forbid the name Jesus to pass their lips, but you will never destroy the love of God and freedom that burns in their hearts. They will triumph over you.

Help us warn the American people that, for the first time in memory, we face real dangers on our own borders, that we must protect the safety and security of our people. We must not permit outsiders to threaten the United States. We must not permit dictators to ram communism down the throats of one Central American country after another.

We've seen construction in Cuba of a naval base from which Soviet nuclear submarines can operate. We see Soviet capacity for air reconnaissance over our Eastern coast from Cuban bases.

And we see the Soviets and Cuba building a war machine in Nicaragua that dwarfs the forces of all their neighbors combined. Let's not fool ourselves: this war machine isn't being built to make Central America safe for democracy. It isn't being built to pursue peace, economic or social reform.

It's being built, by their own boasts, to impose a revolution without frontiers.

Now, this is not my problem. It's our problem. But if we pull together, we can solve it. As I announced yesterday, I'm appointing a bipartisan commission on Central America. And let us resolve today: there must be no more captive nations in this hemisphere.

With faith as our guide, we can muster the wisdom and will to protect the deepest treasures of the human spirit — the freedom to build a better life in our time and the promise of life everlasting in His kingdom.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn told us, "Our entire earthly existence is but a transitional stage in the movement toward something higher, and we must not stumble and fall, nor must we linger . . . on one rung of the ladder."

With your help, we will stand shoulder to shoulder, and we'll keep our sights on the farthest stars.

Thank you very much and God bless you.



*Senator Jeremiah Denton delivering the welcoming address at the 25th Observance of Captive Nations Week Dinner, at which Vice-President George Bush delivered the keynote speech.*

## THE CELEBRATION OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT THAT REMAINS UNCONQUERABLE

Address by Vice President George Bush Before the Captive Nations  
Conference Dinner, Washington, D.C.

July 18, 1983

This year, during Captive Nations Week, we mark a grim anniversary — the 50th anniversary of the forced famine in Ukraine, in which 5 to 7 million people lost their lives. As the years have passed, we have had other, similarly melancholy anniversaries to observe: East Germany, 1953, Hungary, 1956, Czechoslovakia, 1968, Afghanistan, 1979, Poland, 1982.

Since the time that Congress authorized the President to proclaim Captive Nations Week, five once free countries have been turned into communist prison states: Cuba, Cambodia, the former Republic of Vietnam, Laos, Afghanistan. The refugees flood out from these countries with more tales of starvation, mass executions, forced relocations of whole sectors of the populace, of huge prison camps holding thousands — quote — “counter revolutionaries,” most of them simple peasants. They tell stories of “yellow rain” and the horrible deaths of thousands from chemical and toxic weapons — stories many here in the West would prefer not to believe, just as in an earlier time people discounted the tales of refugees escaping Hitler’s Germany and Stalin’s Russia.

It’s a truism that history repeats itself, and that many refuse to learn its lesson. We still hear about “people’s revolutionaries.” Do we forget that that is exactly how Pol Pot was once described, that the bloody Khmer Rouge — who turned their country into a giant death camp, slaughtering 2 to 4 million of their own people — do we forget that the Khmer Rouge were once billed as “freedom fighters” promising the liberation of Cambodia?

But with each new revolutionary movement we hear. “This time they’re different, these revolutionaries are really, underneath it all, humanists with the best interests of the people at heart.” That’s what they’re saying now about the insurgents in El Salvador, the dictators in Nicaragua, the terrorists in Honduras, Costa Rica, Peru, Columbia and Guatemala.

But it seems to me that it is only intellectuals enjoying the security and freedoms of strong, democratic governments who have such a benign opinion of the rebels. The objects of the revolutionaries’ supposedly good intentions have a very different view.

Look at El Salvador. A year and a half ago an astounding 80 percent of the Salvadoran electorate braved bullets, bombs and death threats to make it to the polls and vote for democracy. Because that was what the vote in March ’82 was really all about — the people of El Salvador unequivocally rejected the communist/totalitarian alternative and with one voice announced to the world that they yearn for freedom and democracy, that in fact, they hold these values as dear as life itself.

Let’s be clear about one thing. Our concern extends to all systems that would deny basic human freedoms, — the right to vote, a free press, freedom from religious persecution. And we condemn brutality whether it be on the

right or the left. We are outraged at official torture and state-sanctioned lawlessness wherever they may occur, and where we have influence we will use it to correct these injustices.

Because we realize that hunger, poverty and social ills lie at the heart of unrest in Central America, 3 out of every 4 dollars of U.S. assistance to that area goes to economic aid. Our policy is really quite straightforward: we are opposed to replacing one dictatorship with another. Our goal is to make these countries strong enough so that their people's democratic aspirations can be fulfilled.

And the people do want democracy. The experience of El Salvador is not unique. We've seen it before — in elections in Honduras, Costa Rica, Peru, and Colombia, indeed, everywhere that people have been given the chance to vote and choose between communist promises of "liberation" and democracy.

Last December, I met with several of the business leaders who were held hostage in the guerilla siege of the Chamber of Commerce in San Pedro Sula. They showed me pictures and film taken of the mass demonstrations that erupted in the capital and other cities throughout Honduras, spontaneous demonstrations of thousands of people protesting the guerilla terrorism and proclaiming their support of the democratically elected government.

No, *the people* have no love for the revolutionaries. There are only 6 to 7 thousand guerillas fighting in El Salvador. Their numbers have remained essentially unchanged since the beginning of the war. At the same time, there is a steadily growing opposition within Nicaragua to the Sandinistas' betrayed revolution.

The El Salvadoran leftists showed their true colors recently when they turned away our special envoy, Richard Stone — they wouldn't even meet with



*Vice-President George Bush, Congressman Gerald Solomon, Yaroslav Stetsko and George Allen — the former U.S. National Security Advisor.*



him. Stone, they complained, wanted to talk about involving them in the upcoming elections. Well, we saw in March of '82 how the guerillas feel about elections. Now they wanted to talk about what they call "power sharing."

There are a lot of perhaps well-meaning but misguided people in this country who also call for negotiations to bring about "power sharing." Again, I ask how many times history must repeat itself before we learn its lessons? Twice in the recent past we supported the concept of "power sharing" with communists. Several years ago we pressured the Laotian government to enter into a coalition with the Pathet Lao guerillas. The communists didn't share power for very



*To The Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko  
With  
Best wishes* *Ge. Bush*

long: the Laotian government is now completely communist, and all the members of the democratic opposition are either dead or in exile.

When the Sandinistas first came to power in Nicaragua, this country was extremely generous in its support, providing more economic aid than any other country. We hoped that the revolutionary government would live up to its promises to institute democracy and pluralism. But they have failed to keep every promise they made: the ruling clique of hard-line communists quickly squeezed out everyone who differed with their pro-Soviet line. The media is heavily censored, the church is harassed and intimidated — they even harassed the Pope when he visited that country — and the promised elections have become as illusory as under any other communist regime. Eden Pastora, a hero of the Nicaraguan revolution, has taken up arms against the Sandinistas to free his people from what he describes as Soviet slavery.

So we know what happens when you try to share power with communists. How can we in good conscience force the same arrangement on the Salvadorans?

The people of the world have made their will abundantly clear, voting with ballots when they have the chance and, when ballots are denied them, “voting with their feet” — thousands upon thousands fleeing communism, making desperate dashes across barbed wire and mechanized machine gun fields in East Germany, or boarding leaking, rotting boats in Vietnam, paying everything they have to communist officials for the privilege of risking starvation and drowning, for the slim hope that they might make it to freedom.

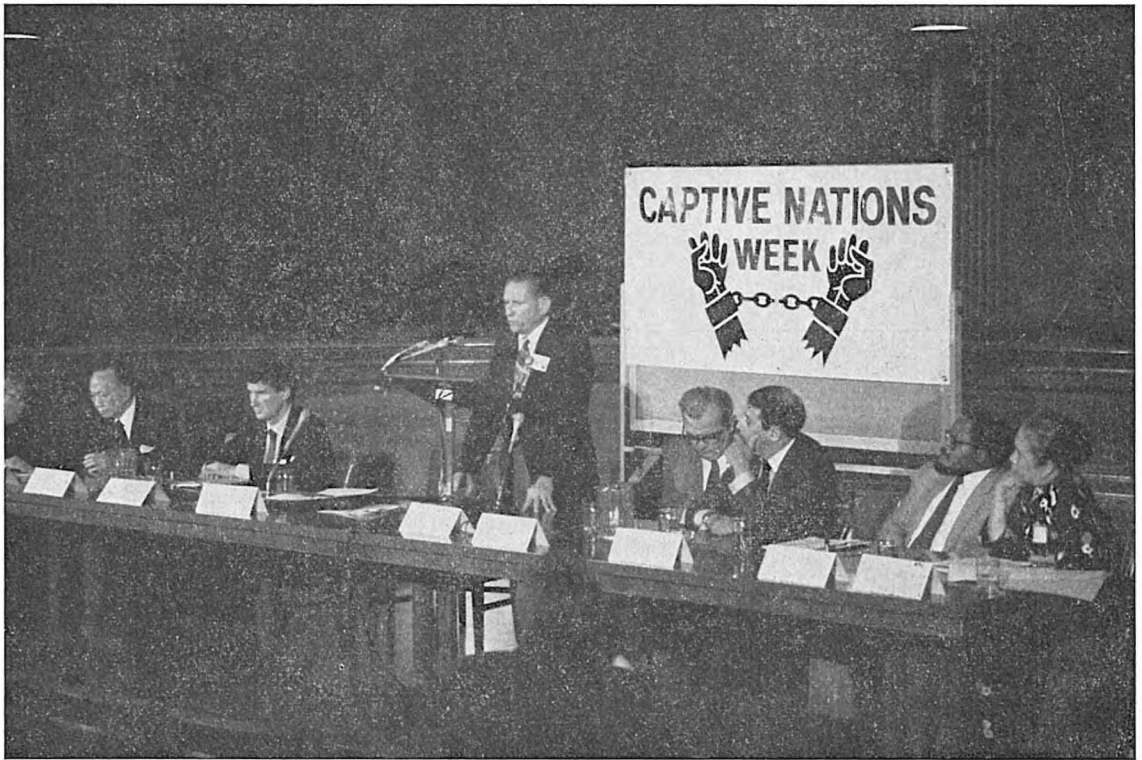
I started out tonight speaking of the somber observations of Captive Nations Week. But this week should also be a time of celebration — a celebration of the human spirit that remains unconquerable, that has survived and will ultimately triumph over all oppression. Because no matter how oppressive the communists may be, they can never extinguish the light of freedom. After two and more generations of subjugation it still shines brightly in the hearts of the people of Eastern Europe, the Baltic States, Ukraine and the other Captive Nations. We saw it in Poland, where 12 million Poles turned out to greet the message of hope and faith from His Holiness, the Pope. We see it in many of the individuals here today, who have dedicated their lives to the freedom of their home countries. We see it in the brave individuals within the Soviet Union, whose calls for basic human rights have brought down on them the full wrath of the communist rulers.

These brave dissidents — men such as Anatoly Scharansky, who though he is critically ill, is being denied proper medical care by the Soviet authorities; men such as Andrei Sakharov, in internal exile and also critically ill. Still he finds the strength to write and smuggle out to the West a closely reasoned paper on arms negotiations, warning of Soviet expansionism and urging us to build the MX. One should not, he warns us, assume “any special peace-loving nature in the socialist countries due to their supposed progressiveness of the horrors and losses they have experienced in war.”

Then there is Yuri Orlov, recently admitted to his prison clinic with serious injuries to his skull and brain. Just 7 years ago Dr. Orlov raised his glass to toast the first meeting of the Helsinki Watch Group. “To our hopeless cause,” he said. I, too, would like to toast this cause, and the men and women, such as

Yuri Orlov, who have never given up hope pursuing it, who have laid down their lives in an abiding faith in freedom and justice, whose voice, individual and collective, will ultimately prevail — against secret police and machine guns, against prison camps and psychiatric wards and all the machinery of the tyrannical state — because that voice carries the message of the truth: and there is no lie so strong that it can forever withstand the power of the truth.

So, in closing, I'll make another: To a time, I hope soon, when we can see that list of Captive Nations shrinking rather than growing. And to that end I'd like to propose a further and final toast: Let there be a free, democratic Nicaragua. Thank you.



*General John K. Singlaub addressing the 25th Observance of Captive Nations Week Conference.*

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

**Central Committee of the ABN**

## RUSSIAN EMPIRE IS GROWING BY MEANS OF CONQUEST

Address by Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations at the 40th Anniversary of ABN and 25th Observance of Captive Nations Week Luncheon, Washington, D.C.

July 18, 1983

I want to focus today on what I believe to be the most important question in our time. It is how to preserve peace with the freedom, independence and self-government that makes peace and, indeed life, worthwhile. The principal obstacle in this pursuit of peace with self-government in a contemporary world is the relentless habit of the Soviet Union and the Soviet empire of growing and ruling by force. That habit is difficult for us to bear in mind even for most



*Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick delivering the keynote address at the 25th Observance of Captive Nations Week and 40th Anniversary of ABN, ceremonies.*

of us here. Almost everyone is from time to time bemused by Soviet rhetoric and confused by the audacity of Soviet claims and Soviet lies. Therefore it is important from time to time to step back and review briefly the essential elements of that empire.

The Bolshevik Revolution inherited an empire that Lenin once referred to as a "prisonhouse of peoples," a territory that had already expanded from some 15,000 square miles in 1462 to 8,600,000 square miles in 1914. Russia, at the

time of the Bolshevik Revolution, had expanded at a rate of more than 50 square miles a day over a period of some 450 years. Since Lenin had criticized this "prisonhouse of peoples" it was assumed that the Bolsheviks might dismantle the empire. But as everyone knows, Lenin and his successors have expanded it and have imposed upon its subjects the ruthless force of modern totalitarianism. You know the dismal record; I know it.

The people who have been absorbed into the Soviet empire differ: their languages differ, their cultures and religions differ, but the process of expansion, that has extended the Soviet empire from Ukraine to Managua, has all essential elements in common. All nations which currently form part of the Soviet empire, the Soviet bloc as we call it in the United Nations, have been conquered by force — not by moral force, not by persuasion, certainly not by the tides of history. All the nations of all the peoples absorbed in the Soviet empire have fallen to the conquest of arms, weapons, violence. And all the Communist regimes ruling them rely ultimately on force — on heavy weapons like the tanks that crushed the revolt of Hungary in 1956 and of Czechoslovakia in 1968, heavy weapons that bomb and burn the villages of Afghanistan, heavy weapons that burn the villages and the churches of the Indians of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

Since we have so much trouble absorbing and remembering these facts it is important from time to time to review them. Perhaps we should begin where the Soviet empire began, with Ukraine. In 1961 my predecessor at the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, traced the growth of the Soviet Empire after the Bolshevik Revolution in a speech to the United Nations. "We are told," said Stevenson, "that the peoples of the Soviet Union enjoy the right of self-determination . . . How did this 'right' work out in practice?" Stevenson went on:

"An independent Ukrainian Republic was recognized by the Bolsheviks in 1917, but in 1917 they established a rival Republic in Kharkiv. In July 1923, with the help of the Red Army, a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was established and incorporated into the USSR. In 1920, the independent Republic of Azerbaidzhan was invaded by the Red Army and a Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed. In the same year, the Khanate of Khiva was invaded by the Red Army and a puppet Soviet People's Republic of Khorezm was established. With the conquest of Khiva, the approaches to its neighbor, the Emirate of Bokhara, were opened to the Soviet forces which invaded it in September 1920. In 1918, Armenia declared its independence from Russia . . . In 1920, the Soviet army invaded, and Armenian independence, so long awaited, was snuffed out. In 1921, the Red Army came to the aid of communists rebelling against the independent State of Georgia and installed a Soviet regime.

This process inexorably continued. Characteristically, the Soviets took advantage of the turmoil and upheaval of the Second World War to continue the process of colonial subjugation at the expense of its neighbors. The Soviets' territorial aggrandizement included the Karelian province and other parts of Finland and the Eastern provinces of Poland, the Romanian provinces of Bessarabia and Bukovina, the independent States

of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, the Koenigsberg area, slices of Czechoslovakia, South Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands, and Tanna Tuva . . .”

Let me pause for a moment over this first tragic conquest of the Soviets following World War II, the incorporation of Eastern Europe. Terrible controversies continue to rage about the responsibility of the Allies, in their various negotiations and conferences, for the tragedy that Eastern Europe underwent, that Eastern Europe continues to undergo today. Especially, of course, the controversy rages about the responsibility of our leaders at Yalta for this tragedy. The current *Encounter* magazine has a fascinating exchange on the Yalta Conference which I recommend to all of you. It provides new insights and raises some new questions. Like all historical controversies, this one is not likely to be settled definitively in the foreseeable future. But there are certain basic facts about the incorporation of Eastern Europe concerning which there is no controversy at all.

First, we know who made the first contribution. It was Adolph Hitler, of course. It was Adolph Hitler who met Joseph Stalin’s exacting demands: the



*Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick with the ABN President — Y. Stetsko; in the background (seated from right to left) — Osami Kuboki (Japan) President of “Victory over Communism” and John Wilkinson, M. P. (Great Britain); (standing) — K. Chumachenko — Director of the Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS).*

Baltic States, half of Poland, Bessarabia, and an agreed sphere of expansion south and east. The much-vaunted “Non-Aggression Pact” between Hitler and Stalin was, of course, an aggression pact which provided for the incorporation of those states of Europe and the destruction and partition of the Polish state. The distinguished scholar, Robert Conquest, has said that perhaps the best description of the attitude of Hitler and Stalin toward the destruction of Poland was

found in Molotov's speech to the Supreme Soviet in October, 1939 after that combined invasion of Poland when he (Molotov) said: "One blow from the German army and another from the Soviet army put an end to this ugly product of Versailles." So who struck the first blow? It was Adolph Hitler and Joseph Stalin acting in concert through the Hitler-Stalin pact.

The second fact, about which there is no controversy, is that the quality of Soviet rule in Eastern Europe was clearly foreshadowed by the Katyn massacres, in which 15,000 officers of the Polish army were, on a beautiful spring day, systematically slaughtered. As the author of the *Encounter* article suggests, Katyn presented itself as a startling prism through which the nature of Soviet rule and the chances of cooperation with Stalin could be assessed, not just by the Polish government-in-exile in London but also by Churchill and Roosevelt. The Katyn massacres were known to all the participants at Yalta at the time of the meetings. This systematic decapitation of the Polish nation provided chilling evidence, to anyone willing to see, of what conquest by the Soviets would mean in the heart of Europe: it would mean what it had meant to be overcome by the Bolsheviks inside the Soviet Union itself.

Stalin was a great believer in destroying groups and classes which stood in the way of consolidating power. He was interested, above all, in removing those persons who stood in his way or whom he thought might stand in his way. Stalin understood the social dynamics of control as well as Plato had when, in *The Republic*, he described the role of elites in political change: as elites change, regimes change. So Stalin set about destroying the elite which he thought could be an obstacle to his power in Poland. Churchill wrote that though they knew about the Katyn massacres when they met at Yalta, "it was decided that the issue should be avoided."

We may be shocked that such a decision would be made but, in fact, we should not be because a great many other people have made parallel decisions concerning the Soviet Union in almost every decade which has followed. Still the cynicism with which the men who met at Yalta discussed the future of Eastern Europe has the power to shock. Let us again turn to the recollections of Churchill, about the conversation around the table at Yalta. Concerning the division of influence in Eastern Europe, Churchill wrote:

"The moment was apt for business, so I said: 'Let us settle about our affairs in the Balkans. Your armies are in Bulgaria and Rumania. We have interests, missions and agents there. Don't let us get at cross purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have ninety percent predominance in Rumania, for us to have ninety percent of the say in Greece, and go fifty-fifty about Yugoslavia?'"

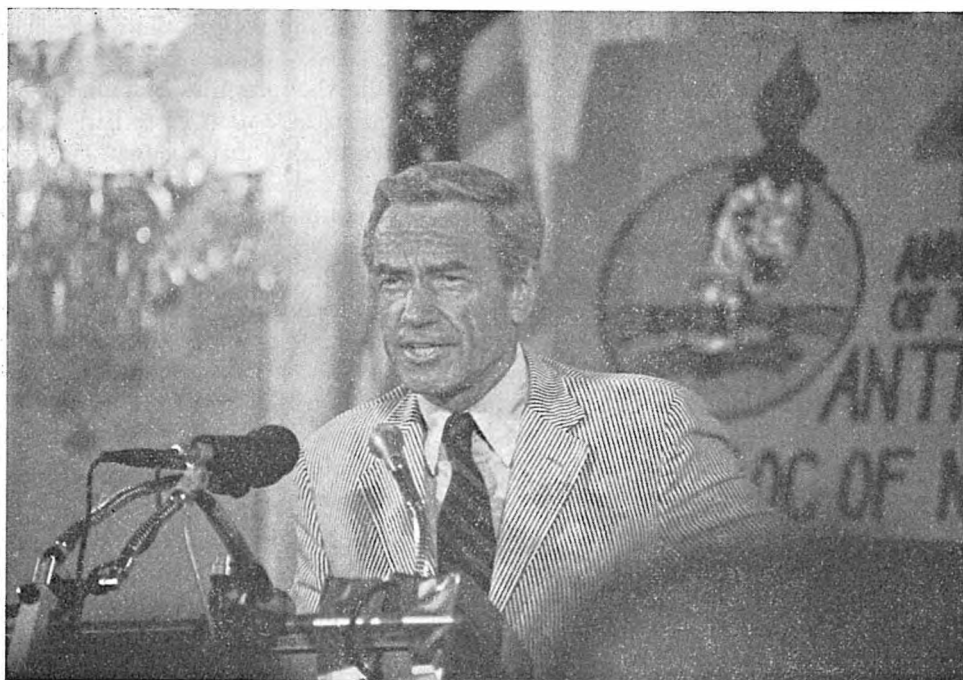
While his words were being put into Russian, Churchill wrote down these percentages on a piece of paper, adding a 50 — 50 division for Hungary and giving the Kremlin a 75 — 25 predominance in Bulgaria. Stalin agreed. But more important than the cynicism of the participants was that Stalin declined to keep his cynical promises. He wanted 100 percent predominance in all those countries and he got it in all those countries in which the Red Army was already present.

The third fact, which is not the least bit controversial, is that the Soviet

army guaranteed the conquest of the states of Eastern Europe. Whatever role Yalta may have played in the legitimization of that conquest — and I myself think that role has probably been overstated — the fact is that the conquest took place not by way of agreements signed at Yalta, but by way of the hard fact of conquest and the continued presence of the Soviet army.

All the other extensions of Soviet power since World War II have taken place in essentially the same fashion. In all extensions of Soviet power, force, violence, arms, weapons, murder have played the crucial role. In Czechoslovakia it was a violent coup. In Cuba it was a civil war. In Vietnam it was, I insist, a war of aggression. In Cambodia, it was also a war of aggression, and in Laos, likewise, in Afghanistan, in Nicaragua, those familiar combinations of terrorism, guerrilla war, and imported force.

Rousseau told us that might cannot endure unless it is transformed into right. The fact is, of course, that, if exercised brutally enough, might can endure longer than any of us care to imagine. Legitimization helps, but there is not a scintilla of evidence that the peoples of any of the nations governed today in



*Congressman Samuel S. Stratton delivering the concluding remarks at the commemorative ceremonies.*

the shadow of the Red Army or any of their imperial armies accept the legitimacy of that rule.

From time to time, crises in Soviet rule and Soviet predominance occur inside the Soviet empire. And when those crises occur, the skeleton of Soviet power is laid bare. Let me just mention a few of those crises. Because the lies which surround them are so multiple and repeated so incessantly and the



deception is so smothering, both in intention and effect, it is important from time to time just to remind ourselves of these basic patterns.

Following the annexation of the Baltics, the Soviets embarked on a policy of ruthless Sovietization in those countries, which encountered universal opposition. Then, on a single “night of terror” — June 14, 1941 — the Soviets deported almost the entire Baltic intelligentsia to Siberia where most of them perished. The Baltic nations were decapitated, very much as the Polish nation was decapitated at Katyn. When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union a week later, massive, spontaneous uprisings occurred in all three Baltic states and a large part of their territory was liberated from the Soviets before it was subsequently occupied by the Nazis. But the Red Army eventually recaptured the Baltics, precipitating an exodus of some 200,000 people who feared the return of Soviet rule — perhaps some of you or some of your relatives. The Soviets reconsolidated their control in the Baltics with killings, repression, and mass deportations. Between 1944 and 1949, we estimate that some 600,000 Balts out of a population of just a little over four million were deported to Siberia. Guerrilla resistance to the Soviet occupation continued until 1952, eight years after the re-entry of the Red Army. Since then, of course, the Soviets have continued a conscious policy of cultural russification, but there is not, until this day, a scintilla of evidence either that they have succeeded in russifying the peoples of the Baltic nations or in persuading them of the legitimacy of their rule.

We’ve had ample opportunities to observe the skeleton of Soviet power. We had the opportunity when the brave Hungarian peoples confronted the Soviet tanks with their bare hands. It is interesting to recall the words with which the Soviet rulers justified their suppression of that revolt. Nikita Krushchev, commenting on Budapest Radio, April 1958, noted: “We knew that the imperialists would shout wildly that we interfered in the Hungarian people’s affairs. But we also knew that within a short time, the Hungarian working class, working peasantry, and intelligentsia would realize and understand that there was only one correct road.” There is no evidence to this day that the Hungarian working class, the working peasantry, or the intelligentsia has understood that there was only one correct road and that that road was the road of Soviet conquest. They only bowed before superior force. They did not acquiesce.

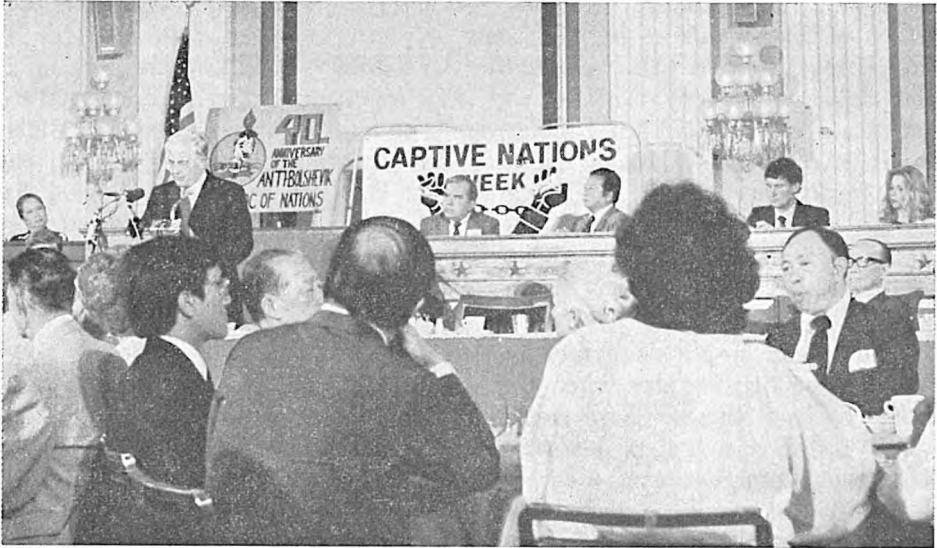
Neither did the Czech people. When the Czechs rose up in 1968 in that marvelous Prague spring, they, too, were crushed by the exercise of force in its purest form. Once again Soviet leaders justified the suppression of people who asked only to be permitted to govern themselves. *Pravda* commented as late as 1978 about the events of 1968 saying: “World reactionaries cannot accept either the victory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic working class in February 1948, or their own defeat in August 1968.”

That’s interesting. The Czechs that sought their freedom in 1968 had become “world reactionaries.”

As a result of World War II the Soviets gained Eastern Europe. But they were not satisfied. Expansion continued. No clearer case of conquest by force — brute, unadorned and unobfuscated — than that of Afghanistan. Today the Soviet Union occupies Afghanistan against the will of the Afghan population.

