

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



celebration of 40th Anniversary of ABN and unveiling of the commemorative plaque in Bradford Cathedral, Great Britain, November 20, 1983.

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ON THE LIBERATION FRONT

It is noteworthy that in 1983 the Free World in general had strengthened its resolve to counter Russian imperialist aggression throughout the world. This, in turn, has spurred greater interest in the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries. The numerous commemorative observances of the ABN's fortieth anniversary that were held last year in Washington, D.C., London, Bradford, Detroit, Chicago, Toronto, Montreal, Munich and elsewhere underscore the growing interest in our concept of liberation, as an alternative to nuclear war.

1983 also marked the tragic fiftieth anniversary of the Ukrainian Holocaust of 1932-33, in which Moscow starved to death over 7 million Ukrainians by means of a deliberately instituted, artificial famine. Western interest in this heretofore little known Holocaust is an indication of the rising indignation over Russian genocidal practices that Moscow employs to suppress the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples. In an article that appeared in the *Washington Post* on January 5, 1984, columnist George Will describes Moscow's genocidal practices in Afghanistan by drawing a parallel to the Ukrainian Holocaust of 1932-33. The primary lesson that the legacy of Stalin and his pupil — Hitler has indelibly imprinted on the minds of the present-day rulers in the Kremlin is that an occupational system requires the application of indiscriminate terror and even a deliberate genocide of mass proportions; any lessening in the degree of terror will result in its inevitable failure.

The Russians cannot achieve their ultimate aim in Afghanistan by conventional military means. Hence, they lead a war of attrition against the children, women and elderly. Small toy-bombs have left countless of Afghan children maimed and crippled for life. Since they cannot defeat the Afghan insurgents, the mujahidin, in open battle, the Russians choose to destroy or terrorize the entire nation. The insurgents depend on the people, like fish depend on the ocean.

The war in Afghanistan is brutal. But the Afghan people remain unvanquished chiefly because of their strong faith in God and their Nation. The Russians cannot triumph on this front. Just as in 1940 in Finland, similarly now in Afghanistan, an insurgent strategy has proven to be superior to Moscow's modern military strategy. Afghanistan will continue to be the Achilles' heel of Russian aggression and our strategy must be incorporated within the complex of psychological warfare in Afghanistan.

The situation in Poland is somewhat different. The concept, promoted by *Solidarnosc's* leader Lech Walesa and Cardinal Glemp, to share authority with the colonial regime, has not justified itself. Bolshevism precludes any possibility of applying Montesquieu's classic three-tiered division of power (*L'Esprit des Lois*, 1748), or even a dual division of power between the enslaved people and their oppressor. The communist military regime in Poland is an extension of Moscow's colonial power and, therefore, any negotiations with this regime cannot be successful. Our prognosis has been proven to be valid: a system of dual authority, where an occupied people, represented by *Solidarnosc*, and the occupying power, represented by the Communist Party and Jaruzelsky's military

regime, is *a priori* impossible. Polish national structures cannot exist parallel to Russian, Bolshevik structures. This was also recently asserted by *Solidarnosc's* underground leader, Zbigniew Bujak ("Polish Fugitive urges 'Long March'", *New York Times*, December 19, 1983, p. 8).

Several variations in the occupant's strategy

We must always bear in mind that the Russian General Staff of the Armed Forces, the KGB and the Politburo have provided for a number of contingency plans in their general strategy to suppress the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples. Past experience has shown that Moscow can always implement these contingencies with the tacit consent of the West. The Hungarian uprising of 1956 was crushed by direct military intervention. Moscow employed different methods in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, in 1961 in the Berlin wall crisis, and in 1953 in the Berlin uprising. In 1968 in the CSSR Moscow deceived the architects of the "Prague spring" (Dubcek and Smrokovsky) and suppressed the peoples' aspirations for freedom from above. For their subservience, the reform-minded communist leaders in the CSSR were granted their lives, but were rendered completely powerless. In Poland, the over threat of direct Russian military intervention diverted the attention of *Solidarnosc's* leaders from the covert betrayal that Jaruzelsky and Moscow's other agents were preparing. The euphoria, that was created in the false hope that the negotiations with Vice-President Yagelsky will bear fruit, blinded Walesa, Bujak and others as to the possibility of a betrayal, which was already in the making, being prepared by Jaruzelsky and his benefactors in Moscow. It was also in Moscow that the entire propaganda campaign in justification of the subsequent proclamation of martial law was prepared. During the half-year prior to the institution of martial law in Poland, special military "ZOMO" and militia units were being secretly trained in isolation, so that in a few days these same well-trained units were able to drive millions of *Solidarnosc's* adherents into the underground, thereby striking the death knell for open, "legal" dual authority in Poland.

A different variation of the Politburo's general strategy was applied in the CSSR and in Hungary. In Afghanistan we find yet another variation: the prelude to the Russian military invasion was the outright execution of the past "disloyal" pro-communist government. In Grenada, President Reagan's rescue mission forced Moscow to abort its plans for a military invasion by proxy. Moscow's unexpected response to the three-day-long strike in Kyiv, fulfilling most of the workers' demands, was yet another variation of this general strategy.

Bujak's recent appeal to begin building Polish national structures not parallel to, but in opposition to the Bolshevik structures of the occupational regime, further confirms our concept of liberation.

In his clandestine interview, Z. Bujak, the leader of the Polish underground, confirms also our concept of liberation by opposing any dialogue with the occupational regime. He calls for a "long march" of resistance to the colonial regime, building clandestine organizations in schools, factories, scientific, academic and cultural institutions. Bujak believes that any type of legal forms of struggle are now unfeasible. He stated in the interview that "there exists a very strong resistance movement..., a very strong movement of rejection, a movement to boycott all institutions of the regime, and I regard this element as

very significantly changing the classic system of Communist rule.” The *N. Y. Times* writes that “despite the setbacks in the streets, Mr. Bujak said in the interview, the opposition was building clandestine structures that would enable it to survive... The strategy of the ‘long march’, Mr. Bujak said, consisted of ‘ignoring of all the actions of the authorities, with the exception, of course, of ones directly affecting us, such as the police, which have to be counteracted, and organizing various forms of social life — independent union activities, independent activities in science, education and culture — outside the influence of the authorities’.”

“The idea, he said, was to put ‘permanent pressure on the authorities in all areas of social and political life.’” Bujak further states: “The strength of the regime and of Moscow comes from using oppression against society, an oppressive system built into all possible areas of social life.”

Bujak does not agree with Walesa, who recently suggested that U.S. sanctions be dropped since they are too harmful to the Polish economy. “As long as the decisive policy of Western governments is maintained”, according to Bujak, “the policy based on respect for human rights, we can cherish hopes our efforts will not go to waste... If this support and this decisive policy of the Western governments will be replaced by a policy of concessions and the closing of eyes to what is happening in our country, this will threaten us with the danger of the breakdown of resistance.” (“Polish Fugitive urges ‘long march’”, *New York Times*, December 19, 1983, p. 8).

In quoting at length from this *N. Y. Times* interview with “Poland’s most wanted fugitive”, our aim was to demonstrate that the present events in Poland substantiate our paradigmatic revolutionary concept, that perceives the revolutionary processes primarily as a struggle between two diametrically opposed conceptions of life, two ways of life, two cultures, two polar world-views, two antithetical moralities, two inimical to each other national organisms: a Russian, Bolshevik system of values against the national value-system of each subjugated nation. This revolutionary concept is presently being applied in part by the Polish underground. In an interesting statistic taken from a poll recently conducted among Polish students, we find that 90% of them openly stated that they were religious and anti-communist. This is a reflection of the complete state of bankruptcy of Communism in Poland, despite the fact that it has been in existence there for almost forty years.

Several characteristic elements of the Ukrainian liberation struggle

With regard to the situation in Ukraine, we have in the past drawn attention to two intersecting phases in the revolutionary processes: a.) the continuity of the ideological-political struggle, and b.) the formation of Ukrainian national, social, cultural, religious and other structures in polar opposition to the Russian, Bolshevik structures forcibly implanted in Ukraine. Given a system of totalitarian terror, it is completely infeasible to establish an organizationally centralized, revolutionary network with a central headquarters that would regularly send out special instructions to its clandestine units. The revolutionary processes themselves mobilize the wider strata of society, who on their own initiative create groups of like-minded people that are not organizationally or technically connected, but whose activity is directed towards the

same ideological-political aims. The very form and substance of the occupational system, which is a forcibly imposed, wholistic way of life, in itself evokes a resistance movement: This struggle does not need clandestine instructions, but first and foremost it needs vital mobilizing ideas and slogans, that would be in consonance with the spontaneous vital life-forces of the nation. Moreover, these revolutionary ideas must continuously stress that only by achieving national independence, sovereignty and statehood can the nation as a whole truly prosper on every level of its own inherent creativity. National independence and statehood are the primary preconditions for the fulfillment of all of the people's desires and aspirations.

Our struggle, the ideals for which we are fighting, are specified in our program of action. Our strategy must be applied to an occupational totalitarian system that is in its essence a Russian, Bolshevik system of occupation. The Russian artificial famine in Ukraine in 1932-33 was not only an economic policy, a result of Moscow's collectivization drive; in fact, its primary aim was to physically liquidate the Ukrainian nation and to break the Ukrainian will to fight for its national independence. Collectivization, as an anti-Ukrainian social ideal and system, was the means by which this aim was to be achieved.

We must demonstrate that in our liberation struggle we seek to bring about a revolutionary change on all levels of life in accordance with our national values and ideals. The revolutionary processes will continue to grow, as our nations continue to grasp the true national essence of all aspects of life, and as groups of like-minded individuals continue to be created, popularizing our liberation ideals by means of modern technology and electronics. The various smear campaigns that Moscow has led against us, in which it even resorts to falsifying our publications, e.g., the most recent provocation by Moscow's lackey — Kukhtiak, who is known in Ivano-Frankivsk as an agent-provocateur, — all have one aim: to compromise our liberation struggle in the eyes of the Western world. On the one hand, Moscow desperately wants to cut all possible political contacts that we may have with Western democratic Governments, and on the other hand, to create an illusion behind the Iron Curtain that the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) have been in contact with KGB centers and are in the service of Western intelligence agencies, all of which is nothing more than a pack of lies and provocations.

Moscow is accusing us of militarizing our youth. Yet, how else is one to describe that which is going on in the USSR? There, the youth is continuously being militarized, beginning with the "Pioneers", then in the "Komsomol" and finally in the army, service in which is mandatory. If the West were to adopt our insurgent-guerilla strategy, as the only viable alternative to nuclear war, this would be a significant blow at the weakest point of the empire. Hence, Moscow's primary aim is to compromise our alternative, to destroy any possibility of its future effectuation.

In a recently published book, O. V. Kartunov expresses concern that "the nationalist leadership has begun very heated activity, with the aim of enlarging their nationalist groups with young people, that have become poisoned with the ideology of bourgeois nationalism." This ideology, the author continues, "has long since and forever lost its social base in Ukraine and has become an

emigre phenomenon.” (*Pastka dlia Molodi* — “A Trap for the Youth”, Kyiv: Polityvydav Ukrainy, 1982.) These statements contradict the positions of Andropov and Chernenko, who in their keynote addresses have called upon all party cadres to maintain a strict vigilance against the threat of nationalism and religion.

Paying the required tribute to the “indomitability of proletarian internationalism”, Kartunov states, that nonetheless “nationalism has attained a social base among the Ukrainian emigre community, ... which lives in the spirit of the ideology of bourgeois nationalism, and cultivates ethnic separatism.” In these words we find the real goal of the Russians: to bring about the assimilation of the Ukrainian emigre community, so that there will remain nothing of the nationally conscious diaspora that has been the vanguard of the nation’s struggle for independence and statehood in the Free World.

The author is acutely perturbed, that “the Ukrainian nationalists have borrowed and utilized the experience of international Zionism with regard to creating a spiritual ghetto...” He is concerned with “the common subversive actions, that have been co-organized by the nationalists and the Zionists, their participation in anti-Soviet rallies, the publication and distribution in our country of provocative literature, the preparation of threatening radio broadcasts, etc.” And another factor that really hurts is the fact that “the ring-leaders ... have utilized clericalism for the dissemination of their anti-communist, nationalist ideas among the youth.” This is in reference to the documents of our Churches that we have been smuggling into Ukraine by the thousands. Repeating for the tenth time the phrase about “the constriction of the social base and the deepening of the ideological-organizational crisis of bourgeois nationalism, the author recapitulates that “one should not underestimate it (nationalism) in the present ideological struggle,” because (in conclusion) “the nationalists are becoming more active and aggressive...”

These same ideas, even formulae can be found in all of the Communist-Russian, Communist-Ukrainian and Communist-Polish press and journals. Evidently, Moscow issued directives to all of its colonies in the USSR and the “satellites” to raise the level of vigilance regarding the threat of Ukrainian nationalism. In an article in the *Trybuna Lyudu* (“the People’s Tribune”), the author — Yezhy Wisnowski, expresses concern with President Reagan’s words — “Your struggle is our struggle. Your dreams are our dreams.” He is agitated over the growing understanding in the West of the significance of Ukraine and the subjugated nations, and particularly of Ukrainian nationalism. He writes: “So much has been written about the fascist (sic., S. O.) Stetsko and his comrades from the OUN, UPA, ABN...”; and further — “There is absolutely no social, or political or any other base for the realization of their insane aspirations either in Ukraine or in Poland... However, any underestimation of this small, albeit determined and fanatical enemy would be a grave mistake...” Here again, the true fears of Moscow are fully revealed. On the Kremlin’s orders, the various Bolshevik periodicals have literally copied verbatim in a number of languages Moscow’s anti-OUN-UPA-ABN smear campaign and have revealed their fear of the threat that awaits the empire from the liberation struggle of Ukraine and the subjugated nations.

The subjugated nations are the Achilles’ heel of the Russian empire!

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ANNEXATION OR RUSSIFICATION

by Mykhaylo I. Braichevskyi

Published by 'Ukrainisches Institut für Bildungspolitik'
Munich, 1974.

CARRY ON YOUR FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Speech by Hon. Philip M. Crane, Member of Congress, at the Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the ABN, Detroit — USA, on November 27, 1983.

I am honored to be able to address this distinguished group. Your celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is important, because your ancestors were the first to stand up to what has become the nation of most heinous policies and practises, Soviet Russia.

By contrast, this year marks the 50th Anniversary of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's recognition of the Soviet Union. That act was a blow to all who believe in civilized values. It is a tragic coincidence that 1933 was the year in which Soviet genocide in Ukraine was at its peak. That the nation most steeped in freedom would recognize the legitimacy of the nation most steeped in repression is a travesty. If that was not clearly understood at that time, the genocide practised by Stalin should have convinced all who harbored doubt. The inhumanity and barbarism practised by the Soviet Communists on the Ukrainian people demonstrates the threat to all mankind that we face. You, better than most, can ensure that that point is understood.

Unfortunately, few Americans are aware that in 1932 and 1933 at least 7 million Ukrainians were murdered as a result of Stalin's New Economic Policy. Seven million in one year! That far outstrips the total Nazi record of extermination of people. Caught up in the glossy words used by the communists, few but those who lived the experience or who heard first-hand, accepted the fact that such psychopathic, diabolical crimes could be practised against a people. That Soviet planned, deliberate famine has no historical precedent. It is a uniquely Soviet tactic, developed and executed in attempted secrecy, and denied to this day by the Communist authorities. Too many intelligent, well-educated people — throughout the free world — are unwilling to accept the evidence of history.

It is that kind of blindness for which the world is paying so dear a price today. As you know, Ukraine and its independent people were swallowed by the Soviet Communists in 1922. In 1940, the independent nations of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia were consumed. Their peoples were scattered throughout the Soviet empire to crush nationalism and independent identity. At the close of World War II, the Soviets physically occupied and subjugated the peoples of nine Eastern European nations — the brave people of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania, Albania, Hungary, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Germany. Then began the era of Soviet maintenance of its colonial empire. In 1953, Soviet forces crushed a workers' strike in East Germany. In 1956, an organized Hungarian bid for freedom was crushed. In 1968, the same thing happened in Czecho-Slovakia. In 1979, the Soviets snuffed out the free and independent nation of Afghanistan. Poland, wracked by a true uprising of the workers, has been threatened with Soviet Russian intervention since 1980. Yet, the irrepressible human desire for freedom lives on. The torch carried by the freedom fighters who are your ancestors, and carried countless times by other nationalities, goes on. The ideals your relatives fought for are not dead. They will never die. For as Thomas Jefferson noted, men "... are endowed by their Creator

with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." That yearning in men's hearts is God-given.

If you look back to the heroic struggle your ancestors mounted against the imperialistic ambitions of the new Soviet Russian empire, in an effort to remain free, and think about the horror those same people faced some 10 years after their hope was crushed, you must wonder how people living in freedom can ignore the threat posed by Communism. It is a sad fact that in the past 25 years more millions of people have come under Communist domination, than at any time in history. While we watched nation after nation fall under the dark cloud of Soviet tyranny, U.S. military strength, which had been at its peak, was slipping away. Thank God that in 1980 we made a decision as people of the United States to change direction.

I say "thank God" because the menace that raped your homeland, and the menace that brutally suppressed all of the nations of Eastern Europe and the Baltic States, and the menace that is now in the process of attempting to overtake Afghanistan and is coveting Iran, nations on the African continent and in the Caribbean, remains to this moment unchecked. The atrocities perpetrated in your homeland are atrocities today perpetrated on an hourly basis in Afghanistan.

The Free World must acknowledge, at this moment in history, that the Soviet objective and course since the time the Bolsheviks seized power has been unchanging and unrelenting. Though their tactics may from time to time have changed, they represent a determination on the part of a handful of individuals — *not* Peoples — who are bent on world domination. Anyone unwilling to acknowledge that fact ignores the lessons we should have learned over 50 years ago, when Ukrainians reached out for freedom and were answered with Soviet barbarism and cruelty.

Stop and consider the significance of what has happened in Poland. The dialectics of Karl Marx rationalized the emergence of free enterprise as a positive development, because it would produce a class-conscious proletariat. The class-conscious proletariat would at some point rise up in proletarian fury and cast off the chains imposed upon the workers, by the owners of the means of production and distribution.

In a sense, Karl Marx was right. In Poland, the workers are rising up in proletarian fury to overthrow the chains imposed upon them by the owners of the means of production and distribution — but they are not capitalists. Who are they? They are their Communist masters, that's who they are! The workers have finally seen through that.

Any egghead theoretician who lives outside the pale of communist tyranny who can today, in the face of the realities going on in Poland, flirt intellectually with the idea of communism, is a person who can never be persuaded, because he doesn't want to be confused by the facts.

The facts are that communism represents the antithesis of everything noble in mankind, the highest ideals of civilization, those ideals represented in our Judeo-Christian tradition, because man's desire is to be free, and man has the right to be free. Further, there is only one economic system that is consistent with the highest ideals of our religious and ethical beliefs, and that is free enterprise.

Free enterprise is the most moral economic system ever developed, but in addition to the morality of free enterprise, it works. As Ronald Reagan said, when some were talking about the need for the more advanced industrial nations to shovel their wealth out to the third world nations, as the United States has pre-eminently done in the post-World War II era — what do we have to show for it? Has the lot of those people in Third World countries improved in any appreciable way after \$ 150 to \$ 200 billion of U.S. giveaways?

Now, there has to be a better answer. There has to be a more compassionate answer, a more human answer, and as Ronald Reagan asked of the Soviets, what have they done to help the Third World countries? Where's the evidence of their giving.

The fact of the matter is they can't give because they can't produce enough to give. It's the Iowa farmer and the Canadian wheat grower, who have been feeding the people in the Soviet Union. Ukraine *could* provide the necessary food if the free and independent nature of its people had been encouraged to use that rich land as we have done.

In fact it hasn't ended there. The Soviets would still be benighted and backward, if it were not for the vanguard of being there to bail them out every time they were ready to go under because of their system.

If you think back to when they slaughtered their managerial class after the Bolshevik beasts came to power, you remember they had no managers to run their plants, and what happened? The United States idealistically sent managers to help them out, and then the United States built them the Gorky plant, a duplicate of Ford's Motor Company, at the expense of Americans.

Then we built them a steel plant — a complex bigger than Gary, Indiana! We built them the Kama River truck plant, that they are using now to build the trucks that ferry their soldiers into Afghanistan to slaughter innocents. In addition to that, we gave them the sophisticated ball-bearing technology that has enabled them to perfect the guidance systems on their missiles, that provide serious competition, in terms of missile accuracy, with us — the one remaining area where we had a clear superiority over them.

If all that isn't bad enough, we have been shoveling credits out of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and the 20 biggest commercial banks in the United States, to bail them out, to give them the necessary credits to buy goods in the United States, including food to feed their people.

Now, do you want to figure out how to cope with the Soviets? I think that's what we are talking about, because today they still represent the greatest menace to peace and freedom the world has ever seen. If those people that we honor tonight have not died in vain, then we must, as Lincoln said, here highly resolve that we shall take appropriate steps to guarantee that the kind of threat to the best ideals of civilization shall indeed be quarantined. In fact, that we shall go on the peace and freedom offensive. The peace and freedom offensive involves, amongst other things, telling it like it is, and helping the greatest threat to their survival — the people who have suffered under it.

Recently a colleague of mine, Senator Steve Symms from Idaho told me about a little woman out in his home state in her eighties, who was born in Russia. She supports herself with a little bookstore. She was visiting with some high school students who were in her shop recently, and she happened to tell

them her history in capsulized form. She was born in Russia into a very wealthy family. When the Bolsheviks came to power, she managed to escape from Russia to Europe, but had to leave all her possessions behind. She finally emigrated to Cuba at that time, started all over again, achieved a degree of material security when Castro came to power, and once more she fled.

Again she left all her material possessions behind in her flight to Florida. Finally, she migrated out to Idaho. By that time her husband had passed on. She was alone. She had no living relatives, but she was a very independent woman and was determined to make it on her own. She accumulated enough capital that she started that small bookstore.

The high school students, after listening to her story, said, "My, what a horrible fate has befallen you in this life. Not once, but twice, you lost everything."

"But," she said, "on both occasions, I lost something more precious, and I regained it, and that was my freedom, the most precious thing in this life."

She added: "My children, if you should lose it here, where will you run to?" The fact is there is no place to run to.

We have a sanctuary here in this hemisphere that has provided a haven of freedom to us all. I come from multiple nationalities, and I am sure we could find dozens of nationalities represented in this audience tonight. We can all trace, at some point on our ancestral tree — we can trace a similar kind of story; perhaps not as tragic as the one of that lady with the bookstore, but we have similar stories in our ancestral histories to tell.

It is vital to our survival to recognize the nature of the peril in the world in which we find ourselves, and to prepare to go on the offensive to get our story told, so that others do not have their morale shattered, or softened, with the siren appeal of Communism putting on its false face of idealistic utopianism.

It is the story you tell. The story anyone with heritage and family in a captive nation tells, of sacrifice in the name of liberty. All of you are a part of this nation's experience, and this nation's strength. The efforts of all peoples who have ever fought to be free enable us here in a free society, to guarantee that the sacrifice by anti-Soviet patriots was not in vain. It was made so that we would make the determination that the forces of darkness and evil that have tried to snuff out all of man's hopes, dreams and aspirations to live in a climate of peace and freedom would never prevail.

Even as I speak, while agents of communist brutality seek to snuff out all opposition, Ukrainians, Poles, Afghans, Nicaraguans, Cubans, Hungarians, Czechs and others meet in secret, to plot ways to gain freedom.

Salvador de Madariaga, the Spanish philosopher said: "The trouble is that the Communist world understands unity but not liberty, while the free world understands liberty but not unity. Eventual victory may be won by the first of the two sides to achieve the synthesis of both liberty and unity." Since communism cannot survive with freedom, the task is ours. It is *your* appreciation for both, that provides the basis for us to achieve that synthesis that must be achieved for the survival of civilization.

God bless you for your past sacrifice. God bless you for your present dedication, and God bless us all, as we endeavor in the future to create a world where the spirit of the Lord is, for there is liberty.

The West Should Support the Pursuit of Liberty within the Soviet Russian Empire

Speech by Hon. John Wilkinson, M. P., Chairman of the European Freedom Council at the commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the ABN and 25th Anniversary of the Captive Nations Resolution, Munich, 5 November, 1983.

It is a profound honor for me to be invited to address you on the occasion of this act of commemoration of two historic events. The foundation forty years ago in Ukraine of the ABN conceived at a Conference of subjugated nations and the enactment twenty-five years ago by President Eisenhower of the Captive Nations Resolution passed by both houses of Congress calling for the official designation of the 3rd week in July each year as Captive Nations Week throughout the United States.

I wish that I could honestly say to you that since those respective dates the world had become safer for democracy and that the cause of freedom had actually advanced among the peoples which the ABN has striven so bravely and with such determination to see liberated.

This is not to denigrate the ABN and Captive Nations initiatives, quite the contrary. The ABN has kept alive the hope of eventual liberty for nations whose freedom has been apparently written off by the diplomacy and foreign policy of the West. Captive Nations commemorations have each year renewed a sense of national identity, pride and purpose in peoples displaced by communist tyranny and force. The ABN has provided consistent moral support in the battle against communism for those within the Soviet Empire who refuse to let the idea of liberation die and for the belief that self-determination is not just a birthright for the citizens of the liberal democracies of our Western community but an inalienable and universal right of all peoples.

The Foreign Affairs professionals often tell us that the conduct of international relations is about the preservation of peace and the securing of national interests. In the nuclear age when the balance of power is upheld by mutual terror this is too negative a strategy. Not only does it alienate large sectors of our own populations who see the maintenance of peace by the costly apparatus of nuclear deterrence as a moral affront to their consciences in a world two thirds of which is undernourished.

It does not even achieve the fundamental goal of all true peacemakers, namely the eradication of the causes of tension and potential conflict between nations.

This is not to decry the need for strong defenses on the part of the West. On the contrary, a collective security system in NATO that has the support of Western Governments and the confidence of the peoples of North America and Western Europe, and a capacity for flexible military response that can effectively deter Soviet aggression at every level of potential threat are vital. In a world in which the greater part of the Soviet strategic nuclear arsenal has been constructed in the last five years, and in which the Soviet Union has been deploying new mobile SS-20 intermediate range ballistic missiles at the rate of nearly one a week for the last six years an appropriate modernisation on the part of NATO, both at a theatre level with cruise missiles and Pershing II's and at a strategic level with Mx land based and Trident submarine launched ballistic missiles is imperative. Failing that is, genuine agreement in the INF and START talks Geneva respectively based on the immutable principles of

genuine balance and verification at the lowest possible level of deployment. Otherwise Western Europe risks falling within the Soviet sphere of influence and the West as a whole would, if it allowed the Soviets unchallenged nuclear superiority, be liable to Soviet blackmail and intimidation.

Nevertheless, the peace that we win through deterrence is at best an uneasy one and to many it remains profoundly un reassuring.

Our statesmanship must be more dynamic: offer a more radical vision and idealism that can emotionally inspire as well as rationally convince. Do we really envisage the maintainance ad infinitum of a glacis in this continent to which we acquiesce with moral supineness to the enslavement in perpetuity of our fellow Europeans, the division by force of arms of a great country like Germany and the disappearance as independent nations of Byelorussia, Ukraine and the Baltic States. We weakly appear to arrogate only to the Soviets and their socialist proxies what almost constitutes thereby a de facto right, because it remains too seldom challenged, namely to pursue a Soviet grand strategy to spread communist influence and expansion worldwide through the whole panoply of power projection — nuclear superiority, a Blue Water Navy and Merchant Marine, a huge and co-ordinated military and civil air transport force, intervention troops, the use of proxies, subversion, sabotage, disinformation and armed revolution.

The Soviets cannot alone be allowed to underpin their political objectives by the use of military power. They have to be made to understand that the support of armed insurrection, coups d'états and guerrilla movements can just as surely constitute aggression as can the dispatch of armies across frontiers, although they, the Soviets of course have shown themselves adept at both. That is why the restoration of the rule of law in Grenada and the rescue of its people from a murderous and unrepresentative Cuban supported junta by the forces of the neighbouring Commonwealth democracies and the United States is so welcome. For too long the Soviets have been allowed to regard small defenceless countries as targets for Marxist hi-jacking and as stepping stones and bases along the path of the worldwide extension of communism. In political and military terms the Soviet threat to the interests and way of life of the free world has, since the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 and consequent development under Admiral Gorshkov of the Soviet fleets into a worldwide navy, become increasingly global and it is heartening to see over Grenada an effective recognition of that fact and, at least on the part of the United States, an appropriate response to it.

So often the detractors of our democratic governments, seek either malignly or ingenuously to equate the role and behaviour of the two super powers. Let us take two simple examples to disprove them. The USSR invaded Afghanistan supposedly at the request of the government of Hafizullah Amin. H. Amin had himself assumed power in a bloody coup in which the leader of the former government, the insufficiently Marxist Mr. Taraki was murdered. When the Soviets seized power in Kabul, in December, 1979, Mr. H. Amin himself was murdered and the Soviets own puppet, Mr. Babrak Kamal installed. There is no sign whatsoever that the Afghan people wanted the Soviets to invade, nor did the neighbouring countries of Iran and Pakistan, who bitterly protested against the Soviet action. The brave Afghan people took to arms against the

Godless Soviet invaders and three million refugees poured across into neighbouring Pakistan. The liberation struggle of the Mujahideen has intensified in response to Soviet brutality and the Soviet occupation forces have been increased to over 100,000.

In Grenada, General Austin and Mr. Coard seized power by murdering the Prime Minister Mr. Maurice Bishop, himself a Marxist who came to office through a coup four years before, and three of his Ministers. The Government General, Sir Paul Scoon, the Queen's constitutional representative, requested the help of the United States to restore order as did the neighbouring democracies of the Eastern Caribbean. This was swiftly and effectively achieved by a joint U.S. /East Caribbean task force. Large elements of the U.S. intervention forces are now leaving the island, the population is delighted at the U.S. intervention, Grenadian refugees are returning and the island is clearly on the way back to democracy through free and fair elections to be held under impartial international supervision. Quite a different story from the situation in Afghanistan!

One of the main objectives of the European Freedom Council is to explain the true facts of the Soviet system to the all too ignorant and naive electorates of Western Europe. We realise that an elimination of the causes of conflict between East and West will only come from change within the Soviet Union. That is why we reject the perpetuation of the status quo in Eastern Europe as a strategy for East/West relations. We do not believe that the confidence on the Soviet part which ensues from a Western policy of legitimising Soviet actions within the USSR and Eastern Europe can possibly be in Western interests. A secure home base will always be exploited by the USSR for further expansionism.

No responsible Western statesman should seek to encourage movements and aspirations within the Soviet Union and its satellites which cannot be sustained and which would lead to an even harsher suppression of freedom loving peoples within the Soviet Union. On the other hand, it is morally repugnant as well as practically harmful for the subjugated nations just to be left to their fate by Western governments.

That is why the courageous leadership and inspired vision of the President of the ABN, the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Yaroslav Stetsko have been so important. He consistently pointed out that détente, so gullibly and uncritically pursued by Western governments in the 1970's, was phoney. In return for the de jure recognition of frontiers in Eastern Europe carved out by the Red Army and not by self-determination at the Helsinki Conference, the Soviet gained increased access to Western technology and credits which greatly enhanced the war fighting capacity of the Soviet armed forces.

As to the Human Rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords, they were flagrantly and blatantly violated by the Soviets. Men of conscience within the USSR and its satellites who sought the implementation of the Helsinki Accords over such matters as freedom of movement of peoples, free transfer of ideas, broadcasting and literature across national frontiers, have been systematically persecuted. At the successive review conferences at Belgrade and Madrid the Soviets have cocked a snook at Western political and public opinion.

By every means possible to us, political, diplomatic and economic, we in the West should support the pursuit of liberty within the Soviet Russian empire.

At the Council of Europe at Strasbourg I have pressed for Western broadcasting to the USSR to be beamed in the languages of the Captive Nations — Byelorussian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian. I have made the same plea to my government too. It is an affront to these proud peoples that the broadcasts from the West should be in the language of their persecutors the Soviet Russians. I have also called for the celebration of Captive Nations Week throughout Western Europe, as in the USA.

We must champion too, human rights on an individual basis where prisoners of conscience can be identified personally within the USSR. We must fight the cause of national minorities within the USSR and its satellites like those of the Germans and the Jews who are ruthlessly discriminated against and persecuted.

Above all we must wage a public information exercise to impress public opinion of the true situation within the USSR. Ignorance is no foundation for sound policy making within a democracy and the democratic process to be healthy, requires an informed public opinion. The T.V., radio and press are far too uncritical in the West of the Soviet Union system.

In making public our commitment to human rights and self-determination to the subjugated nations within the Soviet Empire we cannot be charged with hypocrisy and double-standards. That allegation would only have validity if we maintained them jealously for ourselves but, ignored their relevance to the well being of our European neighbours within the Soviet Russian Empire and Eastern Bloc.

It is easy to become depressed when one sees the advances that have been made by Marxist Leninism around the world in the past 25 years. The advent of power of Mr. Andropov, the product of an unholy alliance, a marriage of interests and convenience between the twin pillars of the Soviet power apparatus, the KGB and the armed forces could be cause for pessimism. However, in the US Administration now, we have a government which is valiant for truth and bold in the defence of freedom. It does not believe that the cause of freedom ends at the Iron Curtain. Anyone who heard the inspiring speeches of President Reagan, Vice-President Bush and UN Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick as I did at our ABN/Captive Nations celebrations in Washington in July would know how deep is their understanding of the threat we face and how whole-hearted their commitment for the cause of liberty throughout the world including the Soviet Russian Empire.

That fact and the brave determination of the NATO governments, especially the Federal Republic of Germany if I may say so, in face of a peace movement which contains not only idealists but also more sinister forces, to go ahead with INF modernisation and IRBM missile deployment has called the Soviet Union's bluff in the Geneva talks. We have shown by our espousal of the zero-option on the NATO side, our determination to dismantle the balance of terror. It remains to be seen if the Soviets do the same. The auguries are not good because it is by terror and intimidation of people that the Soviet system survives.

Yet we in the West have no excuse to acquiesce in this process. We have the courageous examples of the peoples of Poland, Ukraine and the Baltic States and other East European nations ever before us. To them, their national, historic and cultural heritage and the religious faith of their fathers count for far more than an alien Communist ideology. The Communist Party has proved itself the repressor rather than the liberator of working people in the Eastern

Bloc. However, we have even now a Polish Pope who gives us daily in the West a holy example of the dignity of man and his Christian duty to his fellow human being. This duty does not end geographically at the inner German border, on the Berlin wall, or the Oder/Neisse line. It is a duty that is perpetual, without frontiers, a duty that will continue and to which we must constantly re-dedicate ourselves until our brethren in the Captive Nations enjoy the same rights and liberties as ourselves — their fellow European citizens — here in Western Europe.

Latvians in Psychiatric Institutions

Imprisoned, convicted or committed against their will to psychiatric institutions during the Madrid CSCE Review Meeting for political or religious reasons.

- Teovils Kuma, a Baptist activist, convicted and sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment; committed to a psychiatric institution on April 16, 1981.
- Valdis Vinkelis, arrested in Riga March 25, 1981. Died in prison during interrogation on June 1981.
- Alfreds Zarins, a Latvian poet, arrested in Aluksne at the beginning of April 1981. Sentenced to 10 years in labour camp.
- Antis Vinkelis, arrested in Riga May 12, 1981, released after 10 days.
- Juris Vinkelis, arrested in Jelgava May 12, 1981; sentenced to 2 years of imprisonment on January 13, 1982.
- Juris Bumeisters, sentenced on June 5, 1981 to 15 years hard labour with additional exile.
- Dainis Lismanis, sentenced on June 5, 1981 to 10 years hard labour with additional exile.
- Viesturs Polis-Abols, sentenced in Riga to 5 years in labour camp.
- Janis Vitolins, arrested in Riga, died in prison.
- Andris Adviljons, arrested in Riga, fate unknown.
- Ivars Žuravskis, arrested on November 18, 1981. Fate unknown.
- Ieva Biševaja, sentenced in Leningrad to 3 years in labour camp.
- Richards Usans, arrested in Riga on November 15, 1982, committed to a psychiatric institution in Riga.
- Lidija Doronina-Lasmane, arrested in Riga on January 6, 1983. Sentenced to 5 years labour camp with 3 years additional exile on August 11, 1983 in Riga.
- Gederts Melngailis, arrested in Riga on January 6, 1983. Sentenced to 3 years labour camp, committed to a psychiatric clinic in Riga during the investigation.
- Alfreds Levalds, died on January 6, 1983 during a home search by the KGB.
- Janis Veveris, arrested in Riga on January 6, 1983. Awaiting trial.
- Ints Calitis, arrested in Riga on April 10, was tried on September 15, 1983.
- Gunars Freimanis, arrested in Riga. Awaiting trial.
- Janis Rozkalns, arrested in Riga on April 20, 1983. Awaiting trial.

Wide-ranging KGB crackdown on dissidents in Latvia started on January 6, 1983. Homes of more than 50 suspected dissidents were searched and more than 100 persons were interrogated.

In addition, four juveniles were arrested at the beginning of 1981 and sentenced for making and disseminating leaflets. One of them has been stabbed to death in the prison "by unknown persons".

The Catholic priest Andrejs Turlajs was found murdered in a lake in the eastern part of Latvia in the fall of 1980. The state prosecutor has not yet started the investigation to solve the murder.

Augusts Zilvinskis, a Catholic priest of the Svente parish, missing since December 1981, was found murdered in a forest near Griva on May 7, 1982.

Deliberate Famine in Ukraine — the Horror and the Challenge

(Remarks by Dr. Fred E. Dohrs, Professor Emeritus, Wayne State University, at the Commemorative Service for seven million Ukrainians, victims of Stalin's deliberate famine and murder fifty years ago, held at the Veterans Memorial Building in Detroit, on June 12, 1983).

This is a day of commemoration, a day of honor, a day of truth. We commemorate those millions who fought against Moscow fifty years ago, and we commemorate those others, too young, too old, too weak to struggle against Russian terror then, and who were swept away in the communist fury. We honor those who today continue the battle against Russian occupation and control — the forces that seek to destroy Ukraine and its people.

I speak to you, my Ukrainian friends, because you have honored me by your invitation. I speak to you because we are in this battle together — your cause is my cause. But I speak not only to you. There is a wider audience we address today — those millions of our American countrymen. We speak to America and the world, to those who may know little of Ukraine and Ukrainians, of the tragedy and the terrible truth about Ukraine under the continuing tyranny of Moscow. Our cause is the cause of freedom.

There may be some of our fellow Americans who have the impression that Ukraine is a small and unimportant land and people — similar perhaps to many of the myriad of the poor countries of the Third World which have appeared in recent decades, and thus of little importance. Let America be informed that we are talking about the land and the 45 million people of Ukraine. Today, the fourth largest producer of steel in the world, a country which but for entrapment under Moscow's yoke, could easily be the world's fifth greatest productive economy, following only the United States, Japan, Russia and West Germany. A people with a proud heritage and

history with every reason for that pride.

When we consider the scale of the barbarity of that period fifty years ago, and the appalling price paid by the Ukrainian people, the temptation is to weep for Ukraine. You have wept, and I have wept over this terrible tragedy. But this is not the day for tears — however appropriate they may seem. Rather it is for us to recognize that it is more important to fight for Ukraine than weep for Ukraine. To fight for Ukraine is to use the weapon of truth.

A fundamental fact about the Kremlin that we often forget in our preoccupation with military power, is that far more than our weapons, Moscow fears the truth. The truth about their own Russian communist system. The truth of its horrible past and its terrible present. The truth about the Soviet Russian Communist empire that rules over 350 million people. The truth about Moscow's goal of total global control.

Stalin announced forced total collectivization of all the farms of the Soviet Union on December 27, 1929. His decree was "legalized" by the Central Committee of the Communist Party on January 4, 1930. A few weeks later, on January 22nd (I need not tell this audience what January 22nd signifies in Ukrainian history), a Moscow newspaper, *Proletarian Truth*, stated the real purpose of collectivization of Ukrainian farms:

To destroy the social basis of Ukrainian nationalism — individual peasant agriculture.

Ukrainians would not, indeed could not, without a struggle, give up their land on which they and their forebears

had toiled and lived and loved for generations. These Ukrainians had shown that given the freedom to produce for the market on their own land, they were the best farmers in the Soviet Union, just as they had been in the old Russian empire.

But Stalin had his own "final solution" for Ukrainians.

Even "gleaning" — that ancient and accepted right of the poor to follow the harvesters and pick up the few grains and kernals not taken by the threshers — gleaning became a capital crime in Ukraine, by Stalin's edict in 1931. Many thousands paid with their lives for trying to sustain themselves and their children for a few more hours or days at best.

At the same time, during the horror in the fields, the Soviet Union was exporting huge amounts of grain to support the comunist revolution. Many of those eating bread made from Soviet wheat during that terrible time, little realized the grain had been taken at gunpoint from starving Ukrainian peasants.

Stalin confirmed his own bloody deeds in a reply to a question put by Winston Churchill in Moscow in 1942:

"Ten millions," he said, holding up his hands. "It was fearful. Four years it lasted. It was absolutely necessary for Russia..."

Thus Stalin justified his monstrous murders — necessary for Russia!

The world did hear the terrible story. Some Western journalists and others were able to penetrate Moscow's secrecy and reported accurately the gruesome account of Ukraine. To their disgrace and the dishonor of their profession, a few American reporters and others who wanted to glorify Moscow and communism as a "new civilization" or a "future that works" accepted and repeated Moscow's lies, even though they did not know the truth.

Hearing of the bloody horror, why did

not the rest of the world rise up in revulsion and fury at the undeniable facts of mass starvation and murder?

From our perspective of fifty years, it remains difficult to say. Certainly, that was a time of an appeaser mentality — of Japan in 1931, of Italy in 1936, and the shabby sellout of Czecho-Slovakia to Hitler at Munich in 1938. Many in the West wanted to believe that the *ends* of communism were "good" and justified the *means* of the Red Terror in the fields of Ukraine. The facts were there, they were not easy to ignore, but to the shame of all who believed in freedom, they were. At that time, the numbers reported, even though understated, of millions of Ukrainians deliberately starved and killed may have been so monstrous as to be unbelievable.

Appeasement did not end with Munich. Franklin Roosevelt, in his failure or unwillingness to recognize and act on the strength of nationalism in the Soviet Russian Empire, was largely responsible at Teheran and Yalta for delivery of the millions in what we now call the Captive Nations into that captivity under Moscow. Unfortunately, appeasement mentality continues among many in high places in the West — and even in our community.

All too many say, "That was Stalin. That was fifty years ago. Things are different now." Were that but true!

Fifty years ago, more than seven million Ukrainians were killed in Stalin's massive holocaust, which in numbers and terror far exceeded that of Hitler, whose name now symbolizes the term. For Ukrainians, the Holocaust continues today. Systematic purges of anyone expressing any views of nationalism or freedom take place continually in the Soviet Union. In 1968, when many Ukrainians began to identify with their neighbors to the west, with the freedom being expressed in the famous "Czecho-Slovakian Spring," many hundreds, even thousands of Ukrainians who

spoke or wrote of freedom were summarily seized, and with or without trial, were sentenced to long terms of prison, slave labor and exile. Many did not survive. Today, well authenticated reports show that of the political prisoners, inmates of the Gulag Archipelago system of slave labor camps, the largest number are Ukrainians who ask only freedom for their own land and people.

For those unfamiliar with its meaning, the word "Russification" may sound a little too nice to be what it actually means in human terms. Russification has been and remains the policy of Moscow and Russia towards the Ukrainians and all other nationalities in the Russian Empire. In 1870, the Minister of Education, Lev Tolstoi said:

The ultimate goal in the education of the non-Russians must be their Russification and assimilation within the Russian nation.

A few years later, the famous Russian novelist, Feodor Dostoyevsky wrote:

All people should become Russian, and Russian above all else, because the Russian national idea is universal...

One hundred years later, we hear another famous Russian writer, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, from his exile in America, saying much the same things in his dream of a future Russia — his Russia.

For Yuri Andropov and the Russian rulers in the Kremlin, any manifestation of nationalism is viewed as a direct and serious threat to Russian communist ideology — the evil mortar that keeps the whole structure of communism together. Nationalism is a basic threat because it denies the idea that communism is an international unifying force. More simply, as long as there is one Ukrainian nationalist anywhere making a claim for his nation and its rights, communism is threatened. In a moment of unusual candor, Lenin said, "scratch a communist, and you'll wound a Great Russian chau-

vinist." Today, as for well over three hundred years, there is but one policy for the Moscow masters — crush the Ukrainians and Russify them!

That is the fact, the truth, the terrible reality of life in Ukraine today.

I do not feel that you invited me in order to hear either vacuous platitudes or wildly optimistic forecasts about freedom for Ukraine. As something of a concerned specialist, and one who watches the pattern of world events fairly closely, I would be less than candid were I to say that today there is a bright light at the end of the long dark Ukrainian tunnel. There are many negative signs, perhaps the most important, the destruction of the Helsinki Watch Committees.

On the other hand, slowly but surely there is among Americans and others in the Free World a growing recognition of the fact that in the freedom and independence of those millions of Ukrainian and others of the Captive Nations, lies the destruction of the Soviet Russian empire and its threat to humanity. Even more important, this fact offers a realistic alternative to nuclear war between the superpowers.

That is the message which every American should learn, and which we must teach. As Edmund Burke said, "In order for evil to triumph, it is only necessary that good men do nothing."

The road will be long and weary, especially for those in Ukraine, even for us here — but is there any real alternative? You can not, must not forsake the rich heritage of more than a millenium of Ukrainian history and culture — nor should your children. We cannot abandon the forty-five million remaining in bondage under Moscow. There can be no letting up — no compromise with tyranny.