Approximately 3 million Afghans, about one-fifth of the Afghan population, have fled into Pakistan to escape the carnage wreaked by Soviet occupation. Another 2 million have remained outside the country. Those remaining inside Afghanistan still control some 75 percent of the country, despite the fact that they are poorly armed and trained, despite the fact that the Soviet Union has used against them the most sophisticated weapons in its arsenal, ranging from heavily armed helicopter gunships to supersonic aircraft.

Within the Kabul government, Soviet personnel direct virtually all aspects of administration, including the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense, Interior, Information and Culture, Justice and Economic Planning. Since 1979, Soviet



*Richard Allen — former National Security Advisor — delivering his address at the commemorative ceremonies.*

personnel have also commanded the Afghan army down to the brigade level and sometimes down to the company level, and still they cannot guarantee the loyalty or performance of that Afghan army. Nothing more clearly reflects the lack of public support for the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan than the collapse of the Afghan army. The puppet regime in Kabul has resorted to desperate measures to recruit that army. Young men, some only 12 or 13 years old are seized in bazaars, loaded into ground or air transport, shipped to another section of the country where they are shoved into uniform. Only those who escape — some of whom have been interviewed by the international press — are heard from again. The others simply disappear and the families do not know where. Recent call-ups of men who have already completed military service have been met with riots and protests, which are in turn met with violence. Protestors are gunned down and still the Soviet occupiers cannot put together an army on which they can rely. They must rely on their own. And so their army in Afghanistan has grown while they talk about negotiations to stop the resistance.

It is interesting to read the official Soviet comments on their invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. *Moscow News* commented in 1980, "We knew that the decision to bring troops into Afghanistan would not be popular in the modern world . . . Noninterference is a good thing, but the principles of international law do not exist in a vacuum . . . history and politics cannot always be fitted into legal formulas." And Communist Party General Secretary Yuri Andropov commented after his appointment to the Secretariat of the Central Committee, "Our response to events in Afghanistan was a lofty act of loyalty to the principle of proletarian internationalism, which was necessary to defend the interests of our Motherland." What kind of a threat did the people of Afghanistan constitute to the government of the Soviet Union? The threat of simply being there? The last independent Afghan government was not like the government of Nicaragua today. It was not importing tons of arms; it was not importing thousands of advisors and troops from hostile foreign nations. The Afghan people were simply trying to live their own lives in their own way. The consequence was the invasion.

This is the most brutal century, probably, in all of human history, and the Afghan occupation stands out even in this brutal century.

Then we come to Poland, where it also has been easy to observe the infrastructure of Soviet imperialism. With the rise of Solidarity and the stubborn insistence of the Polish people on expressing themselves in ways not wholly acceptable to their Soviet overseers, the Soviet-controlled government responded by declaring martial law on December 13, 1981. This repression was justified in the familiar way, namely, the need to secure the "fundamental interests of the state and its citizens," to secure "conditions for the effective protection of peace and public order" and to restore "social discipline." Virtually all free activities by the Polish people were prohibited; holding gatherings, marches, demonstrations of any kind, sporting, artistic, or entertainment activities. It was forbidden to disseminate information or distribute publications in any manner. The right of employees to organize and hold strikes or protests was forbidden. The organization of free trade unions was forbidden. Sweeping censorship was imposed on top of the sweeping censorship that already existed.

A few months later, on March 15, 1982, martial law was introduced by the Government of Nicaragua. Again, the familiar justifications. Junta coordinator Daniel Ortega announced a general law of national emergency which suspended all political rights and guarantees that had been provided in August, 1979 just after the Sandinista regime had come into power. The junta suspended all non-Sandinista news programs, suspended all programs of political content, suspended all rights of association and political activity, and imposed new sweeping censorship rules on top of already existing sweeping censorship rules.

Given the facts I have been reciting, why do so many have so much trouble facing the fact that to "fail to be flexible" in one's opposition to communism is nothing, more or less, than to stand firmly in support of human freedom? Why does the notion persist that the Soviets are in some way morally superior to other elites who have used amoral means to gain power and impose repressive,

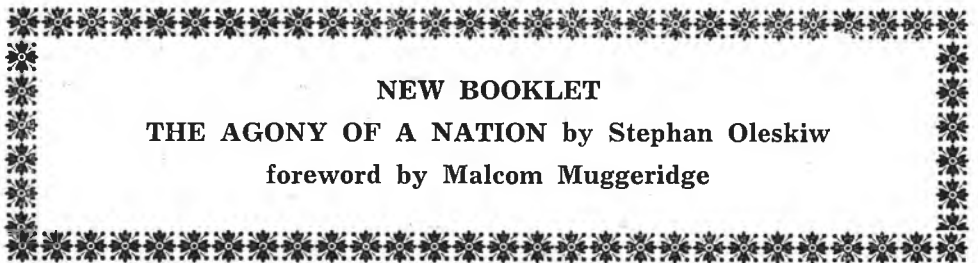
minority, military dictatorship? The sources of this confusion are, I think, several.

First is the deliberate semantic confusion fostered by the Soviets themselves through their systematically perverse use of language. By calling "autonomous" that which is powerless, "federated" that which is unitary, "democratic" that which is autocratic, "united" that which is schismatic, "popular" that which is imposed by terror, "peaceful" that which incites war — in brief, by systematically corrupting language to obscure reality — the Soviets and their various friends make inroads into our sense of political reality. Language is, after all, the medium in which we think. And it is exceedingly difficult for us, or anyone, to eliminate all the traditional connotations of words like, "for a lasting peace and a people's democracy," and remember that they had nothing to do with either peace or popular movements or democracy.

A related form of semantic subversion, practiced by communist parties everywhere, is the effort to capture prestigious symbols, slogans, and traditions. Communist parties in the under-developed world attempt to identify themselves with the slogans of nationalism and anticolonialism at the same time that they affiliate with the only active colonialism in the contemporary world. Communists in France, for example, identify themselves with the symbols of the Resistance, communists in the United States stake claim to Tom Paine and Abraham Lincoln, and in Nicaragua they claim Sandino, a Nicaraguan nationalist and patriot, and in no sense a communist or an international revolutionary.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn goes, as he so often does, to the heart of the matter when he points to the relationship between violence and the lie. The Soviets expand their power and they maintain it through the use of violence — systematic, deliberate, uninhibited — and through the use of the lie. "Let us not forget," he said in his Nobel address, "that violence does not and cannot exist by itself: it is invariably intertwined with *the lie*. They are linked in the most intimate, most organic, and most profound fashion: violence cannot conceal itself behind anything except lies, and lies have nothing to maintain them except violence. Anyone who has once proclaimed violence as his *method*, must inexorably choose the lie as his *principle*."

Since they require lies, we require truths. And the importance of meetings like this today, is that it brings together people to speak the truth.



## CAPABLE OF DISMANTLING THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

**Address by the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the ABN and Former Prime Minister of Ukraine, on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the 25th Observance of Captive Nations Week in the US Congress**

As we commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in conjunction with the twenty-fifth anniversary of US Public Law 86/90 (1959) on the Captive Nations, it is, indeed, noteworthy that the positions of the United States, as formulated in this Resolution and in the Presidential Proclamations subsequent thereof, are congruent with the political tenets of the ABN, particularly insofar as these positions reflect a common goal. US Public Law 86/90 is an excellent vehicle for Western moral and political support for the subjugated nations' cause of liberation, but, unfortunately, it has not yet become a guideline for a practical Western policy vis-a-vis the USSR.

The ABN originated at a Conference of Subjugated Nations that was held in the forests of Ukraine on November 21—22, 1943 and was attended by the representatives of the national-liberation movements and insurgent units of thirteen subjugated nations. Among others, the following nations were represented at this Conference: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Turkestan and Idel-Ural. It was organized by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Under the leadership of the OUN-UPA, Ukraine at this time was waging a determined war of liberation that was fought on two fronts against both Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, as did Lithuania and other subjugated nations. After the defeat of Germany in World War II, the OUN-UPA was able to continue its armed struggle against the Russian occupational forces in Ukraine well into the 1950s.

The ABN's primary purpose was to serve as the political and military coordination center of the insurgent liberation movements of the subjugated nations. The conceptual political foundation for the ABN was provided by an OUN Manifesto from 1940 and by the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence of June 30, 1941, both of which emphasized anti-totalitarian, anti-communist ideals of national independence and democracy. The members of the sovereign Ukrainian Government of 1941 and many of the leaders of the OUN, including its head — Stepan Bandera, were arrested by the Nazis and sentenced to long terms in concentration camps for refusing to revoke the Proclamation of Independence.

The Conference of Subjugated Nations, which was chaired by Rostyslav Voloshyn who was later killed in a battle with Russian NKVD forces, urgently appealed to the Western Allies that they enter into a common front with the subjugated nations against not only Nazism, but against its generic prototype — Bolshevism as well. From the resolutions of this Conference we read the following:

- “1. The First Conference of Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia greets the nations of Western and Central Europe in their heroic struggle

- against the Nazi imperialist and proclaims its complete solidarity with them.
2. The Conference deems it necessary to bring to the attention of the nations of Western and Central Europe the struggle of the nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet-Russian controlled Asia, and the aims for which this struggle is being waged.
  3. The Conference urges that everything possible be done to prevent the



*From the 25th Observance of Captive Nations Week Dinner, Washington, D. C., July 18, 1983 (from left to right): Dr. Ku Cheng-kang — WACL Honorary Chairman, Mrs. Richard Allen, John Wilkinson, M. P. (Great Britain) — EFC President, Slava Stetsko, Gen. John Singlaub — President of US Council for World Freedom, Mrs. Gerald Solomon.*

transportation of non-German formations in the German army to Germany or to the fronts against the Western Allies.

*Excerpts from the Appeal*  
*of the First Conference of Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia*  
 Brothers and Sisters!

In this difficult moment, caught in the midst of a raging imperialist war, when millions of our brothers are dying on the front, . . . during this time of barbaric destruction of our property and the monuments of our culture . . ., we turn to you with our brotherly appeal: 'stand together in defense of your life and property and your loved ones, arise and fight against the enemy of all humankind — against today's warmongers! . . . The present war was begun and is led by the German national-socialists and the Russian Bolsheviks.

This war is being led in order to decide which of the imperialist powers is to further subjugate and exploit the peoples of Europe and Asia . . .

In this struggle against our common oppressors . . . , it is imperative that we establish a common front of all subjugated nations, led by their national leaderships. In order for the revolution to be victorious, the masses must arise in the millions.

The subjugated nations of the East have already entered onto the path of this sacred struggle, . . . and they have already achieved considerable success. The national insurgencies in Ukraine, the Caucasus, in Turkestan and in the Baltic countries have raised the flag of liberation against the imperialists, defending the nation from the dirty, pillaging, imperialist scum, liberating vast expanses of land . . .

Soldiers of the Red Army and our dear brothers in entrenchment!

With your heroic struggle you are driving the German imperialists from your native lands... However, you have fulfilled only one-half of your duty. Behind your backs another imperialism is laying waste upon the agony of your nations — Russian Stalinist imperialism. This imperialism, which has exploited many nations, is just as great an enemy of the people, as German imperialism. Turn your weapons against this enemy. Strike at it with the same resolve that you are now fighting the Nazi German scum. In the Red Army begin creating a revolutionary, anti-imperialist organization. Seek contacts with the revolutionary insurgent armies and go over to them . . . individually and by entire military units . . .

This moment ought to be characterized not by a struggle between the workers of various nationalities, but by the solidarity of the subjugated nations, aspiring towards victory over both Nazi and Bolshevik imperialism!

Forward! Freedom for the subjugated nations!  
For the creation of national independent states!  
Death to Hitler and Stalin!

The Revolutionary Committee  
of the Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia”

With a view towards further cementing the subjugated nations’ front of liberation, the UPA — which had separate non-Ukrainian formations within its ranks (such as: Georgian, Uzbek, and others) — carried out a series of “raids” into the Caucasus, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Byelorussia, Hungary, Lithuania, and other subjugated nations, helping the national insurgent units there to further mobilize the indigenous population. The UPA also concluded anti-Nazi and anti-Bolshevik agreements of cooperation with the Hungarian Armed Forces and the Polish insurgent units (WiN). I, myself, was in the same concentration camp in Sachsenhausen with the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish insurgent army (AK) — Grot-Rovetski, who was later executed by the Nazis, as were three members of the sovereign Ukrainian Government, which I had the honor of heading.

In the 1950’s the ABN concept of liberation was effectuated in the Gulag in the mass strikes and insurrections of the political prisoners from the subjugated nations, who at that time numbered over 17 million. These actions threatened to lead to the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations, because the conflagration of revolution could have easily spread throughout the USSR. This possibility forced Krushchev to institute a policy of “de-Stalinization”, to

reorganize the concentration camps, and to release a considerable number of political prisoners.

The ABN, through its respective national representations, has been systematically preparing and mobilizing the enslaved peoples in the USSR and its "satellites" for the final stage of the revolutionary, national-liberation struggle — coordinated and synchronized national uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations, leading to the dissolution of the Russian empire into national, sovereign and independent, democratic states of the presently subjugated nations, each within its ethnographic borders.

In the irreconcilable clash between the world of national independence and democracy, and the world of Russian imperialism and communist tyranny, the subjugated nations are the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire. A barometer of the great weight that Moscow places on ideological-political warfare is a recent address by Konstantin Chernenko, a leading Politburo member, delivered at a Plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPSU on June 14, 1983. In fact, the entire session dealt with this issue. Chernenko's address was motivated by the growing internal decay in the Communist Party. But a no less significant underlying reason was the fact that President Ronald Reagan has continuously stressed the need for initiating a world-wide, anti-communist "Project Democracy".

In his address, Chernenko identified the greatest threat to the Russian empire: "Nationalism — our enemy — aspires in its aims to utilize the inherent psychological characteristics of the youth . . . A scientifically grounded national policy (i. e., a policy of national subjugation, Y.S.) is an integral segment of Party activity." In trying to justify Moscow's brutal and racist policy of Russification, Chernenko asserted that "a weak knowledge of the Russian language limits an individual's access to the riches of international culture." How cynical can one get to even suggest that Ukraine — a nation of 53 million people that already had an advanced civilization and culture 4,000 years ago, several thousand years before the principality of Moscovy even came into being, or that Georgia, or Armenia, or Turkestan, or Lithuania, or even Greece, I suppose, are not capable of having access to world culture without knowing the Russian language!

Chernenko also voiced a warning with regard to religion as a threat to Bolshevism: "There is a growing segment of the people that is being influenced by religion. The many centers of imperialism not only seek to support, but also to sow religion, giving it an anti-Soviet, nationalist orientation." It would seem that the gerontocrats in the Kremlin have come to realize that Bolshevism — as a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism — has engendered a severe crisis of moral decay and systemic bankruptcy. Hence, it is not surprising that Chernenko in his address presented the following quote from Andropov: "The formation of the Marxist-Leninist world-view as a matter of principle must be equated with a new quality of life, which by no means can be defined strictly in terms of material comfort, but incorporates the entire spectrum of a fully-developed human existence."

What does all this mean? Are we to assume that the Russian communists have suddenly made an ideological about-face and are now suggesting that there



exists a non-materialist realm of existence? What is it that has brought about this sudden panic in the Kremlin? Chernenko quite bluntly provides the answer: "The class enemy has openly declared his intention to destroy the socialist order. President Reagan has called for a 'crusade' against communism. And imperialism regards 'psychological warfare' as one of the primary means of achieving this end . . . This is why it is imperative that we open an extensive propaganda counteroffensive not only on the international arena, but within the country as well . . ."

President Reagan has understood the significance of a political offensive, particularly with regard to the subjugated nations. At present, it is imperative that US radio-broadcasts to the USSR and its "satellites" incorporate our political aims, our concept of liberation and our particular way of life. The ideological struggle is no less significant than the current pressing need for technological modernity of the West's weapon systems. *Ideas are THE decisive weapon!*

In this respect, we should always bear in mind one basic fact: that the non-Russian subjugated nations in the USSR constitute a majority of the population of the Soviet Union and they aspire towards the dissolution of the Russian empire into national, independent and sovereign, democratic states.

In 1878, Dostoyevsky wrote that "all people should become Russian, particularly Russian, because the Russian national ideal is universal." Recently, an entire plethora of colonialist literature, written in Russian, has appeared in the USSR, which has adopted Dostoyevsky's epitaph as its motto. For example, in Alexandr Prokhanov's novel — *A Tree in Kabul* — a story of the Russian nation's "brotherly" assistance to the "oppressed" Afghan nation, the author tries to ideologically justify Russian armed intervention anywhere a Russian can set foot. Volkov, the story's hero, rides through the streets of Kabul in a tank, crushing the residents. Later, in a helicopter shooting down helpless women and children, Volkov is convinced that he is "bringing happiness, goodness, an unprecedented life, love and beauty" to the Afghan people, who are "too dumb" to appreciate the benevolence (sic.) bestowed upon them by their Russian benefactor. In the Russian empire, "happiness" means the total annihilation and subsequent Russification of all the distinctive national attributes of the enslaved peoples.

Moscow need not always and everywhere maintain its occupational troops on the territories of the nations that it has conquered, since Bolshevism itself is a total system of occupation, enforced by the Communist Party, the KGB and the entire terror apparatus. This system is an aggregate of means and modes of repression, whose primary purpose is to uproot and destroy the traditional institutions of a given nation, while simultaneously replacing them by force with Bolshevik (Russian, communist), étatist, atheistic, anti-individualistic, anti-national institutions. In 1933, fifty years ago, in the resistance against Bolshevik collectivism, against the Russian way of life, over seven million Ukrainians were murdered in a brutal, deliberate and unprecedented man-made famine. Through this same forced famine, North Caucasians, Don Cossacks, Volga Germans and other enslaved peoples suffered heavy losses of human life.

However, the more the Bolsheviks try to *totally* enslave the subjugated

nations, that much more is the revolutionary significance of even a least offensive act of defiance magnified. For example, a child that refuses to speak the Russian language at school is, in fact, committing a revolutionary act.

A revolutionary national-liberation process is a series of phases, incrementally increasing in intensity and culminating in an armed uprising and the embodiment of authority and sovereignty in the nation as a whole. The initial stage of this struggle is primarily one of consciousness-building, by which an enslaved, colonized people comes to understand the inherent nature of its own system of values as opposed to the Bolshevik value system. The subjugated nations have already passed this stage. Behind the Iron Curtain, the revolutionary processes have now entered into a second phase: the building of an incipient underground state. These multifaceted liberation processes have already developed to the point where Moscow may soon be faced with an irreversible revolutionary situation, which succinctly can be described as the existence of two irreconcilable, diametrically-opposed poles of power and authority. These two polar forces are: on the one hand, the colonial regime, representing the centralized, imperialist pseudo-authority of Moscow, and, on the other hand, the revolutionary, legitimate authority of the respective subjugated nations, whose national sovereignty will be fostered and guarded by an armed, insurgent-guerilla force — the force of freedom.

Freedom of slavery — this is the dilemma facing all of humankind, particularly Western democratic societies. In order to emerge victorious from this dilemma, the Western Democracies must relinquish many of the luxuries of a consumption society and a welfare state. This is the only way that the West can achieve military parity with the Warsaw Pact, particularly with regard to conventional armaments, and, more importantly, seek to ultimately eliminate the global Russian imperialist and communist threat to freedom. It is more virtuous to live a modest, even spartan, lifestyle and to guarantee one's freedom, than to hedonistically seek short-term material benefits and as a result jeopardize one's freedom.

Freedom presumes the possibility of choosing among different values and norms, and of the capacity to act upon this choice. Nonetheless, this choice must be made within a definite framework, that is rooted in the immutable laws of God and the good of the nation. John Locke, whose ideas greatly influenced the Founding Fathers of the United States, argued in his *Two Treatises of Government* that to act outside of the Law is incompatible with freedom.

Bolshevism, in its drive to conquer the world, has stepped outside of any moral framework and uses the deceitful guise of proletarian, socialist internationalism to pursue its global expansionist aims. Helmut Schmidt, the former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, described the Soviet Union's policy as 75-percent Russian and 25-percent communist. (*The International Herald Tribune*, May 23, 1983). Elsewhere, he asserted that "Russia was and is an expansionist power — whether under the tsars or the communists. It has to be checked by a decisive counterforce in the future, as in the past." (*Die Zeit*, No. 19, May 6, 1983).

We, the ABN, applaud the courageous Polish *Solidarnosc* movement which

came to realize that Polish national structures could be built only in diametrical opposition to Bolshevik, Russian colonial institutions.

We, furthermore, fully support the heroic liberation struggle of the Afghan nation and appeal to the Free World to render modern military assistance and other means of support to the "Mujahideen".

In its full scope the national-liberation revolution of the subjugated nations is a struggle between two polar worlds, two irreconcilable systems, two worldviews: the world of theism, faith in God, a heroic Christianity, and religion in general, against the atheism and Ceasaropapism of Moscow; independent and sovereign nations against a global empire, democracy against totalitarianism, a mosaic of national cultures, each of which adds its own jewel to humankind's treasure-house, against Russification and "socialist realism"; the right of private property against collectivist slavery; the national against the imperialist ideal, et cetera.

Ours is the age of the Bomb. We must always bear in mind that humankind is faced with the deadly specter of a global holocaust of unprecedented proportions. The ABN feels that this global threat of nuclear war lies in the continued existence of the Russian empire. No "deterrence" theories will ever be able to eliminate the nuclear threat, but will, at best, only postpone a thermonuclear confrontation.

The only alternative to this apocalyptic specter lies in a political and military strategy of liberation. The subjugated nations, with the moral and political support of the Free World, are capable of dismantling the Russian prison of nations from within, thereby eliminating the possibility of a nuclear holocaust. In the words of U.S. General John K. Singlaub: "The subjugated nations are the Achilles' heel of the Soviet-Russian empire . . . They are, in fact, the West's most reliable allies and constitute the liberation alternative to nuclear war."

Once the Russian imperialist threat is eliminated, then a truly just and free international order can be erected, based on the ABN slogan — "Freedom for Nations!" "Freedom for the Individual!"

But in order for this alternative to become a reality several changes need to be made in Western political and military strategy vis-a-vis the Russian empire and communist system. First, the Western Powers ought to target their nuclear



*Yaroslav Stetsko — ABN President — delivering his address at the Luncheon in the U.S. Congress in commemoration of the 25th Observance of Captive Nations Week and the 40th Anniversary of the ABN.*

missiles only at Russian ethnographic territories and Russian military industrial centers, as was recently suggested by General Maxwell B. Taylor, a former Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. This change will reflect the West's understanding of the basic imperialist nature of the USSR and its desire to seek the allegiance of the subjugated nations. In the words of the British military strategist — General J. F. C. Fuller: If the West is to gain the sympathies of the



*Gen. John K. Singlaub — President of the U.S. Council for World Freedom — reading the Captive Nations Week Resolution at the Dinner in commemoration of the 25th Observance of Captive Nations Week.*

enslaved peoples, it must inspire them. To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic; to think in terms of liberation is democratic... To use this weapon indiscriminately is to repeat Hitler's blunder and the way... it should be used will determine whether the millions of enslaved peoples of Europe and the USSR are to be the allies of the West or the unwilling defenders of Moscow."

General Fuller further stated that: "...NATO is ... the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the ABN... is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand, strategical-instrument of the Western powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim — not the containment of Communism, but the complete elimination of Bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world."

Most importantly, though, the West should render a full measure of moral and political support to the subjugated

nations' national-liberation struggle. It ought to create the necessary preconditions for this struggle to be most effective and ultimately victorious, by terminating all forms of technological and economic assistance to the Russian empire. Such a policy would not only be in the interests of the subjugated nations, but of the Western Democracies as well. If the West refuses to help us in our cause of liberation, then at the least it should refrain from helping our enemy and the enemy of all humankind. He who helps the subjugated nations in their quest for national independence is securing his own freedom!

## THE SUPPORT OF CAPTIVE NATIONS IS VITAL

Address by Honorable John Wilkinson, M.P. at the Captive Nations  
Conference Washington, D.C.

July 18, 1983

I come with some trepidation to this podium as a Member of the British House of Commons — the mother of Parliaments. We British, the originators of the principle of no taxation without representation, were in days gone by not always its most adept or consistent practitioners — particularly for people thousands of miles away like yourselves. We've even been known to burn down a legislature only a stone's throw away from here. Nevertheless, I believe our record of support for freedom, self-determination, and democracy over the years speaks for itself.

It is a great honour, therefore, for me to participate in this historic public commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the enactment by President Eisenhower of the joint resolution of Congress that the third week in July be designated Captive Nations Week.

Since then, up and down the length and breadth of this great land whose inspiration was freedom and whose consistent object has been the cause of liberty, the observances, statements, and religious services — which have involved Representatives, Senators, Governors, Mayors, and people alike each Captive Nations Week — have for a generation kept very much alive in the hearts of the American people the conviction that their own undeniable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness will one day be shared by those who suffer the oppression of Marxist-Leninist dictatorship and foreign military occupation.

How fitting that the Congress in both its Houses as the interpreter of the people's will and of the rights of each and every state of this Union should have been the prime mover of an annual act of dedication to peoples who in many instances have a common historical, cultural, and religious inheritance with ourselves and share with us an equal entitlement to those fundamental freedoms, which should be the patrimony of all people everywhere, but which are so cruelly denied in the Captive Nations by the imposition of Godless communism and the naked application of brute force.

How fitting that the ratifier and enacter of that first Captive Nations Resolution should have been President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who as the Supreme Commander of the Allied Armies of Canada, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States in World War II first liberated Western Europe and then thereafter, as Supreme Allied Commander for Europe defended Western Europe against the deadly menace of totalitarian communism.

Those first and most inspired of champions of liberty and individual dignity, the Athenians in the days of Ancient Greece, had a great reverence for what was fitting and appropriate in the natural order of human affairs — "os dei" — as they termed it. By the standard of what is due and right it is indeed appropriate that this quarter centenary celebration of Captive Nations Week should have fallen in the Presidency of Ronald Reagan whose own commitment and that of the full authority of the Administration to the universal cause of freedom, particularly where it is most severely jeopardized by the military intervention

of the Soviet Union or its proxies as in Afghanistan, Poland, Central America, Indochina, and South Central Africa, has given hope to the faint-hearted and courage to the oppressed. His personal support of our endeavors and his public proclamation on the occasion of Captive Nations Week, as well as the honoured participation in our proceedings of his Vice President George Bush tonight and of Ambassador Middendorf and Ambassador Kirkpatrick this afternoon, lend substance to exhortations and afford credibility to our common commitments.

To a European, the significance of Captive Nations Week is real, immediate, and stark. We live in a continent artificially and cruelly divided not by choice of its people, but by Soviet force of arms. There are in one continent the 21 free Western countries of the Council of Europe, who have in the words of the preamble to the European Convention on Human Rights reaffirmed "their profound belief in those fundamental freedoms which are the foundation of justice and peace in the world and are best maintained, on the one hand, by an effective political democracy, on the other, by a common understanding and observance of the human rights upon which they depend." There also uneasily coexists with us on the same continent the Soviet Union which has created undoubtedly the largest, longest standing, and best organized apparatus of state control, individual oppression, and imperial enslavement in the history of mankind. Its Warsaw Pact "satellite" states and the other Captive Nations in the European part of the USSR (Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Ukraine) share the degradation of proud, once independent peoples who have had to subordinate their historic national heritage to the vassal status demanded by the alien Soviet-Russian forces of occupation.

However, generations of Soviet occupation have not dimmed the Captive Nations' yearning for freedom, self-determination, and democracy. They look to us in the West to share in their liberation by insisting that those human rights and liberties which we enjoy should be extended to them also. The power of democracy and of the rule of law lies in its inextinguishable appeal to the spirit and the heart of men; however dire their oppression, however pitiful their circumstances.