As we humbly commemorate those millions swept away five decades ago, we may recall that Shakespeare set the course when he wrote:

Latvian National and Human Rights Advocates Sentenced

On December 19, 1983 the Supreme Court of the Latvian SSR in Riga sentenced the 51 year-old radio engineer Gunars Astra to seven years in a special regime camp plus five years exile. At the same time the 56 year-old Latvian poet Gunars Freimanis was sentenced to 4 years in a strict regime camp plus two years in exile. The prosecutor Ints Batarags had requested 5 years of exile for Freimanis.

Both Latvians were accused of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" according to Article 65, part 2 of the Criminal Code of the Latvian SSR. The prosecutor gave the "tense international situation" among other arguments as the reason for the harsh sentences. In recent months the party press in Riga has repeatedly printed the speeches of high officials in which party members were called upon because of the "tense international situation" to be especially observant and to expose the enemies of the Soviet state.

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to
fortune.

There is a rising tide of nationalism throughout the Soviet Empire, a tide such as has not been seen in the six decades of communist rule. No one can measure the power of aroused nationalism, or predict the course it will follow. But, over the centuries, nationalist power has often changed the world, and it can do so again.

Freedom remains alive in the world. The nationalist tide is rising. With your, with our continued resolution and determination, we can, we must be prepared for that flood tide, and, with the guidance of God, there will surely be freedom for our beloved Ukraine!

Gunars Astra had been in prison awaiting sentence since September 15, 1983. In the course of repeated house searches two typewriters, recording tapes, and books from the West were found and confiscated. Astra was in particular accused having circulated George Orwell's "1984", and Agnis Balodis' history book "The Baltic Republics on the Eve of the Great National War", as well as the book "Five Days" by the Latvian exile author Anslavs Eglitis which was published in New York in 1976. In Eglitis' book the events in Latvia after the Second World War are described. In addition Astra was accused of having worked on the translation of the "Memorandum of 45 Balts" from 1979 calling for the nullification of the entire Molotow-Ribbentrop Pact and for the implementation of self-determination of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians. On January 13, 1983 the European Parliament argued the resolution for the decolonization of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania among others with the Memorandum of 45 Balts which is supported by Sacharow. Astra has already served a 15 year prison sentence as a political prisoner in Soviet prison camps.

Gunars Freimanis has been in prison awaiting trial since the end of March. The prosecutor accused him of having circulated his poetry, taken part in private poetry readings in apartments as well as circulating Latvian exile literature. Freimanis' poetry is devoted to topics from Latvian history as well as environmental questions on Latvia which has been ruthlessly industrialized by Soviet Russians. During the term in prison awaiting sentence Freimanis had to be temporarily taken to the infirmary of the Riga Central Prison because of an acute cardiac disorder.

On Radiobroadcasts from Abroad to Ukraine

A New Document From Ukraine

In spite of many difficulties and jamming, people in Ukraine with great interest try to listen to radio programmes from the free world — especially “Radio Liberty”, BBC, “Voice of America”, “Radio Vatican”, “Voice of Canada” and others. They thirst for objective and independent information about the situation and events in the world and in the Russian colonial empire — particularly in Ukraine — and for information unavailable in local newspapers, radio and television.

Unfortunately some Western radio stations still do not have Ukrainian-language broadcasts (BBC, “Deutsche Welle”, “Radio Free Europe” and others). The ones that do, broadcast materials about commonplace and uneventful matters, as well as light musical entertainment (“Radio Liberty”). One never hears on those broadcasts about the basic problems that would interest a Ukrainian living in the Russian empire. Little is said about the religious and church problems, russification, the Ukrainian resistance movement and “samvydav” (underground publications — trans.) on how the Ukrainian people strive for national independence and statehood, and the persecution of dissidents in spite of the signing of the Helsinki Accords. We also do not have enough information about historical, economic or ideological topics as compared, for example, to the patriotic Polish-language broadcasts of “Radio Free Europe”. Older-generation Ukrainians who live in Western Ukraine listen to Polish-language broadcasts of “Radio Free Europe” because it occasionally also provides some information on Ukrainian national problems, the bankruptcy of communism, the centrifugal forces in the Russian empire, the passive and active resistance against the occupant, the weaknesses of the occupier’s system on the ruinous state of agriculture, etc. All of this information is not available on Ukrainian-language broadcasts of “Radio Liberty” or “Voice of America”.

We would also like to hear on your radio programmes objective news about the life and work of the Ukrainian émigré community, your attitude toward the status and position of Ukraine and other subjugated nations within the empire, the war of liberation of the Afghan people, the different aspects of the Polish anti-Russian activities, the resistance movement in the Baltic States and other Soviet republics. We are also interested in objective programmes about the history of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people in the past as well as in the present and the struggle of the Ukrainian Churches for their Patriarchy. This, because the official Soviet ideology and censorship, as well as strict limitations on the freedom of movement within the empire, has for decades created difficulties not only for Ukrainians, but for all the peoples of the subjugated nations to communicate freely with the non-communist nations of the free world, and to be able to feel a sense of unity with, and belonging to the culture of that world.

We would also like to have a kind of “university of the air”, like the Polish listeners have on “Radio Free Europe”, which would allow Ukrainian émigré scholars freely and objectively discuss issues on Ukrainian history, culture and national development. We appeal especially to the governments of those Western nations which still do not broadcast Ukrainian-language pro-

DR. KYRIL DRENIKOFF †

One of the most active representatives of the present Bulgarian emigré community and a tireless ABN activist, passed away in Brussels towards the end of last year. Having reached the peak of his creativity, Dr. Kyril Drenikoff left us at the age of 53, following a severe illness.

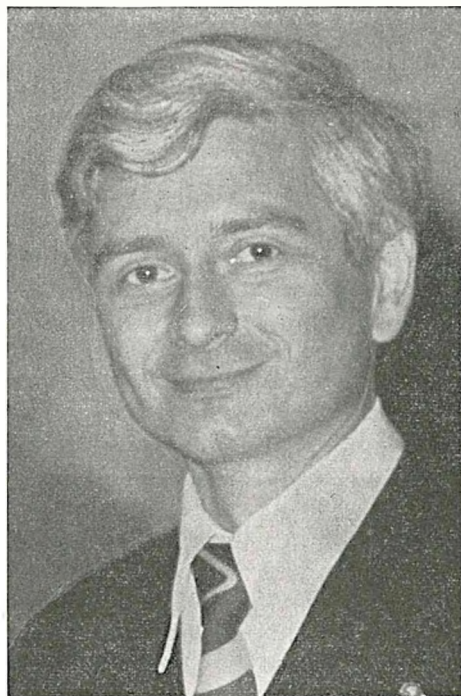
Dr. Drenikoff was born in Sophia in 1930. He was a son of a Bulgarian Air Force officer from Macedonia, who was decorated with the highest medal of valor for his heroism during World War I. Dr. Drenikoff studied law and political science at Sophia University and later graduated from the Sorbonne in Paris with a doctoral degree in jurisprudence. In addition he completed his studies at the Institute of Hautes Etudes Internationales.

Afterwards, Dr. Drenikoff lived in Rome, then in Paris and finally settled down in Brussels. In exile the deceased was temporarily a free-lance co-worker of the Vatican Radio and Radio Free Europe.

As President of the Bulgarian section of the International League for Human Rights, Dr. Drenikoff successfully interceded on behalf of persecuted compatriots in his subjugated Bulgarian homeland.

In the meantime, Dr. Drenikoff founded the "Bulgarian Documentation Centre", which was later renamed the "Balkan Archives". In his laborious bibliographical work, Dr. Drenikoff collected thousands of volumes written by historians of various nationalities, through which he convincingly established that the present population of Macedonia is a part of the Bulgarian nation and refuted the existence of any independent Macedonian nation.

Considering his Macedonian origin, Dr. Drenikoff regarded his life-work as a fulfillment of his duty towards his nation. In his patriotic activities, he has made a permanent and valuable contribution to the cause of national liberation. In his demeanor and in his noteworthy endeavors on behalf of the national Bulgarian cause, as well as on behalf of the liberation struggle of the other nations subjugated by Russian communist tyranny, Dr. Drenikoff has indelibly and forever engraved his name in the history of the present political diaspora. He will always be remembered and honored.



grammes, namely, Great Britain and Germany. We ask them to introduce Ukrainian-language programmes for a 50-million strong Ukrainian nation. We hope that you will understand the problems facing the Ukrainian people, and will do everything in your power to put into effect these proposals.

Radio listeners in Ukraine, May 1983

News and Views

Auberon Waugh

Thoughts on Ukraine

My unavoidable absence in New York last week kept me from the Fortieth Anniversary meeting of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in Hammersmith Town Hall. It promised to be quite an exciting affair, with a programme of insurgent songs by the choir of the Ukrainian Youth Organisation, dancing and folk music from Latvian, Lithuanian and Croatian groups to intersperse orations from Mr. Y. Stetsko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Mr. K. Glinski, national chairman, and various others.

Its first meeting was held on 21-22 November 1943 in the forests of Zhytomyr, a region of Ukraine which had temporarily been liberated from German Nazis and Russian Bolsheviks alike by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and underground Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). It was summoned as a Conference of Subjugated Nations by the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, General R. Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka and the leadership of the OUN, headed by Stepan Bandera. At that time, it was understandably as much concerned with the threat of German imperialism as it was by the prospect of Soviet imperialism. Its first manifesto ends with the ringing battle cry: 'Foreward! Freedom for the subjugated nations! For the creation of national independent states! Death to Hitler and Stalin.'

That first meeting was attended by representatives from 12 nations, all then under occupation by either Soviet Russia or Nazi Germany. Since then it has grown to represent 28 nations, all of them under

the communist yoke, including exiles from Albania, Bulgaria, Cuba, Croatia and Slovenia, Czechia and Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania — as well as the familiar list of republics which have been more or less absorbed into the Soviet Union.

Perhaps the meeting in Hammersmith Town Hall did not quite live up to the grandeur of the ABN's aspirations. There is always something a little pathetic about these meetings of exiles, although it would be as well to remember that it was from such meetings as these, held in unlikely Swiss *gasthäuser* that Lenin emerged to lead the Russian empire into the most hideous passage of its short black history. The ABN claims — with whatever degree of truth — to be most active behind the Iron Curtain. 'Utilising the various means at its disposal, the ABN... has been systematically preparing and mobilising the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism for the final stage of the national liberation struggle.'

It is encouraging, of course, to think of all those Armenians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Georgians getting together with dish-faced, slant-eyed Tartars, Turkestanians and former inhabitants of the Idel-Ural in Hammersmith Town Hall to mobilise each other. But the most serious component of the ABN is undoubtedly the Ukrainians, of whom over three million live in northern America and a surprising number are to be found in Paris and northern England. Despite having lost some 20 million of its inhabitants by violence or deliberate starvation since the

October Revolution, Ukraine now has 47 million people living in it of whom over 42 million are still Ukrainians.

If Ukraine were an independent nation, as it has always aspired to be, it would be the largest country in Europe after the Soviet Union itself (and the Russian Soviet Republic). It is also one of the ten most economically developed countries of the world, producing over one fifth of the Soviet Union's industrial output and one quarter of its grain.

Perhaps the noises heard in Hammer-smith Town Hall were no more than a squeak when set against the noises heard at Greenham Common or at the various anti-nuclear demonstrations in West Germany and Holland. But it was a squeak emerging from a very big animal indeed, and one which the chancelleries of the free world have been deliberately ignoring ever since Yalta.

Some years ago, I remember hearing Mr. Healey say that in his view the greatest threat to world peace came not from any confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, but from the disintegration of the Soviet Empire itself. Nothing was more dangerous than this, he said wisely, as one who had watched many Empire disintegrate and often remarked how such shifts in the proper order of things led to war. The Russians might do anything if they saw their Empire collapsing around them, he hinted.

At the time I thought this sentiment historically unsound and mildly fatuous. Brooding about it since, I find it rather sinister. Plainly this view is what passes for conventional wisdom in the State Department and Foreign Office, with the exception of their more or less disreputable, clandestine elements, who have been permitted to give only ineffectual encouragement to nationalist movements inside the Soviet Empire, at any rate until the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. I

wonder whether this policy — which has never been declared, let alone discussed — is the product of an intelligent assessment of risk, or whether it was wished upon them by some anonymous Soviet sympathiser within the Northern Department 40 years ago and has never been seriously re-examined ever since.

It was enshrined in the Yalta agreement, of course, but any notion of 'spheres of influence' which that shameful document defined has long since been overturned by the Soviet penetration in Cuba and Latin America, not to mention all the casualties of 'Jimmy' Carter's brief but terrible presidency — the Horn of Africa, Yemen and Afghanistan itself.

Any usefulness which the Yalta agreement might have had must surely be replaced now by an awareness that so long as the Soviet Empire exists it is bound to present a hostile and expansionist front; and that so long as the logic of nuclear deterrence applied to this confrontation between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world — it is quite plainly the only logic which can apply — the risk of some unspeakable error will always be with us.

Yet it must be obvious even to the most half-witted Marxist ideologue that the Soviet empire cannot last forever. No empire ever has. So long as it continues to exist, the arms race is bound to accelerate because it is the only logic which the Soviet Union understands. If I am right, the way out of the deadlock must be to encourage and assist those pressures within the Soviet Empire which will eventually bring about its disintegration: the defection, under national leadership, of the satellite armies (such as failed to happen in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968) and the mutiny of Russia's colonial troops recruited from her occupied provinces in Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia etc. and for all I know Turkestan.

Such defections and mutinies are bound, eventually, to arrive, and they are bound

to come as a result of civil unrest brought about by hunger. While the United States and Argentina continue to sell corn to the Soviet Union, they are quite simply feeding the arms race. There is no conceivable reason in logic or normal human psychology why the Soviet Union should react to internal collapse by loosing off its missiles at the West, and it is the voice of stupidity and cowardice which pretends this is the case. It is quite simply untrue that a fat Russian is less to be feared than a thin one.

Perhaps we shall never know what secret assurances were given to the Russians in 1968 which emboldened them to invade Czecho-Slovakia. Whatever they were — and they have never been revealed or discussed — they may prove to have been the worst diplomatic error ever made. But if only a quarter of the misplaced enthusiasm for unilateral disarmament could be directed toward stopping sales of corn to the Soviet Union, human intelligence might have contrived a solution to the deadlock, or at least pointed towards the one glimmer of hope in the encircling gloom.

(The Spectator, Dec. 3, 1983)

Plaque to mark 40 years of ABN

A Commemorative plaque was unveiled and consecrated in Bradford Cathedral yesterday to mark the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the 20th anniversary of the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford.

The plaque was unveiled by Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, head of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and former Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Provisional Government. He came from Munich for the ceremony.

The consecration was performed by the Very Rev. Brandon Jackson, Provost of Bradford, in front of the deputy Lord

Mayor and Lady Mayoress of Bradford, Coun. and Mrs. Ernest Saville.

The ceremony was also attended by Bradford MPs and councillors, city hall officials, and national chairmen of East European organisations.

After the ceremony, a concert was held at the Latvian Hall in Clifton villas and Ukrainian, Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian entertaining groups took part.

Two coachloads of people left the Ukrainian Club in Legrams Lane early on Saturday morning to join the picket of the Russian Embassy in London later in the day to mark the 40th anniversary of ABN.

(Telegraph & Argus, Nov. 21, 1983)

Exiles Mark Double Anniversary

Hundreds of political exiles packed Bradford Cathedral yesterday for the unveiling and consecration of a plaque marking the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

The President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, travelled from Munich to unveil the plaque which also marks the 20th anniversary of the Captive Nations Committee, Bradford.

Bradford Council officials and members, including the deputy Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, Coun. and Mrs. Ernest Saville, the Conservative MPs for Bradford North and Keighley, Mr. Geoffrey Lawler and Mr. Gary Waller and the national chairmen of East European organisations also attended the service.

The secretary to the Captive Nation's Committee, Mr. Michael Charuk, a Ukrainian who came to Britain in 1943, said: "It is a very significant day for us because as foreigners we are unveiling this plaque in an Anglican cathedral. It is the first plaque of its kind in Britain."

The Provost of Bradford, the Very

Rev. Brandon Jackson, who performed the consecration with five East European clergy, said: "Into Bradford has come a significant group of people from Eastern Europe with their own culture and it seems most appropriate that our walls should contain another plaque reflecting that they are part of the city."

A concert in the evening was addressed by the chairman of the European Freedom Council, the MP for Ruislip Northwood, Mr. John Wilkinson, a former Bradford MP.

(Yorkshire Post, Nov. 21, 1983)

Anniversary Picket Line

Bradford people will join a national picket of the Russian Embassy in London on Saturday to mark the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Two coachloads of members of Bradford Captive Nations Committee will leave Bradford's Ukrainian Club, Legrams Lane, at 6 a.m., to join the picket line by noon.

The anniversary will be celebrated in Bradford on Sunday when former Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Provisional Government and head of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko will unveil a commemorative plaque at Bradford Cathedral at 3.30 p.m.

Special Service

The occasion also marks the 20th anniversary of the Captive Nations Committee. The plaque will be consecrated by the Provost of Bradford, the Very Rev. Brandon Jackson, and six East European clergymen.

Guests at the ceremony will include Bradford's Deputy Lord Mayor and Deputy Lady Mayoress, Coun. and Mrs. Ernest Saville. Ukrainian, Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian groups will later entertain the guest at the Latvian Hall, 5 Clifton Villas, Bradford 8, at 5.30 p.m.

Sunday

Forster Square for bus to Market Weighton, start of Bradford Group Youth Hostelling Association walk to Pocklington on Wolds Way, 9.30 a.m.

Textile Hall, Westgate, record and tape fair, 11 a.m. — 4.30 p.m.

Latvian Hall, Clifton Villas, concert to mark the 40th anniversary of formation of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and 20th anniversary of Bradford Captive Nations Committee, 5.30 p.m.

Bradford Cathedral, unveiling of plaque by the Captive Nations Committee, 3.30 p.m.

Countryside Ranger Service guided 10 mile walk to Fixby Park and Bradley Woods. Meet Walter Richardson at Norman Park, Birkby, Huddersfield, at 10 a.m.

St. Chad's Church, Manningham, Bradford Choristers evensong 6 p.m.

Tibbett and Britten, Morley, fun run in aid of Pinderfields and Batley General Hospital.

National Museum of Photography, Prince's View, last showing of painter as photographer exhibition, 2.30 p.m. - 6 p.m.

(Bradford Star, Nov. 17, 1983)

Ex-Premier's Anniversary Tribute

Visitors to Bradford for a ceremony linked with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the Captive Nations Committee will include a former Premier of the Ukrainian Provisional Government in 1941.

A plaque will be unveiled in Bradford Cathedral on Sunday, November 20, marking the 40th anniversary of the ABN and the 20th of the Captive Nations group.

Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko will travel from Munich and the consecration will be performed by the Very Rev. Brandon Jackson, joined by six East European clergy.

(Telegraph & Argus, Nov. 12, 1983)

December 13 for Turkestan is day of Tragedy

On July 17, 1959, President Dwight D. Eisenhower announced passage of a bill in Congress commemorating Captive Nations Week. For Americans this law is a moral instrument dedicated to the liberation of all countries held captive by communism.

For the captive nations, including Turkestan, this law serves as moral, political and psychological nourishment on the road to national independence.

At the same time, Dec. 13 was declared Turkestan Day in the United States. This decision has a special meaning for Turkestan. It is America's expression of will to fight the tyranny of communism and oppose the imperialistic and colonial suppression of Turkestan by the Soviet Union.

What is the significance of Dec. 13? In early November 1917, communist-minded Russians who, until then, had been serving the Czar's provisional Russian government in Tashkent seized power and formed a soviet (council) of people's commissars (ministers). The soviet consisted of 36 Russians who claimed the right to rule Turkestan.

Turkestan nationalist leaders called on both the government and the self-proclaimed commissars to hand over the power in Turkestan to the Turkestanians. The Russian government and the Soviet commissars in Tashkent, however, refused.

After this, the Turkestanian national leaders were forced to leave Tashkent for Kokand, a town in the Fergana Valley, to maintain their resistance to the Russians and continue to press for Turkestan's self-determination.

On Dec. 10, the Congress of the Muslims of Turkestan in Kokand declared the "National Autonomous Republic of Turkestan." The congress announced that the problem of separating Turkestan from

Russia would be dealt with by a legislative assembly of Turkestan in March 1918.

The government of the National Autonomous Republic of Turkestan called on the government of Soviet Russia to dissolve the Soviet commissariat in Tashkent. The Soviet leadership reacted according to its own will for power.

Joyful Demonstrations

The proclamation of autonomy brought enthusiastic response from the Turkestanian people, who believed it would free them from Russian rule.

Three days after the proclamation more than 100,000 Turkestanians organized a demonstration in Tashkent to express their support for autonomy. The peaceful demonstration, with placards reading "Long live the autonomy of Turkestan" and "Long live the legislative assembly," began after the Muslim morning prayer.

When the declaration of Turkestan's autonomy had been made, the Soviet commissariat had arrested all deputies of the Tashkent City Council for recognizing it. Now the demonstrators began calling on the Russian commissars to release these political prisoners.

In a cunning plot, the commander of the Tashkent garrison, one Gen. Gudowich, opened the prison gates and released all prisoners. The chairman of the Russian commissars, Kolesov, his deputy Uspensky and Tashkent Communist Party Secretary Tobolin appeared on a podium in front of the demonstrators in the town quarter of Sheikh-an-Tahur. They congratulated the Turkestanians on their autonomy and, promising to release all political prisoners, announced that the government would, step-by-step, hand over power to the Turkestan Muslims.

The demonstrators were jubilant and the demonstration passed without harm.

Double-crossed

Toward the evening, the crowds dispersed in groups through the narrow streets of old Tashkent and the men made their way home. As the first group reached the bridge that crossed the River Salar, Soviet soldiers opened fire on them from the other side of the bridge with guns and machine guns.

The dead and wounded lay in the streets. Many more were pushed into the river, and if not already shot to death, were drowned.

Throughout the night and into the following day, the shooting continued throughout the old city. The opponents of the Soviet communist regime were massacred. To this day Soviet authorities have never released the number of dead and injured Turkestanians who had demonstrated in Tashkent on Dec. 13.

The following day Soviet leaders announced only that the same security measures had been taken the day before.

With the shooting of the demonstrators and the ensuing persecution of nationalist Turkestanians, the Soviet Russians began a new era of tragedy in Turkestan.

It became apparent that whether the Czars or the Bolsheviks were ruling in Moscow, there was no difference in the methods Russians used to maintain rule over Turkestan.

Nothing but a Lie

But the gunning down of thousands of innocent, unarmed demonstrators as they walked through the city, some praying, others dancing and singing, proved unequivocally that the Soviet government's declaration of rights for the people

and its guarantee of national freedom for Muslims was nothing but a lie.

The sorrow of Dec. 13 became a national tragedy centering on Tashkent, the historical heart of Turkestan. It was the first time in history the Russians had so ruthlessly violated the traditional Muslim capital.

In the following days, the news spread through the whole of Turkestan and the people's mourning was tinged with hatred and disgust for the new Soviet regime.

"From this day on, the open and bloody fight between Turkestanians and the Russian bolsheviks has begun," declared the leader of the Council of Turkestan Muslims, Munevver Kari, who organized the Tashkent demonstration.

Dec. 13 is for Turkestan a day of freedom and simultaneously the beginning of a new tragedy. The U.S. celebration of Turkestan Day, with the national flag raised alongside the American flag in public places and rallies across the country in support of Turkestan's right to independence, shows the generous spirit of freedom there.

All Turkestanians — except those few thousand who believe in the Soviets and have become privileged servants of communism — can be thankful and proud that their national day of freedom and tragedy is celebrated in the United States.

Islamic philosophers say, "Hope is part of human life." We Turkestanians (Uzbeks, Kazaks, Kirgizians, Tadjiks, Turkmens, Uighurs and Kara-Kalpaks) thank the United States for taking up our liberation movement. Particularly on Turkestan Day, we hope Americans and Turkestanians together will support the realizing of national independence.

May God help America and Turkestan!

(New York Tribune, Dec. 13, 1983)

Myroslaw Charkewycz, M.D.
Chairman, AF ABN, Illinois Chapter

If Future Generations are to Live Without Fear

Although our conference is taking place under the motto, "Crisis in Central America", I will allow myself to digress in my remarks from the main topic. I will try to prove that the only threat to the freedom, peace and democracy in Central America, as well as in Eastern Europe, Southeastern Asia, Middle East, North and Central Africa are mainly henchmen, local puppets of Kremlin, puppets of the Soviet-Russian Politbureau and the mighty KGB, who are leading the fight against and destroying, the freedom and democracy by proxy from Moscow. They knowingly or unknowingly are realizing Lennin's testament of Russian world hegemony, of total russification and, where it is not yet feasible, finlandization, sovietization and finally russification. They are spreading fear and hysteria of thermonuclear horrors, terrorizing the Western will to fight and inviting the most dangerous moral holocaust. We have to seek and find an organization or a system of organizations, which are ready and able to confront and to successfully fight this greatest evil. My task will be to convince you that the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) is such an organization and is offering a viable alternative to thermonuclear war.

Exactly forty years ago, when World War II was at its summit of destruction, as the worlds greatest imperialistic and totalitarian military powers were leveling the fruits of western civilizations, in the forests near Zhytomyr in Ukraine, on November 21 and 22, 1943, the first conference of Subjugated (Captive) Nations was held. The main purpose of the conference was to create a coordinating center of revolutionary-liberation struggle, hoisted by nations subjugated by Nazism

and Bolshevism, in their quest for national independence, sovereignty, statehood and democracy.

The conference, which became the nucleus of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of of Nations (ABN) was attended by representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bashkiria, Byelorussia, Georgia, North Caucasus, Ukraine and Turkestan. The struggle against a common enemy demanded that a common front of liberation be established. This historical conference was organized by the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army under its Commander-in-Chief, Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and by (UHWR) the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council. The conference of Subjugated Nations called upon all nations in the East and West to rise up in a united front against both tyrannies. It also issued an appeal to Western Allies urging them to break off their alliance with Moscow and to launch a freedom crusade against both totalitarian, colonial powers.

As a result of World War II, Iron and Bamboo curtains divided the entire world into, on the one hand, a so-called socialist bloc, under the very able leadership of Moscow with absolutely false but enticing slogans and promises of "true democracy", "lasting and just world peace", "prosperity for all", etc., and, on the other hand, a so-called western democratic world with unstable, confused or no leadership at all. Previously fairly restrained Russians became more and more arrogant and menacing, particularly after stealing secrets of the atomic bomb with the help of their master spies, "sleepers" in the highest positions in the West. In-

stead of decisive resistance, they met indecision, decadence, hedonism and the famous ideas and slogans of the fifties, "better red than dead", which are again ringing today on the streets of Amsterdam, Bonn, Paris, London and Rome under orders of the KGB. Only people from countries which lost their freedom, cried in vain, imploring the free world to cast away its indifference and political blindness. The nations, which today are members of the ABN, were the first to realize the true nature of "world communism" and tried very hard to convince the western democracies to understand and deal with the Soviet Union, as the newest and almost perfect form of old Russian imperialism under new disguise. The relentless retreat of western democracies and successes in Southeast Asia, Angola, Ethiopia, as well as North Africa, made the Russian bear, as previously Hitler, dizzy and drunk with victory. In their greed for conquest and riches of the Persian Gulf, modern Russian "suworows" decided to invade Afghanistan. In doing so, they not only finally awoke and partially consolidated the democratic West, but also antagonized and alienated millions and millions of unhappy Moslems within the borders of their shaky empire. Only unheard of terror and the ambiguous stand of Soviet-misinformed western democracies slowed down the beginning of the fall of the Russian-Communist Empire, which might have resulted from the open uprising of the brave Polish workers and peasants against the government of proletarian workers and peasants.

The idea, best reflected in the fighting slogan of ABN, "Freedom for Nations — Freedom for Individuals", placed in the center of political thinking, the historic, ethnographic, democratic and nationalistic principle, which until now was so carefully ignored and circumvented by the cunning victors. The necessity of forming

a safety belt or buffer zone between two ever aggressive and imperialistic powers — a tsarist, or communist, or democratic imperialistic Russia, and Kaisers', or Hitler's imperialistic Germany was nothing new. Many years after World War II, after the tragic roster of Captive Nations grew longer and longer, it was almost impossible to convince, or even interest, the western world, western liberals and pseudo-intellectuals in the truth about the USSR. They even nominated Hitler's master and teacher, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, as "humanitarian of the century". For them, the ideas of ABN were and still are irrelevant, unrealistic and, in the first place, disturbing to their dream of "everything is okay", — the false sense of security of an ostrich with its head in the warm sand. The Berlin crisis and the infamous wall, the Cuban super-crisis in 1963, Angola and Ethiopia were warnings that not "everything is okay", but only the cruel invasion of Afghanistan resulted in the very unpleasant awakening and realization that "Hannibal is really *ante portas*". The liquidation of Polish hopes for quasi-freedom, Lebanon, El Salvador, Nicaragua, murder in Rangoon, inhuman downing of flight 007 and recent events in Grenada are the bloody flowers planted all over the world by proxy from Moscow.

The so-called international communism, conceived and directed from Moscow, from Kremlin, is a cancer, a malignant growth on the body of humanity, with its final destiny of death, first by expansion later by invasion and by forming distant tumors, called metastases, very far from the original site. The success of treatment depends not only on the nature of the primary tumor, its invasive power, but mainly on early detection and determination of extension of distant spread. There cannot be any doubt that we are reaching the third stage of this dreadful disease and the only hope for

cure is very radical and aggressive treatment.

The founders and promoters of ABN feel and know that our conceptions offer the greatest hope and the only hope to successfully fight and win the fight against the greatest historical enemy of civilized mankind without thermonuclear holocaust. This fairly new synonym, which pictures the supreme horror, is the main argument implied by Soviet-Russians and procommunist force against ABN activities. We are the only political formation which presents and offers a realistic antithesis to thermonuclear war in the form of close to one hundred fifty million non-Russian, enslaved, persecuted, permanently russified by force, freedom-loving people. Later on I will return once more to this problem. We are the only force, which, by stressing the slogan, "Freedom for Nations — Freedom for Individuals" and accentuating very strongly historic, ethnographic, national and democratic principles, removes the future seed or nucleus of new conflicts and maybe even wars. Our organization, which is an open organization, a real bloc without any regional or special interest groups, prevents eventual emerging of some imperialistic tendencies or conflicts. We recognize the just principle that every nation, be it one hundred, sixty, twenty or one million strong, has the same God-given right to liberty and freedom. We are the only organization which has room for freedom-loving peoples from all countries and continents. We have among us a strong representation of Moslems, with their watchful eye on Moslems persecuted and debased within Soviet Russia, who in a few years will represent one third of the total population of the last empire. Acknowledging a certain number of Russians, particularly intellectuals, who are unhappy with the present system of government, we, the members of ABN, are flesh-of-flesh, blood-of-blood, with peo-

ples who represent more than one-half of the total population of Soviet-Russian prisons, fighting for liberty and freedom. Our organization is constantly growing, there is no important anti-communist conference or convention on any continent without our active participation under the leadership of Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, last Premier of Free Ukraine and President of the ABN Central Committee and his wife, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Editor-in-Chief of "ABN Correspondence" and a brave fighter for liberty and freedom. We are members of the European Freedom Council, United States Council for World Freedom and World Anti-Communist League, which united one hundred and ten nations and accepts the ideas and concepts of ABN as its own. Recently we organized new Chapters of ABN in Japan and India, in the belief that wherever there is communism, there has to be and vigorously act an ABN.

Back once more to thermonuclear holocaust and war. In order to intimidate and terrorize the citizenry of free democracies, Moscow is using its huge thermonuclear capacity to force the West to continuously overlook and as though ignore its expansionist measures. As a result, there has been created in Western Europe a defeatist-pacifist attitude and atmosphere, which paralyzes its moral will to fight and to win. Those rare western statesmen, who are brave enough to identify the Russian imperio-colonial threat and to raise the political awareness of the peoples of their countries, have been discredited as "fascists", "hawks" and "warmongers", and western governments are incapable of significantly building up their conventional military powers and potentials. The peoples of the free world have to understand that nuclear weapons probably cannot be totally removed from the face of the earth. If future generations are to live freely without the horrible fear and shadow of thermonuclear holocaust, all

freedom-loving mankind must work harder to liquidate the present primary threat of thermonuclear confrontation, which lies in the continuing existence of the imperialistic Russian prison of nations. This monstrosity is stubbornly bent on establishing its new colonial hegemony over the entire world. This threat can be liquidated only with elimination of its root-cause, through the dissolution of the Russian Empire from within by synchronized national-liberation revolutions of subjugated nations. Those coordinated national uprisings, led by armed insurgent formations, are the only viable and realistic alternative to the dreadful thermonuclear war.

Present, even doctored, demographic projections convincingly show that in less than one decade at least every third citizen of the USSR will be a Moslem. The present Afghan war of liberation clearly shows the tremendous power of religious faith when incorporated into national patriotic ideals. The Afghan Mujahideens' religious mottos are most successfully adopted as potent revolutionary slogans directed against the Russian atheistic communist imperio-colonial system of subjugation. The national composition of the Soviet army is proportional to the national composition of the Soviet-Russian Empire, in which non-Russian are forming, or will form in the very near future, an absolute majority. Moscow is forced to arm the young men of subjugated nations, giving them by necessity the instruments of future destruction of the Russian prison of nations. Considering these facts, NATO can very strongly neutralize or reverse the present and over-emphasized Russian conventional military advantage. When we include in the power equation the armies of "satellite" countries with more than two-thirds non-Russians, namely anti-Russian soldiers, no doubt, the Warsaw Pact, in the face of confrontation, will

choose freedom before slavery and forced russification.

In consideration of the complete collapse of the socio-economic structure and ideological bankruptcy of Communism-Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism or Andropovism as political dogma, ideal, new hopes of freedom and democracy are opening new vistas for subjugated nations. Moscow will never be able to isolate the national liberation struggle of only one nation, which may act 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 domination intact. In the above described situations, all of Moscow's huge thermonuclear arsenal will be rendered completely useless.

The fact of the vulnerability of thermonuclear warfare versus insurgent-liberation alternative has been proven many times over in the not-so-distant past. Moscow did not dare to drop atom bombs on the million strikers or on uprisings of political prisoners in Russian concentration camps in the 1950's. They did not drop atom bombs in Afghanistan and Poland, where, particularly in Afghanistan, Moscow is barely able to hold its own in spite of its fantastic thermonuclear capacity and superiority. Moscow will never drop or be able to drop atom bombs on insurgents scattered over thousands and thousands of square miles, since this would constitute suicide. By doing so, Kremlin and Russian General Staff would destroy its own imperial Russian forces, its police and terror apparatus like the KGB, and the Russian colonial population, by which it is able to maintain Russian imperio-colonial rule over the subjugated nations.

The free democratic West does not have to continue to support and strengthen the Russian slave-empire through multi-level trade relations and suicidal sale of vital

Last Helsinki Monitor Dies in Lithuania

The only Lithuanian Helsinki Group member at large died on December 4, according to reports from Lithuania. She would have been 78 years old in January.

Mrs. Ona Lukauskaite-Poskiene was one of the founding members of the Group which promoted Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Accords in the Baltic state of Lithuania.

She became known for her poetry of social protest when she made her debut in the leftist press of independent Lithuania. Two collections of her poetry, "Most Precious Footprints" and "A Hope Chest

sophisticated technological equipment to the USSR.

If the West continues to recognize the integrity of the Bolshevik system of subjugation and inviolability of borders of the Russian prison of nations, then the subjugated nations have no choice but to consider the western powers de facto as friends of Moscow, who will be equally responsible for the future destruction of civilization and freedom-loving humanity.

Concluding my remarks, I would like to repeat after General J. F. C. Fuller, one of the greatest anti-communist strategists: "Because in the Atlantic Pact — however defective it may be — is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — however lacking in organization it still is — is to be found the only potential second front. Both are equally essential in not only the containment of communism and Russian imperialism, but also in the complete elimination of Bolshevism, the main and only enemy of freedom for nations and individuals, and peace in the world."

(Speech delivered at the Conference on Crisis in Central America).

of Verse", were published in 1933 and 1938, respectively.

Lukauskaite-Poskiene joined the clandestine Lithuanian National Council in 1946 after Lithuania's forcible annexation by the Soviet Union. For her participation in the Council, she spent 9 years in labour camps in the Arkhangelsk and Vorkuta regions. After her release in 1955, she returned to Siauliai, where she lived, in poor health, until her death.

Refusing to be intimidated by numerous interrogations about her activities, particularly in regard to the Helsinki Group, Lukauskaite-Poskiene continued to speak out in defense of human rights. In September of 1977, she circulated a petition with over 80 signatures to protest the arrest of Viktoras Petkus and later that summer, she testified in his defense at his trial. Petkus was one of the founding members of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group.

Lukauskaite-Poskiene, along with the other Lithuanian Helsinki monitors, issued several appeals for the release of rights advocates, including Andrei Sakharov upon his forced exile to Gorky.

Her interests within the framework of the Helsinki Group were wide and varied. A memorandum on the present situation in Lithuania for the Belgrade Conference commented on the trammled flow of information. She criticized the Soviet policy of denying newly returned prisoners of conscience registration papers — a conscious effort to block their way to future employment and residency in Lithuania, and ultimately, to force them out of their homeland. When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, she demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

As a teacher, Lukauskaite-Poskiene was deeply aware of Soviet attempts to des-

troy Lithuania's rich cultural history. With a group of twenty other Lithuanians, she signed a petition recommending official restoration of deteriorating cultural monuments. She also endorsed a Catholic Committee document to UNESCO in 1979 for the Year of the Child, which addressed the violation of children's rights in Lithuania.

One of the last Helsinki documents to reach the West and to be signed by Lukauskaite-Poskiene appealed for the release of imprisoned Helsinki monitors.

The Lithuanian Helsinki Group was founded on November 25, 1976, by five activists in Vilnius. Over the years, its ranks were depleted by deaths and arrests.

Charter member Father Karolis Garuckas died of cancer in 1979. He was replaced by Father Bronius Laurinavicius, who was pushed to his death under a truck in 1981. Dissident sources attribute his death to the KGB.

Jewish dissident Eitan Finkelstein left the Group voluntarily hoping that this would expedite his request to emigrate. The physicist first applied to emigrate with his family in 1971 and was repeatedly denied permission to leave. He was forced to take menial jobs to support his family after being dismissed from work. After 12 years of waiting, he and his

family have been granted exit visas and are scheduled to leave Vilnius for Israel sometime this month.

Viktoras Petkus, arrested in 1977, is due to complete his third term of imprisonment in 1992. He has already served 21 years of his life in Soviet labour camps under political charges. Latest reports indicate that Petkus also joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group while in labour camp.

After coming to the United States as a guest lecturer, poet Tomas Venclova was stripped of his Soviet citizenship. He remains as the Group's representative in the West.

Other activists accepted into the Lithuanian Helsinki Group have all been jailed.

American-born Vilnius University instructor Vytautas Skuodis was arrested in 1979 a few months after joining the Group. Soviet authorities declared psychiatrist Dr. Alsirdas Statkevicius a danger to society and interned him in a psychiatric hospital. Mecislovas Jurevicius and Vytautas Vaiciunas were both arrested only weeks after joining the Group in 1981 for organizing religious processions.

Funeral services for Mrs. Ona Lukauskaite-Poskiene took place on December 6 in Siauliai.

FROM GREETINGS TO ABN ON 40th ANNIVERSARY

Thank you for your kind invitation to take part in the celebration of the 40th anniversary of your founding. May I take this opportunity to both congratulate you and to wish you the very best for the future. Certainly you, more than most, recognize that your manifesto for human rights for individuals and groups reflects the objectives of our broadcasting.

Unfortunately, previous commitments oblige me to be in Paris on November 5, preventing me from personally taking part in your observance. However, the Director of Radio Liberty, M. George Bailey, will attend and will represent RFE/RL at your celebration.

May I take this opportunity to wish you not only the finest possible celebration of your 40th anniversary, but, even more important, progress towards your aims in the future.

*Sincerely yours,
James L. Buckley*

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

*16th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League
Luxembourg, September 22, 1983*

Under the main theme of "Peace, Freedom and Security Through Unity", the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) held its 16th General Conference in Luxembourg — the Crossroads of Western Europe — on September 19-22, 1983. There were 400 representatives present from the League's 118 national chapters, international organizations and associate member units.

The Conference participants urge, in the interests of mankind, that the following steps be taken by all freedom-loving peoples of the world:

— Formulate an effective global strategy for freedom and democracy in order to eliminate Communist imperialism.

— Strongly support President Reagan's policy of peace and freedom through strength, urge the NATO Alliance, the United States in particular, and all free European countries, to further strengthen their defensive and retaliatory capabilities so as to decisively cope with Soviet Russian expansionism.

— Demand the immediate dismantling of all the Soviet SS-20 missiles.

— Condemn, in the strongest way, the Soviet Union for the Korean Airline massacre as a crime against humanity and demand that it acknowledge all responsibility for the clearly illegal and savage act, openly apologize, and offer full and immediate reparations for the victims and the plane itself.

— Denounce the Communist practices of genocide throughout the world, particularly recalling Soviet Russia's genocide of over 7 million Ukrainians 50 years ago in 1933, further condemn the Soviet Union for the imprisonment of political prisoners, and ask the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) to provide a list of these prisoners so as to seek their release.

— Coordinate all freedom forces throughout the world in the political, economic, trade, scientific, technological and religious fields, seeing to it that they refrain from providing technological and other forms of assistance to Communist countries. This should be done with a particular emphasis on the needs of developing countries.

— Appeal to the Middle East nations to actively pursue peace and self-determination for the peoples of that region. The Conference condemns the Soviet Russian occupation of Afghanistan.

— Positively support the armed resistance by the peoples of Afghanistan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, and fully support the heroic campaigns for freedom, national independence and human rights waged by the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, as in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, the Baltic States, on the Chinese mainland, in North Korea, Cuba, and Africa. The Conference expresses its support to the democratically elected Government of El Salvador in its present fight against Communist aggression. The Conference has noted that the recent defection by Colonel Sun Tien-chin with a MIG-21 from the Chinese mainland to the Republic of China testifies to the Peking regime's rapid deterioration and to the increasingly brighter prospects of China's reunification in freedom and democracy.

— Express their concern over the growing number of refugees from Communist-occupied countries, particularly Afghanistan and Indochina, and seek ways and means to fully accommodate them.

The 17th WACL Conference will be held in San Diego, USA, on September 3-6, 1984. WACL will enhance its efforts toward the final victory of freedom with peace and security for all humankind.

The Conference participants salute the European Council for World Freedom as well as the Government and people of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg for their hospitality and support which made the 16th Conference a great success.

Columnist Compares Afghanistan to Ukrainian Genocide of 1933

UNIS, Washington, D. C. — In a "Washington Post" column on January 5, 1984, columnist George Will describes the inhumane strategy employed by Soviet tacticians against Afghan freedom fighters, and equates the indiscriminate violence against civilians to the artificial Ukrainian famine. "The Red Army has now been engaged against the freedom fighters longer than it was against the German Wehrmacht. But what is being done in Afghanistan in 1984 is more akin to the Ukrainian genocide of 1933. Then, as now, Soviet ruthlessness prevailed, and the West's denial reflex kept the unpleasant business out of most minds."

The tragic account of the Afghan struggle details an unlimited and brutal war against an entire population, a war where the intended victims are civilians. Hundreds of thousands of mines have been laid. Writes Will: "The mines are designed to maim—or to kill lingeringly. Soviet tacticians know that wounded persons are a drain on the community."

The column states that the Soviet regime has decided that the only way to win in counter-guerilla warfare is to use a "kind of ruthlessness that only a totalitarian regime will practice." Guerillas fight with the aid of a local population, and rather than seeking to gain the support of the Afghan people, the Soviets have decided to destroy them. "Not

content with causing random suffering among those who do not watch their step, Soviet forces booby-trap household artifacts, such as clocks, in villages they sweep through. They also scatter booby traps made to resemble pens or red toy trucks." According to the executive director of "Doctors Without Borders," Dr. Claude Malhuret, "Their main targets are children, whose hands and arms are blown off."

Similarly, in 1933, Moscow considered it easier to eradicate the civilian population aiding the resistance to Russian communist control of Ukraine than to attempt the impossible task of winning its support. Forced starvation and execution were the weapons used then; mines and chemical warfare are the weapons used in Afghanistan today. Different weapons—same objectives.

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Resolutions of the 16th WACL Conference

(Luxembourg, September 20-23, 1983)

Holocaust in Ukraine — 1933

Whereas, in 1933 Communist Russia instituted an artificial famine in Ukraine, murdering nearly 8 million people who fought the Bolshevik's enforced collectivization of agriculture in the name of Ukrainian national independence and the inherent Ukrainian way of life, and

Whereas, Russian genocide of the Ukrainian people continues to this day — its instruments being internal exile, forced deportation, psychiatric prisons, the GULag concentration camps and Russification, and

Whereas, Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism stands in diametric opposition to Russian imperialism, and

Whereas, the guiding force of Ukraine's liberation struggle is the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), whose struggle has passed from generation to generation, all its adherents pledging "To forge Ukrainian Statehood or die in the struggle for it", and

Whereas, a sterling symbol of the ideal that is a free Ukraine is Yuriy Shukhevych, imprisoned for 35 of his fifty years and recently blinded by his Russian communist jailors for categorically refusing to denounce his father, General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka — the late Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and a foremost leader of the OUN,

Be it, Therefore, Resolved, that the 16th WACL Conference

indicts Moscow for the murder of 8 million Ukrainians fifty years ago in an attempt to crush the Ukrainian people's quest for national independence and freedom;

appeals to the Free World's Governments to demand from the Kremlin the immediate release of Yuriy Shukhevych

and all other religious and political prisoners in the USSR;

recommends the OUN be admitted to the United Nations with a status befitting a movement that represents the great majority of the Ukrainian people and which led a war of liberation against Nazi Germany during World War II and for over fifty years has been militarily and/or politically fighting against Communist Russia for Ukrainian national independence;

condemns the new wave of Russification, whose sole purpose is the complete extermination of the distinct way of life of the Ukrainian people and the other peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, with the ultimate aim of creating a Russian "super-nation" under the deceitful guise of a "Soviet people";

expresses its deepest reverence for His Beatitude Josef I, the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, who was persecuted for over 18 years in Russian concentration camps for his unflinching Christian faith, and who as a symbol of the struggle of the Ukrainian Catacomb Church against Moscow's militant atheism and Caesaro-papism is also a universal symbol of all freedom-fighters for God and Country.