We Europeans have no excuse ever to be forgetful of the truth. The history of our continent does not lack of anniversaries and reminders of our situation. Fifty years ago, the Soviets imposed the most horrendous artificial famine



*John Wilkinson, M. P. (Great Britain)  
President of the European Freedom  
Council, delivering his address at the  
Captive Nations Conference.*

through the enforced collectivisation of agriculture in Ukraine and millions died. Forty years ago, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was created and few men have done more to fight for Freedom for Nations and Freedom for the Individual than Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine and President of the ABN, who has honoured us with his presence and moving statement at this 25th Anniversary commemoration of the Captive Nations Week resolution. And 30 years ago, the workers' uprising in East Berlin was put down by Soviet tanks as were the Hungarian freedom struggle in 1956 and the Czechoslovakian freedom struggle in 1968. The Polish freedom struggle needs no anniversaries. It continues to this day.

As President of the European Freedom Council, which exists to coordinate the efforts of organisations and individuals throughout Western Europe fighting communism, I am particularly proud that there is on the Order Paper of the House of Commons in London today an Early Day Motion signed by some 50 conservative members paying tribute to the official designation by President Eisenhower of the third week in July as Captive Nations Week and calling upon the British government to do likewise.

The support which we free Europeans give to our captive brethren behind the Iron Curtain is vital. We betray them if we appear to take for granted in our own countries the freedom and democracy they so earnestly desire be theirs. Their Christian faith, forged in the fire of persecution, is an example to us all. The way that the Catholic Church in Poland embodies the national and personal aspirations of the Polish people rather than the Communist Party has ramifications which are nothing short of revolutionary. Their endurance and resolution bear testimony to their steadfast belief in the final victory of justice over evil.

They are indeed our *best* allies, holding true, in spite of labor camps, constant surveillance and harassment by secret police, deportations, illegal trial and torture, detentions, enforced psychiatric treatment, deprivation of employment and education, to their belief in human rights and basic freedoms.

Their struggle for justice and for self-determination diminishes rather than augments the risk of nuclear war or Soviet military aggression. With troubles among their "satellite" satrapies and among the subject peoples within the Soviet Union itself, Soviet foreign policy planners can less readily afford to be expansionist and adventurist abroad. A precarious home base is no foundation for future conquests.

This does not diminish, on our part in the West, the common need for a strong defense — quite the contrary. We are unworthy of our friends in the Captive Nations if we in the Atlantic Alliance are not prepared to make the sacrifices necessary to protect our liberties. How can we espouse these liberties for others if by our negligence we put them at risk in our own countries? Our foreign policy will be bolder and always the more effective if we are strong.

A policy of accommodation with the Soviet Union born out of weakness offers no hope of freedom to the Captive Nations and no security for ourselves. Our common cause with the Captive Nations demands the noblest response from the free democracies of the West, the people of the Atlantic community — a policy that is neither timorous nor rash, a policy which is bold but not a threat to peace. The frontiers of freedom can be rolled back, but we must remember that those whom we thereby liberate will need our consistent support.

## FROM ZHYTOMYR TO WASHINGTON

(On the fortieth Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations - ABN)

Forty years have passed from the time of the First Conference of Subjugated Nations that was held in the forests of Zhytomyr in Ukraine on November 21-22, 1943.

The Conference was organized by the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), under its Commander-in-Chief — General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka, and by the armed underground of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), headed by Stepan Bandera. The primary purpose of the Conference was to create a coordinating center of the revolutionary-liberation struggle waged by the nations subjugated by Nazism and/or Bolshevism in their quest for national independence, sovereignty, statehood and democracy.

Forty years ago World War II was at the height of its destructive rage as two gigantic imperialist and totalitarian military powers were laying waste on the lands of the subjugated nations. It is, indeed, noteworthy that the First Conference of Subjugated Nations was held at this time and was attended by the representatives of the liberation movements of 13 subjugated nations, such as Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Bashkiria, Byelorussia, Georgia, North Caucasus, Ukraine and Turkestan, that were leading separate armed insurgent struggles to drive the Nazi and/or Bolshevik occupational forces from their indigenous lands.

The subjugated nations and their respective revolutionary-liberation vanguards were united in their political and ideological aims. The struggle against a common enemy dictated that a common front of liberation be established. This common front of nations subjugated by Bolshevism and/or Nazism was forged in blood, when the armed insurgent units under the command of a Georgian Major repelled a Nazi offensive in the Zhytomyr forests on the eve of the First Conference.

Already in 1940 on the initiative of the OUN a journal of the subjugated nations began appearing under the title — “Our Front”. In this journal, which was published in several languages, the political concept of liberation and the aims of the national-liberation struggle were clearly defined, i.e. the dissolution of both the Nazi and Bolshevik empires from within and the liquidation of all forms of totalitarianism in defense of a national principle of world organization and basic democratic liberties of individuals and nations.

### An Unvanquished War of Liberation

The Conference of Subjugated Nations called upon all nations in the East and West, that were subjugated by Nazism and/or Bolshevism, to rise up in a united front against both tyrannies. It also issued an appeal to the Western Allies, urging them to break off their alliance with Moscow and to launch a freedom campaign together with the subjugated nations against both imperio-colonialist powers. In retrospect it is fair to assume that if this strategy was then effectuated by the Western Allies, humankind today would not have to live under the constant ominous threat of a nuclear holocaust.



With an irrepressible bravura, a determined courageousness and heroism, the insurgent-liberation formations of the subjugated nations began galvanizing this common front. For example, the UPA was not only leading a heroic, two-front war of liberation on Ukrainian soil, but it also managed to carry out so-called “raids” onto the territories of other subjugated nations, even so far as North Caucasus, with the expressed purpose of helping to mobilize the indigenous populations into a common struggle for common ideals, for the dissolution of both the Nazi and Bolshevik imperialist and totalitarian systems! In 1946 the Chairman of the First Conference of Subjugated Nations — Rostyslav Voloshyn (Stetsenko-pseudonym) was killed in a battle with Russian occupational forces in Ukraine.

### **30 years ago...**

This period of mass insurgent-revolutionary liberation movements was unique and historically unprecedented. In the Ukrainian case, the armed struggle of the OUN-UPA lasted for over ten years, since armed skirmishes with Russian occupational forces were still taking place in Ukraine in 1955. Similarly many years after the war, lasted the liberation struggle of Lithuania.

In the 1950s the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations continued. It was characterized by the political prisoner uprisings and strikes in the Russian concentration camps throughout the “GULag” that Moscow could not effectively suppress until the later part of the 1950s. Thirty years ago these uprisings shook the very foundations upon which the Russian prison of nations was erected. In marking the ABN’s 40th anniversary, we also commemorate the “GULag” uprisings that were organized by the millions of imprisoned warriors from Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaidjan, Latvia, Estonia, Bashkiria, the peoples of Siberia, North Caucasus, Armenia, which threatened to spread like an inextinguishable conflagration throughout the entire Russian colonial realm.

These momentous events, in which upwards of 20 million political prisoners participated, have been emblazoned on the hearts and souls of the enslaved peoples as an always inspiring legend.

Following the prolonged armed struggle of the 1940s, it was here — in the concentration camps, in the mass uprisings of the prisoners, that the ABN’s front of liberation was re-forged, forcing Moscow to reorganize the “GULag” and to release a considerable number of prisoners. Khrushchev’s “thaw” was not some kind of humanitarian gesture of a notorious tyrant that suddenly turned benevolent, but was a tactical reprieve necessitated by the irrepressible volcano of national-liberation revolutions.

### **The Struggle Continues**

In the 1960s and 1970s a new generation of freedom-fighters took up the torch of liberation, passed on by the fallen heroes of the insurgent-guerilla war of liberation and of the prisoner uprisings. The legend of the 1940s and 1950s lived on, as this new generation, inspired by the heroic deeds of their predecessors, continued the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations on their native lands and in the concentration camps.

Different circumstances required different means and methods of struggle. In the past two decades countless individual and joint statements of protest against Russia's colonial policies have been written and signed by thousands of courageous men and women, who were well aware of the fact that their action would undoubtedly lead to their arrest and long-term imprisonment. And once these unvanquished martyrs landed behind the bars of their prison cell or behind the barbed wire of their new Siberian "home", they intrepidly continued to fight on, organizing hunger strikes and other types of protest actions. They are, indeed, the conscience of all freedom-loving humankind, its nexus to Truth and Justice.

Besides these "open" individual protests, the various underground liberation movements have been actively mobilizing and preparing the people of their nations for the final stage of the revolutionary struggle. This struggle is rooted in the original and distinct value-system, inherent to every nation. The undaunted faith of the subjugated nations in their ultimate victory grows daily, as the various peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism and communism become more aware of their own, traditional roots, as they become increasingly conscious of the spiritual core of strength, that is the foundation of the intrinsic vital life-élan of their nation, its particular way and philosophy of life, that stands in diametric opposition to Russian values and the Bolshevik anti-individualist and anti-national way of life.

The life-and-death struggle continues. The subjugated nations now constitute a majority of the population of the USSR, not to mention the "satellite" countries.

The "appeasement" policies of the West have not managed to check Russia's expansion, but, on the contrary, have allowed Moscow to increase its imperialist domain onto formerly free countries: Poland, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Eastern Germany, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Albania, Cuba, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, Northern Korea, many countries of Africa, Latin America, Afghanistan are engulfed in flames. Yet, the Free World has yet to awaken from its hedonistic lethargy.

### **The ABN in the Free World**

The ABN has been active outside of the Iron Curtain among the citizenry, governments and parliaments of the free Western democracies, continuously pointing out that the only viable alternative to a nuclear holocaust lies in the West's support of the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations for the dissolution of the Russian empire into national, independent and sovereign states, each within its ethnographic borders, and for the destruction of the communist system from within by way of simultaneous national uprisings on the territories of the enslaved peoples. This alternative guarantees the ultimate victory of the forces of freedom and justice without a nuclear World War III!

The ABN has been systematically organizing a world-wide freedom campaign against the Russian empire, by bringing attention to the threat of Bolshevism and Russian messianism to all of humankind. By means of its periodical and non-periodical publications (i.e. *ABN Correspondence* which is into its 37th

consecutive year of publication), the ABN has been resolutely leading an informative truth-campaign. It has also been building-up a global network of branches, most recently in Japan and India.

Over the years the ABN has successfully organized many international conferences and has been an active participant of world anti-communist conferences, in which the ABN's concept and strategy of liberation figured prominently. On the ABN's initiative a countless number of mass protest actions and demonstrations have taken place in many of the larger cities of the West. Largely through the efforts of its President — Yaroslav Stetsko — the ABN has been able to establish diplomatic and political relations with a considerable number of Western statesmen, government officials and parliamentarians.

Although the road has been hard, the ABN remains as determined as ever in its quest for liberation. Most recently, on the occasion of its 40th anniversary, the untarnished ABN beacon of liberation managed to pierce through to the center of the most powerful country on earth — Washington, DC, the White House and Capital Hill. The ideals upon which the ABN was founded and for which it has waged an intrepid and uncompromising revolutionary struggle over the past forty years found expression in the memorable words of US President Ronald Reagan — “Your struggle is our struggle! Your dream is our dream!” Indeed, the idea of the First Conference of Subjugated Nations was the inspiration behind the enactment in 1959 of the US Resolution on the Captive Nations (US Public Law 86/90, 1959).

### **A Long and Bitter Road**

From the forests of Zhytomyr to Washington DC, from the journal “Our Front” in 1940 to the White House, from the OUN Manifesto of 1940, the political basis of the ABN, to this year's grand commemoration of the ABN's 40th anniversary, to the raising of the ABN emblem in the hallowed halls of the US Congress, in this citadel of freedom, to the joint commemoration of the 25th anniversary of US Public Law 86/90 on the Captive Nations, — the road has been hard and difficult. Yet, we still have far to travel before we reach our goal, and the road will have many more tribulations, sacrifices and, inevitably, many disappointments... Many among us will undoubtedly fall along this path; many more sacrifices will have to be made, so that our truth, the truth of God, will emerge victorious. Let us reflect on how many martyrs gave their lives on the altar of Christendom. How many martyrs will die in the struggle against the dark Bolshevik Anti-Christ?

Ours is the most revolutionary idea of all freedom-loving humankind. Once it is achieved the world order will be radically restructured, since the diabolical global Bolshevik empire will be dismantled together with its communist system of slavery, its personified evil on earth, its militant atheism and its Caesaro-papist Church of Zagorsk.

These past forty years have been years of struggle. Over this period we have grown and will continue to grow, only because we have always depended on our own integral strength and never on the incidental material assistance of others. Our idea and our undying faith give us our strength. Only in ourselves can we be strong. Many international formations were erected by foreign capital, and just as quickly as they appeared, they soon disappeared. Only those

that depended on their own strength and whose cause is just were able to grow and succeed, because they were a reflection of the sovereign will of their nations, of the divine will of God. Our strength is in ourselves!

This year as we commemorate the ABN's 40th anniversary, let us celebrate this momentous event by further strengthening our common front of liberation, particularly with a view towards the financial resources of our organization. For this reason, we are proclaiming an *ABN Anniversary Fund of 1983!* Let our friends from the free countries of the world also help us by donating to this Fund. By helping us, the Free World is helping itself! The national-liberation of the subjugated nations is the only guarantee that the freedom of the Western democracies will be preserved.

Every one of our successes depends on your support! We were able to traverse the hard and bitter road from the forests of Zhytomyr to the White House only with your continuous support!

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

## **Possibilities of EFC co-operation with the European Parliament**

*Address by H.R.H. Otto v. Habsburg at the European Freedom Council Meeting,  
Munich, May 13, 1983*

President Wilkinson, President Stetsko, Ladies and Gentlemen,

May I first thank you most warmly for inviting me to address this European Freedom Council meeting. I would like to present to you the European Parliament as it acts in the field we are here directly interested in — the subjugated nations.

The European parliamentary elections of 1979 marked a definite turning point in European developments. A new phase of European political unity has begun. There are no means by which to destroy this new politically united Europe; we are beyond the point of no return and are sentenced to succeed.

Consequently, the Parliament, as the political instrument of a united Europe, is very important — even for those nations who are still, unfortunately, on the outside looking in.

In addition, the 1979 elections were a major surprise. All the pre-election polls predicted a sweeping Socialist victory; Mr. Willy Brandt, leader of the Socialist International, was convinced that he would be elected President and thus, spokesman for Europe.

The election results, though, were diametrically opposed to the poll forecasts. The Socialist bloc (including Communists) was just slightly in excess of one third of the total membership of the Parliament. The Christian Democrats — with whom I am affiliated — obtained 3 million votes more than the Socialists, despite the fact that there were Socialist candidates in Great Britain, Denmark and Ireland, unopposed by any Christian Democrat contestants.

Mr. Brandt's aspirations for the Presidency of the Parliament, thus came, to nil. He did, however, feel that he could retain considerable influence in the

Parliament through socialist faction's strength. The conservative forces, Christian Democrats naturally included, fought his attempts and after eight or nine months, Mr. Brandt's efforts to gain paramount influence collapsed. Mr. Brandt is no longer a Member of Parliament.

Let me add, though, that it is imperative to differentiate between the various Socialists. In their ranks can be found staunch and reliable allies, who vote with us consistently on the issue of freedom for those nations which are ruled by Soviet hegemony.

Thus, a non-socialist majority came into existence with the 1979 elections. Unfortunately, it took a long time for this force to assert itself. A great deal of patience was needed to get the idea accepted that we, as the majority, have a clear responsibility to vote together on fundamental questions.

Nowhere was the majority's process of "asserting itself" more evident than in the field of foreign policy. From the onset, the conservatives sought to establish the criterium that the European Community is for Europe what Piedmonte was for Italian unification. We want to prove that the Parliament is the starting point — the dynamic nucleus — for unifying Europe politically. Consequently, the Parliament must keep its doors open to wider membership and always insist that the artificial line drawn across the continent in February 1945 is not the true border of a free and unified Europe. We must adhere to our responsibilities beyond that line.

Having formulated these ideas, the conservative majority took the first step in September 1979 — the resolution dealing with the European Parliament's obligations concerning the subjugated nations. The resolution stated that Europe is not complete, that other nations should legitimately be represented. The resolution passed by the skin of its teeth.

After this initial success, the conservatives took another initiative. On the 25th anniversary of the Hungarian Uprising, Mr. Alan Tyrrell proposed that we reaffirm our responsibility for *all* of Europe. This motion passed with substantially greater ease than the initial resolution.

Third came the Baltic resolution. It was passed by a landslide; the majority was finally solidified. The resolution itself not only reaffirmed Europe's responsibility for the Baltic nations, but also invited the foreign ministers of the ten member nations to present the Baltic issue to the De-Colonization Subcommittee of the United Nations. This is now in process and must be carried through.

Related directly to foreign policy are the problems of security. It is insufficient to make declarations on the subjugated nations' right of self-determination if we cannot substantiate them. If we dismantle the security of Europe, the whole matter of the subjugated nations will be but beautiful words with no content.

Security is now imperative because the USSR is moving fast into a very difficult phase — an explosion or implosion of the Soviet Union is in the making. This is precarious from the standpoint of Europe, because Kremlin dignitaries may, at the last moment, utilize their superiority in weaponry to do what they did in Afghanistan. There they started an offensive to solve an insoluble problem. Therefore, Western security must henceforth be paramount in our

considerations. While going through this oncoming dangerous phase, I hope that European strength will hold the line.

It is important, also, to note that the Soviets, in their propaganda warfare, have already provided some 200 million dollars to the world-wide "peace" movement. Therefore, the "peaceniks" have no financial difficulties and no problems when moving their supporters from one place to another. We must be ready for that eventuality.

Another related matter — human rights — is also most relevant politically. Fortunately, the issue of human rights has been taken away from the Left, whereas only two short years ago it was still a far-left domain. Previously, most human rights violations discussed in Parliament were those that occurred in Central and South America, Northern Ireland and South Africa. There was scarcely any mention of the European subjugated nations, where human rights are defiled daily. Today, when mentioning violations of human rights, we speak primarily of nations oppressed by communism. I am happy to report, that the issue of human rights is no longer a Soviet weapon, but one firmly in Western hands.

Thus, it is my belief that the European Parliament has made great strides towards establishing an unequivocal policy for a greater Europe; we feel responsible regarding the right of self-determination of the nations behind the Iron Curtain. We have a common European foreign policy vis-a-vis the subjugated people. This is in itself quite an achievement, considering that the European Community includes a spectrum from Great Britain's Margaret Thatcher to Greece's George Papandreou. A powerful political machine, backed by vast economic resources, has been created.

Obviously, our united front will be strongly challenged. With the next European elections soon at hand, the Socialist International is preparing a concerted offensive to gain the majority in Parliament. This attack, where it has already developed, is remarkably well-planned. Regretfully, I must say that many non-socialist parties are still prone to ignore this new offensive.

Still, our chances for winning the next elections are not bad. Events in Britain seem to indicate that the Conservatives will retain approximately the same strength. In Germany, the possibility of gaining at least four seats exists, if we make a concerted effort and provide adequate candidates. In France, the Gaullists are due for a comeback and may return in strength. In Greece, disenchantment with the present government may be reflected in a non-socialist vote. In Italy, election results are always hard to predict, but rarely bring about very extensive changes.

I would like to conclude by pointing out that those individuals from the subjugated nations who now reside in free countries, can do a great deal to further the cause of freedom through the means of the European Parliament. In your adopted countries of residence, there is hard work to be done in supporting candidates who believe in basic liberties. Let us remember that a strong foundation for building freedom has been constructed. Consequently, you, the people of the subjugated nations, ought to use this instrument, the European Parliament, to your advantage.

In closing, I recall a conversation I had with a Socialist colleague from the Parliament. His links to the Soviet Union, it must be noted, are close. He

informed me, quite candidly, "We, the Socialists, underestimated the potentials of the European Parliament. We have to make a great effort to reconquer that position." With those words in mind, Ladies and Gentlemen, we must try even harder to maintain control, because in the next five years we have the opportunity to do great things. The near future is of crucial importance to the world's power structure; if a united Europe continues to act energetically in favour of fellow European nations deprived of their freedom, great gains will be made. If we stay the course, we can have good hopes that we shall achieve our goal — European re-unification. Europe can be a major power, completely secure against outside threats and with *all* its nations enjoying freedom. We have a great future, if only we are determined to be worthy of our great past.

*Congressman William S. Broomfield*

### **Charter of Independence for the Subjugated Demanded**

Let me express my sincere appreciation to the Committee for extending me the privilege of speaking to you on this special occasion.

This year's Captive Nation Week assumes a special significance for a number of reasons. It is the anniversary of Congressional Action decreeing that the United States should recognize the need for freedom in more than 30 captive countries.

I can clearly remember that day some 25 years ago when, as a young Congressman, I was honored to witness the signing of the first captive nations proclamation by President Dwight Eisenhower.

Captive Nations Week is also important because of recent American efforts to more fully assess our political, economic and military relationships with the Soviet Union.

Recent Congressional debates ranging from the foreign policy issues of strategic arms limitations to Soviet-backed insurgency in Central America are providing a forum for addressing American economic and military policies toward the USSR. In addition, our discussions are focusing on political and human rights issues which are often directly related to a better resolution of economic and security problems between countries.

For many years, the issue of human rights has been at the heart of the "captive cause". In Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in Asia, the Soviet Union and its surrogates have extended their "empires", entrapping millions of people under the yoke of Communism. The tragedy of Afghanistan is mute testimony to the Soviets' continuing determination to expand their empire by brute force, if necessary.

Let's talk about Afghanistan for a moment. Over the years, the Soviets have watched with lusting eyes the poor and peace-loving nation of Afghanistan. After destabilizing the former government, the Soviets promptly set up their own puppet regime. The Soviets claimed that they were invited to stabilize that nation and invaded it a few months later. Over 105,000 Soviet troops now occupy that country. Over 1 million Afghans have been killed in the fighting. The personal freedoms of all Afghans are rapidly being taken away. The United States did very little in response to the Soviet takeover. We even lost our American Ambassador there in the process.

Recent events in Poland are equally grim. In response to the increasing activities and growing influence of the Solidarity Union, the Soviets used intimidat-

ing tactics and held military maneuvers on the Polish border. They later installed a new pro-Soviet regime under the tutelage of Soviet-trained General Jaruzelski. Under the current Martial Law in that country, human rights are rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The United States has been able to do little to remedy this sad situation. Among others, Nicaragua and Ethiopia also became recent victims of Soviet imperialism. What fate awaits other smaller nations in Central America and the Caribbean?

Over the decades, many of the "Captives" have managed to persevere in their struggle against the Communist empires for national and individual rights. Much blood has been shed in the process. Who can forget the rebellions against the Communist regimes in East Germany in 1953, in Poland and Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968? These were demonstrations of man's inherent need to be free and a tribute to man's courage and tenacity in pursuing the fight for justice and human rights.

Through terror and deceit, the Communists have been ruthless in their efforts to control the captive peoples of Europe and Asia. In particular, the Soviets have made numerous attempts to harass, humiliate and russify the people of their empire. All available evidence indicates that individual dissent in the Soviet Union itself is more harshly suppressed now than it was five years ago. The Soviets have continued the commitment to ruthlessly suppress nationalism in "republics" like Lithuania, Georgia and Ukraine.

Since all of us are commemorating this anniversary in the Ukrainian Cultural Center tonight, let me discuss a case in point — the violation of human freedoms in Ukraine. As all of you know, Ukraine is the richest republic in the USSR in terms of its natural resources, its fertile

soil and its natural beauty. It encompasses a huge area of over 230,000 square miles. It has always been coveted by the Russian rulers of the past as well as the present. Ukrainians, as much as any people in the world, cherish freedom and understand the meaning of its loss. This is so because freedom has been denied to them throughout so much of their history. In this century, the people of Ukraine have suffered under both Communist and Nazi tyranny.

By the eve of World War I, the Ukrainian national movement took on a definite political character. It was in the setting of that War that the Ukrainians were able to achieve, at least momentarily, their ultimate goal of national independence.

It is unfortunate that because the independence of Ukraine lasted but a short time, some people tend to forget that Ukraine was free and independent for five years.

Later, during the early 1930's, Joseph Stalin engineered a drastic repression as he attempted to quell a revival of Ukrainian culture. Stalin then turned on the hard-working Ukrainian peasants who loved freedom and constituted the backbone of the Ukrainian nation. Who can forget the brutal "Stalin Famine" of 1932—1933 which claimed over seven million innocent men, women and children?

Today, the Kremlin's program for Ukraine includes both civil and religious persecution. The Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches have been repressed and almost totally crushed by the Soviets even though the Soviet Constitution insures "freedom of conscience, freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda" in the USSR.

Soviet repression of a nation of nearly 50 million persons brutally violates the most basic human freedoms. Although Ukraine represents 20% of the popu-



lation of the Soviet Union, 45% of the political prisoners in all Soviet gulags come from Ukraine.

In 1976, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was formed. This Group planned to monitor Soviet compliance with the provisions of the Helsinki Accords which called for the protection of human rights in all of the signatory nations. Three months after being formed, its leader was arrested. Now, not a single active member of the Group is around. Twenty-three are in prison, six have been exiled overseas, one was driven to suicide and two are under close KGB surveillance after completing their jail terms for their quest for freedom.

According to a recent article in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Mr. Andropov has succeeded in essentially ending all serious dissident activity in the USSR. This massive suppression of any opposition to the regime was cleverly accomplished by expulsions, jailings and wilting KGB harassment techniques.

In spite of this, the Ukrainian people continue to yearn for freedom as they bear the burden of totalitarianism under the direction of the Kremlin. The Ukrainian national spirit and the love of freedom remain so strong that the Soviet rulers of this captive nation are unable to completely conquer them; the Ukrainian people are determined to retain their cultural and intellectual identity. Their quest for freedom is still alive although it suffers untold hardship.

I could go on and on talking about the violations of human rights in other Soviet republics as Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

Let me also briefly talk about the sufferings and human rights violations of the ethnic Albanian community in Yugoslavia. As you know, Kosovo is an autonomous province and is the poorest region of Yugoslavia. Kosovo has been called "Yugoslavia's Third World". 80% of

the people in that province are ethnic Albanians and their per capita income is one-sixth of the rest of Yugoslavia.

Is there any wonder that many ethnic Albanians in Kosovo feel discriminated against. Their demands for greater economic help and more autonomy erupted in violence. The most notable demonstration occurred in 1981. Rather than trying to right the wrongs and remedy the violations of Albanian personal freedoms, the Soviet-backed Yugoslav Government sent in the army to crush each demonstration and uprising. That is what the Communists think of human rights.

The Department of State's recent report on human rights violations clearly documents the human rights abuses in the Kosovo region.

Thanks to the excellent efforts of Mr. Ekrem Bardha, Chairman of Albanian Republican Clubs, we now know about the terrible abuses which the Albanians in Yugoslavia are suffering. In a sense, Kosovo is a captive nation within a captive nation. I am delighted that Ekrem is here with us tonight. Like the Ukrainians and others who live under the burden of Communism, the ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia still manage to maintain their fierce love of freedom, their bold sense of independence and their individual integrity.

In spite of increasing worldwide sensitivity to the question of human rights, the Soviets continue on their historical tradition of suppressing their own people and others who have fallen under their control. The ongoing harassment, arrests and exiles of Soviet dissidents and the persistent Soviet repression of stubborn opposition to "russification", are indicative of the unchanged mindset of the Communist leadership. These activities undermine the spirit of such international agreements as Helsinki and Salt to which the Soviets are signatories. Is there any

wonder then that many of us in Congress question the Soviets' basic honesty in complying with past and future international agreements? Some of these involve the basic security interests of the United States.

What does America do in the face of continuing Soviet expansionism? How do we respond to the USSR's constant efforts to add more nations to the captive nations list? What can we do about their human rights violations? Initially, I believe that we are not doing what we should be doing. Unfortunately, our foreign policy is too passive. The Soviets are confident that we are unwilling to back up our programs and statements.

I believe we must go on the offensive. Let's put these issues on the front burner.

Why not insist that we talk about these continuing problems in all of our ongoing negotiations with the Kremlin? Let us talk about Soviet expansionism, human rights violations and the captive nations of the world each time we sit down at the table with the Soviets.

Why not extract concessions from the Soviets?