End to Russian Occupation of Afghanistan

WHEREAS:

— Afghanistan, inspite of being a non-aligned nation known for the people's love of freedom and peace under a good neighbor policy, was invaded four years ago by heavily-armed Russian troops and countless people have since been either massacred in cold blood or killed in their war of resistance, while more than 3 million of the countrymen have crossed the

borders into Pakistan, Iran and India as refugees;

— Moscow's encroachment upon Afghanistan is obviously with an eye to the Gulf oil fields and the Indian Subcontinent, thus making the matter, with its heavy human and material toll, a most serious international incident; and

— The tenacious resistance of the Afghan Mujahideen (Holy Warriors) is now constantly reminding Kremlin leaders that they have not been able to crush the people there;

THEREFORE, be it resolved that:

1. All the free nations, particularly Islamic organizations and countries, be called upon to bring forth humanitarian compassion and brotherly strength through all-out moral, spiritual, monetary, weapon and other forms of support to the Afghan Mujahideen and refugees;

2. The United States and other free nations be urged to reach a consensus of opinion on the Afghan issue as soon as possible and take collective economic and political steps to make the Soviet Russian imperialist forces leave Afghanistan, under international supervision and on the condition that the country will fully regain its national independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty; and

3. Free world mass media be requested in the meantime to start a vigorous campaign of criticism against the Russian atrocity in Afghanistan in the hope that peace and freedom will return there before long and the tide of Communist expansion will be pushed back everywhere.

On the Independence of Byelorussia

Whereas, in the historical past Byelorussia was an independent country which was conquered by the Tsarist Russian Empire;

Whereas, an independent Byelorussian Democratic Republic proclaimed by the will of the Byelorussian People on March 25, 1918, was conquered and subjugated by Communist Russia and Poland;

Whereas, in place of the free, democratic and independent Byelorussia, Soviet Russia created a fictitious Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR) in 1919;

Whereas, in the end of World War II, on June 27, 1944, the Second All-Byelorussian Congress convened in Miensk, annulled all treaties concerning Byelorussia made by occupational governments and approved the proclamation of independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic;

Whereas, Byelorussia was again conquered by Soviet Russia;

Whereas, the history of Byelorussia is being falsified by Soviet Russian scholars to accommodate it for current Russian needs;

Whereas, Moscow rulers try to deprive Byelorussian art and literature of their national character, change Byelorussian schools into Russian, persecute Byelorussian clergy and close the churches, all this in order to destroy Byelorussian identity;

Whereas, Moscow's policies in exploiting Byelorussian natural resource do not benefit the Byelorussian people but foster Soviet Russian imperial ambitions;

Whereas, the Moscow regime arrests the best Byelorussian patriots, who defend religion, the human and national rights of the Byelorussian nation such as Michael Kukabaka, Eugen Buzinnikau, Iwan Karejscha, Halina Wilchynskaja and all the others;

Whereas, the permanent representatives of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR) at the United Nations are really representing the Soviet Russian Communist government in Moscow, but not the Byelorussian people and have never defended the human and national rights of Byelorussian people.

Therefore the 16th World Anti-Communist League Conference Resolves to:

Support the liberation struggle for national independence, sovereignty, free-

dom and human rights of the Byelorussian people,

Condemn Russian Communist ethnolinguistic genocide, russification, religious pursuit and economic exploitation of the Byelorussian nation,

Appeal to all non-communist governments in the Free World to raise their voice in defense of Byelorussian political, cultural and religious prisoners repressed in the Soviet Union, as Michael *Kukabaka*, Eugen *Buzinnikau*, Ivan *Karejscha*, Halina *Wilchynskaja* and all the others, demanding their immediate release from the NKWD jails, concentration camps and insane asylums.

Situation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania

Whereas, the European Parliament on 13 January 1983 adopted a Resolution on the Situation in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, taking into consideration:

That 45 nationals of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in 1979 in Moscow in a joint Declaration called on the United Nations to recognize the rights of the Baltic States to self-determination and independence;

That by bilateral treaties Soviet Russia guaranteed the three Baltic States the inviolability of their territory and eternal peace;

That the Helsinki Final Act by Article VIII 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;

That the occupation of these three independent and neutral States by the Soviet Union in 1940 occurred in consequence of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact;

That the Soviet annexation of the Baltic States has not been recognized by most of the European States and other Democracies, and after the suppression of the eight-year armed resistance and mass de-

portations, the Baltic Peoples continue to struggle for their freedom and to defend their human rights regardless of imprisonments, mass deportations and isolation in mental wards; and

Whereas, the European Parliament called on the Foreign Ministers of the European Community to submit the issue of the Baltic States to the Decolonization Subcommittee of the United Nations, and that the plight of these Peoples should be subject of review during the conference to monitor implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, now, therefore be it

Resolved, that the 16th Conference of the World anti-Communist League fully support the Resolution of the European Parliament of January 13, 1983, on the Situation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and note, that the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia did not choose the Soviet Russian system, but that it was imposed by force and conspiracy; and

Resolved, that members of this Conference are urged to intensify their efforts for the promotion of the peoples rights of self-determination in general, and for the restoration of the exercise of sovereign rights of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in particular.

On the 40th Anniversary of the ABN

Whereas, the Russian colonial empire, i.e., the USSR and its "satellites", in its drive towards world domination, has deprived the nations that it has subjugated of all national and human rights, and has superimposed a severe system of colonial oppression, economic exploitation, political persecution, Russification and permanent misery on all the enslaved peoples, and

Whereas, forty years ago, in 1943, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was created to serve as a political and military coordinating center for the national-liberation movements of all nations combating the repression, totalitar-

ianism and imperialism of Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, and

Whereas, having grown to include the representations of over 20 national-liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its "satellites", the ABN is the embodiment of a revolutionary force capable of effectively eliminating the world's primary military aggressor and global nuclear threat, i.e., the Russian colonial empire, if provided with the Free World's real, rather than merely rhetorical, moral and political support, and

Whereas, the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations from within in accordance with the ABN's maxim — "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for the Individual!" — will signal a new epoch in the history of humankind and will open the way for the creation of a genuinely just international order, safe and secure from the possibility of nuclear holocaust,

Be it, Therefore Resolved, that the 16th WACL Conference

appeals to the Free World's Governments to reformulate their political and military strategy vis-a-vis the Russian empire with a view towards strengthening the revolutionary, national-liberation processes in Afghanistan, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Kampuchea, Cossakia, Croatia, Cuba, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Serbia, Siberia, Slovakia, Turkestan, Ukraine, and Vietnam, leading to the re-establishment of national, independent and sovereign, democratic states of these presently enslaved countries, each within their ethnographic borders;

appeals to the Free World's Governments to create a formidable front of ideological, political and psychological warfare against the Russian empire, a major part of which ought to be a network of Freedom Radio Stations through which the representatives of the national-libera-

tion movements can freely propagate their national and political ideals and their concept of liberation;

appeals to the free countries of the world to discontinue all forms of economic aid, grain sales, transfers of technology, and other forms of assistance to the USSR and its "satellites" which only serve to bolster the Russian military-industrial complex and, hence, indirectly reinforce Moscow's policy of national subjugation and repression of basic human liberties;

appeals to all freedom-loving peoples of the world to join in this year's commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the ABN, as an enduring champion in the struggle for freedom and justice, national independence and democracy.

To Condemn the Barbaric Air Massacre of USSR

WHEREAS:

— Deeply shocked and indignant over the coldblooded massacre in the air committed by Soviet Russia, shooting down of a Korean Air Lines plane on September 1, 1983,

— Infuriated and reacted with revulsion by the barbaric act of brutal, wanton violence committed against 269 totally innocent, defenseless people including men, women and children of many different nations,

— Condemning most strongly in the name of peace-loving peoples of the world the inhumane and savage acts of murder by Soviet Russia,

The 16th WACL Conference resolve to:

Strongly demand Soviet Russia 1) to stop its wicked deception and reveal the truth concerning this clearly illegal and savage act to all the people of the world, 2) to offer open apology and full and immediate compensation to the families of victims and Korean Air Lines, 3) and to severely punish the criminals responsible for shooting down a KAL plane, and

4) to offer effective guarantee against recurrence of a similar barbarous action in future,

Extend a message to H. E. Chun Doo Hwan, the President of the Republic of Korea, peace-loving Korean people and to the bereaved families, expressing condolence and encouragement on occasion of the tragic incident.

269 Freedom-Fighters in Compensation for 269 Victims

Whereas, in voicing their indignation over Moscow's wanton destruction of the KAL airliner, Members of the United States Congress, in conjunction with concerned American groups and individuals, have begun seeking the release of 269 political prisoners from Soviet Russian concentration camps as a minimal restitution for the 269 innocent victims who

were barbarically massacred by Soviet Russian, and

Whereas, for a period of 269 days individual U.S. Congressmen will be reading statements in the U.S. Congress on behalf of individual freedom-fighters presently languishing in Soviet Russian concentration camps,

Resolved that the ABN provide a list of political prisoners of the Soviet concentration camps and that this list be provided to the National Captive Nations Committee so that members of the U.S. Congress may take the floor at the rate of one name a day to demand the release of the person whose name comes up on that day,

that all free governments be encouraged to employ this same arrangement within the structure of their respective governments.



1983 IN SOVIET OCCUPIED LATVIA.
Air Force Lieutenant Colonel V. Kocekov (a Russian) supervises the military training at the 4th Middle School in Jekabpils.

SITUATION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

ABN Report for the 16th WACL Conference

Luxembourg, 20—23 September, 1983

This year marks the 40th Anniversary of the creation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations at the first Conference during World War II in the forests of Ukraine, November 21—23, 1943.

The Conference appealed to the Western Democracies to discard their strategy of only combating Nazism at the expense of bolstering the Bolshevik system of subjugation 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.

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 for the final stage of the national liberation struggle.

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 ad-

vantage 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.

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.

The constant trials throughout the vast Russian Communist empire testify the never ending struggle for national, religious, cultural and human rights.

Latvians on Trial

Currently the Soviet authorities are preparing for court proceedings against the Latvian poet and electrical specialist Gunars Freimanis. 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.

Most of Gunars Freimanis 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.

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. 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.

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.

Other Baltic activists were also detained and interrogated at about the same time: the Estonians Mart Niklus and Enn Tartto; the Latvian Viktors Kalnins; and the Lithuanians Jonas Volungevicius, Algirdas Masilionis, Antanas Terleckas, Julius Sasnauskas, and Birute Pasiliene. All were formally questioned about the case against the Lithuanian national rights activist Balys Gajauskas.

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 statement calling for the revocation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and for the implementation of the right of self-determination in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. 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 nu-

clear-free zone. In addition, Calitis is reported to have joined other Balts in voicing protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Examples of Revolutionary Activity in Ukraine

Below we are presenting several examples from the manifold of revolutionary activity that the Ukrainian freedom fighters are 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 a 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 number 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 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 the subjugated nations is the religious struggle. The Catacomb Churches have become quite strong recently, standing as a bulwark against the atheistic communist policies of the colonial regime.

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.

Catholic Church in Lithuania

The Communist regime cannot cope with the Catholic Church in Lithuania. In May 1983 another Lithuanian priest, Father A. Svarinskas, was arrested in January and sentenced to 7 years prison and 3 years internal exile. In passing sentence on Svarinskas, the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR decided to prosecute Father Tamkevicius for his friendship with Svarinskas. Because he taught children and publicly condemned atheist harassment of Catholics at work and at school Father Sigitas Tamkevicius was

constantly summoned for interrogation and threatened by the KGB. But he was not afraid. Last summer Tamkevicius signed a statement along with 467 other Lithuanian Catholic priests rejecting the highly restrictive Regulations for Religious Associations. He was fined in January 1983 for "organising ceremonies in the churchyard without permission."

Document from Ukraine

Just recently we received a document from Ukraine "An Appeal to Ukrainian Bishops, Priests and all Brothers and Sisters in Christ, Members of Ukrainian Churches Outside the Border of Ukraine", signed by the Faithful of Christ's Church in Ukraine and dated November, 1982. Two short quotations: "We do not have to describe to you the life of our Churches in the catacombs which are continuously persecuted by the atheistic occupants since the liquidation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the infamous so-called Lviv Sobor organised by the Patriarch of Moscow with the help of the NKVD . . . Our Churches function in very difficult clandestine conditions and need all forms of assistance."

"We especially appeal to Pope John Paul II to recognise the existing Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and to discontinue the dialogue with the Russian imperial Church of Pimen. We appeal to all the active layworkers to act coherently in the spirit of our appeal."

The Guardian from June 28, 1983 writes:

"The situation of the Ukrainian Catholics of the Eastern Rite, or Uniates, is far more difficult. Unlike in Lithuania, on taking control of Western Ukraine, the Soviet regime outlawed this "nationalistic" church, liquidated its hierarchy and forcibly incorporated its five million or so adherents into the Russian Orthodox Church.

It has nevertheless survived as a "catacomb" church, complete with its own clandestine bishops and priests and is today probably the largest banned denomination in the Soviet Union."

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.

On June 14, 1983 K. Chernenko (a leading Politburo member) in his speech at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) 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.

Turkestan has not Lost Will for Freedom

Since the emergence of Communist power in the Russian Empire and up until the present day, the Moslems in the Soviet Union have striven to free themselves from Russian Imperialism and Communism. However, they have not been able to reach their intended goal. Another reason for their failure lies in the fact that Communism achieved power in Russia and merged its ideology with Russia’s traditional sense of being a great power.

It is well-known that Communism pursues, on the one hand, an intensive anti-Islam policy within its sphere of influence and, on the other hand, pro-Islam policies and propaganda in those Islamic countries outside the Soviet Union.

Moslems have recognised that the defence of Islam must be taken up in conjunction with the movement for national liberation. The largest Moslem country in the Soviet Union is Turkestan. As the main supplier of raw materials, this country is of decisive importance for the industry of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has announced on various occasions that Turkestan is to serve as the vanguard of communism in the Orient. The Soviet Union has done

all it could to oppress Turkestan. Despite this, the people of Turkestan have not lost their will or desire for freedom. This became obvious in the struggle for liberation which took place in Turkestan in the years 1918—34 (and particularly up to 1923 on a large scale), also in the resistance of the Turkestani people under the Soviet Russian regime, in their attempts to preserve national costumes, culture and traditions not to mention the effectiveness of Islam in the national struggle against communism and also by the struggle for national liberation in Turkestan during the Second World War. It is not a secret that thousands of Turkestanis (Uzbeks, Turkmen, Tadjiks), living in Afghanistan are now fighting in the front rows of the liberation front of Afghans against Russian expansionism.

By initiating a process of liberation for Turkestan, the Western powers and the Islamic countries of the Orient could achieve a strategic position in world politics, particularly in the Middle East.

National Uprising in Northern Caucasus

1982, North Caucasus was under the impression of the uprising that shocked the country. The uprising took place towards the end of December 1981.

With the slogan “Down with the bloody Soviet Regime!” began the storming of the District Communist Party building. The building was partially ruined and finally seized by the attackers. Students of the military academy were immediately called in. The Osetians relieved the cadets of their weapons in less than no time and the young cadets fled from the furious crowd. Many of the cadets sympathized with the people.

Several hours later, Mychajlo Solomjenzev, Secretary of the Central Communist Party of the USSR, flew in from Moscow. By radio broadcast, he appealed to the

Osetians to calm down and promised to lead the investigation immediately.

No one listened to the appealing words of Moscow's legate. Instead, the crowd started to increase near the District Communist Party building. Almost everyone was armed: some with knives, others with flame-throwers. The town transport system was completely halted. 283 thousand people participated in the general uprising. All of the state buildings were completely occupied by the people.

Considering the dangerous situation, Solomjenzev called in the tank units to suppress the rebellion with tear gas. Later the army opened fire on the people.

The killing which resulted from the fighting soon assumed an anti-Russian nature. Consequently, one can interpret this event: how all of the "voluntarily united" nations of the republic "love" their "big brothers" from Moscow.

Protest Demonstrations in Georgia

The French press agency, Agency France from Moscow has given reports of a demonstration that took place in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia. About 100 people took part in this demonstration. The reason for this demonstration was the arrest of two students — Irakli Ereteli and Patate Zagaretse on June 19, 1983. They were arrested for the reason that they published leaflets calling upon the Georgian people to boycott the official commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the union of Georgia with Tsarist Russia.

In Moscow it became known that during the demonstration the police or local militia arrested approximately 20 persons.

Croats Defending their Rights

The ideals of national independence and freedom have been inspiring the Croatian people to continue their determined strivings for liberation. However, this struggle has not been without its

sacrifices not only on the homeland Croatia, but in the Free World as well. Over sixty Croatian patriots have already been assassinated by Yugoslav agents in Europe. The most recent victim of this wave of murders is Stjepan Djurekovic, a Croatian patriot, author and scholar, who was assassinated in Munich on July 29, 1983.

Commenting on the aspirations to independence of the Croatian people, *Freedom Lifeline*, an Australian journal, makes the following assessment: "Because of Yugoslavia, South-East Europe is once more a powder keg. Any power attempting to preserve Yugoslavia artificially will be met by the unsurmountable will of the Croatian People who see the only solution for South-East of Europe in the establishment of an independent, democratic State of Croatia.

Violent Clashes in Poland

In Poland, the recent harsh sentencing of the leading members of the Confederation of an Independent Poland (KPN), that is headed by Tadeusz Michulsky and that is a leading force behind the present Polish national-liberation struggle, is a clear indication of the fear of the idea of Polish independence that is evoked in the minds of the Russian colonial regime in Poland.

Moreover, the recent mass demonstrations throughout all of the major cities in Poland on the anniversary of the establishment of *Solidarnosc* once again demonstrated that this liberation movement which has now gone underground, remains a force to be reckoned with. During these demonstrations in August, 1983 violent clashes took place between the supporters of *Solidarnosc* and the police in Gdansk, Warsaw, the Silesian coal mines and other major cities.

The so-called "lifting of martial law" in Poland by General Jaruzelsky — Moscow's colonial satrap — has since proven

40th Anniversary of ABN Celebrated Throughout the World

The year 1983 was marked in particular by the commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. The most significant commemoration was held in the United States capital in conjunction with the 25th Observance of Captive Nations Week.

On November 5, the Central Committee of ABN held a commemorative ceremony in Munich. The main speakers were ABN President Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko and Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. — President of the EFC. Representatives of the national groups — Dipl. Ing. P. Mehra (Afghanistan), Dr. I. M. Bankowski (Bulgaria), Dr. M. Ausala (Latvia), Mr. A. Jakovljevic (Croatia), Mr. H. Kassajep (Caucasus), Mr. M. Pstrag-Bielinski (Poland), Dr. A. Suga (Rumania), Mr. V. Berko (Slovakia), and Col. D. Kosmowicz (Byelorussia) — delivered their greetings. The national groups of Bulgaria, Latvia, North Caucasus and Ukraine participated in the cultural part of the programme. A statement on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of ABN was issued by the Central Committee of ABN and a similar statement was accepted in Great Britain, the United States and Canada.

The Munich celebrations were covered several times by Radio Liberty in broadcasts on the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Baltic, Turkestani and Caucasian services.

to be an obvious fraud. In reality, martial law in Poland, originally declared a "temporary" measure, has been permanently and "lawfully" institutionalised in the Russian system of occupation, which secured in Poland and all other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism by the Communist Party, the secret police organs and the entire apparatus of terror.

(To be continued)

On the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the ABN an International Committee was formed.

In Great Britain two commemorative celebrations were organised on November 19 in London and November 20 in Bradford. On November 19 in London an anti-communist demonstration was staged in front of the Russian Embassy from 10 a.m. till 4 p.m. At the celebration in London the main speakers were ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko and Chairman of the European Freedom Council (EFC), John Wilkinson, M.P. The celebrations were opened by ABN Chairman for Great Britain, Mr. K. Glinski, Mr. S. Terlezki was another speaker from the British Parliament. Mrs. S. Stetsko spoke on behalf of the Central Committee of ABN. Greetings were delivered by the national representatives from Lithuania, Byelorussia, Estonia, Slovakia, Latvia and Croatia, and cultural ensembles of Latvia, Estonia and Ukraine entertained the huge audience. The next day, in the Bradford Cathedral a plaque dedicated to the Captive Nations and ABN was unveiled with an appropriate ceremony by ABN President Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, and dedicated by the Very Rev. Brandon Jackson, Provost of Bradford and the East European Clergy. At the celebrations similar to that in London the speakers were Hon. John Wilkinson, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko with greetings from the national groups as well as cultural ensembles, choirs and ballets of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Hungary and Ukraine.

The magazine "The Spectator" of December 3, covered the event in London with a long article by Auberon Waugh. The events in Bradford were covered by several newspapers such as the "Yorkshire Post", the "Telegraph and Argus" — twice, and the "Bradford Star".

On a larger scale, the commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the ABN was organised in Detroit, USA, under the leadership of Mr. Bohdan Fedorak, President Council of Nationalities of ABN. AF ABN groups from Colorado, Cleveland, Chicago, Buffalo and other places participated in the Detroit commemorations. The main speakers were Congressman Philip M. Crane and ABN President Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko. The Governor of the State of Michigan James J. Blanchard and the Mayors Coleman A. Young — City of Detroit, James R. Randlett — City of Warren, John B. O'Reilly — City of Dearborn, Edward H. McNamara — City of Livonia, Robert Kozaren — City of Hamtrack, Donald F. Fracassi — City of Southfield and Louis D. Belcher — City of Ann Arbor issued Proclamations designating the 22nd and 23rd of November as ABN Days.

A very effective commemoration was organised by AF ABN branch in Chicago under Dr. M. Charkewycz — Chairman of the AF ABN Chapter Chicago on December 3. The main speakers were Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Executive Chairman of the Central Committee ABN and Rev. Paul d. Lindstrom — National Director of Liberty Legion. Speeches were also given by representatives of the Vietnamese, Cuban and Nicaraguan groups. The enter-

tainment was provided among others by the dancing ensemble "Ukraina".

In Canada two important events marked the past year. Firstly, an International Affairs Seminar, sponsored by the ABN was held on June 25 in the Ontarian Parliament where the main speaker was Col. Albert T. Koen (USAF). The seminar was hosted and opened by Mr. Yuri Shymko, Member of Provincial Parliament and other guest speakers were Mr. Michael Wilson, M.P., Mr. Jay A. Parker, President of the Lincoln Institute for Research and Education and Mr. John Gamble, M.P. The programme was concluded with a summation by Orest Steciw, Chairman of ABN Canada. The commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of ABN in Montreal was held on October 22-23. On the 22nd the General Meeting was held at which the new Executive composed of representatives from Ukraine, Rumania, Vietnam and Croatia was elected. The representatives of ABN Canada Mr. O. Steciw and Dr. S. Paduchak from Toronto informed about ABN activities in Canada and submitted the future plans. On the morning of October 23, a Holy Mass was celebrated and in the afternoon there was a jubilee where Mr. O. Steciw delivered the main speech and greetings were expressed by representatives of various nationalities. Ukrainian and Rumanian groups participated in the concert.