I am gratified to see that the President has already taken the initiative in many of these areas. Project Democracy, for example, was long overdue. It was designed to tell the countries around the world more about our form of government and our system's strengths. To be really effective, however, Project Democracy should include a public commitment. *America should commit itself to adopt a charter of independence for the captive nations in the Russian empire.*

Let us also openly include in our foreign policy programs *active moral support for the many liberation struggles in the captive nations from Afghanistan to Vietnam.*

Why don't we introduce a resolution in the UN calling on it to recognize the revolutionary, national liberation movements of the Captive Nations now under

Soviet control and give *them similar status to that of the PLO?*

Why not use the *Voice of America and Radio Free Europe to encourage the idea of national liberation for the captive nations? Without a more active and far-reaching foreign policy, the Soviets will continue to expand their empire to the detriment of all free men.*

On Tuesday, I attended the White House Captive Nations Week ceremony and was encouraged by what I heard. The President spoke at length about the captive nations of the world. He sent this message to those who have been deprived of their freedom: "Your struggle is our struggle. Your dream is our dream and someday, you too, will be free."

I believe that all of us here tonight can be far more hopeful than ever before. I believe that America will offer the captive nations more than hollow promises and praise. Unlike many Presidents, President Reagan is deeply and personally committed to the cause of freedom and democracy. The President fully understands the nature of the Communist threat around the world and the reality of Soviet imperialism. He shares the pain of those who suffer the tyranny of the regimes in the captive nations and understands their problems.

Now, the Soviets are attempting to export the revolutions of Cuba and Nicaragua to the small nations of Central America. Our President has initiated new programs and has made it clear to friend and foe alike that he will not tolerate the aggressive and expansionist actions of the Soviets and their followers. He has taken an equally strong position on the importance of human rights and its vital role in today's world.

I believe that these are the messages of hope to all of us here tonight and to those who suffer in the many captive nations around the world. I am confident that someday we will remove names of coun-

tries from the long captive nations list. I salute this Committee and all of you here tonight for not forgetting and for making the time to remember our fellow men around the world who have been deprived of their liberty. Many of you know from firsthand experience what the

loss of liberty really means. It is easy to see that your commitment to freedom runs deep.

Thank you again for making it possible for me to be here with you. Good night.

**Captive Nations Week,  
Detroit, July 22, 1983**

## **Lithuania in the Face of Russian Religious Repression**

Since 1387, the Lithuanian people have been courageously devoted to Christ. Since 1940, her faithful have unrelentingly withstood an atheistic terror apparatus bent on rendering the 600th anniversary of Lithuania's baptism a non-entity. Moreover, the occupational forces of Soviet Russia seek to drain a nation's life's-blood; Lithuania's undeniable faith in God.

Having been swallowed up and subjugated by Russian imperialism, Lithuania has been subjected to massive arrests and deportations of her people, particularly the religiously active. The following chart, reproduced from a Lithuanian Catholic Religious Aid pamphlet, is a testament to the decimation of the Catholic Church of Lithuania.

	1940 <sup>1</sup>	Present
— Population	3,238,000	3,250,000
— Catholic percentage of population	84.1 % <sub>0</sub>	75 % <sub>0</sub>
— Catholic Archdiocese and Dioceses	6	6 <sup>2</sup>
— Archbishops and Bishops	12	5 <sup>3</sup>
— Priests	1,450	711 <sup>4</sup>
— Churches	717	628 <sup>5</sup>
— Seminaries	4	1
— Seminarians	549	56 <sup>6</sup>
— Religious Orders and Congregations	37	0
— Monasteries and Convents	85	0
— Schools and Kindergartens	71	0
— Homes for Children	20	0
— Catholic Newspapers and Magazines	32	0
— Catholic Publishing Houses	7	0

Most recently, reports of yet another wave of brutal religious persecution have permeated the Iron Curtain and reached the West. Since October of 1980, three priests have been murdered in Lithuania, with all evidence pointing to the KGB.

On May 6, 1983, Father Alfonsas Svarinkas was sentenced to seven years prison and three years internal exile, becoming the first priest in twelve years to go to prison for religious activity.

“Appeals for Prisoners of Conscience”,

<sup>1</sup> Before the Soviet Union annexed Lithuania.

<sup>2</sup> No Diocese has a permanent resident bishop.

<sup>3</sup> Two bishops are prevented by the Communists from carrying out their duties.

<sup>4</sup> Average age of the priests is sixty years.

<sup>5</sup> Ninety-five churches are without priests.

<sup>6</sup> All that are allowed by the Communist government. Most are recruited as potential informants.

published by the Lithuanian Information Center, reported as follows:

"A founding member of the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights, Svarinkas is a driving force in the religious rights movement of Lithuania. He was ordained in 1950, while an inmate of a Soviet labor camp. Released and re-arrested, Svarinkas has spent sixteen years in Soviet prisons on political charges."

On the very same day of Father Svarinkas' sentencing, criminal proceedings were initiated against Father Sigitas Tamkevicus. Another co-founder of the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights, Father Tamkevicus did no more than exercise the rights that are supposedly guaranteed him by the Soviet Constitution.

In light of these events, Father Ricardas Ceniasuskas, a 28-year old priest who has been repeatedly threatened with arrest and even death by the KGB, has stated (in the "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania", the foremost samizdat in that nation), "I feel that if someone were to kill me, hang me, say that I have venereal disease, fake my suicide, commit me to a psychiatric hospital . . . you will know whose work this is . . . I became a priest to speak the truth."

Throughout the nation, young people are circulating petitions of protest outside of their native churches, voicing their desires to worship and believe as they choose.

To cite from "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania No. 39":

"The faithful are not giving up their battle for their most basic rights. They more and more frequently transcend the barriers of fear and doubt . . . Brutish behavior and persecution by the atheists is yielding unforeseen fruit. The faithful are becoming stronger in their truth and determination."

#### **From the Appeal of the First Conference of Subjugated Nations**

*"In this difficult moment, caught in the midst of a raging imperialist, war, when millions of our brothers are dying on the front, ...during this time of barbaric destruction of our property and the monuments of our culture..., we turn to you with our brotherly appeal: stand together in defense of your life and property and your loved ones, arise and fight against the enemy of all humankind — against today's warmongers!*

*The present war was begun and is led by the German national-socialists and the Russian Bolsheviks.*

*In this struggle against our common oppressors..., it is imperative that we establish a common front of all subjugated nations, led by their national leaderships."*



*Rostyslaw Voloshyn — Chairman of the First Conference of Subjugated Nations — who was killed in a battle with Russian occupational troops in Ukraine in 1946.*

## A COLOSSUS ON CLAY FEET

*(An analysis of the present state of affairs in the USSR in light of K. Chernenko's address of June 14, 1983, taken from the perspective of the subjugated nations' liberation struggle.)*

On June 14, 1983, at a Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Konstantin Chernenko, a leading Politburo member, delivered the keynote speech, which exclusively dealt with "the ideological and mass-political work of the party." This speech, which was subsequently published in all of the major dailies in the USSR, was, in fact, necessitated by the growing internal deterioration of the CPSU and by the pressing need for the Soviet Union to strengthen its psychological-political offensive against the West.

In light of the uncommon publicity accorded to Chernenko's speech in the Soviet Union's press organs, it should be viewed as the Kremlin's major policy statement in reaction to President Ronald Reagan's "democratization" initiative. The President has continuously stressed ethical, moral, religious, and patriotic values, and the need to bring freedom to all corners of the globe, particularly with a view towards securing national independence and basic liberties in the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. It is significant to note that Chernenko's address was delivered immediately prior to this year's 25th anniversary observance of Captive Nations Week in Washington, D.C. (U.S. Public Law 86/90, 1959), at which President Reagan pledged the United States' full solidarity with the subjugated nations in their quest for national independence, statehood, sovereignty, and democracy.

From the outset of his speech, Cher-

nenko stated that "an intense, indeed, a global struggle between two ideologies is taking place" in the world. "On the international arena", he continued, "it (this ideological struggle, Y.S.) does not know any respites." By Soviet-Russian standards, Chernenko was very blunt in speaking of the lack of ideological commitment not only on the part of the wider strata of society, but particularly among the members of the Communist Party. In his speech Chernenko bitterly complained of "the wasteful prodigality of the Komsomol members", and of "the aspiration to distinguish oneself with expensive items, bought with money from one's parents." Chernenko reproachfully reminds the youth that they "are not free from moral vices." He called upon all party members "to care for the idealistic, moral, class, and labor tempering of the youth", for "the military-patriotic education of the youth, for the undervalued role of veterans of revolution, war and labor in the education process..." Chernenko strongly rebuked the members of the CPSU with the following quote from Lenin: "... the communists allow new members to come into the party not so that they can enjoy the luxuries that come with one's position in a governmental party, but so that they can give an example of genuinely communist labor."

From past experience we know that the Russian communist leaders are willing to admit their problems, albeit in a qualified and non-committal measure, *only* when forced to do so by critically extenuating circumstances. Hence, Chernenko's outward "sincerity" should be viewed upon as only the tip of an iceberg which points to the real decrepitude of the communist system in the USSR and to the bankrupt-

cy of communism as a viable political ideal.

Chernenko voiced a warning with regard to the "national question" in the USSR, complaining that it still remains unresolved: "a well thought-out, scientifically grounded nationalities policy is an integral part of party activity . . . The key condition for its success lies in the education of the workers in the spirit of proletarian, socialist internationalism", which means, in effect, a complete Russification of the subjugated nations, since the notion of a "Soviet people" is nothing other than a Russian super-nation. Chernenko himself said as much: "A weak knowledge of the Russian language limits one's access to the treasures of international culture, decreases the circle of one's activity and association." How cynical can one get to even suggest that Ukraine, for example, a nation of 53 million people, or Georgia, or Lithuania, or even Greece for that matter are incapable of having access to world culture without a basic understanding of the Russian language?! The Russian racists treat nations with millennium — old cultural and national — state traditions, such as Ukraine or Georgia, as undeveloped tribes!

Chernenko further voiced the trepidation of the Kremlin gerontocrats with regard to the threat posed by religion: "A segment of people still remain under the influence of religion, and this segment, to put it bluntly, is not even very small. The many ideological centers of imperialism strive not only to support, but also to seed religiosity, giving it an anti-Soviet, nationalist orientation." Hence, Chernenko concluded, "Our educational work must encompass all facets of life and activity of people, including their lifestyle, leisure, and their family relations"; and we may add — with the aid of a total system of terror, murders, nocturnal arrests and imprisonments. Chernenko

complained that "clearly there is a lack of depth in planning solutions to sociological, psychological, pedagogical problems of this entire sphere of spiritual activity." Therefore, he concluded, "work on the ideological level is a matter of our entire party."

Chernenko takes pride in the fact that the fifth edition of the works of Lenin, and that a second, more complete edition of the works of Marx and Engels were recently published in the Soviet Union. He also swaggered that over 700 million copies of books on Marxism-Leninism were sold. Chernenko is obviously trying to smother in numbers the general and widespread ideological-moral decay that is becoming increasingly more evident among the party cadres and even the ruling class, which is completely corrupt.

Not coincidentally, Chernenko quoted Andropov, who on several occasions voiced his alarm over the national question and the deterioration of the ruling class in the USSR: "The formation of a Marxist-Leninist world-view is to be equated, as a matter of principle, with a new quality of life for the working masses, that in no way can be confined to material comfort, but must take into account the full spectrum of a fully developed human existence." Chernenko adds: "Comrades! A particularly important mission of socialist culture is to form and raise the spiritual needs of the individual, to actively influence the ideo-political and moral face of a person . . . An individual, especially if young, needs an ideal, which emanates the noble element in the aims of our life, an idealistic conviction . . ."

What does all this mean? Are we to understand that the present standard-bearers of Marxism-Leninism in the Kremlin have suddenly made an unannounced ideological about-face and are now claiming that there exists a non-

material realm of existence in the life of communists?!

Chernenko goes so far as to speak of "a mortification of the heart and spirit", when trying to characterize the current crisis that the imperialist policies of the Bolshevik ruling class have engendered. Those who live by the Idea of God, the Idea of the Nation, as a conception of divine Providence, the Idea of the Individual, created in the image and likeness of God, never experience this type of spiritual mortification, that fills Chernenko and the other Kremlin leaders with unmitigated horror.

A second matter that strikes fear into the hearts of the Kremlin autocrats is the "national question". Chernenko states: "A resolution of the national question in a form in which it came to us from the past does not by any means mean that the national question has been taken off the daily agenda." In fact, it will always hang over the head of the tyrannical empire, as a Damocles' Sword!

Moreover, insofar as the economy of the USSR is concerned, Chernenko indirectly almost concedes that the Bolsheviks' policy over the past sixty years has led to one failure after another. Most importantly, instead of promulgating the communist collectivist ideal, as one would expect in an ideological speech from a leading Politburo member, Chernenko spoke of the merits of private individual initiative: "The duty of regional party committees is to continuously look for avenues to develop the initiative of the working individual..." He states that one of the most significant responsibilities of "the system of propaganda and education... is first and foremost to actively form a new type of economic thinking, aimed at (individual) initiative..."

What is it that has brought about this sudden panic in the Kremlin, that the entire session of the Central Committee

of the CPSU was devoted to ideological struggle? Chernenko provides us with the answer: "The class enemy has openly declared his intention to liquidate the socialist order. President Reagan has called for a 'crusade' against communism. And imperialism regards 'psychological war' as one of the chief means for attaining this goal... This is why it is absolutely necessary", Chernenko continued, "to institute a wide propaganda counter-offensive, not only on the international arena, but within the country as well...", meaning that this offensive is primarily to be directed at the subjugated nations.

Chernenko concluded: "We must continuously improve upon our experience in communist education, our common ideological achievements, and utilize to a greater degree our present reserves in the common struggle against imperialist propaganda, *its attempts to inject the poisonous seed of nationalism and revisionism*" (italics added) Chernenko, thus, identified that which the Soviet-Russian empire fears most from the West, namely, that the free Western democracies will actively pursue a policy of moral and political support of the subjugated nations' struggle for national independence, statehood, and democracy.

In this context, President Reagan has fully understood the significance of a political freedom campaign, particularly with regard to the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its "satellites". A most important means for the United States to render its moral and political support of the subjugated nations' liberation struggle is provided by the Resolution on the Captive Nations (Public Law 86/90, 1959). In this respect the United States should strengthen the technological means of broadcasting the message of freedom behind the Iron Curtain. No less significant is the pressing need to correct the

(cont. p. 46)

## **“The Captive Nations — The West’s Neglected Ally”**

*An Address by Lt. Col. Albert T. Koen, USAF (Ret.)*

*Presented to Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations International Affairs Seminar  
in Toronto, Canada, June 25, 1983*

Today, the U.S. and Canada and our major allies have no troops in combat; our military aircraft fly “routine training flights” instead of making bomb runs over enemy targets; our fleets participate in joint training exercises instead of shelling enemy beachheads. So (in spite of the shooting in some “trouble spots” in the world) we say we are at peace.

This is not true. We are at war and have been since October 1917, when the Bolsheviks overthrew the Kerensky government. We even had a formal declaration of war. In 1920, Lenin said, “As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace; in the end, one or the other will triumph — a funeral dirge will be sung over the Soviet Republic or world capitalism.”

Unfortunately, just as we ignored Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*, we ignored Lenin, with the result that nation after nation has fallen prey to the communist octopus.

We must ask ourselves, how is it possible that a system so inefficient that it cannot feed its own people, take over half of the people in the world and be well on the way to taking the rest?

The answer is simple. We may have ignored Lenin, but the communists did not. They have waged an unremitting war from the day they came to power in Russia. If one side is fighting and the other is not, it does not take a mental giant to

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content of these broadcasts, by incorporating in them the subjugated nations’ inherent way of life, their concept of liberation and their political aims.

The ideological struggle is no less important than the present need to achieve technological military parity with the Russian empire. *Ideas are the decisive weapon!*

predict who is going to win.

Granted, we offered opposition from time to time — Korea, Vietnam, among others, but even then, we failed to recognize the significance of those conflicts. As in WWI and WWII, when the shooting stopped, we turned to peaceful pursuits and dismantled our war machine. Not the communists. Before the war in Korea was over, they were already well under way with the next one in Indochina. And while that one was increasing in intensity, they took Cuba and so on, down the line to Central America.

I am certain there will be no argument from anybody in this audience when I say that not only must we stop the communist march, we must rid the world of this evil tyranny called communism. The question is how this is to be done?

First, the West must accept the fact that what I have said is a fact — that we are in a war and it is a war to the finish. Nobody ever solved a problem without first recognizing that the problem existed.

At one time, we had the ability to put an end to the communist menace by force of arms. While the U.S. was the only country in the world capable of waging nuclear war, a simple ultimatum would have been sufficient. Unfortunately, that day is gone. Now, we must find an alternative to a shooting war. When I say shooting war, I mean an all-out World War. It is certain there will be a great deal of shooting before the final resolution of the world situation.

To defeat the communist, we must fight the war on as broad a spectrum as he does and we must adopt some of the techniques he has employed so successfully in the non-shooting spectrum of warfare. This is the area where we have really suf-



ferred our defeats. Every conquest the communist has made has involved the use of armed aggression and terrorism. His victories, however, have not really been achieved on the battlefield; they have been won in the Congresses and Parliaments and the newsrooms of the opinion-forming segments of the news media. Through propaganda and subversion, he has eroded the will and resolve of the free people of the world to the point that we do not offer an effective resistance to communist aggression.

Before discussing some of the steps we should take to put an end to the communist menace. I think it would be well to interject a word of caution. The communists do not want a nuclear war any more than we do. After all, what is gained from being king of the hill if the hill is just an ash heap? Or put another way, it doesn't make much sense to blow up the farmer's chicken house when what you really wanted was to steal his eggs, but the communist is like a rattlesnake in this respect; a rattler does not strike because he enjoys it. Rattlers will try to avoid people; come upon one suddenly, however, so that he feels threatened and he strikes. The mentality of the communists (any would-be ruler of the world, for that matter) is such that once they perceive the West has put them on the road to oblivion, they can be tempted to gamble on a quick nuclear victory. Therefore, it is imperative that the West maintain a nuclear military capability that they will know that such a gamble is suicidal.

Earlier, we said we must fight the war on as broad a spectrum as the communists and to adopt some of the techniques they have used so effectively. What do I mean by this?

The communists do not limit their war effort to the use of military ordnance. They wage war in a multiplicity of ways: economic, cultural, manipulation of the

news, propaganda. More important, they continue their efforts between shooting conflicts. We, on the other hand, fight until the negotiation of the peace treaty (or armistice), then put down our weapons and resume the vain "quest for peace", "lessening of tensions" and the like.

One of the first things to be done is to stop supporting them. (Wage war on the economic front.) Every time the communists get into trouble economically, Western bankers and governments rush in to bail them out. Our governments guarantee bank loans to them and when they can't pay, our taxpayers take on the load. I would be delighted if the nations of the West stopped trading with the communist world altogether. Since I know this is a vain wish, then I say trade with them only where we in the West can gain and trade only for cold, hard cash. This is one of their most vulnerable areas — the economic battlefield.

Economic warfare and propaganda have one purpose: subversion. There are two types of subversion: one involves creating unrest in the people with propaganda; the other involves infiltrating your people into the enemy's political apparatus.

What passes understanding is that this weapon is the one the West has used the least, yet it is by far the weapon with the greatest potential for achieving the total eradication of communism!

Consider: Here in Canada and the U.S. people live in freedom, with access to news from all quarters (liberal and conservative); yet, the communists have demonstrated that they can turn out thousands of protesters — peaceniks, freezeniks, etc.; in the U.S. this campaign of subversion is generally considered a major factor in Lyndon B. Johnson's decision not to seek re-election.

If that can be accomplished in free countries, what is the potential for creating unrest in countries where the people

are squirming under the tyrant's heel? The restiveness, dissatisfaction are already there. With a little fanning, the spark could become a fire that would consume communism like a dead tree.

I am sure that many, if not all, here today are familiar with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army formed almost 41 years ago. Suppose, in addition to the Afghan Freedom Fighters the USSR were faced with two or three insurgent armies and instead of one Poland, uprisings throughout the captive nations? Truly, the communists have a whole herd of Trojan horses within their walls and we have an army of allies.

For the propaganda/subversion strategy to be effective, some improvements must be made in the tools: The freedom radio stations must be expanded, refurbished, and in some cases they must have new management. In this respect, President Reagan has given us some encouragement by promising to upgrade these freedom voices and has made personnel changes.

Also encouraging is the fact that last

year for the first time since Eisenhower signed the first one in 1959, President Reagan signed the Captive Nations Proclamation in a public ceremony at the White House and next month he is going to do it again.

I have presented what I am convinced is a blueprint for victory over communism with the concomitant hope for the liberation of the enslaved peoples of the captive nations. However, I reiterate — none of this can come about unless the governments of the West will depart from Fantasyland and face up to the fact that we are not just competing with the communists for the minds of men — we are embroiled in a war of survival. It will take much pressure and a massive education effort to generate the popular support to sway some of our legislative Rip Van Winkles. That, my friends of the ABN, is our task — we of the ABN, the U.S. Council for World Freedom, the Freedom Council of Canada must redouble our efforts. It is a difficult task, but it can be done — let's do it!



*Lt. Col. Albert T. Koen delivering his address at the ABN International Affairs Seminar, Toronto, June 25, 1983.*

## NORILSK UPRISING

(Conclusion)

### VI. The Hole

We were released from the zone in groups of one hundred, and by squadrons were led by *special convoy guards* to the tundra. At the guardhouse, to my great surprise, I was not separated from the other prisoners and proceeded with my squadron all the way near the "Gorstroy", since nearby the entire tundra was already occupied by people.

We were ordered to sit, but were not allowed to sit for long. Our convoy guards were told to get us on our feet and lead us back. We came out on to the road which led from the "Gorstroy" to our zone. When we were about fifty meters from the guardhouse, we were again ordered to sit. We sat and attempting to keep away pesty mosquitoes, looked around at what was happening.

The entire tundra was covered with prisoners and guards. Near the guardhouse stood Kuznyetsov with his group. Before him, *dachnyky*, who were brought here specifically for our chastisement, were showing off. We saw as they kept kicking and trampling people with their feet; we saw no one even attempt to defend himself, because behind the *dachnyky*, stood guards ready to fire . . .

It started to rain. Next to me sat a Czech, who possessed some kind of waterproof coat. Both of us covered ourselves with this coat and saw nothing further. Suddenly we heard as someone neared our squadron and asked: "Hryciak should be here somewhere?" The Czech poked me with his elbow and whispered: "Be quiet, do not answer!"



Mr. Osami Kuboki, WACL Chairman 82/83 addressing the WACL Conference in Luxembourg, September 1983.

Later the rain stopped and we uncovered ourselves. General Semenov approached us and recognized me.

"Well, Hrycyak," he mumbled arrogantly, "get up, get up! Your officiating has ended. Get up!"

Then to a sergeant:

"Sergeant, allot a guard!"

I got up and stepped to the side; two convoy guards approached.

"Place him under guard!" self-assuredly ordered Semenov.

The convoy guards stood silently and with open astonishment gazed at me.

"Lead him to the tables!" further ordered Semenov.

The guards remained mute.

"Lead him, I am telling you!" Semenov repeated his order.

The guards continued to stand silent.

"All right, good," stormed Semenov, "follow me!"

Behind the tables, which were arranged in the middle of the road, sat seven *free* women.

"Do you need his service book?" he asked the women.

"Oh!" cried out the surprised women. "That's Hrycyak, he's Hrycyak!"

"So," Semenov barked unhappily, "seems that you know him?"

The service book is the prisoner's published record, something of a dossier. Whenever the prisoner is moved, his service book constantly accompanies him.

"If my service book is unnecessary", I was thinking, "then most likely I will be shot right here in the tundra, before the eyes of all the prisoners."

When my service book was removed from the files and placed aside, Semenov ordered the convoy guards to lead me into the tundra. The convoy guards did not display the slightest initiative. The angered General again had to lead us himself.

"Sit here," he told me.

I chose a dry heap and sat thereon, constantly attempting to defend my face against the insufferable mosquitoes.

"Guards, do not allow him to defend himself against the mosquitoes, let them gnaw him!" ordered the General and left.

A truck, outfitted for transporting prisoners, stopped on the road. An officer called out to the convoy guards to lead me towards the truck. Alongside the truck, the guards searched me and confiscated a stainless steel spoon. No other dangerous objects were discovered upon my person.

I sat down on the floor of the truck, leaning with my shoulders upon the side-shield. Shortly thereafter three more prisoners were brought to the truck, Ivan Strygin, Ivan Khodnewych and Volodymyr Rusinov.

The officer approached the guards and said with undisguised irony:

"Now, take them over to the zone, so that they can bid farewell to the people!" By *people*, he meant the *dachnyky*, since there was no one in the zone except for them.

The truck drove through the back gate and stopped before the guardhouse.

"Here is a present for you!" the guards called to us with undisguised gloating, dragging towards the truck the unconscious Volodymyr Nedorostkov.

I placed Nedorostkov between my knees and gently enfolded him in my

arms. He was so severely beaten that he could not sit by himself . . . Some one cried out:

“Give us those as well, let them also bid farewell!”

But the doors closed and the truck moved forward.

“Where are we going?” Strygin whispered to me.

I looked over my shoulder, the guard hadn’t taken any notice of us.

“I see only *Schmidtykha*”, I answered him.

We travelled on. I again looked around, and again — *Schmidtykha*, only now larger, sterner and closer to us. Then the truck turned once, then again. I looked around — and again *Schmidtykha*.

Norilsk is situated near three mountains, Vedmezha Mountain or “Vedmezha”, Schmidt Mountain or “Schmidtykha”, and the third — Zub Mountain.

Schmidt Mountain became the most infamous because near the foot of the mountain is situated an enormous cemetery, or more accurately, a place where the bodies of Norilsk prisoners were buried. The word *Schmidtykha* became synonymus with death. Therefore, going to *Schmidtykha* meant dying; I will drive you to *Schmidtykha* meant I will kill you, etc.

The burial of the bodies near the foot of the *Schmidtykha* is accomplished in the following manner: When a prisoner dies, he is undressed completely, cut open and placed in a wooden crate, in which he is taken to the guardhouse. There, a guard examines the body and to make absolutely certain the prisoner is dead, pierces the brain with a long sharp instrument. Only after such thorough examination, is the body taken directly to the foot of the *Schmidtykha*.

In 1948, when prisoners of zone 4 were constructing the Norilsk copper-smelting works at a furious pace, they were cynically promised that shock-workers, in the event of death, will be buried not naked, as in the case of all others, but in their underwear. It is not known whether there existed even one instance of adherence to such a solemn promise.

It is only known that people died and died without end, and, in order for all of them to be buried in the eternal frost, it was necessary to keep near the foot of *Schmidtykha* a large, completely unproductive, force. That is why, during one summer, twenty large twenty-meter holes were dug with the help of excavators and bulldozers at the foot of the *Schmidtykha*, so that there would be enough room to dump the bodies for many years to come. However, this calculation proved to be inaccurate, *holes of four hundred meters capacity were filled by bodies within two years!*

That is *Schmidtykha!* It is too bad that the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia does not contain any reference to this mountain.

We were being driven nearer and nearer to this threatening mountain and finally arrived at the courtyard of a prison, which, in Norilsk is called *the hole*. For the time being, we sat on the ground and looked around at our future residence. This was a smallish, very gloomy, barrack type prison. Its reputation, from way back was quite infamous. Thousands of people ended their lifespan inside its walls. Now, it was to become the place of retribution for the participants of the uprising. It was not by chance that First Lieutenant Shirayev was assigned as its warden and Officer Beyner as his assistant! We were told that

both of them were in this prison and in truth, they both were here and only waiting for us!

“Well, one of you enter!” a guard called from afar.

The first one to go was Volodymyr Rusinov. We listened. Silence. Then suddenly — thump, thump! Shouts from the guards and Rusinov’s moans. Finally everything quieted down.

“Go, another one!”

Ivan Khodnewych entered. He was kept there for a long time and struck not even once. Seemed suspicious!

“Next one!”

Strygin and I carried Nedorostkov in and returned to our places. Nedorostkov also was not beaten, since in his condition, there was nothing left to beat up.