1983 in Soviet occupied Latvia

Military arms training in a classroom of the 4th Middle School in Valmiera. The students born in 1967, are wielding a Soviet assault weapon AK47M.



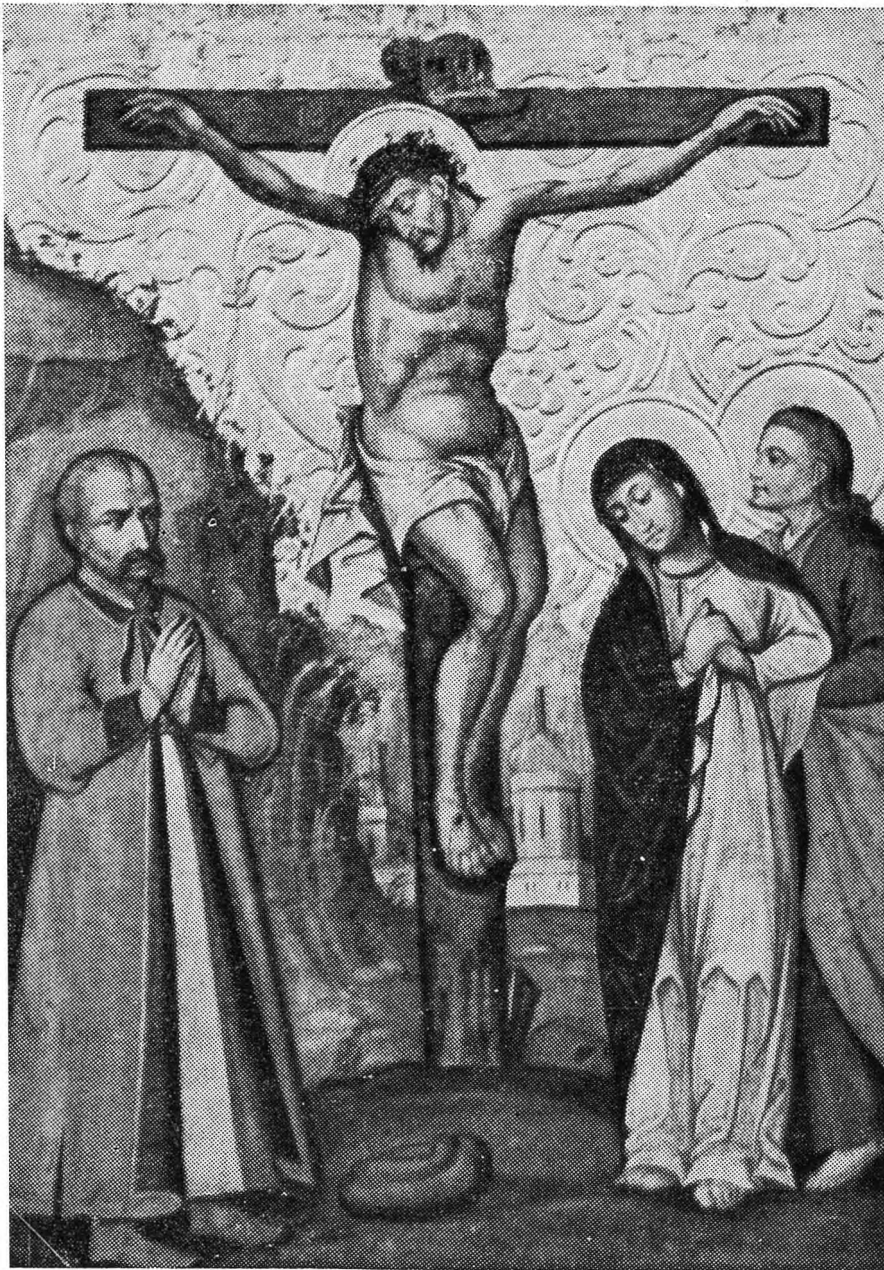


A proud Afghan boy ready to carry on the heroic war of liberation against the Russian imperialist invaders.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



When will the constant crucifixion of Christ by militant atheists behind the Iron Curtain end?

"The Crucifixion" is the depiction of the Crucifixion of Christ by Col. Leontiy Svichuk, a Ukrainian Icon — XVII century.

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NOTHING NEW IN THE KREMLIN

One KGB man has gone, another KGB man has come. This is the essence of the "change" at the Kremlin, in the USSR. Or, in other words, one tyrant has expired and his place has been taken by another one, of the same kind.

It is not a coincidence that ten years of Chernenko's biography is missing in the Soviet press. They do not want to disclose ten years of his past as NKVD chief jailor of the prison of nations. These are known as the Yezhovs' thirties — when Chernenko as the new satrap in Dnipropetrovsk, was an NKVD specialist on the liquidation of freedom fighters and enemies of the Russian occupation of Ukraine, namely, those who were fighting against it, and also the potential fighters. These potential enemies were, as it was customary during the Stalin era, the "en masse" liquidated Ukrainians.

In Dnipropetrovsk and elsewhere Chernenko together with his comrade Brezhnev, had the possibility of displaying his talents as a mass murderer. He has not been proclaimed "hero" as it customary in the USSR to ascribe this title to the chiefs of the highest rank. As usually, western sovietologists rushed to make a Ukrainian out of him, although even according to Soviet sources he is a Russian, born in Siberia. In the shadow of Brezhnev he grew to become a chief himself, although outrun for several months by the already fatally ill chief of the KGB — Andropov — the most educated of all tyrants, chiefs of the KGB, inventors of psychiatric prisons and the most modern methods of torture in the electronic era used to break political and religious prisoners. This is the category of statesman Chernenko represents.

It is of no real importance who is at the top of the nomenclature chart now. The nomenclature chart as a whole is decisive and not the individuals.

After all, what is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? This is neither a union made up of separate republics, nor a union of "councils", that is "soviets". It is the most cruel prison of nations, the worst empire of its kind in the history of mankind. It is not a union of individual nations, which constitute these "republics", because their sovereign authority is a "new historical phenomenon — the community", the so-called Soviet people, as stated in Brezhnev's constitution, namely some kind of a mythical people of "Soviets", therefore a people of "councils". It can be called, for example, a people of "committees", the sovereign authority of which is the Russian people, the Russian supernation. If this was not so, then why should there be russification? Cannot Marxism be preached in a non-Russian language?! Must national cultures be destroyed and the Russian way of life — the kolhozes, former tsarist "obshchyna" imposed?!

The USSR is a Russian empire, as rightly asserted by Prof. Golo Mann, who considers the Russians as the last imperialists left in the world in his interview published in the well-known German daily newspaper "Die Welt". This is, if a union at all — then a union of KGB chieftains and military martials, and one-party apparatus. It is not a union of some non-existing republics, which is a lie and illusory, as the whole of this imperial system is held together exclusively and only through terror and the people's fear to speak

the truth and act accordingly. It is amazing and appalling that the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany is pressuring President Reagan to meet Chernenko without any preconditions and at all costs, because the change in the Kremlin is heralding a new spring. The new spring is heralded by gerontocrats, — a very strange idea indeed...

After all, no changes can be expected from gerontocrats or even the “young-turks”, because the system and empire can only be destroyed by the subjugated nations as an entity, with their youth, older generation, women and elderly. The “young-turks” will also defend the empire and the privileges they enjoy as the ruling nation. The nomenclature must be abolished, the system and the empire must be destroyed, and only then will there be peace and justice on earth.

The gerontocrats have a great experience in ruling the prison of nations and they know all the weaknesses of the West. It is not a coincidence that Gromyko has been Minister of Foreign Affairs for decades under the rule of all the tyrants. Neither is it a coincidence that Dobrynin has been Ambassador to the United States for decades. The gerontocrats have mastered well, their tools of domination over nations and endeavours to conquer the world, through lengthy experience and detailed knowledge from practise and personal contacts.

The “young-turks” who, with Gorbachev as their leader are to take over tomorrow, will have already had ruling experience. They will not renounce the empire, nor the communist system, but will endeavour to expand it to encompass the whole world.

It matters little, whether Chernenko, already fatally ill, will rule the empire for one or two years. It is not he who will decide the events of the future, but the junta of gerontocrats who all have one aim, namely: “we will bury all of you”, as Khrushchev openly told the Free World. According to the US Department of State there are over 4 million prisoners in forced labour concentration camps. Our estimates are that the number of such slaves is approximately 5-6 million. This can only be changed by pressure of the fight of the subjugated nations. The politburo is a politburo of Russians, for those two or three members of non-Russian origin who follow the Russian political policy are traitors or russified foreigners.

General Renenkampf, for example, was a German, who was defeated by Hindenburg at Tannenberg. Catherine II was also of German origin, but was one of the harshest russifiers of Ukraine and exterminators of freedom and independence fighters. I. Shcherbytskyj and the KGB man Aliev are in reality Russians, because they serve the Russian empire, as Prof. Golo Mann rightly calls the USSR.

We are not to expect anything from Chernenko, Gorbachov, Ustinov, Gromyko or Romanov... All this has happened before said the old man Ben Akiba...

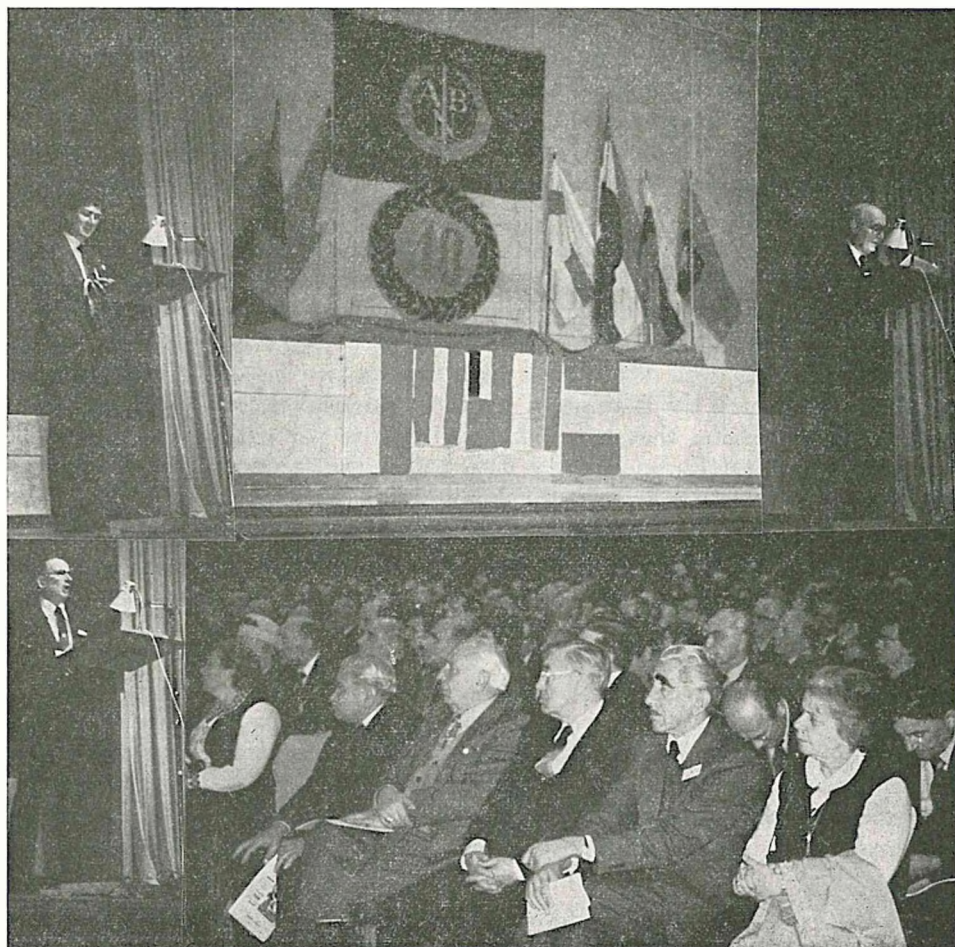
Yesterday, disinformation in the West, created out of the KGB man, Andropov — a cultured, exceptionally intelligent and liberal person, who was interested in English literature, drank French cognac and enjoyed the arts, in order to make the meeting palatable between President Reagan and the tyrant of nations, liquidator of churches, killer of artists, deporter of

political and religious prisoners to psychiatric asylums, hangman of priests and the Ivasiuk-like Ukrainian artists.

Today, disinformation in the West, is making a humane and peace-loving man out of Chernenko who, only because of the hawks Gromyko and Ustinov cannot play the role of the dove of peace... "O, sancta simplicitas"...

The only hope left for the West is to rely upon its own strength and the strength of the subjugated nations, whose struggle the West must support in every possible way, if they wish to avoid a thermo-nuclear holocaust. We have nothing to lose: only our chains, but the West has everything to lose... its freedom!

ABN 40th Anniversary in London, Great Britain, November 1983.



Top left: Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P., President of the European Freedom Council; top right: Hon. Y. Stetsko, ABN President; bottom left: Hon. S. Terlezki, M.P.

Friendship and Solidarity in Adversity

Address by Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. (Great Britain) at 40th ABN Anniversary and 25th Captive Nations Anniversary — Bradford, Great Britain, November, 1983.

It is a great honour for me to be invited to participate in this 40th Anniversary celebration of the formation of the ABN and 25th Anniversary of the Captive Nations Week in Bradford. The unveiling of the commemorative plaque in the Cathedral this afternoon by the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko was a deeply moving occasion for us all.

The appreciation of the Church and civic authorities of this great city for the wonderful work of the Captive Nations Committee in support of the restoration of freedom for the oppressed nations behind the Iron Curtain is an example which I wish were followed more widely in this country.

This has been for me a sentimental journey — a personal pilgrimage to come and join you this evening. I know that I shall always regard the years in which I represented Bradford West as among the happiest of my career. I made friendships among the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford which have stood the test of time and which have been an inspiration not least for my subsequent political work in support of the European Freedom Council and ABN.

I am delighted that my conservative colleague Geoff Lawler is already making his mark in the House of Commons. I often wonder whether the British adequately realise just how lucky they are. Apart from two civil wars, one in the 15th century and one in the 17th century there has been no serious fighting on English soil. There have been one or two major British invasions but nothing to match the histories of invasion, subjugation, rape, pillage, arson, famine and oppression that have characterised the histories of the nations of Eastern and Central Europe. In the days before the aeroplane and the guided missile were invented, the sea, was a valuable factor for security.

I often wonder also whether the British sufficiently comprehend what a fearful tragedy the Bolshevik revolution was, and what a watershed in human history. Briefly it offered hope of liberation from Czarist Russian despotism but, those hopes were rapidly extinguished as the full horror of the evil genius of Communism was unleashed. Likewise the end of the Great War proved a very mixed blessing except on the Western Front. True, the enactment of President Woodrow Wilson's principle of self-determination at the Versailles Convention subsequently brought internationally recognised sovereignty and independence to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, but the self-proclaimed independence by Byelorussia and Ukraine were short-lived and within a year of the Armistice in November 1918 no less than five armies were fighting on Ukrainian soil.

What followed is a tale of Communist brutality and oppression probably unmatched in the annals of human affairs. Stalin's enforced collectivisation of agriculture in Ukraine was followed by the artificial famine in Ukraine from 1932-1933 in which at least 7 million persons died.

In July 1933 the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops of Halychyna (Galicia) protested against the Soviet atrocities in Ukraine and in their pastoral letter they wrote: —

“All Ukraine is in agony. The people are dying from hunger. The cruel, non-caring system of the state capitalism based on injustice, deceit, atheism and corruption, has brought the richest country (in Europe) to complete ruin. Pope Pius XI, Head of the Catholic Church has protested emphatically against Bolshevism because it opposes God, Christianity and human nature and he warned the whole world of the terrifying consequences of such crimes.”

Yet even to-day with all the well-chronicled accounts of the consequences of Communism there remain many in the West who seek to come to an accommodation with it, to acquiesce in its extension to new peoples and territories. They are unwilling even to recognise its evils and to defend adequately our Western democratic world against it, let alone to roll back its frontiers and set free the many millions who have been enslaved in its name. For example such people would seek to equate the brutal Soviet occupation of Afghanistan with the American and E. Caribbean rescue mission for democracy in Grenada.

This is why the example and dedicated commitment of the Hon. Yaroslav and Madame Slava Stetsko to the liberation of Ukraine and more widely those of the ABN to all nations endowed by Communism are well an inspiration. The tribulations that Yaroslav Stetsko has endured would have broken a less courageous man since he became first Prime Minister of Ukraine upon the Proclamation of Ukrainian independence in June 1941.

His commitment to the cause of challenging communist hegemony from within the Soviet Russian Empire offers, ultimately, the best hope of eliminating the mutual antagonism between the Soviet communist and the liberal democratic system that polarises our world and creates the tensions that would lead to war.

In this nuclear age the imperative necessity of removing from within, the threat that an expansion of the Soviet Russian Communist system poses to us all, is greater than ever.

This is not to question the validity of the principle of nuclear deterrence. No responsible Western Statesman would ignore the Soviet nuclear build up and not seek in response to create on the Western side a sufficient nuclear deterrent to deny the Soviets the opportunity to blackmail and intimidate us into acquiescing with their policies whatever they may be.

The mass graves are full of the corpses and the concentration camps are full of the broken bodies of those that have had to bow to the Soviet will. Ultimately we seek the greater security that only a lower level of armaments can bring, and the assurances that would accompany a mutual arms control agreement based on the twin principles of balance and verification would bring.

However the Soviets will seek to arrogate for themselves a prerogative to maintain a degree of nuclear and overall military superiority which does not accord with our needs for genuine security.

For ten years the West and Soviets have been negotiating futilely over mutual and balanced arms reductions at Vienna and the Soviets have had four years notice of NATO's determination to deploy Cruise Missiles and Pershing II's failing a satisfactory theatre nuclear arms agreement at Geneva. I am

proud that the resolve of NATO and the British government in particular has not wavered in the face of Soviet blustering and threats. The deployment of Cruise Missiles, on schedule, in this country is a factor for stability and peace.

Even so the need for change inside the Soviet Empire is as paramount as ever. Such is the all pervasive nature of the aspects of Soviet Term and control that we cannot expect it to happen of itself. Our support by political, diplomatic, economic and moral means for the national liberation struggles within the Soviet Russian Empire will give sustenance and hope for peoples who are at heart and in reality our allies. Our foreign policy must be modified accordingly — no high technology transfers for the Soviets and no overgenerous credits to sustain a technically backward and financially bankrupt system.

Allies and friends cannot be won and kept without fervent and enduring expressions of good faith and practical assistance. Friendship cannot be sustained without solidarity in adversity. That is why the two Parliamentary expressions of political support this year are so important; that is, the House of Commons Captive Nations Resolution and Early Day Motion No. 265 "Situation in Ukraine".

That is why the work of ABN and Captive Nations Committee are so important. The fruit of your labours may not be immediate — patience is the hardest and most important of all political virtues to learn — but freedom will return to the lands you love and liberation of the captive nations whose destiny I have in a small measure come to share.

Hon. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, US Ambassador to the United Nations

"THE WILL TO DISBELIEVE THE HORRIBLE"

I have become during the last decade powerfully impressed, sometimes depressed, by what our society, our civilization, is willing to see, hear, and learn about the events of our times, even when those events constitute a clear and present danger to our well-being, perhaps to our lives. Again and again in our century, the will to disbelieve the horrible has overwhelmed our sense of reality and left us unable to take prudent precautions.

Examples abound. In *Mein Kampf*, Adolf Hitler stated in the most unambiguous terms his views about freedom and equality, and especially his hatred and contempt for the Jews. If the Final Solution is not spelled out clearly in *Mein Kampf*, it is clearly foreshadowed. But almost no one believed Hitler's clear warnings, not even when the hatred pre-

sent in his words was translated into attacks on Jewish stores, discriminatory legislation, and the Stars of David worn by law on unwilling arms; into deportations, confiscations, and death camps.

George Orwell commented on this predisposition to disbelieve in those particular events, as well as some later ones. In volume three of his collected letters and writings, Mr. Orwell wrote: "A thing that has struck one in recent years is that the most enormous crimes and disasters — purges, deportations, massacres, famines, imprisonment without trial, aggressive wars, and broken treaties — not only fail to excite the big public, but can actually escape notice altogether, so long as they do not happen to fit in with the political mood of the moment.

"Thus it is possible now," wrote Mr.

Orwell, "to rouse a certain amount of indignation about Dachau, Buchenwald, etc., and yet before, it was impossible to get the average person to take the faintest interest in such things, although the most horrible facts had abundant publicity.

"If you could have taken a Gallup Poll in 1939, I imagine you would have found that a majority, or at least a very big minority of adult English people had not even heard of the existence of the German concentration camps. The whole thing simply slid off their consciousness since it was not what they then wanted to hear. So also with the USSR. If it could be proven tomorrow that they detain 18 million prisoners, as some observers claim, I doubt whether this would make much impression on the Russophile section of the public.

"I have always held that pro-Russian sentiment in England during the past 10 years has been due much more to the need

for an external paradise than to any real interest in the Soviet regime, and that it cannot be countered by an appeal to the facts even when they are known."

As the will to disbelieve Hitler's intentions and methods prevented Jews from saving themselves or Westerners from saving them, so it also prevented Hitler's future victims from reacting to militarization in the Rhineland, his move to Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and the whole of World War II.

In Israel, the museum and monument to the Holocaust, *Yad Vashem*, stands as a massive barrier to the denial of the terrible, incredible event, the Holocaust, denying Israel's Jews, at least, the opportunity to disbelieve in the reality of deportation, starvation, and murder on a mass scale. *Yad Vashem* denies Israelis the opportunity to deny that a people can fall victim to the policies of a merciless government.



Hon. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick in the center. (ABN 40th Anniversary in the US Congress, July, 1983.)

The Nazis were not the first, and God knows not the last, example of the West's will to disbelieve the horrible. It is often said that the decision to execute the sailors at Kronstadt in February 1921 set the Bolshevik Revolution on its last descent from hopes of democracy into a brutal one-party dictatorship. But by the time the Kronstadt Rebellion took place, the Ukrainian famine in which millions died (the exact figure is still disputed) in 1921 and 1922 as a direct consequence of Soviet policy, was already underway. So in Ukraine, as well as at Kronstadt, the West had practice in refusing to see, in refusing to report that which was seen, and refusing to believe that which was reported. And that was just the beginning.

The will to disbelieve the intended consequences of Soviet policy has been one of the defining characteristics of our age. Collectivization, the Great Purge, Gulag, espionage, aggression, economic failure, empire, and noncompliance with agreements reached — each has encountered a will to disbelieve that bitterly resists perceiving, knowing, remembering, learning, even though the facts are nearly overwhelming.

Despite the various iron, electronic, political, and barbed-wire curtains with which the Soviet Empire attempts to keep information in and information out, knowledge of political repression, social regimentation, economic failure, extermination, and slave labor is widely and easily available.

Yet the faith that communism is progressive persists. The hope that each new Marxist-Leninist triumph will turn out well seems never to die. Who does not remember the various "agrarian reformers" in all the various parts of the world — Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, elsewhere — who were said to be carriers of a benign, democratic form of Marxism? More recently, we have heard and read a good deal about the armed Sandinista reformers

who would bring a brave new day to Central America. And even though almost no one today dares to pin his hopes for moral regeneration on El Salvador's guerrillas, there are still a good many who claim those guerrillas will somehow prove preferable to those who rule El Salvador today. The will to disbelieve the tyranny of Leninist revolutionaries is accompanied by the will to disbelieve that imperfect societies can get worse.

Like the famous monkeys who hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil, contemporary Americans, Britains, Germans find it easy to disbelieve tyranny and aggression — even in the face of Afghanistan, even with the experiences of Central America. Surely those emigres exaggerate: doubtless they exploited the poor in their own countries. Surely the invited "provoked" repression. Surely the Soviet Union builds its military power because they fear us. Surely it would be possible to get real arms control if only we tried harder. Surely the Nicaraguans would be willing to live at peace if only their neighbors were more flexible. Surely democrats among the rebels in El Salvador would be willing to participate in elections if only the government of El Salvador made them a better offer. Surely we could do more. Surely Ronald Reagan's "rhetoric," or Jeane Kirkpatrick's "rhetoric," makes everything worse.

How can we be so careless, so imprudent, as to disbelieve the vast testimony of the history of our times? Saul Bellow, in *The Dean's December* wrote: "Liberalism had never accepted the Leninist premise that this was an age of wars and revolutions. Where the communists saw class war, civil war, pictures of catastrophe, we saw only temporary aberration. Capitalist democracies could never be at home with the catastrophic outlook. We are used to peace and plenty. We are for everything nice and against cruelty and wickedness and craftiness, monstrous-

ness. Worshipers of progress, its dependents, we are unwilling to reckon with villainy, misanthropy. We reject the horrible. It is the same as saying we are anti-philosophical.

"Our outlook requires the assumption that each of us is at heart trustworthy. Each of us is naturally decent and wills the good. The English-speaking world is temperamentally like this; you see it in the novels of Dickens clearly. In his world, there is suffering, there is evil, betrayal, corruption, savagery, sadism. But the ordeals end and the decent people arrange a comfortable existence. In themselves, they make themselves cozy. You may say that it is simply Victorian, but it isn't. Modern businessmen and politicians, if they are going to give a billion dollars in credit to the other side, do not want to think them monstrous."

Ours is probably the most violent century in history, and still we cling to pale euphemisms and blind theories of inevitable human progress. The will to disbelieve the horrible is a defining characteristic of the contemporary West, of no society more than our own. Because we cannot remember the fact of danger we have great trouble protecting ourselves, our freedom and civilization.

But the persistence of the horrible is only one of the lessons we are unwilling to learn. Almost as strong as the will to disbelieve the shackling of freedom imposed on society after society by our only major contemporary adversary, is the will to disbelieve our own worthiness.

The will to disbelieve that we value freedom and intend to expand and preserve it has been translated into an expectation that we are almost always wrong. It leads to what one leading Washington commentator has called "reflexive anti-Ame-

ricanism." That reflexive anti-Americanism is willing to give everybody except the American government and people the benefit of the doubt.

I do not desire to be unduly partisan when I suggest that the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 marked the end to a particularly dismal chapter in American history. First aid has been administered, efforts to restore our heads and capacity to believe in ourselves have taken hold. A decent confidence in our identity has been restored. Sufficient progress has been made that today I think we say that at least we are no longer a willing victim, no longer ready to assist in the legitimization of our defeat and disappearance.

Classes in philosophy used to present several "theories" of truth, the "correspondence" theory which requires that an account "correspond" to observable behavior and empirical evidence; and the "pragmatic" approach, that of William James and C.P. Pierce, which proposes that we consider the "effects of a practical kind" of believing an idea true, and which argues that where evidence is indecisive "vital and moral interests should determine the choice" about the truth of a belief. By either standard, disbelief in the evidence concerning the strengths and intentions of either our adversaries or ourselves is dysfunctional. It does not correspond to the demonstrated patterns of contemporary history and it is not, as James said a true ideal should be, "profitable to our lives."

These remarks were excerpts from a speech given by Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, at a Hoover Institution dinner Wednesday, 11th of January, 1984 in Washington.

(Washington Times, Jan. 13, 1984)

**"In order for evil to triumph, it is only necessary
that good men do nothing." — Edmund Burke.**

“You Can Trust the Russians (to Behave as Barbarians)”

An Address by Major General John K. Singlaub, USA (Ret) Presented at the Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Genocide in Ukraine 1932-1933 in Los Angeles, California on December 4, 1983.

I am deeply honored by the invitation to speak to this gathering to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Genocide in Ukraine. I accepted this invitation to speak at this commemorative observance because I have learned through my years of service to the nation, that there is much to learn from the tragedies associated with the Ukrainian Nation and the great and proud Ukrainian people, inside and outside Ukraine, that make up that indestructible Nation.

The year 1983 contains three significant anniversaries in the history of the Ukrainian people. It was 65 years ago in 1918 that the Ukrainians declared their independence from years of Russian domination. While it is recognized that the independence declared at that time had a relatively short life in the face of the brutal Red Army, the spirit of that movement and the continuous struggle by Ukrainians inside and outside the Russian Empire have been an inspiration to Freedom Fighters throughout the world. The open defiance of Russian efforts to wipe out the Ukrainian language and culture, the disregard of communist efforts to eradicate religion among the deeply religious Ukrainians, and defiance of Soviet Russian efforts to destroy Ukrainian nationalism have all served as examples for those in other parts of the world who have been subjugated under communist imperialism. It is significant to note that while Russification has been reasonably successful in other parts of the Russian communist empire, it has been a miserable failure in Ukraine.

Not only do the three million free Ukrainians in the United States and other free-world countries continue to practice their own language, religion, and culture, but it has been impossible to suppress them within the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It is well known that the most difficult and perhaps the most hazardous assignment for a Russian KGB agent is to be posted in Kyiv, the capital of the Ukrainian S.S.R. This, in my view, is another tribute to the spirit of Ukrainian independence.

This year, 1983, also marks the 41st anniversary of the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Some of you may be old enough, as I am, to remember that in the spring of 1941, Adolph Hitler betrayed his ally and fellow socialist, Joseph Stalin, and sent his victorious Panzer divisions racing across the plains of northern Europe toward Moscow. As early victims of Russian expansion during the communist revolution, Ukrainians were looking for liberation as the Wehrmacht divisions drove the Red Army eastward, the Ukrainian people, feeling they were about to be liberated from years of Russian oppression, declared themselves, again, free and independent. The following year, 1942, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was created to defend Ukrainian national independence and statehood.

Had the Germans but realized it when they launched “Operation Barbarossa” into the USSR, they had effectively won the war from the moment they entered Soviet territory. Some inmates of this giant concentration camp

welcomed the Germans as liberators from unbearable oppression. Moscow's slaves, thirsty for freedom, could not believe that the Berlin rulers would be so stupid as not to secure the assistance of natural allies.

The Ukrainians rejected Hitler's demand that the proclamation of independence be revoked and that the Government be dissolved. As a consequence, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was forced to fight a two-front war against the Nazi Wehrmacht and Stalin's Red Army. Both of these armies suffered heavy losses at the hands of the Insurgents. After the collapse of Germany, the Insurgent Army continued its resistance against the Russian military and security forces. But, by the mid 1950's, one decade after the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was formed, the combined might of the Red Army and its satellites, reduced the effectiveness of the insurgent divisions to such an extent that the valiant freedom fighters were forced to go underground.

Today the guns have been silenced in Ukraine, to some, this means that peace has come to that valiant nation. But the peace of surrender to the communists has not brought freedom, individual liberty, or independence to the re-enslaved people of Ukraine any more than it has to the more recently enslaved people of North Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Afghanistan and Nicaragua. The spirit of Ukrainian resistance, which has served as an inspiration to freedom fighters throughout the world, is still being expressed in the form of dissident writings and actions from all parts of the Soviet Empire and by quiet acts of sabotage and passive resistance inside the 1500 slave labor camps which form the Gulag Archipelago.

These two incidents from Ukrainian history demonstrate to the world the great spirit of independence that burns in the hearts of every Ukrainian and creates for their would-be Russian masters the so-called "Special Ukrainian Problem" that has made life miserable for KGB agents stationed there. Khrushchev won his reputation there. It is this same "Special Problem" that has prevented the Soviet Army from sending Army divisions containing large numbers of Ukrainian Soldiers to Afghanistan to suppress the freedom fighters there. Non-Russian and especially Ukrainian troop formations are considered unreliable in that theater of conflict. It is also this "Special Ukrainian Problem" that has caused the population of the Gulags to contain such a disproportionately high percentage of Ukrainians. It is seldom that a nation can take pride in the numbers of its citizens incarcerated in the prison system. In this case, however, it is a badge of honor depicting the universal desire of Ukrainians to achieve personal and national independence.

It is the third incident from Ukrainian history that we are commemorating here today. This year, 1983, is the 50th anniversary of the pre-meditated, carefully planned extermination of nearly seven million Ukrainians by an artificially contrived famine which was engineered and controlled by the Soviet Russian government.

We all know that throughout history mankind has been subject to famine brought about by war, drought, flood, and other natural disasters. But never and nowhere have any people suffered so devastating a famine as that inflicted as a matter of policy by the Soviet Government against the Ukrainian people in the years 1932 and 1933.

A natural question is, "How is it possible to create a famine in what has been considered the Bread Basket of Europe?" It was not easy, but with the determination of Joseph Stalin to punish the Ukrainians for their resistance to his programs of collective farming and confiscation of private property, he was able to accomplish it. The whole region was sealed off so that none of the intended victims could leave and no mercy or help even to innocent, starving children could be brought in. The farmers were forcefully removed from their homes, their land confiscated, their crops taken away and shipped to other areas. This total confiscation of the harvest was carried out under the supervision of the Red Army. Since the harvest was good throughout all of the USSR that year, it was possible for the government to export the confiscated Ukrainian grain for hard currency.

Special trains had to be sent in from outside to haul away the corpses since the victims lacked strength to bury the dead. The communists in control were well fed and set up a special program to prevent the inevitable cannibalism. A major disinformation program was conducted to dispel the rumours which leaked out to the West about some starvation existing in USSR. A very limited number of sympathetic western journalists were conducted on a special tour to "prove" that all was going well on the collective farms in Ukraine.

As whole villages died off, Ukrainians were replaced by compliant Russian farming families.

The Ukrainian genocide was not an aberration, a moment of Stalinist excess, something the Soviet Government regrets in its past. The Soviets do not reject Stalinism. They embrace it as glorious and a guide to future policy. The methods Stalin used in the Ukrainian famine and later in the Great Purge and a whole galaxy of greater and lesser horrors are an integral and intrinsic part of the nature of the Soviet state.

Unfortunately, this holocaust has not received the attention that it should. It took the Soviet Government one year to destroy 7 million people. It took the Nazis 5 years to destroy 6 million people, using sophisticated technology. While the Nazis were defeated and while their works against humanity have been widely distributed, communicated, and published, this particular crime by the Soviets is less known.

I am confident, however, that there is no one in this audience today who doubts the fact that this atrocity against mankind took place or that it was perpetrated by the government of the USSR for political purposes. Yet I am also confident that there are some within the sound of my voice who doubt that the Soviet Union is using terror network which stretched from Rangoon to New York and from Beirut to Sakhalin for the same expansionistic purposes.

There are probably some who still doubt that the Soviet Union is using mycotoxins to exterminate whole tribes in the mountains of Afghanistan and the jungles of Laos and Cambodia.

In fact, today in the aftermath of the massacre of 269 innocent civilians on board-KAL 007 by the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union, the governments of the 13 Nations that lost citizens on that flight still consider that the world is in a period of peace. The whole world was shocked and horrified that the Russian Barbarians could do such a thing in a so-called period of peace.

In times past such an act of violence against an unarmed merchantman would have automatically produced a state of war against the aggressor. Wars have resulted from less provocative acts. Today we seem to be conditioned to the idea that unless the attack is directed by the Armed Forces of one nation against the Armed Forces of another using conventional or the more violent weapons of the nuclear age, we are still in a period of peace. We are in the midst of war. Admittedly it is not a hot war in the conventional sense, but it is a revolutionary, total war. It does not recognize national boundaries but it is only fought in the "War Zone" which by communist definition includes all nations outside the Soviet-controlled "Socialist Camp".

In the West as soon as the shooting stops or when diplomacy or military deterrence has prevented the outbreak of a shooting war, we operate under the peacetime rules of civilized nations. This we believe to be peace. Unfortunately the USSR and Communist China have a completely different set of rules. According to the rules of Marxism-Leninism, the continuing class struggle means that the Socialist camp is at war with the non-communist world on a continuing basis whether at the shooting or the non-shooting part of the conflict spectrum.

The West and especially the United States, look at war today to be divided into two categories or levels of intensity. The highest level of intensity and the greatest threat to Western security and survival is Strategic Nuclear War. At a lower level of violence, with a lower threat to our security is what is defined as conventional war. This involves battalions of troops using tanks and artillery, and ships and airplanes armed with conventional munitions.

The military forces of the Free-World are generally organized, equipped, funded, and trained to fight either one or both of these options. The USSR on the other hand recognizes and employs a third option and considers unconventional or non-shooting, covert war an essential part of the total spectrum of conflict. They are organized and trained to use their total national resources, in combination with the so-called "national liberation movements", which they have created, in the Third World and the Communist Parties which they support, in the capitalist nations, in the total conflict with Western Civilization.

This unconventional warfare part of the conflict includes low intensity actions such as sabotage, terrorism, and guerrilla warfare. It also includes such covert and non-violent activities as subversion, psychological operations, economic warfare, support to dissent groups, disinformation activities, propaganda, and political warfare. The Soviet Union today, acting directly or through its allies, proxies, or surrogates, is heavily engaged in all of these unconventional warfare operations against the Free-World. Because they are covert and generally conceal the involvement of the Soviet Union, there is a tendency in the West to pretend that we are not under attack — that we are, in fact, in a period of peace.

In this period of so-called "Peace", the U.S. finds itself, after nearly 20 years of unilateral restraint, in a position of military inferiority in both the strategic and the conventional areas of armaments vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the USSR putting on such a major "Peace Offensive" as a part of its unconventional warfare campaign against the West. The thrust of this Soviet effort is to convince the world that the U.S.

plan to modernize its own and the military forces of its allies constitutes an unwarranted initiation of an arms race which disrupts the peace of detente. The Soviet theme goes on to say that since an arms race will undoubtedly lead to a shooting war and a shooting war can escalate into a nuclear war in which all civilization will be destroyed, the U.S. people must reject any increase in defense expenditures, accept a freeze at the present level of nuclear weapons, and even initiate unilateral disarmament to show our good faith. If we are forced to accept these ideas as a consequence of the disinformation activities and psychological operations being conducted by KGB-trained agents of influence and supported by well-meaning but naive citizens of the West, we will remain in the false state of peace while the Soviets extract more and more concessions and compromises. If we do nothing about KAL 007, we will be forced to meet additional coercive threats with increasing appeasement and eventual surrender to avoid a possible thermo-nuclear war. The Soviets will have won the conflict in the manner recommended by the ancient Chinese military scholar Sun Tzu who in about 500 B.C. advised that the best general was he who avoided the use of violence and achieved his conquest by the surrender of the enemy.

What can we in the West do to prevent this conquest by surrender? What alternative do we have to the threat of nuclear attack other than the threat of nuclear retaliation? First we must come to terms with the existence of an enduring adversary relationship with the USSR and Communist China. This includes a recognition of the fact that Communist China will never be an



AF ABN Branch in Detroit with Central Committee representative Slava Stetsko. To her right Dr. Rudzitis, Chairman of the Branch. Between them Mr. B. Fedorak, President of AF ABN Council.

ally of the West in the event of a military confrontation with Communist Russia. To think otherwise is to engage in wishful thinking of a very dangerous sort. Second, as a matter of urgency, we must develop a Western strategy which recognizes the whole spectrum of conflict — from Strategic Nuclear to Conventional to Unconventional. This strategy must not only accept the communist challenge to the point of resisting it forcefully, but it must exploit to the maximum those many weaknesses within the Communist Empire with a view toward rolling back communist tyranny and domination everywhere.

The basic global strategy for reversing Communist policies and neutralizing the Soviet threat of nuclear war, thereby, guaranteeing the survival of the Free World, contains two basic elements:

1. The Free Nations of the world must stop the processes of self-surrender and of subsidizing communist governments, and
2. The process of liberation behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains must be encouraged, supported, coordinated, and sustained as much as possible.

I recognize that there will be those who will have some objection to the second element of this strategy. But just as surely as no football, soccer, or rugby game was ever won without taking the ball across the opponent's goal line, the West cannot win this conflict without adding an offensive component to its strategy. Only by applying the principle of the counterattack can the West arrive at a global strategy capable of guaranteeing peace and security for itself and hope to the enslaved millions of the world.

We must recognize that the Free World's most reliable allies are the enslaved peoples within the Communist Empire. The real Achilles heel of the whole Soviet power system is the restiveness and disaffection of the people within the Soviet camp. Can you imagine the terror it would strike into the hearts of the Kremlin leadership if it were faced with other Polands inside the Warsaw Pact and one or more Insurgent Armies of the Ukrainian model of 40 years ago inside the Soviet Union? Can you imagine the immobilizing panic of the Soviet Armed Forces if it were faced with a few more Afghani-stans on and inside its borders? The fact that the Polish Solidarity Movement has grown several fold since the imposition of martial law gives some indication of the magnitude of this restiveness and the potential for resistance based upon national consciousness. The fact that the Afghan Freedom Fighters are gaining support and effectiveness in the face of increasing Soviet military commitment there stands as testimony to the strength of Muslim resistance to Communist imperialism and colonial aggression. And let us not forget that Communist China is subject to the same pressures of restiveness and disaffection of its own enslaved people and the victims of Chinese colonialism in such territories as Tibet.

Since Communist tyrants, Chinese and Russian, fear nothing so much as the infiltration of ideas of freedom and justice into their sphere of influence, a non-violent, non-military truth campaign beamed at the enslaved people of the world will have a significant deterrent effect against future communist expansionism.

In fact, the Free Nations of the world who now find themselves confronted by an ever-increasing worldwide communist offensive, carried out under the threat of nuclear attack, can best defend themselves by turning the tables

and hitting Soviet imperialism in its most sensitive spot namely the internal resistance inside the Captive Nations.

For the Free Nations of the World to carry out this new strategy, some important changes need to be made. Within the United States the covert actions and human intelligence collection capabilities of the Central Intelligence Agency must be reestablished. The Special Operations forces of the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Forces must be expanded, restructured and consolidated. Legislative restraints which protect communist imperialism and prevent or limit assistance to non-communist or anti-communist governments of the Third World must be removed. The West in a cooperating rather than a competitive manner should determine the limitations on the flow of Western technology, food, and credits to the Communist Empire. The targeting of Nato retaliatory nuclear strikes should be changed to recognize the friendly status of the Captive Nations and emphasize the strategic importance of targeting Russian facilities and populations. Perhaps most important, there is a need to expose and counter Soviet and Chinese disinformation activities in the Free World with an expanded, modernized, and unapologetic series of multi-lingual freedom radio stations, such as Voice of America, Voice of Freedom, Radio Free Europe, Radio Free Asia, Radio Marti, and others.

Today in the world-wide political struggle between Communism and the West there are literally hundreds of millions of enslaved people who are searching for some form of recognition and encouragement which will lead to their eventual liberation from their involuntary enslavement under Communist totalitarianism. They need the same hope of liberation that the Allies gave to the Nazi-occupied nations of Western Europe and to the Asian people occupied by the totalitarian forces of the Japanese Empire.

The Soviet Russian Empire today when faced with the possibility of other Solidarity movements among its occupied satellites and faced with the unreliability of its non-Russian forces in actions against the Afghan Freedom Fighters will be deterred from further overt aggression if confronted with the threat of increasing disaffection as a result of a truth offensive from the free-world.

We in the West must recognize that the subjugated people and Captive Nations of the world-wide Communist Empire are one of the potentially most powerful spiritual and political forces in the world. They are, in fact, the West's strongest ally and constitute the liberation (or Low Frontier) alternative to nuclear war. If we can provide this hope of eventual liberation, then perhaps the loss of 7 million Ukrainians will not have been in vain.

NEW BOOKLET

THE AGONY OF A NATION by Stephan Oleskiw

foreword by Malcom Muggeridge

Russification of the Baltic Republics

The topic of concern is the russification of the Baltic Republics, which were illegally incorporated into the Soviet Union during World War II. Throughout this discourse vagaries of the term "russification" will be explored. The main focus will deal with the present state of affairs and future implications in the Baltic Republics.

Russification can be considered a process within sovietization. Whereas sovietization of the ideal "soviet" man, is the goal and encompasses *all* peoples within the Soviet Union, including Russians, russification aims to create Russians out of non-Russians and therefore deals only with independent and unique cultures within the Soviet Union. Sovietization is the production of a new culture using the Russian culture as a foundation. Russians suffer fewer consequences (such as the need to learn another language, etc.) because of this foundation. Other nations and/or cultures that have been incorporated into the Soviet Union are expected to conform to the Russian basis, the result being russification. In the Baltic Republics, russification is implemented through the following:

1. forced relocation of (Baltic) people away from their homelands
2. colonization by Russian immigrants
3. gradual elimination of (Baltic) tongues and all ethnic traditions
4. establishment of Russian as the official language in government employment and in place names
5. prohibition against artistic portrayals of ethnic themes
6. job discrimination against (Balts)
7. reduced financing of (Baltic) schools
8. erosion of traditional mores and values¹

The essence, therefore, is forced unifica-

tion under a Russian umbrella, with the ultimate goal being the "internationalization" of all Russian republics into a modern "soviet" nation. The fact that such a policy exists contradicts the general, official attitude in the Soviet Union that integration has already been completed amongst the republics.

That the regime fosters Russification seems to be an indication of its continued inability to rely on the loyalty of the non-Russian population of the USSR. The mass media have been promoting ideas and practices intended to lead to a transfer of loyalties from the local to a wider Soviet entity. Efforts to wean the Baltic societies away from their relative cultures and traditions and to inculcate "international" meltingpot values — often little more than vulgarized versions of Russian customs, or at least perceived as such by the Baltic population — have been continuous since 1940.²

It should be noted that the Baltic Republics are not the only ones affected by this policy; the continuing and intensive russification drive includes all non-Russian republics in the European half of the Soviet Union.³ The latest wave of russification, begun in the late 1970's, appears to be an "effort designed both to elicit more support for the regime from the Russians and to cope with effects of a population explosion in Central Asia on the Soviet manpower pool."⁴

¹ "Russification Condemned," *Baltic News*, March 1983, Sandy Bay, Tasmania, Australia.