The fourth to enter was I.

In the reception area, which was a large rectangular room with many doors and one table, behind which sat the prison duty officer, furious guards fell upon me.

“Disrobe and stand in the corner! Quick!”

I took off my clothes and stood in a corner between two walls. On either side — a guard. The third stepped close to me and asked:

“Date of birth?”

“Twenty-six.”

“Oh, you, scoundrel! Young, but already bald! Did you, skunk, lose your hair from politics, ha?” he asked and with all his might struck me in the face with his fist.

“Open your mouth!”

In prison during searches the mouth was always examined, but now my guard was completely disinterested in what was in my mouth; he only raised his fist to strike my weakened jaw. In this manner, it is very easy to break ones teeth and bend the jaw out of shape. I was familiar with this favorite method of the prison guards and therefore, immediately realizing his intention, tightly pressed my teeth together. The guard’s blow did not cause the desired effect.

“Wait, let me draw up the documents,” the prison duty officer stopped the guards.

The guard who was jumping at me withdrew somewhat. The officer sat behind the table and filled out some forms. Unexpectedly, the guard who was standing on my left, silently, but with all his strength, struck me with the edge of his hand on my throat; the walls on either side of me did not allow me to fall.

Having completed the form, the officer told me to come to the table and sign, but before I had a chance to comply, five guards jumped upon me. A hail of fists and kicks followed, finalizing in the guards trying to push me down on to the floor. I grabbed the side of the table and pulled it after me. The telephone fell noisily from the table to the floor.

“Stop” called out the officer. “You will upset everything! Let me finish filling out all his forms!”

The guards withdrew and the officer ordered me to gather my clothes off the floor. I bent for my clothes and heard one guard, upon opening the door to the *molotoboyka* cell or, as it was also called here, *vykonavska* cell, call out to the officer that he should deliver me there.

“That can wait!” said the officer, calmly motioning with his hand and quickly opening the door to the corridor, led me to the cell assigned to me.

In the cell I found only Volodymyr Nedorostkov, still unconscious, lying on his back on the lower berth. Finally Ivan Strygin was led in. He got off worse than I did, appearing in the cell with a deep cut on his hand.

Next of all, Strygin and I inspected the cell. Why was it so wet? Where did the water come from?

The water was everywhere. It gathered in large globs on the ceiling and being unable to hold its own weight, fell upon the berths, upon the concrete floor and upon our heads. It flowed in thin streams down the walls all the way to the floor and filled all the uneven spaces in the concrete. I touched the upper berth support — and a stream of water flowed from my hand all the way to my elbow. All the berths were wet. A large thick blob of mildew hung from the bottom of the upper berth.

The construction of the cell was strong and secure. Most of the space was taken up by wide, solid berths, enforced with thick iron strips. Across from the door, a narrow passage led to the opposite wall where, high underneath the ceiling, there was a small window, with double bars and a tightly fitting muzzle covered by dense steel mesh. The opening of the window looked out upon the overhang bottom of a tiled roof, so neither daylight nor air was able to penetrate inside the cell. There were double doors; the outer ones constructed from heavy planks, covered on both sides with zinc-plating; the inner ones consisting of heavy steel bars. The floor was solid, uneven concrete.

We took off our shoes, placed them underneath our heads, and laid down to sleep. We hadn't had any sleep for many days and nights but, regardless of our extreme exhaustion, sleep would not come. I got up and walked around on the wet concrete. Strygin remained on his berth. Finally, Nedorostkov showed the first signs of life. He moved his arms, which were crossed on his chest not unlike a corpse and started to mumble something intelligible.

“What do you want to say, Volodya?”

“Please put on some tea for me,” he said somewhat more clearly, in a tone of voice as if he were talking to one of his family.

“What are you saying, Volodya? Do you know where you are?”

“I know.”

“Where?”

“Home,” he answered and fell silent.

Suddenly, the barred judas window in the door opened and there appeared a young, gentle and surprisingly friendly female face:

“Do you need medical help?” the face asked kindly.

“No,” we answered. “To tell the truth, one of us is unconscious, but how can you help him? He has been severely beaten.”

The face looked perplexed.

“A minute ago, he asked for tea,” we added.

The face looked around and whispered:

“Today, I won't be able to help you with anything, but tomorrow I will bring some sugar from home, boil some water here and bring it to your cell. I won't be able to make real tea, or I'll be discovered through its aroma.”

The judas window closed.

"Who is it?" we wondered. "A prison doctor or an angel from heaven? How did she wind up here? Surely, it was some kind of misunderstanding!"

"Y-e-s," said Strygin, "she will not last here long."

The next day, we gave Nedorostkov some sweet boiled water. He began to talk coherently . . .

About a week and a half later our wonderful doctor disappeared. Her place was taken by a female doctor from zone 4, who, because of her shortness and somewhat square shape, was named by the prisoners "Tumbochka" — (night stand). This doctor conducted herself correctly and completely justified the administration's trust.

Prisoners here were led out for walks for only fifteen minutes a day and only in handcuffs. At first, Strygin and I did not leave our cell at all, since we could not abandon the sick Nedorostkov alone and on the other hand, were not very desirous of meeting up with our guards. However we looked at it, we felt much more secure in our cell.

After about a week, we were supplied with mattresses filled with saw dust, which sucked up the water and in a short time began to smell rotten. A week later, we were visited by the Director of Gulag's Sanitary Section Lieutenant-Colonel of Medical Forces Bezpalova and asked what were we complaining about.

"We are well, only the one who is lying down, is very ill and complains of extreme pain in the vicinity of his kidneys; most likely he is suffering from internal bleeding," Strygin and I answered and raising Nedorostkov, took off his shirt and showed her his contused body.

"Does it hurt — here?" she asked, striking him with all her strength with the edge of her hand on the black-and-blue swelling over his right kidney.

Nedorostkov doubled up with pain and screamed.

We threw Bezpalova out of the cell, assuring her that we did not need her help.

Having crossed the threshold of the cell, Bezpalova nodded to Shirayev and said:

"Now! . . . Now you can take them out of there."

We were transferred to another cell which, contrary to the former one, was completely dry. Nobody looked in on us. We could sleep day and night; no one showed the slightest interest in us.

During one evening, we heard all the judas windows in the cell doors being opened and the hushed voice of the guard:

"Go to sleep! Go to sleep!"

We laid down, fell silent, but did not sleep — listening — what had they thought of now?

Finally, we heard — they were coming! We listened to their quick steps and rustling of clothes and judged that five persons were coming, all of them in a very aroused state. Suddenly, they stopped before one of the opposite cells. With clanking and squeaking, the door opened; someone was taken from the cell and led to the exit . . . Then we heard them outside. We were listening with such fear and tension that all sounds were instantly transformed into visible pictures.



Here, we “saw”, as he was led behind the guardhouse, turned left and followed the line of the forbidden zone. At the edge of the forbidden zone, they again turned left, another turn on the second level and then they appeared on our side. Now he was led down a path, used by the guards when they are changing their stations. This path leads over the summit of the embarkment, upon which the prison is built. Further — a large hole. Probably, the name of the prison was derived from this hole.

Then the guards stopped, pushed the doomed one down the embarkment, and shouted:

“Go and run!”

The prisoner resisted, did not want to run. A dog was set upon him. The prisoner screamed from pain and ran . . . Three carbine shots were heard from the corner watch-tower . . . Shortly thereafter, a truck backed towards the site of the occurrence. A dead body was thrown into it. The truck drove away.

Following this event, we slept only during the day, using the nights for watching and listening; whose turn is it going to be now? This time, the turn was mine!

In the meantime, we were transferred to yet another cell, in which we found one of the activists of the resistance in zone 1, a native of Ryazan, by the name of Izmaylov. He loved Yesenin and simply overwhelmed us with his poetry. I will always remember Yesenin’s words, which he addressed to Demyan Byedny:

“You raised your hand at the Heavenly King.

But, you crawl on your belly before earthly kings.” Or this,

“. . . An old man asks and furrows his forehead:

‘Are you not a communist?’ — ‘No’.

‘But my sisters became Komsomol members.

What rot! You can choke on it!

Yesterday we threw away all the holy pictures from the shelves.”

Sometimes, after finishing reading a poem, Izmaylov noted:

“This is not Yesenin’s. It’s — mine.”

One day our literary education was interrupted by a shrill female scream. We jumped up.

“What is this? Did they bring women here?”

We saw a lot, lived through a lot and have gotten used to almost everything, but it is impossible to get used to female screams and cries. In prison, the sobbing of a woman breaks your heart unendurably, awakening in your soul sorrow and indignation. Immediately we became electrified and started a row in the cell. Shirayev arrived.

“Why are you beating up the women?” we asked. “Did your fists itch? Then lead us out and beat us up as much as you want to, but do not touch the women! We won’t allow it!”

“Nobody is beating them,” answered Shirayev quietly. “One woman screamed, because she did not want to be undressed.”

“Oh, you filth! Who gave you the right to undress them? Are they going to smuggle an atomic bomb in their clothing, or what? However, if you are that afraid, bring your ugly wives here to search them, but do not touch them with your dirty hands!”

Shiryayev silently closed the judas window in the cell door and left. There were no more screams. The eight women were quietly housed in two cells.

They were: Maria Nich, who was the “soul” of zone 6 during the strike, Maria Chorna, Stefa Koval, Nusya Mazepa, Lesya Zelinska and Lina Petrashchuk — all of them, our young Ukrainians. With them was one older Latvian, Iryna Dauge and an Estonian called Esta (last name unknown to me).

After crushing the resistance in men’s zones 4 and 5, Kuznyetsov gave all his attention to the female zone 6. Since the women did not wish to voluntarily submit, brute strength was used against them. It is lucky that they were not shot at, only rushing hot water was poured over them from fire-engine hoses. Even though the women finally gave up, they defended their activists leaders so that the administration was unable to arrest them. Only later, the administration managed to somehow get their hands on them and brought them here, to the *hole*.

Then there remained only one zone, zone 3.

Early morning, August 4th, a truck drove into the prison courtyard. Turmoil, running. *Molotoboyka* started its process. Sounds of mute tramping, screams and moanings carried to the cell.

The convicts have arrived!

Lithuanian Yozas Kozlauskas, whose fourth rib had been broken, was thrown into our cell. We bound his chest with towels, and that constituted the entire medical attention he received.

The *molotoboyka* was working at full capacity for two days and two nights, for two days and two nights the convicts were being “processed” there.

Just before the reception of the next group, a number of prisoners were walking by underneath our window. One of them expressed the following compliment about one of the guards:

“Well, I didn’t realize that this sergeant was such a wonderful butcher!”

Our cell was replenished by five additional prisoners.

They recounted to us that, after zone 6 was defeated, Kuznyetsov began intensive preparation for the takeover of their zone. Suddenly, before the eyes of all the prisoners, a courier ran up to Kuznyetsov and handed him an envelope. Kuznyetsov, after reading the message, got into his car and drove away . . . He hasn’t been seen in Norilsk since.

For a time, the convicts were left in peace. They gathered at their club, where the strike committee, whose heart were Stepan Semeniuk, Danylo Shumuk and Roman Zahoruyko, was continually active; they were sending kites with leaflets and were preparing to battle the soldiers, in the event of an attempt to drive the prisoners out of the zone by force. They believed so strongly in the justice of their demands, that they did not even think about weapons being used against them.

Even when, on the morning of August 4th, some unknown person hung a white flag on a nearby factory smoke-stack, the said flag meaning to serve as a signal to “surrender”, they thought that the flag was hung by someone trying to encourage them.

Suddenly the gates opened and trucks, filled with drunk soldiers armed with automatic weapons, drove into the zone. The prisoners tried to stop them, but were answered by sub-machine gun fire. The first to die, near the guardhouse,

was the prisoner Khudoba. When the trucks drove in further, the soldiers opened fire at the whole mass of people. All of the prisoners fell to the ground; the dead, the wounded and the living ones. When, in such manner, the prisoners' resistance was broken, soldiers jumped off the trucks and spread throughout the entire zone, thus preventing anybody from getting up off the ground. Officers then entered the zone, shooting critically wounded prisoners and searching for prisoners whom they wished to execute.

However crushed and paralyzed the people were, one prisoner found the courage to jump at a soldier. He took the soldier's sub-machine gun, removed the ammunition, threw it to one side and the gun to another — in this manner manifesting his contempt for unrestrained violence.

The camp medic, Yozas Kozlauskas, completely ignored the deadly danger. He constantly ran among the wounded prisoners administering first aid. For this action, he paid with his broken ribs.

We do not know and are unable to accurately guess how many were killed and wounded. Approximately, there were one hundred killed and about four hundred wounded. In this battle, fell the famous Rumanian captain, who refused his release. All prisoners told stories with awe about this noble Rumanian, but, to everyone's sorrow, nobody could recall his name.

After the administration gained full control of the zone, a *selection* of the resistance activists began. The selected were first thrown into a hole near the guardhouse, where they were jumped upon, kicked, beaten and trampled, as cruelly as was possible. Particular savagery was shown by guards and overseers, when blood was noted on a prisoner; the cruelty of their treatment of wounded prisoners was especially brutal. When the wounded asked Bezpalo, who was standing over the hole, watching, how she was reacting as a doctor to all that, she answered:

“Firstly, I am a *chekist*\* and then a doctor”.

After such processing, the prisoners were loaded into trucks and taken to a prison, where they again had to suffer the prison *molotoboyka*.

Since, already at that time, Kuznyetsov was not at Norilsk, the entire operation was under the leadership of the Chief of the Norilsk Guard Garrison Lieutenant-Colonel Artiushyn.

Nevertheless, nobody fell into depression. People told stories of how they were shot at, how they were beaten and trampled, not with sadness, not with sorrow, not even with anger, only with gay humor. In the cells, accompanied by the cracking of broken bones and moaning of the wounded, cheerful spirits prevailed. No one cried and no one grieved.

One time I was called out of the cell and together with prisoner Kovalenko (from zone 5), driven to the administration building. There, I was interrogated by Lieutenant-Colonel Zavolskyj.

“Who was your bodyguard?” he asked.

“All five thousand prisoners.”

“But, specifically?”

“That is specifically.”

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\* Cheka — A composite term that covers all Soviet internal security agencies, from the earliest, the Cheka, to the present day KGB. Chekist — a member of the Cheka.

"It's too bad, damn too bad, that no one removed you from this world — then we wouldn't have had all the trouble in Norilsk."

Later, in our prison itself, some captain called out Yozas Kozlauskas and began to attack him:

"Oh, you, fascist pig! So, you wanted to overthrow the Soviet government?"

"We are fighting for the liquidation of all prisons and camps, and you — for their conservation. Now, think for yourself, who are the fascists — we or you?"

"Do you know what you are saying?" the captain became angry. "Do you know what it would mean to dissolve all prisons and camps? It would mean the end of the Soviet rule!"

It is impossible to better express the meaning of the Soviet power!

We were taken out for walks in pairs, handcuffed together. Since there were nine of us (Nedorostkov had already started to walk), the last one was handcuffed alone. Although I was not the last one, the guard must have felt sorry for me and said:

"Hrycyak, you probably would rather prefer to walk alone, instead of paired off? Yes? Come on, I will handcuff you singly."

As soon as we started to walk in the excursion court, which was separated from the main prison courtyard by a few strands of barbed wire, there appeared on our path, prison warden Shirayev and his assistant Beyner. We became tense and stopped walking.

Short in stature, but heavily built, Shirayev came first, followed by the tall, bony and somewhat stooped Beyner. Both of them were very pale and as they walked, kept looking at the ground. Some inexplicable fear emanated from them. We did not take our eyes from them. When they passed us, we noticed that both of them were armed with "TT" pistols. So, that's the way it was! Time for a fresh sacrifice . . .!

"Go back!" shouted the guard, after Shirayev and Beyner entered the prison.

We went back. Everybody in pairs, but I, alone and the last. When everyone walking in front of me proceeded from the reception area to the corridor, Beyner stopped me with a light touch of his hand and quietly whispered:

"You, Hrycyak, remain!"

In that instant, eight perspiring faces turned towards me. In their widely staring eyes — fear and a silent "farewell"! I too was looking at them, wanting to remember all of them. The most distinct in my memory remained the face of the Terek Cossack Vasyl Cyhankov. We stood there, as if paralyzed. Finally, Beyner said:

"Okay, enough, go back to your cells!"

One more silent "farewell" and the corridor doors closed.

"Why here?" I was thinking to myself, "and not in the *molotoboyka*, where such things usually take place? Maybe they want to leave traces of their dirty work right here, for everyone to see, as a warning to others? . . ."

Shirayev and Beyner walked towards the table. I did not take my eyes off them. Shirayev pointed with his right hand index finger at a paper that lay on the table and looked at Beyner questioningly.

“Just don’t be afraid!” I tried to encourage myself. “You knew what you were getting into. Face your death like a man, as one of the invariable phases of existence. The main thing now — not to shudder.”

Finally Shirayev turned half-heartedly, took a few steps, sat on one of the three stairs that led to his office, placed his elbows on his knees and lowered his head. Beyner sat down heavily in a chair near the table and also lowered his head. Both of them sat silently, tensely.

In the meantime, I took a trip into my past and during the few minutes met with my family and friends, reliving the most memorable scenes from my life.

Here I am at thirteen. I walk very slowly, just placing one foot in front of the other, near the home of O.V. For some reason, I have a great desire to see her. She climbed the fence and cheerfully smiled at me. I came alongside her, my face red with embarrassment and continued walking very quickly. As if it were only a coincidence . . .

Now, the unforgettable April 13, 1944. I was being arrested in the neighboring village of Pidvysoka by Stecev militia, accompanied by representatives of Horodenka KGB. They lead me toward the home of Vasyl Nyavchuk, stand me by the wall and, pointing a carbine and a pistol at my chest, demand:

“Where were you? Talk! . . .”

And then, I am a soldier in the Red Army and take part in the most senseless war in the history of mankind, where on both sides millions of people are killed, not for freedom, but for strengthening of their own oppression, not for life, but for their own kind of self-destruction, not for democracy, but for their own type of prisons and concentration camps, not for the people, but for their great tyrannical leaders and their bloody dictatorships! . . .

My cycle of remembrances closes with a dream, which I dreamt the day before my second arrest. I am crossing a bridge from the right side of the river to the left. Suddenly I see — Death chasing me. I run, she runs after me. Now I am running by the river bank, I have already crossed the river and then again I am running on the bridge. Death is still chasing me. However, finding myself on the bridge for the third time, I realize that nothing will come from my trying to escape. I will finally exhaust myself and then death will catch up and easily overpower me. It is better to fight her when I still have some strength left. In the middle of the bridge, I turn, face her and take up a fighting stand. Death comes close to me and I keep hitting her with my fists. Death turns around and runs away . . .

Finally Beyner moved. He sighed deeply, like a blacksmith’s bellows and raising his head, looked with his cold, steely eyes at Shirayev. Shirayev, also raising his head, sighed deeply and moving his head somewhat to the side, shrugged his shoulders and spread his arms, as if saying:

“I don’t know, do whatever you want to.”

Beyner rose from his chair and stood erect. His tall, slim posture, with high cheekbones and thin face, reminded me a little of my death.

Finally, Death-Beyner stepped toward me. I stood quietly, calmly. Prison reception room, Shirayev, Beyner and I — for me, all were only shadows, not live reality. I imagined that all of this happened a long time ago and now I was only remembering it. This whole scene was only a continuation of my previous

reminiscences. The world of reality did not exist for me anymore, everything was only an illusion.

Beyner did not lift his pistol from the holster, but took out a key from his pocket and opening the corridor doors, told me to precede him. I exited and he behind me.

More than once I heard that some executioners of death sentences were unable to perform their assigned deeds when their victims looked them straight in the eye. Were they afraid that those horrible eyes would awaken in them some pangs of conscience, or maybe they were irritated by the hysteria to which some victims submitted during their last moments — I couldn't say, but I heard a lot of talk that in prisons very frequently executions were carried out by a shot in the back, when a prisoner was walking down a corridor and could not see what was happening behind him. Among the prisoners of Norilsk, the idea prevailed that in this particular manner, in this specific corridor, many people ended their lifespans.

However, I had a different fate in store for me. When I came opposite the doors to the 12th cell, Beyner stopped me, opened the doors and took off my handcuffs. Entering the cell, I stopped near the threshold.

I wanted to lie down as soon as possible and forget about everything, but did not wish to near the berths upon which people were resting. That's why I went towards the right side of the cell, where the large toilet drum was located, sat down upon its massive cover and circling my knees with my arms, gave myself up to forgetfulness. I did not want to either see or hear any people. I would rather have buried myself deeply underground, where no noise, no movement, not even daylight could penetrate. I passionately desired complete loneliness, silence and darkness; wishing to forget myself and penetrate the infinity of nothingness . . .

My cellmates probably understood my condition and did not bother me with any questions.

The hesitation of the executioners of my verdict we later explained to ourselves as *indecisiveness* on the part of the hierarchy.

## VII. The Transport

September 6th, we were unexpectedly told to prepare for transport and our regrouping began. I was transferred to a large cell, where many of the prisoners designated for transport were housed. Having in this manner collected thirty-four men, the guards led us out into the courtyard and checked us off in accordance with their list. At the conclusion of the check-off, the officer announced:

"All of you will ride in the third coach. Hrycyak is appointed as the coach foreman."

Coach foremen were usually assigned those prisoners who were serving minimal sentences and at least in some measure merited the administration's trust. The coach foreman's obligations belittled the prisoner fulfilling them in the eyes of the other prisoners, even though he did not play any practical role in the protection of the prisoners during the transport.

I was serving the maximum sentence — twenty-five years. In addition, by

my actions in the camp, I, in no way, merited any sort of trust from the administration. Nevertheless, contrary to all common sense and established procedure, I was appointed coach foreman.

“Most likely, they wish to lower my esteem in the eyes of the other prisoners and evoke their suspicions toward me,” I thought and did not give this matter any further consideration.

There were seven groups prepared for transport. Each group was escorted to the coach by a separate guard. We took up places in the coach wherever room could be found and began to guess where we were being taken. In the meantime, the guards were filling up other coaches. We all were most anxious to leave Norilsk as soon as possible.

An older prisoner approached me and said:

“You, foreman, did you count how many of us are in this coach?”

“Why should I do the counting?” I answered him impudently. “I did not apply as an aid to the transport chief. Let them do the counting themselves, if they want.”

“Don’t get your rile up,” the elder continued, “but better think, how all of this can end for you. The fact is that we were supposed to be thirty-four and there are only thirty-three of us. I heard that Didukh was checked-off to our coach, then why is he not with us? Where could he have gone to? Let’s use our brains. We all realize that he did not run away or separate himself of his own accord. Simply, he was taken to another coach, but, when the train stops in the tundra and the guards will be verifying the count, then it will reveal that one is missing from among us and you did not report that fact. Then you will be taken out of the coach and either shot or beaten up so severely, that you won’t even make Dudinka.”

So, that’s the way it was. Norilsk had no desire to release me alive and I, was so naive to think that it only wanted to humble me!

I got up and made a thorough check. Indeed one was missing. I asked the guard to summon the transport chief. The chief did not come. I again summoned him — he didn’t come. After the fourth summons, he finally appeared and asked angrily:

“What happened?”

“We are missing one man. Verify for yourself!”

“Okay,” he mumbled casually and walked away.

I continued to persistently call to him and demand a check.

Finally, he returned and savagely biting his smallish mustache, conducted a check-off. Didukh was not among us. The chief slammed the coach doors and after a short while brought Didukh to us, who was originally taken to another coach by the chief himself.

My danger passed.

At Dudinka, we were kept on the train for another thirty-six hours, trying to figure out what will happen to us. If we would wind up in some broken down, rotted barge, then our chances of staying alive were very slim.

On September 8, 1953, exactly a year after we arrived, we were placed in the hold of the passenger ship “Maria Ulyanova”.

A large stone was lifted from our chests. Well, since we were not shot at Norilsk and will not be drowned in the Yenisei, — then, we will live!

The Volodymyr prison was awaiting us.

*What then?*

The relaxation of the regime, which Moscow was forced to grant, did not spread throughout the entire Gulag, but was only a temporary privilege of the prisoners of Norilsk and Vorkuta (the prisoners of Vorkuta also rebelled). Throughout the other Gulag special camps, the regime remained unchanged. Far from all of our demands were satisfied; no attempts were even made to conduct reviews of our individual sentences and no promises were even given to cease the practice of closed trials.

After the bloody retribution upon prisoners of Norilsk and Vorkuta and incarceration of the most dangerous ones at the Volodymyr prison, Moscow lost all apprehension and did not grant any further concessions.

Only after the events which took place the very next year, 1954, when the prisoners of Kingir staged a peaceful resistance and prisoners of one Kolyma camp disarmed their guards and having obtained weapons, took to the hills, did Moscow finally understand that to hold in one place such a vast multitude of dissatisfied political prisoners is very, very dangerous and came to the intelligent decision — to expand the relaxation of regime throughout all Gulag special camps and take up reviews of individual sentences of all political prisoners.

*What next?*

In 1958, a representative of Ivano-Frankivsk KGB, chekist Pyastolov suggested to me:

“Let’s talk about Norilsk.”

In answer to my observation that those are the “deeds of days long past”, Pyastolov said:

“Yes, it was long ago and we could have shrugged Norilsk off, if only it did not cause the infectiousness of *freedom*.”

Coming into contact with changes in social consciousness of people, which precede inevitable social relations, communists always descent from positions of their historical materialism and perceive in everything only infectiousness, treason, crime.

However, Norilsk did not cause only the infectiousness of *freedom*; it was also the herald of great changes to come in the social consciousness and psychology of peoples everywhere enslaved by communist imperialism!

1978

*Yevhen Hryciak*

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*“You may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival. There may even be a worse fate. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than to live as a slave.”*

*Winston S. Churchill*  
former British Prime Minister

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX "A"

Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme  
Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Mykola Viktorovych Podhorny

Hrycyak, Yevhen Stepanovych  
resident of the village of Ustya  
Snyatyn County  
Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast\*  
Ukrainian S.S.R.

### DECLARATION

Please supply me with a permit for my family and myself to emigrate from the U.S.S.R. My declaration is elucidated by the following motives:

In 1949, I was sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. In 1956, I was released by the Commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. In 1959, I was arrested on the basis of a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. In 1964, I was released by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

However, I was released from prison only, not from persecution and harassment. Below is a synopsis of my life in the Soviet Union after two releases:

For some inexplicable reason, in August 1958, in the newspaper "Prykarpatska Pravda" (Trans-Carpathian Truth), the organ of the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Oblast Soviet of Working People's Deputies, appeared an article about the progress of construction of the Palace of Culture in the village of Stecev. Because I was directing the construction, the article mentioned me also. But, in what manner did it mention me! There I was an engineer and a master, and it was not my first construction. Heretofore, I have built a lot in the village of Rakhny, Vinnytska Oblast, for which I was being rewarded with an unending stream of letters of appreciation from the workers...

I was ashamed to read such concocted praise. What sort of an engineer am I? I never even attended an institute, I did not even complete secondary education. Nevertheless, the newspaper was proclaiming me an engineer, and, what did I build in the village of Rakhny? Absolutely nothing. There, I worked as a loader, brick-layer and painter. I did not work at the construction, with the exception of having painted one building roof, but, to believe the newspaper, I was building and building there...

I cannot imagine what forced the publishers of such a responsible newspaper to print such an irresponsible article. In addition, I do not know why, after the said article appeared, I was notified that my "propyska" (local registration certificate) had been annulled, because I was unemployed...

I was forced to leave my hometown. I found work and registered in the city of Karaganda, where, on January 28, 1959, I was arrested on the basis of a decree

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\* Oblast — the term "oblast" or in some cases "province" refers to a large territorial unit of Ukraine and of other countries within the U.S.S.R.

of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The decree stated that the decision of the Commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., dated August 7, 1956, based upon which I was released, is being annulled in view of my grave crime.

In this manner, my sentence of December 12, 1949, was re-established — 25 years of imprisonment. During the long years of my repeated imprisonment, I unsuccessfully demanded an explanation of what exactly constituted the gravity of my crime. Instead of an explanation, I consistently received the same answer: Sentenced properly. Everything became clear only on October 6, 1964, when I was released on the basis of the decision of the Military Tribunal of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. The minutes of the Tribunal meeting state (I am quoting from memory the words of the Prosecutor): “He (namely I) was accused that, after release, he did not work anywhere, did not cease his anti-Soviet activities and established in the Vinnytska Oblast the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists . . . After careful examination, it came to light that in fact he was working very hard, was not involved in any anti-Soviet activities, did not establish any organization, neither was it found that he spoke out against the Soviet government. The only thing that could be found was the fact that he was unhappy due to having been refused permission to live in his native village.”

Any commentaries are obviously superfluous, and what next?

In the beginning the newspaper “Prykarpatska Pravda” of May 30, 1976, published an article by I. Kolodyazhnyj, entitled “A rotten contact”, where the author writes against me and my close friend from the time of imprisonment — Avraham Shifrin. In this article, I am no longer an engineer, nor a master, but a son of a peasant capitalist, a deserter and bourgeois nationalist. Quoting from the said article — “He had a chance to make up for his transgression through work. He was allowed to continue his education. There, at the corrective labor colony, he completed his secondary education. How did he reciprocate? By constantly violating the established order, by disseminating slander against the Soviet order.”

Although I can see that Kolodyazhnyj is well informed in my dossier, he is, for some reason, unable to separate, according to his own writing, where is Rome, where is Crimea and where the parson’s pear tree grows. In order to clarify things, I will attempt to enumerate some coordinates:

In the characterization, which I was supplied with upon my release, the following lines appear:

“ . . . through 1956 systematically violated the established order, which caused him to be disciplined more than once.

From 1956, Hrycyak changed his behavior in a positive manner. Worked in different jobs, was conscientious in his work.”

Another document is my certificate of completion of my secondary education, received in 1961.

When comparing these documents with Kolodyazhnyj’s article, then the following may be derived there from: In 1961 I completed my secondary education, but prior and through 1956 I was reciprocating for the said education by systematically violating the established regime and viciously slandering Soviet order. It seems, the reciprocation preceded the receipt! As a matter of fact, I

never violated the regime, only instigated resistance against it; I never disseminated slanderous materials, only protested. To illustrate the latter, I am, quoting below a portion of my letter of protest addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., dated December 1, 1961:

“In connection with the fact that as of July, 1953, I am being continuously persecuted for my participation in the uprising of the Norilsk prisoners, and in connection with the fact that the security organs, until the present, still continue to show the Norilsk occurrence in a false light, classifying it as an anti-Soviet activity, — I decided to write a letter of protest against the actions of the KGB to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.

Below is a concise account of the true causes and character of occurrences taking place in Norilsk in 1953.

Now it is unnecessary to prove that the mass arrests, which took place in our country during Stalin’s lifetime, were completely unjustified and groundless, that the methods of conducting interrogations were unlawful and inhuman, all that was denoted by plenums and congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. However, this still needs to be mentioned specifically, because these criminal methods of arrests and interrogations were the principal links in the endless chain of transgressions against social law and morality. Next links in this chain of arbitrariness were the military tribunals and the so-called Special Consultation Commission or OSO of the NKVD of the U.S.S.R., which ‘convicted’ certain persons in secret, behind closed doors, and even by default, namely without the presence of the defendant.

The people had no knowledge of the persons convicted for their political beliefs, nor did the ‘peoples representatives’ — the Soviets of Working People’s Deputies — know anything about this category of individuals. Even the families of such convicted individuals were never informed of the reasons for the arrest of such an individual or about the fate of such an individual. The property of such a family was confiscated and such a family was told that your husband, son or brother was an enemy of the people. If you do not denounce him — you will be dismissed from employment and sent to Siberia.

So, humiliated, offended in his human dignity, deprived of freedom, property, family, friends, enveloped in a feeling of depression and doom, such a convicted individual was sent to the so-called distant regions of the U.S.S.R., where, with renewed force, he was crushed by a diabolic machine oppressing his individuality and where the constant and unchangeable companions of the prisoner were rigid isolation from his people, humiliation of his human dignity, insults, beatings, hunger, the cold, unendurable work, executions, etc. It has to be noted that this phenomenon of violation of socialist laws and norms of human relations was not only not prosecuted, but in some instance encouraged. Every attempt at protest was viewed as an anti-Soviet act and provoked new repressions.

In such a lawless situation found themselves all prisoners of all special concentration camps, which were situated throughout the enormous territory of the U.S.S.R., from Mordovia to Kamchatka.

One of these concentration camps was the Gorlag of MVS, in the city of Norilsk located on the Taymyr Peninsula, far beyond the polar cap.

The condition of the prisoners in this camp was just as terrible and desperate as in all the other concentration camps of similar category. The only thing that kept up the spirit of the prisoners — was their faith in the victory of truth and justice. The arbitrariness which reigned in our land during Stalin's cult and which most severely affected the fate of the prisoners, constituted only a temporary distortion of socialist order and could not continue. The people considered the principal culprit of such a situation to be Stalin. Many people were convicted and imprisoned for expressing themselves against Stalin and for wishing his swift demise.

In March, 1953, Stalin died, but the situation of the prisoners did not improve, on the contrary, it deteriorated.

Here are some examples:

In the spring of 1953, in zone\* 5, there was organized, in a most urgent manner, a penal sector and already in May, prisoners were being transferred there from various zones of the Gorlag.

So, on May 23, a group of prisoners from zone 1 was being transferred to the above mentioned penal sector. Among them was one very religious prisoner who, under no circumstances, wanted to be separated from his friend (also a very deeply religious prisoner), who was to be left behind in zone 1. The friend pleaded with First Lieutenant Shiryayev that he also be transferred to the penal sector so as not to be separated from his comrade. The First Lieutenant allowed him to accompany his friend to the penal sector and ordered him to enter the truck. The prisoner rejoiced and started walking toward the truck, at which time he was shot by First Lieutenant Shiryayev. His friend, the first prisoner, who at that time was already sitting in the truck, jumped from the truck and approached his killed buddy, he was also shot by First Lieutenant Shiryayev.

The next day, a group of thirteen prisoners was being sent from zone 4 to the penal sector. This group was supposed to walk through the tundra. At that time snow was melting and in some places the tundra was covered by water. Upon leaving the road and turning into the tundra, the convoy guard directed the prisoners straight into the water. Before the water's edge, the prisoners halted and asked the convoy guard for permission to proceed through dry land. The convoy guard, in accordance with his traditional behavior, abused the prisoners with curses and threats, forcing them to go into the water. The prisoners refused and so as not to give the convoy guard any excuse to use his weapon, sat down in the snow and declared that they will sit there until an officer appears. The officer came, listened to the complaints of the prisoners, took a carbine from one of the soldiers and shot the prisoner Safroniuk who sat in front, in the head, killing him instantaneously.

At the same time, information was received that in zone 3, in the presence of General Semenov, fifteen prisoners were wounded and six killed.

This sort of willfulness provoked unrest among the prisoners of Gorlag. No one knew when, where and at whom the next shot will be fired, but, the wait was not long. In zone 5, submachine gun fire was opened upon a group of pris-

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\* Zone — Although in his Declaration the author uses the descriptive term "camp section" in lieu of zone, for purposes of consistency, the term "zone" is used throughout (Translator's note).

oners, who found themselves near the living barracks. Of them, six men were wounded and one killed . . .”

This was the sort of regime against which the prisoners of Norilsk rebelled. For my humble participation in this uprising, Kolodyazhnyj accuses me of violating the established order.

In this manner, Kolodyazhnyj is allowed to shuffle the facts in my personal dossier. So, what is he going to do when there are no facts? Fabricate them!

For example, he is annoyed by my friendship with Avraham Shifrin, which he portrays thus: “Tell me who is your friend and I will tell you who you are.” A question asserts itself that, if a Zionist and spy Shifrin maintains contact with Hrycyak, who then is Hrycyak?

I think, additional comments are unnecessary.

This lie is so brazen and irresponsible, that I will not even attempt to deny it. I am not used to such fabricated accusations. In 1959, I was secretly and groundlessly accused of establishing in the Vinnytska Oblast the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and in this way the road to my arrest was paved. Now, although openly, but also groundlessly, I am being accused of spying . . . Tactics have changed, but the ruling hand remains the same. It is not hard to guess why this is being done.

However, harder to guess is the fact why my relationship with Shifrin so annoys Kolodyazhnyj. Why the fact that a prisoner is friends with another prisoner, that a Ukrainian is friends with a Jew, is not to his liking? Would he prefer that we fought like dogs. This did not and will not happen, his hopes are futile!

When reading Kolodyazhnyj’s article from beginning to end, it may be supposed that the cause for such an article was my entry visa for immigrating to Israel, which I received way back in 1973. If this is the case, then why did Kolodyazhnyj keep silent for so long? What does he know now that he did not know before, which he currently so resents?

I asked for a permit to emigrate to Israel, utilizing my rights as a citizen, in accordance with the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, signed by representatives of all democratic governments of the world, inclusive of the government of the Soviet Union. If any violation existed, then such a violation was made by those ruling organs, which denied my right to emigrate.

In addition, I am forbidden another one of my rights granted me by the Resolution of the Fifteenth Conference of UNESCO, namely my right to maintain free contact with Avroville. As explanation, attached please find the text of my appeal in this matter to the rulers of the Soviet Union and India.

“Secretary General of the  
Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of U.S.S.R.  
Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev  
and

Mrs. Indira Gandhi  
Prime-Minister of India

At the Fifteenth Conference of UNESCO, which was held in October and November, 1968 in Paris, a Resolution, proposed by the government of India,

was unanimously adopted; the said Resolution provided for worldwide cooperation in the assistance of the development of the city of Avroville.

At this Conference, O. O. Fomin, chief of the Soviet delegation, stated: 'The Soviet delegation supports in its entirety the project of the Resolution proposed by India'.

The above mentioned Resolution specifically envisioned that in Avroville 'peoples of different countries will live in close cooperation and work in the fields of culture, education, etc.' and that 'the countries-members, that attach great meaning to true information and free exchange of ideas and knowledge, declare their agreement and resolve to disseminate and strengthen the means of inter-relationships among its peoples'.

From the time of the adoption of the said Resolution seven years have passed, but the free exchange of ideas and knowledge never materialized. For example, the first brief announcement about Avroville came to us through the magazine 'India' (No. 2, 1972). Then I wrote to Avroville, requesting detailed information about the construction of this unique city. My letter was kindly answered by secretary Navadzhata. He wrote: '... We are sending you a copy of 'Avroville Newspaper', which will supply you with some information about the latest achievements, as well as some additional literature about Avroville'.

I have not received the promised information from Navadzhata and wrote to him about it. No answer was received and in this manner our contact ended. To take a private trip to Avroville from the U.S.S.R. is impossible. Obviously, the unanimously adopted Resolution about cooperation with reference to Avroville to this date remains only a good intention of the governments of different countries, but does not constitute a part of their policy.

Therefore, I am appealing to the leaders of two friendly countries with the request that they direct their attention to the above mentioned UNESCO Resolution and instruct their respective governments to adapt and publish an agreement about facilitation and unrestricted contact for interested citizens of the U.S.S.R. with Avroville.

By such facilitation and unrestricted contact I understand:

1. unlimited postal service (letters, printed materials, packages, money);
2. free and unrestricted private travel of U.S.S.R citizens to Avroville and back to the U.S.S.R.;
3. departure of interested citizens to Avroville for permanent residence.

Please do not consider this letter as a reproach or criticism. It is only a reminder about the forgotten UNESCO Resolution and an expression of hope that the governments of your two nations, with concrete resolve and good faith, will strive towards and reach a decisive agreement about the development and achievement of this one absolutely peaceful city on earth — Avroville.

January 3, 1976

(Signature)

To date, I have not received a reply to my letter.

My situation, as evidenced by my long experience, is such:

1. If I were to work and not maintain contact with anyone, as was the fact in 1958—1959, I will be accused of not working and establishing the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — result — awaiting arrest.

2. If I were to maintain contact with my friends, I will be accused of espionage — result — awaiting arrest.

Having signed the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, the government of the Soviet Union has recognized my right to emigrate. I am appealing to you with reference to only one thing — to provide me with this right.

July 5, 1976

*Y. Hrycyak*

#### APPENDIX "B"

The Committee for the Implementation  
of the Helsinki Accords

I, former political prisoner, Yevhen Hrycyak, Ukrainian, am hereby appealing for your attention to the following instance of violation of the Helsinki Accords:

At the end of 1973, I received an entry visa for immigration to Israel. In 1974, I petitioned for an exit visa. In 1975, I was denied the said exit visa.

In the middle of May, 1976, in a conversation with Captain Veloboyenko, Chief of Snyatyn County KGB, I reasserted my intention to emigrate from the U.S.S.R. Approximately two weeks after my conversation with Veloboyenko, in the newspaper "Prykarpatska Pravda" (Trans-Carpathian Truth), appeared an article which defamed my relationship with Avraham Shifrin, whom I owe my entry visa for immigration to Israel. Then on January 1, 1977, I was dismissed from work and on February 10, 1977, at a meeting of the Communist Party Committee of the collective farm "Pershe Travnya" (First of May) of Snyatyn County, a new rumor, compromising Shifrin and me, was spread among the participants.

The Secretary of the Communist Party Committee V. Maleykey stated at the said meeting that my friendship with Shifrin is based upon the killing of one convoy guard, who led us to work, whom we jointly were supposed to murder during our imprisonment.

This absurd statement by the Secretary of the Communist Party Committee aroused my suspicion and I see in it an attempt to prepare public opinion, paving the way for my arrest.

February 18, 1977

*Y. Hrycyak*

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**„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**

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## LATVIAN POET AWAITS TRIAL

*September 3, 1983*

Currently the Soviet authorities are preparing for court proceedings against the Latvian poet and electrical specialist Gunars Freimanis. According to the information that has reached the West only recently, the trial of Freimanis is to start after the sentencing of the Baltic activist Ints Calitis, who is to be tried by the Latvian SSR Supreme Court in Riga on September 15, 1983. Presumably the charge of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda will be brought against Gunars Freimanis. Prior to his arrest at the end of March 1983, his apartment at 86 Darzciema Street in Riga was searched and his summer cottage in Carnikava was ransacked by the KGB. Some papers, including Freimanis' poetry and Western publications, were confiscated. While awaiting trial Gunars Freimanis suffered a heart attack and his health has been seriously impaired.

Gunars Freimanis is one of the six Latvian human and national rights activists who was arrested during the most recent KGB crackdown on dissidents in Latvia that started on January 6, 1983. So far only Lidija Lasmane-Doronina and Gederts Melngailis were sentenced. Still being held in the KGB prison in Riga for impending legal proceedings are, Ints Calitis, Janis Rozkalns, Janis Veveris and Gunars Freimanis.

Born on October 3, 1927 in Vainode, Latvia, Gunars Freimanis actually spent most of his childhood and teenage years in the Latvian capital of Riga. His schooling was interrupted in 1944, when, at the age of 17, he was drafted by the German Luftwaffe as an auxiliary helper of the ground crew. Towards the end of World War II a number of Latvian teenage boys were enlisted by the occupying German

forces to help with the non-combat tasks. Some months later, Gunars was captured by the Red Army. While a prisoner of war, he made the acquaintance of other Latvians who had opposed the Red Army's invasion of Latvia. It is not clear when Gunars was released from internment: some sources indicate that he was sentenced to 10 years after being taken prisoner and released either in 1954 or 1955 on grounds of insufficient evidence of guilt for the crime that he had been charged. Other sources would have it that Gunars' detention ended either in 1947 or 1948. It is known, however, that upon returning to Latvia the young man concentrated on completing his education. He graduated from the Riga State Technical School as a qualified electrotechnician. During this period he tried his hand at writing poetry. Most of his poems ended up in the desk drawer, since his verse did not meet the thematic and ideological standards of the Khrushchev era. A good illustration of his literary talent is the poem "Staburags" (1963) in which the poet bids a moving farewell to Staburags, a dolomite cliff on the shores of the River Daugava. For generations and generations of Latvians this cliff symbolized national strength and endurance. Staburags was flooded as a result of the construction of the Plavinu Hydroelectric Station which was completed in 1966.

On October 4, 1953 Gunars Freimanis married Daina Leimane, and their first daughter, Ineta, was born the following year. One of the two officially published poems by Freimanis is dedicated to the little girl, whom the father would like to see grow up to be as restless and spirited as the Black Sea. The other poem describes



the beauty of Lake Ritsa in the Western Caucasus. Both works appeared in the section devoted to young poets of the April 1964 issue of the Soviet Latvian literary journal *Karogs*.

The publication of the two poems shortly preceded the second incarceration of Gunars Freimanis. He was taken into custody on April 7, 1964 and sentenced to five years under Article 65 of the Soviet Latvian criminal code: anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. While in Soviet labor camps, he worked as an electrician and when there was a free moment, he would try to write — just to stay in practice and record his impressions. It is not known if any of his writings of this period are extant.

In 1969 he was released; he returned to Latvia, where he was fortunate enough to be allowed to work in his profession. During the next decade, he became a specialist in electrical power installations and led a construction crew working on power plants located in Latvia and the neighboring Baltic republics. This seemed to be a relatively tranquil period in his life: his career was flourishing; a second daughter, Jolanta, was born in 1974; and the KGB kept its watchful eye over him, but did not hound him.

A poet at heart, Gunars Freimanis continued to express his thoughts and feelings in verse. A few of his poems have become available in the West. An example is the following poem:

*Gunars Freimanis*

#### TO MY NATIVE LAND

Latvia had always been my dowry!  
Long before my road on earth began.  
Free ran Daugava through foaming rapids,  
Hastening to meet the Amber Sea.  
Wild and just as free rushed forth the  
Gauja,  
Trailing loggers' rafts, like strings of beads.  
Riflemen of legendary battles  
Home at last took up the plow again.

So I grew, lulled by the sighing birches,  
Riga's street prepared me for the world.  
With the passing years I came to love you  
Ever more, my cherished native land.  
Thus, I ache with every wound you suffer,  
Every knife-blade twisted in your breast.  
Thus, I grieve to see the somber future,  
Dealt to you by destiny's cruel hand.

*Translated by I. O.*

This poem and others that have found their way to the West, would tend to characterize the author as a traditional writer, a patriotic Latvian and a human being close to nature. As a poet, Freimanis wished to share his writings with others. Since his works were rejected for publication in the Soviet Latvian periodicals, he would read his poems to friends. In the summer of 1976, Freimanis and Valdis Zariņš, another former political prisoner and officially unrecognized poet, read their works at the home of Karlis and Irene Grinerts. Karlis Grinerts had served a 25-year sentence in Soviet labor camps for having taken part in Latvian national partisan activities after World War II. Some of the other guests that evening were also former political prisoners. The KGB learned of this gathering and issued an order that in the future no such literary evenings be held. Subsequently, the homes of several Latvian former political prisoners — Gunars Rode, Viktors Kalniņš, Valdis Zariņš and Gunars Freimanis — were searched and publications and manuscripts were confiscated. Thus, with his literary activity, Gunars Freimanis attracted again the attention of the KGB. Since that time, the KGB would call him in periodically for interrogations and would search his home and his summer cottage. The most recent such search took place on January 6, 1983. Again the KGB showed a keen interest in his writings. Thus, it would seem that the Soviet authorities are trying to construct

a criminal case against Freimanis on the basis of his literary endeavors.

Although it is impossible to say what the future holds for Gunars Freimanis, the Latvian writer's past experiences indicate that the Soviet authorities have little sympathy for a poet, loyal to his calling and his native land. Thus, it seems unlikely that the Latvian SSR Supreme

Court will acquit Gunars Freimanis of the charges brought against him — presumably anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. One can only hope that the full measure of the law will not be exercised against Gunars Freimanis, who is now suffering from the effects of a heart attack in a KGB cell in Riga.

## Ints Calitis to go on Trial

Ints Calitis, a Latvian human rights activist and an advocate of Baltic cooperation, is to be tried on September 15, 1983 by the Latvian SSR Supreme Court in Riga.<sup>1</sup> He is accused of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, i. e. Article 65, part 2, of the Soviet Latvian criminal code which provides for a maximum sentence of 10 years deprivation of freedom plus 5 years internal exile. Calitis was arrested on April 10, 1983 in his home at 13—15 Rupniecibas Street in Riga.<sup>2</sup> He was living there with his wife and their three children, aged 13, 11, and 7 years. Calitis was employed as a locksmith by the Riga water and sanitation department. At the time that he was taken into custody, he was still recovering from hepatitis for which he had been hospitalized earlier. Calitis' arrest was part of a wide-ranging KGB crackdown on dissidents in Latvia that started on January 6, 1983. Homes of more than 50 suspected dissidents were searched and more than 100 persons were interrogated. Subsequently, besides Calitis, five other Latvian human and national rights advocates were incarcerated: Gunars Freimanis, Janis Rožkalns, Janis Veveris, Gederts Melngailis, and Lidija Lasmane-Doroņina. So far only Melngailis and Lasmane-Doroņina have been brought to trial; both were given very harsh sentences.<sup>3</sup>

Ints Calitis was born in Latvia on March 5, 1931.<sup>4</sup> After World War II he

had to go with his father Maksis Calitis to Siberia. The father had been sentenced to 25 years in Soviet labor camps because of his affiliation with the Latvian partisans who fought against the invading Red Army in Latvia. After Stalin's death, both the father and son were amnestied, but only Ints could return to Latvia. Maksis Calitis was allowed to settle in Kohtla-Järve, Estonia, where he died on February 22, 1980; he was 70 years old.

In the late 1950s or early 1960s, Ints Calitis was arrested again. The exact charges against him are not clear. Presumably he was accused of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. He was released in 1964.

Ints Calitis is best known in the West for his concern about the human and national rights of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians and for his interest in the Baltic area as a whole. Deeply aware

<sup>1</sup> *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Christian Science Monitor*, August 31, 1983; *Reuter* and *AFP*, September 1, 1983.

<sup>2</sup> *Reuter*, April 27, 1983; see also RLR 173/83, "Two New Arrests in Latvia." April 28, 1983.

<sup>3</sup> RLR 309/83, "Lidija Lasmane-Doroņina Sentenced," August 17, 1983; RLR 320/83, "Gederts Melngailis Sentenced," August 22, 1983.

<sup>4</sup> Calitis' biography was compiled from: press releases of the World Federation of Free Latvians and the United Baltic Appeal; *Khronika tekushchikh sobytii*, Nos. 47—49; *Vesti iz SSSR — USSR News Brief* 8/83.

of the similarities in the fate of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania during World War II and afterwards, he tends to consider many current developments not just from a purely national, but rather from a Baltic point of view. Thus, it is natural that Calitis has found friends and acquaintances among like-minded Balts and has supported projects and activities intended to promote Baltic cooperation. As time and circumstances permitted, he would meet with Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians to discuss questions of common historical and cultural heritage. Reportedly, one such meeting took place in Calitis' apartment in the summer of 1976. On August 23, 1977 the KGB searched his home and confiscated materials of the Supreme Committee of the National Movement of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Other Baltic activists were also detained and interrogated at about the same time: the Estonians Mart Niklus and Enn Tarto; the Latvian Viktors Kalniņš; and the Lithuanians Jonas Volungevičius, Algirdas Masilionis, Antanas Terleckas, Julius Sasnauskas, and Birute Pašiliene. All were formally questioned about the case against the Lithuanian national rights activist Balys Gajauskas.<sup>5</sup> However, from the questions posed, it was obvious that the KGB was primarily concerned with Viktoras Petkus and the Supreme Committee of the National Movement of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Petkus was accused of being one of the committee's three chairmen.<sup>6</sup> The founding statement of this organization, datelined August 20, 1977 in Vilnius, is very vague about the goals of the Supreme Committee and simply calls for the election of three chairmen to represent the national movement in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania; no mention is made of Viktoras Petkus or any other Baltic dissident. Yet, this did not deter the Soviet Lithuanian authorities from bringing Ints Calitis,

along with other Estonian and Latvians activists, to testify at the court proceedings against Viktoras Petkus. In his testimony, Calitis provided no evidence against the Lithuanian dissident on trial and characterized him as a good and honorable man.<sup>8</sup>

Viktoras Petkus was tried by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court from July 10 through July 13, 1978 in Vilnius, and sentenced to 10 years deprivation of freedom plus five years internal exile. This harsh sentence prompted other Baltic activists to speak out on behalf of Petkus. On November 14, 1977 an appeal to Amnesty International for help in obtaining the release of Viktoras Petkus was written by Mart Niklus, Enn Tarto and Erik Udarn of Estonia; and Juris Ziemelis, Viktors Kalniņš, Gunars Rode and Ints Calitis of Latvia.<sup>9</sup>

In spite of the clearly demonstrated dangers involved in trying to work together with other Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians loyal to the Baltic cause, Ints Calitis remained steadfast in his convictions. He maintained contacts with other Baltic activists and signed a state-

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<sup>5</sup> RLR 87/78, "Lithuanian Human Rights Activist Sentenced," April 23, 1978 and RLR 128/78, "A Soviet Version of the Gajauskas Case," June 2, 1978.

<sup>6</sup> RLR 156/78, "Viktoras Petkus Brought to Trial," July 10, 1978; RLR 163/78, "A Provisional Report of the Trial of Viktoras Petkus," July 18, 1978; and RLR 181/78, "The Petkus Case: A Comparison of Source Materials," August 18, 1978.

<sup>7</sup> This statement was published in the Lithuanian samizdat journal *Aušra*, No. 8 (October 1977) and an English translation was included in the United Baltic Appeal news release of April 9, 1978.

<sup>8</sup> The testimony of various witnesses at the Petkus' trial is described in *Aušra*, No. 12; AS 3401 — statement of Mart Niklus; *The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, No. 34; and *Khronika tekushchikh sobytii*, No. 50.

<sup>9</sup> AS 3291.

ment calling for the revocation of the Molotov—Ribbentrop Pact and for the implementation of the right of self-determination in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.<sup>10</sup> This statement was dated on the 40th anniversary of the pact — August 23, 1979 — and was endorsed by more than 45 Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Russians. On November 30, 1979, Ints Calitis and the other three Latvians who signed the statement — Uldis Ofkants, Ķuris Ziemelis and Ivars Žukovskis — were officially warned by the KGB to desist from such activities. Ints Calitis remained undaunted. On October 10, 1981 he was one of the 38 Balts to sign an open letter asking for the inclusion of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in a Northern European nuclear-free zone.<sup>11</sup> In addition, Calitis is reported to have joined other

Balts in voicing protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.<sup>12</sup>

In view of the severe sentences meted out by the Soviet Latvian courts to the other two Latvian dissidents who were tried recently — Lidija Lasmane-Doroņina and Gederts Melngailis — and Calitis' past encounters with Soviet justice, it does not seem likely that Ints Calitis will go unpunished for what the Soviet regime perceives as crimes against the state. One can only hope that the full measure of the law will not be invoked against this Latvian human rights activist and advocate of Baltic cooperation.

September 1, 1983

*Aina Zariņš*

<sup>10</sup> AS 3755.

<sup>11</sup> AS 4570.

<sup>12</sup> World Federation of Free Latvians press release of August 29, 1983.



*At the 16th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) Luxembourg, September 20-23, 1983 — (from left to right) Prof. Woo Jae-Seung — WACL Secretary-General, Slava Stetsko, H. Kondo (Japan), Osami Kuboki — President "Victory over Communism" and Yaroslav Stetsko.*

## **A Commitment of Honor**

In the last three decades and especially, since the fall of Saigon, the American foreign policy (and thus the free world policy) has been in disarray.

The Soviet-Russian imperialistic and military adventurism was rampant and for all practical purposes unchecked.

The policy failure stemmed from the inability to recognize the basic nature of the Soviet-Russian system which has run the gamut of "containment", "assured destruction", "deterrence", "peaceful co-existence" and "detente". The failure to establish a clear policy has led to an unwillingness to confront the Soviet-Russians each time evidence of their disregard of international agreements is exposed.

The Soviet violations of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN Declaration on Decolonization and their current violation of the ban on chemical warfare contained in the Geneva Protocol of 1925, makes it clear what little regard they have to treaties and conventions.

The new USSR Constitution enunciates an obligation to actively support and promote the so-called "national liberation movements" on this side of the Iron Curtain and to render "aid" not unlike that of the "Afghan Precedent". Hence, Moscow has included in its current political arsenal not only the socio-political policy, not only the ideological baggage of Marxism-Leninism-Communism, but, also more significantly, a *national* liberation policy.

The USSR is the largest colonial empire in the world, however, the Russians, as the dominant nation, are in the minority. Yet, in a curious twist of events, this same reactionary empire presents itself in the world as the promoter of the most progressive national liberation forces.

We strongly oppose the double standard that has characterized US policy on this issue: on the one hand, the US has supported the anti-communists in Chile, Portugal and Italy in order to prevent the absorption of these countries into the Russian empire or their sphere of influence; on the other hand, the US has refused to support the anti-imperialist and anti-communist movements in Ukraine, Lithuania, Cuba, East Germany, Afghanistan, Georgia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania, Turkestan and in many other subjugated nations. We believe that there is an imperative need for a foreign policy based on the principal of national independence. National independence, not only for those nations outside the direct sphere of Russian domination, but for all nations.

Now is the time to turn the tables on the USSR. We believe that the West can achieve victory over the USSR, if we include the NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE of subjugated nations as a primary weapon within our strategic-military plan.

We are convinced that this dramatic and new policy is necessary, this policy would provide an alternative to vacillation between bellicose nuclear posturing and appeasement, or acquiescence to Soviet-Russian aggression. This policy would have as its central purpose the emergency of a world order which is, to the greatest degree possible, in accord with our national interests as a great power representing freedom, democracy, social and economic human progress.

It is, the only realistic policy available which is founded upon our strength, the strength of our allies and the strength of the national liberation movements that are coming to the fore in the Soviet-Rus-

sian empire. Any military-political strategy, which does not take into account the national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations and recognize this factor as the crucial variable in the foreign policy of the United States with regard to Soviet-Russia is a strategy doomed to failure.

This combination of strength, acting in concert, is more fearsome to the Kremlin than any weapons our sophisticated technology could produce. In the long term, it is the approach that will enable the construction of a free, just, democratic and peaceful world. A world based on the national principle of world organization. A world based on the right of every nation to national independence, sovereignty and statehood.

Without the dissolution of the Soviet-Russian empire and the concurrent re-establishment of nationally-independent states on the territories of the nations presently subjugated by Moscow, there can be no peace and security in the world.

Many millions of American citizens have their roots and origins in these subjugated nations. Most of them are becoming increasingly concerned with US foreign policy.

President Reagan in his speech of June 8, 1982 to the British Parliament launched a peaceful political offensive to support the international growth of democracy. In his speech the President announced that the US would take new steps to:

“Foster the infrastructure of democracy . . . which allows a people to choose their own way, to develop their own culture and to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means.”

“We cannot ignore the fact that even without our encouragement there have been and will continue to be repeated explosions against repression in dictatorships. The Soviet

Union itself is not immune to this reality . . . while we must be cautious about forcing the pace of change, we must not hesitate to declare our ultimate objectives and to take concrete actions.”

Subsequent to this initiative several conferences were held. The October 18—19, 1982 Conference on Democratization in communist countries is worthy of special note — it did not include institutional representation from any of the subjugated nations.

The interim report of “The Democracy Program”, as presented by the Honorable William E. Brock, Ill., Chairman of the newly formed Bipartisan American Political Foundation to the House Subcommittee on International Organizations, also skirts the issue.

In our humble opinion the Project Democracy Program in order to fulfill the Presidents expectations and to be a viable tool should include:

1. A public commitment by the United States to adopt a Great Charter of Independence of the nations subjugated in the Russian empire.
2. A commitment to incorporate a political platform as part of a foreign policy of the United States, which would include the active material and moral support of the following national liberation struggles:  
Afghanistan, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cambodia, China, Cossackia, Croatia, Cuba, Czechia, East-Germany, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Laos, Lithuania, Mongolia, North Korea, North Caucasus, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkestan (Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Tadzhikstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan), Ukraine, Vietnam.
3. A public commitment to direct the Secretary of State and our Ambassa-

dor to the United Nations to introduce a resolution in the UN General Assembly which would add the above-listed nations to the 1975 list of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four.

4. A commitment to apply the UN Declaration of Decolonization of December 14, 1960 to the USSR and its "satellite" protectorates, by using all available diplomatic and economic measures.
5. A commitment to introduce in the forum of the United Nations a resolution recognizing the revolutionary, national-liberation organizations of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries, rendering them similar status to that of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) on the precedent established by the acceptance of the PLO into the UN.
6. A commitment to propose in the forum of the United Nations a resolution pledging the active support of the armed struggle of the national liberation movements in the USSR and the "satellite" countries based on the precedent established by the resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly in December of 1974, which rendered such support to the armed liberation struggle of the Namibian people.
7. A commitment to raise systematically at the United Nations, the issue of Russian imperialism with regard to the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries.
8. A commitment to exclude the matter of non-interference in the "internal

affairs" of the Soviet-Russian empire as a guiding postulate of international agreements on the grounds that the subjugation of a nation cannot be rightfully treated as the "internal matter".

9. A commitment to create the opportunity in the free world for the representatives of the national-liberation movements to operate their own radio stations, so that they may more effectively propagate the concept of national liberation and their complex of ideas.
10. A commitment to reformulate the content of the existing radio broadcasts to the USSR, such as Radio Liberty, the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, so that the idea of national liberation and national statehood of the presently subjugated nations in the USSR and its "satellite" countries be included in their programs.

It is therefore appropriate that we review the language of Public Law 86—90 (The Captive Nations Resolution) and recommit ourselves to its principles as we commemorate the 25th anniversary of its signing and as we pay tribute to those that were instrumental in its adoption.

We should remember, as well, the representatives of the subjugated nations that gathered in the forests of Zhytomyr in 1943 and formed the first alliance of captive nations which eventually became the ABN and whose revolutionary slogan, adopted under German occupation, — "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" — has so inspired the proponents of Public Law 86—90, the Captive Nations Resolution.

## Captive Nations Week Observed in Boston

BOSTON — “Freedom for the Captive Nations” was the theme as over 300 people gathered at City Hall Plaza on July 20 to observe the 25th anniversary of the establishment by the U. S. Congress of the “Captive Nations Week.” Speaking against a background of colorful captive nations flags, feature speaker State Representative John H. Loring emphasized that “the captive peoples cannot be forgotten” and that “America must be strong morally, spiritually, economically and militarily, since ultimate freedom for the world rests with America.” He also commended the Captive Nations Committee of Massachusetts for sponsoring annual observances of the “Captive Nations Week.”

Attorney Robert B. Zozula, vice chairman of the CNCM and a member of the Boston Chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, served as master of ceremonies, introducing the speakers and others involved in the impressive hour-long observance. Latvian baritone Karlis Grinbergs sang the American national anthem, after which Very Rev. Peter Ohirko, pastor of Christ The King Ukrainian Catholic Church, gave the invocation. Orest Szczudluk, chairman of the CNCM and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America — Boston Chapter, in his opening remarks stated: “We urge President Ronald Reagan and the U. S. Congress to continue to fund Voice of America, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, because they serve the captive peoples under Communist Russian domination. We urge President Ronald Reagan and the U. S. Congress to press the Soviet government to stop Russification in the captive nations, to release all the political prisoners and to

grant national rights to the captive peoples.”

Izabel Rivero-Arguelles, secretary of the CNCM and Facts About Cuba, read the names and the years of the subjugation of each captive country. Ted Temple, New England director of the Mid-American Conservative Political Action Committee, reminded the audience about the inadequacy of the coverage of the captive nations by our newsmedia. Earle W. Tuttle, editor and publisher of THE TRUTH, stated: “We have been at war with Soviet Communism since the end of World War II. It is time we realized it. The Moscow dictators are committed to the destruction of freedom throughout the world and end the representative government everywhere. The United States of America and the West must take a stand. Communist Russian tyranny must be destroyed.”

Congressman Brian J. Donnelly (D., Ma. 11th District), who is also co-chairman of the Congressional Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine, sent greetings and a message, which read in part: “The Soviets must realize by now that they have not accomplished the goal of silencing the spirit of independence and determination in the captive nations. It lives on!”

Greetings from State Representative Marie E. Howe were extended by Liam J. Deeney. Don Conners of the mayor’s office read the “Captive Nations Week” proclamation issued by Mayor Kevin H. White. The first CNW proclamation, which was issued by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1959, was read by Van Lan of the National United Front for the Liberation of Vietnam.

The cultural program was provided by



Latvian and Polish groups. The Latvian girls' group played several folk songs on their national instrument, kokle, before and during the program. The Polish group sang two songs.

The benediction was given by Rev. Edmund E. Slejzer, pastor of St. Michael's Polish Church in Lynn, Ma., who is also the president of the Polish American Congress — Eastern Massachusetts Region.

The observance was covered by TV channels 7 and 56 in their early and late evening news reports. It was also covered by local newspapers: THE PILOT WEST ROXBURY/PARKWAY TRANSCRIPTS, SOUTH BOSTON TRIBUNE, CAMBRIDGE EXPRESS, THE TRUTH, as well as by United Press International and Associated Press.

Mr. Szczudluk gave a brief interview

to listeners of WRKO radio, while Aristids Lamberg was interviewed by WMEX radio and local cable television.

Both Governor Michael S. Dukakis and Mayor Kevin H. White designated the week of July 17—23 as "Captive Nations Week" in Massachusetts and Boston respectively.

The Captive Nations Committee of Massachusetts asked Cong. Brian J. Donnelly to introduce the write-ups on the Boston observance of the CNW into THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The observance was sponsored by the Captive Nations Committee of Massachusetts, which consists of representatives of Afghan, Cuban, Estonian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Ukrainian and Vietnamese organizations in Boston and in Massachusetts.

Boston, Massachusetts, July 25, 1983



*Delegates of the Subjugated Nations to the 16th WACL Conference, Luxembourg, September 20-23, 1983.*

## Revolutionary Processes in Ukraine

(The Report of the Delegation of Ukraine to the XVI WACL Conference, Luxembourg, September 20—22, 1983)

The ultimate aim of the national-liberation struggle of Ukraine is the restoration of national independence, statehood, sovereignty and democracy. The Ukrainian underground liberation movement, under the political aegis of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), has been systematically effectuating a revolutionary strategy of liberation on the historically proven premise that only by means of a total revolutionary struggle, incrementally increasing in intensity and culminating in an armed uprising, can Ukrainian national independence be re-established.

A national revolution is not a unitary, isolated "event", but rather a series of phases; a drawn-out, total, multi-faceted process that permeates all facets of life of a subjugated nation and is, in turn, an outgrowth of the specific needs that arise in the course of the struggle. This process is primarily characterized by the rise and progressive growth in strength of an anti-colonial, revolutionary matrix of political authority that emanates the subjugated nation's particular system of values, in diametric opposition to the reactionary and repressive imperialist system of subjugation.

The national-liberation processes in Ukraine and the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its "satellites" have developed to the point that Moscow may soon be faced with an irreversible revolutionary situation, i. e., the existence of two irreconcilable, diametrically opposed poles of power and authority: on the one hand, the colonial, occupational regime representing the imperialist and totalitarian power of Moscow, and, on the other hand, the national, legitimate,

revolutionary authority of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations representing a *de facto* "underground state".

### The Present Stage of the Revolutionary Struggle in Ukraine

The initial phase in a revolutionary, national-liberation struggle is always one of consciousness-building, or of a widespread ideological and political mobilization of all strata of society, by which the entire nation comes to more fully comprehend and identify with its intrinsic value-system and, thus, rejects the colonial values and norms of the oppressor-nation. In the words of one underground Ukrainian writer, the entire nation as a whole becomes a "dissident". In the Russian prison of nations this stage is particularly vital to the success of the successive phases, since Russian imperialism, unlike every other historical imperialism of the past, ultimately aims to completely russify the enslaved peoples under its colonial domination by uprooting their distinctive national attributes and artificially substituting them by force with Russian mores, norms and values. Notwithstanding the fact that communism as an ideal is well-suited to the essentially collectivist, nationally amorphous, and autocratically inclined Russian national spirit, the primary function that communist ideology serves in the Soviet Union is to weave an intricate web of deception that masks Moscow's real goal of creating a Russian "super-nation" under the deceiving label of a "Soviet people".

Ukraine has managed to withstand this brutal Russian onslaught on its distinctive national fiber. In the 1960s and 1970s leading Ukrainian cultural activists and academics initiated a spontaneous

search for their nation's spiritual roots, in the process making manifest the Ukrainian nation's cultural uniqueness in clear distinction to the Russian cultural heritage. As this feeling of national distinctiveness grows stronger, the Ukrainian people's cognizance of their enslaved status becomes clearer and, hence, their antipathy for forcibly implanted Bolshevik norms and values becomes greater; and, furthermore, the spontaneous desire to have this national uniqueness concretized and reach fruition within an independent and sovereign national state structure becomes more irresistible.

In the 1980s the revolutionary processes in Ukraine had entered into a second, more purposeful phase that requires a systematic and planned-out structural revolution of all aspects of life and the building of an incipient underground state that in itself will be reflective of the nation's incrementally increasing reappropriation of political authority and sovereignty. Given the ebbs and flows that every revolution undergoes, this critical second phase, if successful, will eschew the next, ultimately decisive phase of insurgent-guerrilla activity and the formation and organization of a "homegrown" insurgent-military force of liberation that will stand as the territorial guardian of the authority and sovereignty that had been reinvested into the nation as a whole.

### **The Totality of the Bolshevik System of Subjugation**

Bolshevism, as a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, is a total system of occupation that is enforced by the Communist Party, the KGB, and the terror apparatus. It is an aggregate of means and modes of repression, whose purpose is to uproot and destroy the traditional institutions of a subjugated nation, while simultaneously replacing

them by force with Bolshevik, Russian communist, collectivist, "étatist", atheistic, anti-individualistic and anti-national institutions. For instance, collectivism, as it was brutally instituted in Ukraine in the early 1930s, was not strictly an economic policy. In all probability, its primary function was to destroy the Ukrainian people's individualistic and traditionalist way of life. As a result, Moscow found it necessary to murder over seven million Ukrainians in 1932—33 by means of a horrific artificial famine that was deliberately instituted so as to break the Ukrainian resistance to collectivism in the short run and, in the long run, to dissuade the Ukrainian people from continuing to fight for their national independence; to terrorize them into submission.

However, in spite of this total assault against Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, paradoxically enough, this condition *sine qua non* of Bolshevik imperialist domination is also a potential source of internal systemic weakness, since it gives the subjugated nations that many more targets at which to direct their revolutionary activity. For example, given the fact that in the Ukrainian SSR to openly speak Ukrainian would be considered an expression of "bourgeois nationalist" activity, a child that refuses to speak Russian in school or elsewhere is, in effect, committing a revolutionary act. The more the Bolsheviks try to totally enslave the subjugated nations, that much more is the revolutionary significance of even a least offensive act of defiance magnified.

Moreover, the Bolshevik system of occupation is highly centralized and intertwined, so that the slightest deficiency in any segment of the system, resulting from the revolutionary activity of the national underground, will reverberate in much greater magnitude throughout the system as a whole. For example, by sabotaging an

oil refinery plant, the revolutionary underground can effectively cripple the entire industrial network of one or more economic regions in the Russian empire.

The primary weapon that the Bolshevik regime can utilize against a national-liberation movement is to apply indiscriminate terror against the nation as a whole. However, there comes a point, when such terror tactics become counter-productive, since they transcend an enslaved people's threshold of fear and only further accentuate the dichotomy between the colonial regime and the revolutionary authority of the national-liberation underground. Furthermore, the internal contradictions in the Russian empire, the ideological bankruptcy of communism as a viable political ideal, and the empire's systemic economic failures further exacerbate the revolutionary situation.

### **Andropov and the Reinstitution of Stalinist Terror**

The economic history of the USSR has been a series of one failure after another. This has been especially true on the territories of the subjugated nations, which supply crucial economic links in a number of areas in the chain of centralized, i. e., colonial, economic planning in the USSR. This continuous economic crisis is particularly acute in the area of agricultural production in which Moscow is largely dependent on Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, or rather on its ability to fully exploit the agricultural and other industrial resources of these nations.

It is no coincidence that in four of the past five years the total grain yield in the USSR has fallen catastrophically short of the quotas projected in the Five Year Plans. In fact, these grain yields have been so poor that Moscow has stopped publishing any exact figures as to its agricultural output. This crisis is by no means a result of some disastrous natural oc-

currences. Droughts may occur one year, or even the next year. But to claim, as Moscow does, that bad weather is responsible for low agricultural output four years out of five is nonsense.

The fact is that the agricultural crisis and the general economic crisis are directly a result of the mass opposition to Moscow's colonial policy of exploitation in the subjugated nations. In Ukraine this resistance is most clearly manifested by the rural population, since collectivism "Bolshevik-style" and the "kolkhoz" (collective farms) system is completely anathema to the traditional, tenaciously individualistic Ukrainian "peasant" spirit. Also, the workers in the factories throughout the cities in Ukraine and the working intelligentsia have also actively and passively been refusing to work for their oppressors.

After Andropov took over the helm of power in the Russian colonial empire, the official press organs in the USSR, particularly the "republican" press in Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, published a series of scathing attacks on so-called "parasites", "malingerers", "careless and negligent workers", who seek "to undermine the Plan". In April, 1983 a new "draft of a law on the working collectives and the strengthening of their role in the management of enterprises, institutions, and organizations" was published in the Soviet press. This "draft" was presented as an instrument of instituting even greater (sic.) democracy in the economic sphere. However, this draft, which has since become law in the Soviet Union, is nothing more than a democratic fiction. The authors of this law, undoubtedly on Andropov's instructions, openly state that its primary intent is to strengthen "productive and labor discipline", i. e., to reinforce Moscow's policy of oppression and terror.

By incorporating the working collectives within the jurisdiction and sphere of activity of the policy organs in the Soviet Union, Andropov — the former Chief of the infamous KGB — intends to embellish the system of terror with a “legal” foundation, and to bring within the jurisdiction of the internal security administration wider means of punishment, sanctions and control. A new wave of Stalinist terror will now be instituted with the “permission” and “entrustment” of the working committees.

In the past the colonial regime in Ukraine was able to control the population through a network of informants. The people, however, were able to uncover these informants and isolated them completely, so that they were no longer of any use to the KGB. With Andropov’s ascent to power, the regime has printed special forms in all the Soviet press organs, in which an informant simply has to fill in the blanks and can remain anonymous. Also, special groups have been created in the “Komsomol” (Communist youth organization) which carry out unexpected “raids” on given factories, enterprises, or collective farms, checking up on the workers and their productivity.

Andropov is not even hiding the fact that he is reinstating a Stalinist-type of terror in the work-place. The figure of Stalin is now being glorified throughout Soviet historical and academic or literary journals. In the countless articles that have appeared, Stalin is presented as a great hero of the “Soviet people”. He is always portrayed as a tranquil, smiling “fatherly” figure; a leader that cared for the well-being of “his people” (sic.). Nowhere is there even a hint of the ruthless tyrant that brutally murdered over seven million Ukrainians in 1933. An example of this glorification of Stalin, which is intended to justify Andropov’s newly instituted wave of terror, is the trilogy

“The Goal” by O. Sysonenko (*Vitchyzna*, No. 2, 1983).

### **Russification intensified**

In conjunction with the restrengthening of the system of terror in the Russian colonial empire, Andropov’s ascendancy to power has also brought with it an intensified campaign of Russification in Ukraine and the other subjugated nations. In a speech on December 21, 1982, delivered on the 60th anniversary of the USSR, Andropov declared that Moscow’s primary goal is “not only the bringing together of nations, but their absorption.” He then continued to define precisely what it was that he had in mind: “The peoples of our country especially voice their words of gratitude to the Russian people. Without its benevolent brotherly aid today’s achievements of every Republic would have been impossible. A factor of special significance in the economic, political and cultural life of the country, in the absorption of all nations and nationalities, in their incorporation to the riches of world civilization is the Russian language, which has naturally become a part of the life of millions of people of many nationalities.”

After Andropov’s speech, higher and lower echelon communist officials throughout the Russian colonial empire began “monkeying” their leader’s words. Thus, the signal was given that a new, more intensified campaign of Russification was to begin. This campaign will, undoubtedly, be most bitterly felt in Ukraine, which has always been a revolutionary nucleus of the national-liberation struggle and of resistance to Bolshevik colonial rule.

### **K. Chernenko’s speech — an admission of defeat**

On June 14, 1983, at a Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Com-

munist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Konstantyn Chernenko, a leading Politburo member, delivered the keynote speech, which exclusively dealt with "the ideological and mass-political work of the party." This speech was, in fact, necessitated by the growing internal deterioration of the CPSU and by the pressing need for the Soviet Union to strengthen its psychological-political offensive against the West.

By "Soviet" standards, Chernenko was out of character, when he spoke of the lack of ideological commitment particularly on the part of the members of the Communist Party. He complained of the "wasteful prodigality of the Komsomol members" and reproachfully reminded the youth that they "are not free from moral vices."

Chernenko strongly rebuked the members of the Communist Party with the following quote from Lenin: "... the communists allow new members to come into the party not so that they can enjoy the luxuries that come with one's position in a governmental party, but so that they can give an example of genuinely communist labor." From past experience we know that the Russian communist leaders are willing to admit their problems, albeit in a qualified, non-committal manner, only when forced to do so by critically extenuating circumstances. Hence, Chernenko's outward "sincerity" is only the tip of an iceberg under which lies the real decrepitude of the communist system.

Chernenko also openly spoke of the problems that the Kremlin has with regard to the "national question" in the Russian empire. He, then, echoed Andropov's call for a more intensified campaign of Russification in the subjugated nations, as a key condition of the success of the Bolshevik "nationality policy": "A weak knowledge of the Russian language limits one's access to the treasure-house of

international culture, decreases the circle of his activity and association." How cynical can one get to even suggest that Ukraine, for instance, a nation with a population of 53 million people, or Georgia, or Lithuania, or even Greece for that matter are incapable of acquiring access to world culture without a basic understanding of the Russian language?!

Chernenko goes so far as to speak of "a mortification of the heart and spirit" when trying to characterize the present crisis that the imperialist policies of the Bolshevik ruling class have engendered in the USSR. Quoting Andropov, he stated: "The formation of a Marxist-Leninist world-view is to be equated, as a matter of principle, with a new quality of life for the working masses that in no way can be confined to material comfort, but must take into account the full spectrum of fully developed human existence." Are we to understand from this that the present standard-bearers of Marxism-Leninism in the Kremlin have suddenly made an unannounced ideological about-face and are now claiming that there exists a non-material realm of existence in the life of communists?!

We can only view these and other similar paradoxes and contradictions in Chernenko's speech as reflective of the complete and unequivocal failure of the Bolshevik system in the USSR.

### Examples of Revolutionary Activity in Ukraine

Below we are presenting several examples from the manifold of revolutionary activity that the Ukrainian liberation underground is leading in Ukraine.

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the USSR, two Ukrainian freedom fighters — Yuriy Badzio (a historian) and V. Striltsev — who are presently incarcerated in a Russian concentration camp (Mordovian camp

No. 3—5), openly proclaimed a hunger strike in protest against the continued Russian colonial subjugation of Ukraine and other nations in the USSR. In the Declaration, these two courageous patriots demanded that Ukraine become an independent and sovereign country and that all Ukrainian political prisoners be unconditionally and immediately released, in particular Ukrainian nationalists.

On June 10, 1982 Borys Terelia was killed in a gun battle with KGB agents. B. Terelia had been living illegally in the Ukrainian part of the Carpathian mountains. It is assumed that Terelia had to go underground following the explosion on the natural gas pipeline from Siberia into Western Europe. This explosion destroyed a considerable segment of the pipeline near Uzhorod (western Ukraine) and was the result of an act of sabotage on the part of the Ukrainian nationalist underground.

Within the past year-and-half there have been at least three incidents of gun battles between the Ukrainian underground and the KGB: in June, 1982, in the Carpathian mountains, in the spring of 1982, also in the Carpathians, and in the autumn of 1982 on the border of the Lviv-Volyn "oblasts" (regions). Also, reports have been reaching the West in increasing numbers, of various sabotage actions throughout all of Ukraine. Although this type of activity is difficult to document, given the extremely repressive nature of the Bolshevik regime in Ukraine, evidence of this type of liberation-revolutionary activity are the numerous trials of members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) that have recently taken place in Ukraine. The intense difficulties that the Russian colonial regime is experiencing in Ukraine presently as a result of the OUN's activity can be surmised somewhat from a speech that was given by I. Chmil, the Chief of

the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR to the Geneva Committee on Human Rights of the United Nations on February 22, 1983. Chmil used this opportunity to launch a bitter attack on the OUN and on all the countries of the Free World in which the OUN is active (*Radianska Ukraina*, 23. 2. 1983, No. 44).

On January 17, 1983 the Russian colonial authorities in Ukraine sentenced Myroslav Symczycz to long-term imprisonment for membership in the OUN. At his trial Symczycz declared that he joined the OUN to fight against the imperialist occupiers of Ukraine.

The youth of Ukraine is especially active in the national-liberation struggle. In several cities of Ukraine young people were seen distributing underground leaflets and other literature, for example in Kyiv on the anniversary of Ukrainian Independence which was declared on January 22, 1918, and also on the occasion of the 1,500 anniversary of Kyiv. Young people have begun to demonstratively wear crosses around their necks as a sign of opposition to the Bolshevik atheistic regime and its policies. On several occasions the Ukrainian national flag suddenly appeared in the major cities of Ukraine.

A very important area of liberation activity in Ukraine is the religious struggle. The Ukrainian Catacomb Church has become quite strong recently, standing as a bulwark against the atheistic communist policies of the colonial regime.

Recently, an "Appeal from the Faithful of Christ's Church in Ukraine" reached the West. From this "Appeal" we read the following: "Our churches are active in dire underground conditions and need the all-out support" of the Free World. The "Appeal" goes on to state that "... only in an independent state can the necessary preconditions be created for the

free development of religious life . . . We fully support the measures taken to create a Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church under the leadership of Patriarch Josyf . . . We particularly voice our appeal to Pope John Paul II that he recognize the existence of the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and that he terminate the dialogue with the Russian imperialist church of Pimen.”

In reaction to this heightened religious activity in Ukraine, Moscow has begun a

crack-down of the hierarchy and the faithful. For example, recently two priests were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment — Vasyl Kavatsiv and Roman Osyp, both of which were priests of the Ukrainian Catacomb Church. The Russian communists tried to make their trial into a show trial by forcing children to testify against them. But their plan soon backfired when the children refused to say anything against their beloved religious leaders.

### **The United States Reaffirms Recognition of Independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania**

Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations has delivered to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the text of a statement issued by President Reagan on the occasion of the anniversary of the recognition, by the United States, of the three independent Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. She requested that this statement be made an official document of the United Nations General Assembly and circulated. The 38th General Assembly will consider the importance of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence. The following is the text of President Reagan’s statement:

On July 26, 1983, we mark the sixty-first anniversary of the *de jure* recognition of the three Baltic Republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia by the United States. Each of these states was a full member of the League of Nations and had signed non-aggression treaties with the Soviet Union. Yet all three countries were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union more than forty years ago as a result of the infamous Molotov—Ribbentrop Pact which divided Eastern Europe into Nazi and Soviet spheres of influence.

By continuing the illegal occupation of the Baltic States under the provisions of the Molotov—Ribbentrop Pact, the Soviet Union violates international law, particularly the right to self-determination as set forth in the United Nations Charter and in subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly. Resolution 1541 of the General Assembly, dealing with self-determination, stipulates that the decision to incorporate into another state “should be the result of the freely expressed wishes of the territories’ peoples acting with full knowledge of the change in status, their wishes having been expressed through informed and democratic processes, impartially conducted and based on universal adult suffrage.” Far from respecting such democratic processes, the Soviet Union used brutal force in absorbing the three Baltic States into its empire.

In 1940, the Soviet Union invaded, occupied and annexed the Baltic States, after which it embarked upon a policy of ruthless Sovietization. Then, on a single night of terror, June 14, 1941, the Soviets deported huge numbers of Baltic peoples to the Gulags where many of them perished.

Following the Nazi occupation of the Baltic States, the Soviets again invaded the Baltic States and reconsolidated their



control through killings, repression, and new mass deportations. Between 1944 and 1949, some 600,000 Baltic people, out of a population of just a little over 4,000,000, were deported to Siberia. The resistance to Soviet occupation continued until 1952, eight years after the re-entry of the Red Army.

Since then, the Soviets have pursued a conscious policy of forced Russification aimed at the denationalization of the Baltic States. The religious, cultural and historical heritage of the Baltic peoples has been denigrated and suppressed. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union has been unable to force the acceptance of an alien life of totalitarian domination.

Today, the Baltic peoples continue to struggle to attain their freedom and their right to self-determination. Broadly based dissent movements have emerged demanding national, political and religious rights. In Lithuania, for example, where 15 unofficial journals are circulated regularly, some 148,000 people recently submitted a protest petition to Moscow, a figure unprecedented in any place under Soviet control. Typically, the Soviet response to these efforts to restore Baltic freedom has been to deny Baltic national rights and to subject these brave Lithu-

anians, Latvians, and Estonians to imprisonment, exile, or confinement in psychiatric institutions.

Americans share the just aspirations of the people of the Baltic nations for national independence. We cannot remain silent in the face of the continued refusal of the government of the USSR to allow these people to be free. We uphold their right to determine their own national destiny, a right contained in the Helsinki Declaration which affirms that "all people always have the right, in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wish, their internal and external political status, without external interference, and to pursue as they wish their political, economic, social and cultural development."

For this reason, the government of the United States has never recognized the forced incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union and will not do so in the future.

On this occasion, we wish to reaffirm this policy as we note the anniversary of the 1922 recognition by the United States of the three Baltic Republics. In so doing, we demonstrate our continuing commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and to the cause of peace and liberty in the world.

### *25th Anniversary Of Captive Nations Law*

## **RESOLUTION**

*Adopted at the 25th International Observance of the Captive Nations Convention, held on July 18, 1983 in Washington, D.C.*

*WHEREAS on July 17, 1959 the U.S. Congress in its wisdom and deep conviction enacted the "Captive Nations Week Resolution," which upon signature by President Dwight D. Eisenhower became the law of the land, Public Law 86-90; and*

*WHEREAS each year, beginning in 1959, every President of the United States of America has been issuing a Presidential Proclamation calling on the American people to dedicate themselves to the freedom and independence of all Captive Nations in the world; and*

*WHEREAS each year since 1959 a number of U.S. Senators and Congressmen, as well as governors of states and mayors of cities have formally and officially participated in annual Captive Nations observances, delivering addresses, statements or issuing special proclamations calling on the American people to help the plight of the Captive Nations morally and materially; and*

*WHEREAS the Soviet-Russian government through its official media and the media of the so-called satellite states scathingly denounced these Captive Nations observances, calling them "cold war instigations" and instruments of "American imperialism"; and*

*WHEREAS there have been added to the 22 original countries enslaved by Soviet-Russian imperialism a number of new Captive Nations, namely Cuba, Angola, South Yemen and Ethiopia, which are under indirect Soviet-Russian domination, and there has occurred the brutal invasion of Afghanistan by Communist Russia in December, 1979, and the terror-pressure being inflicted upon the people of Poland; and*

*WHEREAS President Ronald Reagan last year personally presided over the Captive Nations observances at the White House; and*

*WHEREAS the Soviet-Russian aggressive policy is now centered on the neighboring countries of Nicaragua and El Salvador in Central America, posing a direct threat to the United States and the countries of Central and Latin America,*

**NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:**

*(1) That heartfelt gratitude be expressed to President Reagan from all the Captive Nations organizations in North and South America, Asia, Australia and Europe, for his enlightened and steadfast support of the Captive Nations fighting against Soviet-Russian imperialism and its subservient proxies wherever they may be;*

*(2) That sincere thanks be expressed to the U.S. Congress as a whole and to individual members of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, as well as to U.S. Governors and Mayors and to the American people, for their unflinching support of the Captive Nations in their struggle for freedom and national independence;*

*(3) That appeals to be made to all governments of the Free World to support the Captive Nations within the Soviet-Russian sphere of dominance, mindful that all the Captive Nations are the true and reliable allies of the free Western world, for without their manpower and material-economic resources and territories, the Soviet Union would not be a threat to the world at large;*

*(4) That we call on the peoples of the world to give their unstinting support to these brave and persecuted millions behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, who while fighting against the overwhelming odds of a modern totalitarian regime, look to us for guidance, encouragement and whatever moral and material support we may muster to precipitate the day of deliverance of all the Captive Nations in the world.*

## For a Heroic Concept of Life

*Statement of the Executive Board of the World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL), Detroit, Michigan, USA, held from August 1 to 3, 1983.*

Humankind in the XXth century finds itself in the throes of a moral dilemma: a mortification of the will to stand-up for truth and justice — for what is right. There is a lack of higher spiritual values and an inspiring vision in everyday life. There is a need for a heroic code of ethics, founded on the eternal values of God, the good and well-being of the Nation, the rights of the Individual, and the noble and irresistible yearning for freedom and justice that is inherent in the human condition. Materialism, in all of its forms, particularly in its objectified communist form, has led to the defilement of the moral essence of humankind. Thus, the Individual, taken as a noble and spiritual entity, has become alienated from his essential self.

This process of ethical decay is most acutely felt by the younger generations, who always have a propensity to be more altruistic and vigilant in defense of the absolute values of freedom and justice. Without a higher moral and political vision towards which young people can direct their creative and idealistic energies, this young dynamism can be manipulated into a destructive force by the various centers of Communism, Moscow in particular. In its drive to establish its colonial hegemony over the entire world, Moscow sows internal subversion and moral degeneration in free, democratic societies, as a prelude to subsequent military expansion.

The youth of the world desperately long for a new vision. Therefore, it is the view of the Executive Board of the World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL) that this new, revolutionary vision can be provided by the force of liberation

nationalism, which has the potential to dismantle the Russian empire and all communist systems from within. This process would lead to the establishment of a truly just, peaceful and free world order of democratic, independent and sovereign national states, a harmonious family of nations. With a view towards generating such a moral rebirth, the WYACL Executive Board has decided to convene a WYACL Conference, that will be held in Belgium on September 17-18-19, 1983. The theme of the Conference will be: "LIBERATION NATIONALISM AGAINST COMMUNISM AND IMPERIALISM!"

### Our Basic Sixteen Points

The WYACL Executive Board fully supports President Ronald Reagan's call for a "crusade" against communism. We feel that it is imperative to launch an ideological-political campaign for freedom directed at the youth of the world. Such a campaign would be based on the following moral and political concepts:

- 1) faith in God, Christian heroism and a heroic concept of religion in general, which is symbolized by the Catacomb Churches behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains;
- 2) opposition to communist militant atheism and the Caesaropapism of Moscow;
- 3) recognition of the inalienability of a national system of values;
- 4) respect for the particular and specific way of life of every nation;
- 5) vigilance against communist and/or imperialist designs to undermine the Na-

tion, as the basic organic entity of all of humankind;

6) veneration of national traditions, patriotic ideals, the unique cultural heritage and roots of every nation, which adds its own unique jewel to humankind's treasurehouse and which would stand as a bulwark against attempts to create an artificial, a-national, "proletarian" culture, especially against Russification, "socialist realism" and the Russian racist doctrine of a "Soviet people", i. e., a Russian "Hervolk" (supernation);

7) devotion to national, sovereign and independent democratic states, as the basic organizing principle of international politics;

8) vigilance against artificial, multinational, imperialist systems and constructs;

9) respect of a moral-ethical system of norms and values that stress the Individual, as an essentially spiritual being, created in the image and likeness of God and that is founded on a heroic idealism, a heroic concept of life;

10) rejection of all materialist doctrines, which defile the human Individual by treating people as egotistical, covetous and selfish beings;

11) faith in the family as the nucleus of a morally strong nation against moral decay and the primacy of spiritual over material values;

12) the inculcation of an idealistic-nationalist philosophy of history that posits the Nation as the primary moving force of history and human progress;

13) rejection of "historical" dialectical materialism that stigmatizes all of humankind's achievements by casting them in the dark shadow of antagonistic economic or class relations;

14) to struggle for social justice, a social ideal that allows for full and unfettered enjoyment of an individual's creative labour — an ethos of free and creative

labour — the right of private property on as wide a basis as empirically feasible;

15) unbending opposition to collectivist slavery, against communist and capitalist alienation of human labour through mass disappropriation of property and the rejection of all forms of exploitation of workers by a new imperialist and/or communist class;

16) faith in revolutionary, liberation nationalism against imperialism and colonialism, democracy against communist totalitarianism, freedom and justice against tyranny.

Therefore, based on the foregoing, in a democratic society competition between various ideas and concepts is a natural phenomenon. Freedom presumes the possibility of choosing among a manifold of norms and values, and of the capacity to act upon this choice. Nonetheless, the choice can only be made within a framework of individual responsibility towards the eternal and immutable laws of God and the good and well-being of one's nation. Freedom entails respect for the dignity of the Individual as a being created in God's image, and for the Nation, as a product of divine Providence.

### To Awaken the Free World

Freedom or slavery, this in effect, is the choice facing all of humankind. The nations subjugated by communism and Russian imperialism have long since made their choice by strengthening their moral resolve to continue fighting for their national independence and basic human liberties, despite the incalculable sacrifices that this struggle may entail. The Western Democracies, on the other hand, have to decide whether they want to secure their freedom by denying themselves some of the luxuries of a consumption society and a welfare state, which will allow them to at least reach parity with the Warsaw Pact in terms of conventional armaments, or

whether they will hedonistically seek even greater material benefits and, thereby, place their freedom in jeopardy. It is nobler to live in freedom, albeit under modest, even spartan conditions, than to squander one's freedom by being victimized by one's own insatiable material desires.

The free nations of the world can best guarantee their freedom by supporting the subjugated nations in their national liberation struggle. The enslaved nations represent a revolutionary force capable of tipping the scales in favour of a victory of freedom and national independence over communist slavery and Russian imperialism.

In this context, the WYACL Executive Board believes that it is imperative that the Free World initiate and strengthen its ideological-political campaign against communism by technologically modernizing its radio broadcasts to the USSR, communist China and other communist-dominated countries. Most importantly, the content of this offensive must be formulated so as to stress the right of every nation to national independence and sovereignty, and the right of every individual to basic human liberties, while taking into account the entire spectrum of national, cultural and historical traditions of the subjugated nations. Thus, the ideological struggle is no less significant than the current pressing need for technological modernity of the Free World's weapons systems.

*Ideas are the decisive weapon!*

### **In Recognition and Commemoration**

In marking the fortieth anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which was founded in 1943, during Ukraine's two-front war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, the WYACL Executive Board voices its deep admiration of the national-lib-

eration struggle of Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkistan, Azerbaijan, and all of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its "satellites". We call upon all of the free countries of the world to render a full measure of moral support and to muster the political will to aid the subjugated nations' liberation struggle, as the only viable alternative to nuclear war.

The WYACL Executive Board also expresses its complete support for the Polish Solidarnosc movement and the Afghan liberation struggle.

The WYACL Executive Board firmly believes that the great Chinese nation, with its culture of many millenia, will soon rid itself of the communist yoke and will re-establish a free and democratic state based on its noble Confucian traditions and three principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. It is also our conviction that all of the nations in Asia, Africa and Central and South America, that are presently either enslaved by or under the threat of communism, will soon rid themselves of this mortal menace.

The WYACL Executive Board condemns the Russian man-made famine imposed on Ukraine fifty years ago in 1933, in which over seven million people were murdered by Moscow because of their resistance to Russian communist collectivization. We also condemn the communist practice of genocide, most recently witnessed in Vietnam, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and elsewhere.

Concerned over the growing threat of a thermo-nuclear Armageddon, the WYACL Executive Board expresses its complete support for President Reagan's "zero option", which, from a moral standpoint, is most just and humane.

The WYACL Executive Board appeals to all freedom-loving peoples to intervene

on behalf of Mr. Chester Escobar, the present WYACL President, who has taken refuge in a Guatemalan Government owned building in Managua. We also call upon the free nations of the world to pressure the Kremlin into releasing Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of the late Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insur-

gent Army (UPA). Yuriy Shukhevych has spent over thirty years in Russian concentration camps and was recently blinded by the KGB. His only 'crime' is that he categorically refuses to denounce his father and condemn the ideals of national independence and liberty for which his father fought and died.

## PEACE THROUGH LIBERATION

### Statement of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary

*Faced with the somber reality of possible nuclear extinction, at no time was the yearning for peace greater among the freedom-loving peoples of the world than at present. Yet, in light of Moscow's stepped-up pursuit of its ultimate aim of hegemonic world domination, at no time was the threat to world peace and freedom greater.*

*"Detente" allowed Moscow to attain military superiority. The NATO powers, faced with an overwhelming Russian conventional military advantage and terrorized by Moscow's SS-20s and ICBMs, fear to admit that the danger of a nuclear holocaust cannot simply be negotiated away. Moreover, NATO's "deterrence" theories and strategies of "mutually assured destruction" (MAD) can, at best, only postpone an imminent nuclear confrontation, but cannot eliminate the threat altogether. An alternative needs to be found and effectuated.*

*The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) believes that the key to this alternative is to be found in the national-liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its "satelites". These nations, united in their common cause of liberation in the ABN, possess both the political and military potential to dismantle the Russian prison of nations and its communist system from within, provided that the free nations give their assistance by various means. The re-establishment of national, independent and sovereign, democratic states of the presently subjugated nations will free the world from the overt Russian nuclear threat and will pave the way for the erection of a genuinely just and free world order of peace.*

*With this view in mind, the ABN calls upon the free nations of the world to render moral and political support to the national-liberation struggle of Ukraine, Turkestan, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Bulgaria, Croatia, East Germany, North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, Kampuchea, and the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. The subjugated nations are the Achilles' heel of the Russian colonial empire. They are the West's most reliable allies in the pursuit of world freedom, justice and peace against Russian imperialism, neo-colonialism and communist slavery.*

*The ABN voices its full support for President Ronald Reagan's "zero-option", which is the only morally justified and genuinely anti-imperialist solution to the present immediate threat to Western Europe.*

*With a view towards effectuating a global strategy of liberation, the Free World's Governments ought to create a formidable front of ideological, political and psychological warfare against the Russian colonial empire. A most effective avenue for leading such an anti-bolshevik "Project Liberation" would be a network of radio-broadcasting stations, strategically placed in a number of crucial geo-political areas around the Russian empire. Through these Freedom Radio Stations the representatives of the liberation movements can freely propagate their national and political ideals and their concept of liberation.*

*The ABN calls upon the Free World to proclaim a Great Charter of Independence for the nations subjugated by Bolshevism — the synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism. This Great Charter should be based on the United Nations Resolution on Decolonization and should emulate the ideals voiced in US Public Law 86/90 (1959) on the Captive Nations, by which the United States pledged to actively pursue a policy of liberation of the subjugated nations. In light of the recent memorable observance of the 25th anniversary of US Public Law 86/90, that was held in conjunction with the commemoration of the ABN's 40th anniversary in the US Congress and the White House, the nations of the ABN are inspired to believe that this US Resolution on the Captive Nations will soon become the cornerstone of a practical Western policy of liberation vis-a-vis the Soviet-Russian colonial empire.*

*As a means of undercutting Moscow's propaganda campaign against the West, the ABN suggests that the Western Democracies introduce a resolution on the forum of the United Nations recognizing the national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations as the genuine representatives of the will and aspirations of these enslaved peoples.*

*The ABN appeals to the free countries of the world to discontinue all forms of economic aid, grain sales and transfers of technology to the USSR and its "satellites", which only serve to bolster the Russian military-industrial complex and, hence, indirectly reinforce the Russian expansionist war machine and Moscow's policy of national subjugation and repression of basic human liberties.*

*The ABN condemns the Russian communist practice of genocide, such as in Ukraine in 1932-33, when Moscow starved to death over 7 million Ukrainians by means of a deliberately instituted artificial famine, or as this policy is being implemented today in Afghanistan, Vietnam, or Kampuchea. We call upon the Western Democracies to convene an International Tribunal that would further investigate, document and indict Moscow for these deliberate acts of mass murder.*

*The ABN strongly condemns the use of Russian chemical weapons in Afghanistan and calls upon the free countries of the world to render military, medical and other forms of assistance to the heroic Afghan "mujahidin" in their war of liberation against the Russian occupational forces.*

*We also voice our indignation over Russia's barbaric murder of 269 passengers of the South Korean airliner, by which Moscow showed that it has*

*nothing but utter contempt for the sanctity of human life. As one of the means for seeking partial compensation for the victims of this wanton act of murder, the free nations of the world should strongly demand that the Kremlin release all the political and religious prisoners, presently languishing in Russian prisons, concentration camps or psychiatric asylums.*

*The ABN expresses its conviction that the pacifist "peace movement" in Western Europe, which has deceived many truly idealistic people, is, nonetheless, to a considerable degree a Moscow-financed and sponsored instrument, designed to decouple the Western European Democracies from the United States, thereby entrenching Europe's "neutrality", i.e., Soviet-Russian hegemony over the entire European continent.*

*The ABN extends its deep condolences to the United States and French Governments with respect to the recent tragedy in Lebanon, in which American and French soldiers, heroic guardians of peace, fell victim to a brutal act of terrorism. We concurrently call upon all freedom-loving peoples of the world to expose and denounce Moscow as the real center of international terrorism.*

*The ABN welcomes the rescue mission jointly undertaken by the United States and the East Caribbean states in defense of the national independence and democratic liberties of Grenada. Moscow, either directly or through its Cuban proxy, poses a constant threat to the national and human rights not only of the Grenadian people, but of all the peoples of the Caribbean and Latin America. Every free nation has not only the right, but a moral "categorical imperative" to stand up in defense of freedom, even through military means if necessary. The nations subjugated by Bolshevism would welcome all types of assistance, including military aid, to help them reach their just and rightful aim of national independence.*

*The world is strewn with conflict. The reason, if not the source, of this conflict is the continued existence of the Russian colonial empire — an anachronism in an age, characterized by the fall of all types of empires and colonial systems. All these regional conflicts, whether of a national, social, or religious nature, can be equitably resolved only on the precondition that the Russian colonial empire and its communist system be dismantled. Russia's expansion and imperialist aggression on the Free World by means of open military intervention, terrorism, or covert internal subversion of free democratic societies, makes impossible any peaceful and just resolution of all national or social conflicts.*

*The road to peace lies in the liberation of the subjugated nations!*

**!FREEDOM FOR NATIONS!**

**FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL!**

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## ABN 40th Anniversary and 25th Captive Nations Week Observed

July 18, 1983 Washington was the scene of the 25th Observance of Captive Nations Week and the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

The events commenced with a luncheon hosted by Congressman Gerald B. Solomon and Congressman Samuel B. Stratton in the Cannon Caucus Room on Capitol Hill. The Master of Ceremonies for the event was Congressman Philip M. Crane, who in introducing Yaroslav Stetsko, the former Premier of Ukraine and the President of ABN, quoted Thomas Jefferson: "Patriotism is not an outburst of emotion, but a lifetime of continuous dedication." He then proceeded to introduce Yaroslav Stetsko as "the Patriot for all seasons". A most appropriate description of the person who dedicated his entire life to the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine.

The former premier of Ukraine in his address stated that "freedom or slavery — is the dilemma facing all of mankind" and that "the subjugated nations with the political and moral support of the free world are capable of dismantling the Russian prison of nations and its communist system from within, thereby eliminating the threat of a nuclear holocaust".

The keynote speaker, Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, US Ambassador to the United Nations in her address declared that "the principal obstacle to peace in a contemporary world is the Soviet Union and its growth and rule by force". Reviewing the forceful takeover of the nations of Eastern Europe from Ukraine, the Baltic States, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia through to the invasion of Afghanistan, she described how the Russians have used brute force to overpower nations and how they maintain their stranglehold. Kirkpatrick felt it was of the utmost importance that the truth about the Russian threat and

its brutality be recognized if we are "to preserve peace with freedom, independence and self-government that make peace and, indeed life, worthwhile".

Richard Allen, former national security advisor, dwelt on important US mistakes of the past in respect to the USSR. He stated that in 1963 the missiles were removed from Cuba but Cuba was not liberated. The US government felt that if the cold war was relaxed, the USSR would listen to the will of the people and as the West turned left, the USSR would turn right and that somewhere in-between they would converge. Twenty years later, the USSR continues its military build-up and use of force and the USA has recognized that its policies were wrong.

The Conference at the Dirksen Caucus Room was formally opened by Major General John K. Singlaub, Chairman of the US Council for World Freedom. Representatives from around the world added their experiences and knowledge of the struggle against communism.

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, the honorary Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League and J. William Middendorf III, Ambassador to the Organization of American States spoke about Latin America.

A view from Europe was provided by John Wilkinson, Member of British Parliament and Vice-Chairman of the Conservative Party Defence Committee.

Bolhdan Fedorak, President of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, spoke on behalf of the Captive Nations in the USSR emphasizing that the national liberation struggles of subjugated nations should be a primary weapon within the strategic plan of the West to achieve victory over the USSR.

Wahid Kharim, the former Afghan Ambassador to the United States spoke on behalf of Afghanistan.

Other speakers were: Jeremiah Chi-

tunda, Secretary of Foreign Affairs for the National Union for Total Independence of Angola, Le Thi Anh, for the Coalition of Free Vietnamese and Dr. Douglas Darby, author and a former Member of Australian Parliament.

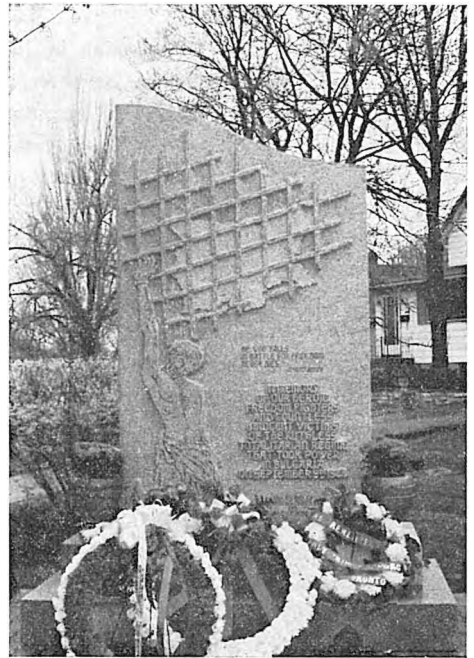
The day on Capitol Hill ended with a dinner hosted by Senator Jeremiah Denton, a former prisoner of war in Vietnam, with Councillor Edward J. Derwinski acting as Master of Ceremonies. The invitation to dinner was extended by Congressman Gerald Solomon and General John K. Singlaub. The keynote address was delivered by US Vice-President George Bush who commenced his remarks by commemorating the 5 to 7 million Ukrainians who died 50 years ago in the artificial famine imposed by Moscow. He stated that "the people of the world have made it abundantly clear" voting with ballots when they have the chance and, when ballots are denied them, "voting with their feet" — thousands upon thousands fleeing Communism". "Captive Nations Week" — said Bush — is a "celebration of the human spirit that remains unconquerable, because no matter how oppressive the communists may be, they can never extinguish the light of freedom". He closed his remarks with a toast "To a time, I hope soon, when we can see the list of captive nations shrinking rather than growing". (For more of George Bush's speech see page 3).

The culmination of the 25th Observance of Captive Nations and the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations took place at the White House with President Ronald Reagan issuing the Captive Nations Proclamation "to reaffirm the dedication to the ideals of freedom, which unite us and inspire others". In his remarks Reagan stated: "Today, we speak to all in Eastern Europe who are separated from neighbours and loved ones by an ugly iron curtain. And to

every person trapped in tyranny, whether in Ukraine, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Cuba or Vietnam, we send our love and support and tell them they are not alone. Our message must be: Your struggle is our struggle. Your dream is our dream. And some day you, too, will be free". The President continued: "Help us warn the American people that, for the first time in memory, we face real dangers on our own borders, that we must protect the safety and security of our people. We must not permit outsiders to threaten the United States. We must not permit dictators to ram communism down the throats of one Central American country after another".

The observances in Washington give us hope that the Free World has understood at last the plight of subjugated nations.

*Olha Zawerucha*



*A Monument in honor of the Bulgarian patriots who gave their lives in the struggle against Communism unveiled on May 8, 1983, at Niagara Falls.*

# Book Review

## REVOLUTION AGAINST YALTA

Wolfgang Strauß wrote a book about a revolution which shattered the world and which will cause the collapse of the Yalta agreement. He describes the revolutionary internal fermentation process of the USSR Superpower, the last modern colonialist regime, which, in his interpretation, is already marked by ruin. He points out why the Eastern block is no longer monolithic. National, social, and religious impetus are accelerating the dissolution. Poland and Afghanistan are immense signals.

The Yalta era is unquestionably nearing its end. Eastern Europe finds itself on the way to a revolution. State communism embodies the counterrevolution. An internally corrupt leadership of senile and

sick old men govern. A deathly sick system reproduces only men who want to immoralize it. The 26th Party conference of the CPSU brought no change.

According to the author's conviction, the turning point for the better comes from below, spontaneously and eruptively. It is a turning point with the power of pillaged classes and subjugated nations. Strauß, an expert on Eastern Europe, documents that there are also spores of independent unions in the soviet society. Furthermore, a peace movement is developing in the USSR in the underground. Contrary to the West, the Eastern peace fighters act according to the parole: Neither red nor dead. No freedom without peace, no peace without freedom.

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## **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE *Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

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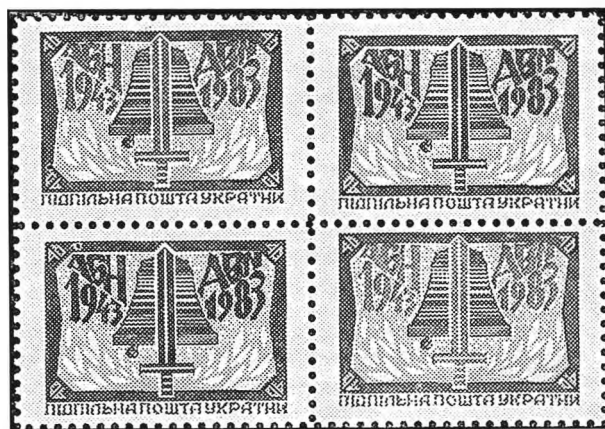
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Honorable guests at the ABN's 40th Anniversary commemoration in Munich, November 5, 1983: (from left to right) Ursula Appuhn-Krone, M. P. (Federal Republic of Germany), Imam Demal Ibrahimovycz (North Caucasus), Archbishop A. Dublianskyj of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Very Reverend P. Dubytskyj, Yaroslav Stetsko — ABN President, John Wilkinson, M. P. (Great Britain) — President of the European Freedom Council, George Bailey — Director of "Radio Liberty", D. Waltcheff (Bulgaria), P. Mehra (Afghanistan), Col. D. Kosmovycz (Byelorussia), Mrs. I. Bankowsky (Bulgaria).



ABN stamps issued on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

(see front cover)



Commemoration of the 40th anniversary of ABN in Munich, November 5, 1983: 1) Ukrainian "bandurist" quartet from Bolton, England; 2) honorable guests and participants; 3) male choir "Ukraina"; 4) Latvian quintet; 5) O. Fil reading the ABN Statement; 6) Ukrainian dance group; 7) Bulgarian and 8) North Caucasian dance ensembles; 9) A. Vaskovycz translating John Wilkinson's speech into German; 10) Parwesch Mehra (Afghanistan), 11) Anton Jakovljevyycz (Croatia) and 12) Macej Pstrag-Bielsensky (Poland) reading their greetings.