² Romuald J. Misiunas, "Baltic Identity and Sovietization," *Problems of Communism*, March-April 1982, p. 40.

³ Alfred Bohmann, "Russians and Russification in the Soviet Union," *Aussenpolitik*, v. 32, no. 3, 1981, p. 253.

⁴ Misiunas, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Touching upon the continued need for a policy of russification, Yuri Andropov, Secretary General of the Communist Party, now deceased, in an address celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union in December 1982, called the rising national consciousness and self-assertion of "Soviet Multinational Polity" a "negative phenomenon".⁵

For the peoples of the Baltic Republics, cultural honor is at stake. Located as a buffer zone between the West and Russia, they are inundated by immigrants from the entire Soviet Union; at the same time they are exposed to a steady stream of Western influence through radio and television broadcasts and ties with relatives in the Western diaspora. Complete russification is not possible as long as native culture and language remain in a growing and competitive position. Yet Communist Party policies "undermine the institutional framework or infra-structure of native language and cultural maintenance and advancement."⁶ Ukrainian educator Mrs. Nadia Svitlychna, who left the USSR in the fall of 1978, explains that Soviet authorities imbued the different nations with an "artificial feeling of 'Soviet' patriotism, engendered the fascist myth of the exclusivity and superiority of all things Soviet, and ruthlessly dealt with any and all manifestations of national, i.e. non-Russian, patriotism."⁷ August Voss, the First Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party, explains the "need to inculcate in a Latvian the notion that he is not only a Latvian but, first and foremost, 'a Soviet man, a Soviet patriot, a Soviet internationalist'."⁸ As a consequence, the Soviet system openly maintains the attitude that there is no neutral media or organization within the Soviet Union. Accordingly, all agencies, from the Party down to the factory and neighborhood, focus a large part of their efforts and activities on political education.⁹

Political socialization appears to be the main means of building the support necessary to stabilize and preserve the socio-economic system. For any nation this includes the transmission of a value system and attitudes. In comparison to the United States, which socializes its youth through childhood and adolescence under the assumption that this is sufficient, the Soviet socialization process continues throughout the entire lifetime. Whereas in the United States a sum of parts, i.e. different cultures, creates the whole fabric of American society, the Soviet system is based upon the assumption that the Soviet culture is homogenous. The Soviet citizen is socialized through an ordered sequence of learning processes, versus the extensive but far more casual information flow in the United States.¹⁰ As a consequence, any problems concerning the nationality issues in the Soviet Union have been officially toned down and "pigeonholed under the label of hooliganism up to the present."¹¹ It seems to be that within the republics, "the dissent of Soviet citizens leads to

⁵ Roman Solchanyk, "Andropov Tries on Old Plan to Unify His Many Nations," *The Wall Street Journal*, June 7, 1983, p. 34.

⁶ Tonu Parming, "Population Processes and the Nationality Issue in the Soviet Baltic," *Soviet Studies*, vol. 32, no. 3, July 1980, p. 403.

⁷ Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Expanding the Use of Russian or Russification" *The Russian Review*, July 1981, vol. 40, no. 3, p. 320.

⁸ Aina Zarins, "Ideological Education in Latvia: The Making of Soviet Men," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research 17/79. (quoting from *Voprosy filosofi*, vol. 12, p. 7).

⁹ Helene Carrere d'Encausse, "Political Socialization in the USSR with Special Reference to Non-Russian Nationalities," *Slavic and European Education Review*, Nov.(?) 1981, p. 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-4.

¹¹ "Open Letter from the Estonian SSR," *The Samizdat Bulletin*, No. 97, May 1981, (translated by Juri Estam and Jaan Pennar; reprinted from *Freedom Appeals*, Jan.-Feb. 1981, courtesy of Center for Appeals for Freedom).

repression, which in turn leads to further dissent, in a 'vicious circle'.¹² Yet an underground survives and is a main source of our information regarding the inside story.

Industrialization

The basic approaches to the russification of the Baltic Republics are all essentially intertwined. In a drive to expand industry, local populations are being supplemented by an influx of Russians and Slavs. This in turn causes problems in the educational system, requires an increase in the public use of the Russian language, increases housing shortages, and aggravates environmental problems.

With the end of World War II, the Soviet Union pushed for greater industrialization to build up war-torn economies. In the Baltic Republics, the particular focus centered on Estonia and Latvia, which during their independence years had already developed quite extensively in the industrial sphere. The influence from historic German occupation and the Protestant work ethic made the two republics models of efficiency within the Union. The recovery rate following the war was testimony to this, but also resulted in Moscow's conceptualization that an industry established in these countries had a greater chance of success than it would in the depths of Russia.¹³ Therefore, large factories were and still are being built in excess of these countries' needs, causing a colonial dependence for raw materials and for the sale of finished products.

Originally these factories were built in existing towns. "Riga (Latvia) has mushroomed to a population of 850,000, and on the outskirts of the city huge 'Soviet boxes' are under construction to house newcomers from Russia, Armenia, Georgia and Uzbekistan."¹⁴ In Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, the majority of workers and management personnel are Russians, causing the language of business and everyday

intercourse to be Russian. Typically, the Russians and Slavs in Estonia live in "ghettoes", keeping to themselves in large, Russian-style residential areas around the factories. They are separated from the Estonian populace by their inability to speak Estonian and by their apparent indifference to learn the Estonian language.¹⁵

The question arises, is the work attitude in the Baltic Republics sufficient reason to locate the factories there? Since both the raw materials and work force must be imported, and since the local population cannot support the product, why cannot the factories be built where such industry is better suited to the location? The purpose apparently is to dilute the populace, or to "internationalize" the countryside. A typical pattern is to build a factory in a small town or village where such a factory does not serve any economic need, or where the resources of the area are unable to support such a factory. The consequence is a town full of non-Balts in the middle of a Baltic Republic.

Other "foreign" towns are built around military bases. For example, on Saaremaa island in Estonia, the Russian town of Dejevo, is populated solely by Russians and Slavs; it is entirely off limits to Estonians. As a rule, retiring officers and enlisted men who have served their time tend to remain in Estonia and easily acquire apartments. This practice is advantageous to the authorities: "With many local people still hostile to Soviet rule, a

¹² Thomas Oleszczuk, "Repression in the USSR — A Study," *SMOLOSKYP*, Winter 1983, p. 11.

¹³ "Harbor Plans Seen as Latest Threat to Estonian Culture," *The Washington Post*, Nov. 21, 1982.

¹⁴ "Baltic States Worried by Influx of Russians," *Pacific News*, Nov. 14, 1981, p. 1.

¹⁵ Aarne Vahtra, speaking at Baltic Youth Congress, Bradford, New Hampshire, August 18, 1983.

growing share of Russian residents spells out increased security for the Kremlin."¹⁶

Population

The population situation in the three Baltic Republics is most critical in Latvia. "In the period from 1959 to 1970 immigration accounted for 58 percent of the total growth in Latvia."¹⁷ Between 1970-1979, the total number of Latvians in the Republic increased by approximately 2,000, or an average of 250 per year. The total population growth during that time was 139,000.¹⁸ The percentages indicate that Latvians are fast becoming a minority within their own nation. Of a total of 9000 Latvians born during that ten-year period, 7000 were born in the greater Soviet Union, outside of the Latvian Republic and face greater chances of assimilation.¹⁹ In 1979, the census figures indicate Latvians constitute 53.7% of the total population in the country — this figure does *not* include any military personnel or their families. The number has decreased from 56.8% in 1970. During that time, Russians as a percentage of the population rose from 29.8% to 32.8%, Byelorussians from 4.0% to 4.5%, and Ukrainians from 2.3% to 2.7%.²⁰ Furthermore, the natural growth rate of Latvians in Latvia is very low — about 10% below that which is needed to maintain the existing population.²¹ This, in combination with the high incidence of death and a growing number of elderly citizens, which causes a decline in growth rate potential, has caused great concern both in Latvia and in the Baltic populace abroad. A solution must be found if the culture is not to disappear completely.

Meanwhile, the situation is not eased by the Kremlin's plans to construct a new subway system in Riga, to be built by 50,000 workers brought in from the "outside". "Residents are also being told that all new apartments constructed in Riga for the next few years will be reserved

for the new construction workers and their families — a fact that displeases a number of Rigans, who say their city is too small to need a metro anyway."²²

Other new plans include the expansion of military facilities at the Latvian port of Liepaja, which has apparently been earmarked to become the most important Soviet naval base in the Baltic. It has the advantage of not freezing over as does the harbor in Leningrad. As many as 20,000 workmen (non-Latvians) are engaged in building the harbor in an area sealed off as a top security zone. Intelligence sources suggest that the harbor is to be used primarily to house submarines and will be able to accommodate the 20,000 ton Typhoon-class submarines.²³

Estonia's difficulties arise from both its ties with the West (especially in light of the proximity to Finland) and its success as an industrial center.

The present situation in Estonia is one where throughout Estonia the economic and social policies are being oriented toward heavy industry, the exploitation of natural resources, the consistent expansion of the transportation network, the tightening of the network of military bases, and the en-

¹⁶ "Harbor Plans Seen as Latest Threat to Estonian Culture," *The Washington Post*, Nov. 21, 1982.

¹⁷ Aina Zarins, "Searching for Ways to Raise the Birth Rate in Latvia," Radio Liberty Research 376/75, September 9, 1975.

¹⁸ Kestutis Girnius, "Precipitous Decline in Rate of Growth of Latvian Population in the Latvian SSR," Radio Liberty Research 110/80, March 19, 1980.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Zarins, *op. cit.*, (note 17).

²² David K. Willis, "The Baltic People: A Tough Morsel for the Russian Bear to Swallow," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 16, 1980.

²³ Saulius Girnius, "Expansion of Commercial and Military Ports in the Baltic," Radio Liberty Research 45/83, January 24, 1983.

couragement of non-Estonian immigration. The leaders in Estonia lack any power to halt these processes.²⁴

An example is the recent influx of 6,000 Russian veterans with their families who were allocated living space in Tallinn, by-passing all the waiting lists and provided without the knowledge of the local authorities.²⁵

Before World War II, the Estonian population was essentially homogenous; in a population of 1.2 million, 88.1% were Estonians.²⁶ Today, however, non-Estonians account for a large share of the nation's (urban) population. "Although the fertility rate of Estonian women is slightly higher than that of women of other nationalities in the Republic, it is only just high enough to prevent a decline in the absolute number of Estonians."²⁷

The declining native population in the Baltic Republics has become a concern that even cuts across ideological grounds. Estonian leaders are trying to use the housing shortages as a means of controlling the flow of immigrants, regardless of the created labor shortages. "The official reason given by Mr. V. I. Klauson, the Prime Minister, is the shortage of housing. It would not be right, he argued skillfully, to encourage immigrants when their labor was more urgently needed in Siberia. Estonia's labor shortage would have to be solved by greater efficiency."²⁸ However, increased efficiency is not a permanent solution. There are plans to build a new 20,000 unit residential complex at Lasnamäe in Tallinn; "a new harbor at Muuga near Tallinn requires at least 20,000 non-Estonian workers; plans to open up the world's largest phosphorous mine in the Toolese region of the northern coast includes importation of 15,000 workers; continuous construction goes on for military bases and residential areas for military personnel."²⁹ The necessity for and the consequences of the new harbor were not discussed in the Soviet

Estonian press and the natives were not consulted. Whereas the population of Tallinn was 60% Estonian in 1959, it had dropped to 51% in 1979. This new mass of non-Estonian workers is estimated to drop those statistics to 35% once the new facilities are in operation.³⁰

Another project sponsored by the East Germans is to build a new harbor at Mukran, on the island of Rugen, with intent to expand sea trade with Klaipeda in Lithuania. Service between the towns is expected to begin in 1987, and the project will undoubtedly require modifications of the port in Klaipeda, although at this time information is unavailable (Jan. 1983).³¹

At the time of illegal annexation, Lithuania was predominantly agricultural. As a consequence, industrialization had a ready work force, needing only to be moved off the farms and into the cities. This fact, along with the higher birthrate — due to the strong Roman Catholic tradition — has enabled Lithuanians to maintain an 80% majority of native population. Statistically, the Lithuanian population is increasing in comparison to the rest of the Soviet Union. The Lithuanian capital, Vilnius, due to "the above average rates of

²⁴ Estonian Scholars, "Are the Estonian People and Their Culture Being Oppressed?" *Called to Freedom and Charity: The State of the Estonian Nation and Church*, Stockholm: The Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1983, p. 25.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ "Estonia," brochure, Estonian-American National Council, New York, New York.

²⁷ Saulius Girnius, "Future Data From the Census of 1979 on the Nationality Composition of the Baltic Republics," *Radio Liberty Research* 384/82, September 22, 1982.

²⁸ Michael Binyon, "Low Birthrate and Influx of Russians Make Estonian Fear for Future," *The Times*, July 15, 1980, p. 7.

²⁹ Scholars, *op. cit.* pp. 25-26.

³⁰ "Open Letter to the Citizens of the Republic of Finland; Estonia, October 1, 1982," *Nakopüri* No. 2/1983, Helsinki, Finland.

³¹ Girnius, *op. cit.* (note 23).

natural increase and net in-migration among the Lithuanian population as well as gains in this population through assimilation, (seems) to be growing more and more Lithuanian. If the native Lithuanian and the total population continue to increase at the same rates as they did in 1970-1979, Lithuanians (could) become a majority in the (capital) city in 1984, something that has probably not happened for at least the three centuries."³² However, the general trend is for migration of Lithuanians from the countryside into urban areas and a continued influx of Slavs into the countryside.

Basically, therefore, the three Baltic Soviet Republics have seen a marked increase in the number of Russians in the last twenty years: in Estonia by 70.4%, in Latvia by 47.7%, and in Lithuania by a much smaller but steady percentage. The relative proportion of Russians to local, or native, populace has risen (not including other non-Baltic populations):

Estonia — from 20.1 to 27.9%

Latvia — " 26.6 to 32.8%

Lithuania — " 8.5 to 8.9%³³

Until now, these mass immigrations into the Baltic have been composed essentially of workers entering the cities' industrial complexes. However, the newest trend is to territorially disperse the settlers. Besides

the factory towns that are being created in rural areas, reports are coming out of Latvia describing the beginnings of general dispersion.

Such a new pattern of immigration may cause future nationality-based friction on two dimensions. Firstly, the territorial dispersion of the immigrants will increase the overall frequency of inter-ethnic contacts and spread the problems of public language use throughout the republic. Secondly, there may be a psychological impact for symbolic reasons: the natives have traditionally emphasized that their roots are in the land and contemporary cultural expression still draws heavily on the rural heritage. In other words, a new rural immigration would challenge the natives on that ground which is symbolically most important to them in a cultural sense and which hitherto has been their domain.³⁴

(To be continued)

³² Saulius Girnius, "The Population of Vilnius is Becoming More Lithuanian," *Radio Liberty Research* 368/81, September 16, 1981.

³³ Alfred Bohmann, "Russians and Russification in the Soviet Union," *Aussenpolitik*, v. 32, no. 3, 1981, p. 255.

³⁴ Parming, *op. cit.*, p. 406, (note 6).

BAN ON CRUCIFIXES IN POLAND

Poland announced on March 13, 1984, that it would enforce its ban on the display of crucifixes to cover all state-run schools as students called a mass rally in Garwolni, 40 miles southeast of Warsaw to protest the banning last week of crucifixes at a school outside the capital. The government spokesman, Jerzy Urban announced the widening of the ban at a news conference, which was imposed at a

vocational school in the town of Mietne a week ago.

More than 400 students occupied the Mietne school for 14 hours before riot police broke up the protest, and the headmaster closed the school indefinitely.

The following day, the Catholic Church, condemned the Communist regime for banning the crucifixes in classrooms and warned that the move could lead to national unrest.

Armand Gebert, News Staff Writer

Speakers to urge aid to free "Homelands"

"Increased strategies and assistance" from the West are needed to liberate nations from Soviet domination.

That will be the message tomorrow, when 500 representatives of the Eastern European nationalities group of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) meet in Warren.

The delegates, from the United States and Canada, will be celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the ABN at a banquet at 6 p.m. at the Ukrainian Cultural Center.

Bohdan Fedorak, chairman of the nationalities group, and Sigurds Rudzitis, president of the ABN Michigan chapter, said the delegates will appeal "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."

The group will also ask, through resolutions, that Western nations recognize all national liberation movements in subjugated countries and establish "freedom radio stations" in Eastern Europe to bom-

bard the Soviets with pro-West propaganda.

Delegates are also expected to pass resolutions supporting the U.S. invasion of Grenada and offering condolences for the deaths of American and French servicemen in Lebanon.

Congressman Philip Crane, R-Ill., and Yaroslav Stetsko, who served as prime minister of Ukraine in 1941 after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, will be featured speakers at the banquet.

The ABN is an outgrowth of the First Conference of Subjugated Peoples, which was founded in November 1943 during the German occupation of the USSR. The conference was held in a forest in eastern Ukraine.

The organization later became known as the ABN and is headquartered in Munich, West Germany. Its membership includes 25 nationality groups.

There are 12 chapters in the United States.

*Sat., Nov. 26, 1983
The Detroit News*

TRIALS IN TALLINN, ESTONIA

Reports on several trials have reached the West. They include those taking place in December 1983 of three Estonians: Lagle Parek, Heiki Ahonen and Arno Pesti. They were sentenced for writing open letters — suggesting that the Baltic countries be included in the Nordic atomfree zone — that were characterized as defamatory and malicious anti-Soviet propaganda. Lagle Parek was sentenced to six years in a strict regime camp and three years internal exile. Heiki Ahonen and Arvo Pesti each received five years strict regime and two years internal exile.

Johannes Hint, a Doctor of Technology, awarded several times for his innovations of construction materials and applications,

was sentenced to ten years of strict regime for allegedly plundering state properties and abusing his administrative position.

Enn Tarto was arrested September 13, 1983. He has been transferred from Tartu, his original place of arrest to Tallinn's detention center awaiting trial. He is known for his active support and letters written calling for the implementation of Human Rights in Estonia, and other Baltic states. He also wrote letters asking for the release of Mart Niklus and Jüri Kukk (the latter now deceased). Enn Tarto was also one of twenty-one Estonians who denounced the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in an open letter.

TRAGEDY OF UKRAINE

I am highly honoured and privileged to be with you here today in this City of Toronto, in your great and free country. With my Anglo-Ukrainian — Welsh accent, I bring you greetings from the United Kingdom.

There are 50 million Ukrainians under Russian tyranny that would love to be with us here today, and their tears would flow with joy now, if they only knew that today we remember them.

The Ukrainian National situation is tragic. We must not endure tolerance, nor intolerance, only equality. Anything else to the contrary is to refute the central truth of reality and history. If I am accused with reality of the situation I take no objection to it. Our duty is not only to analyse the past, but also to plan for the future. The question is: not only how we got ourselves into it, but how we can get out of it. Ukrainian diaspora must be fully at work. Fight, fight and fight again for the Independence of Ukraine. I am not asking you to work for a policy. Everything must be negotiable and not pre-emptory. I call for harmony and not for confrontation.

The forgotten holocaust and Stalin's treatment of Ukrainian people reminds us that while the world rightly deplored the killing of 269 innocent civilians in the Korean airliner massacre, a more profound perspective may be gained by considering, that the Russians would have to shoot down one airliner ever day for 70 years to match the death toll of Stalin's terror-famine in Ukraine just over 50 years ago!

An important continuity between the Ukrainian holocaust and the airliner incident is provided by the fact that, both were sponsored by the same regime and party, and that the present Kremlin leaders were young adults starting their political careers in the early thirties, just at the time when that party was throwing it's younger cadres into the struggle with the men, women and children they regarded as class enemies. The Soviet leadership has never expressed repentance for, or even publicly admitted the Ukrainian genocide operation, or many other massacres which mark their past.

The 1932-1933 famine had a number of special characteristics of which the most striking is that it was entirely man-made. The food was there, and was removed. At any moment reserves of grain could have been released and millions spared. The famine was completely localised, effecting only Ukraine and the Ukrainian-speaking regions.

The campaign started with a decree issued in mid-1932 setting grain requirement targets which could not possibly be met. Neither the Tsars, nor the Tartars, nor the Nazi occupiers ever promulgated such a terrible decree. The decree required that the people of Ukraine be put to death by starvation, put to death along with approximately 3 million little children.

First of all the grain was taken, then the seed, then the houses and yards were searched and dug up, and any store of bread seized. The people lived on a few potatoes, then on birds, cats and dogs, then on roots, on acorns and nettles and in early spring they died, but they would not surrender to Stalin and his blood thirsty tyrants.

The Soviet Russian dictatorship and totalitarian movements are not lacking fascist style collaborators. They do not preach the basic Christian doctrine of personal and social obligation. The Soviets do not produce military hardware just for the May Day Celebrations on the Red Square, or let them go rusty. No, they would use it if they could. When the people of Ukraine asked for bread, land and peace, what did they get? They got tyranny, slave labour camps, liquidation, starvation. They got Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Andropov. They got lunatic asylums, mass destruction. No Freedom, no Peace, no Bread and no Land. Let us remember those today. When in 1946 a Ukrainian freedom fighter before his heart stopped beating in the Carpathian Mountains, said to an old lady who nursed him "when you go home, tell them of us and say, for your tomorrow, we give our today".

Ladies and gentlemen, let us never forget that. Let that be a lesson to us all, never to surrender.

We face a Soviet Russian imperialist power which does not share our beliefs, or our freedom, but seeks to undermine our way of life. No matter how hard they try, totalitarianism can never extinguish the flame of freedom. And if only the nations of Eastern Europe, including Ukraine with 50 million people were allowed to choose, they would choose independence, democracy and freedom, and I know it.

Soviet Russian tyranny, just like Hitler's Nazi Germany, gave people of the occupied countries, concentration camps, gas chambers, Auschwitz, Treblinka, Babyn Yar and Belsen. A holocaust none of us can ever forget. The brutality of Communism is not interested in the development of a country, or in the health and welfare of its people, in freedom and political democracy, in religion, or in the culture or history of a country. Its main goal is an irrational and fanatical urge to swallow the maximum amount of external territory and population, with the ideal limit being the entire planet.

It is not the case of "Better Red than Dead", because in Soviet Russia you could be red and dead; and we know it. Soviet Russian imperialism has oppressed, abused, terrorised and kept many nations in political straightjackets in the name of Socialism, Marxism and Leninism.

It is dangerous to draw distinctions between better and worse communism, between peace loving and the more aggressive kind. Ask the Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Poles, Ukrainians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks and Afghanistanis to mention just a few oppressed nations.

Do you ever wonder what type of magnet, magic, or hypnotism does Marxism, Leninism and Communism embrace, that is so irresistible to some individuals? Ask yourselves, does it attract people because of its ruthless tyrannical suppression of all unorthodox opinion? Is it the KGB butchery? Or is it the tyranny of mass murder? Could it be the artificial starvation of 7 million Ukrainians in 1933 or, is it the hundreds of slave labour camps, with hundreds of thousands of innocent people in them? Could it be Siberia where millions of innocent people have been starved and perished to death, or is it the perfectly normal and sane people being liquidated at the mercy of lunatics and corrupt, so-called "psychiatrists" in lunatic asylums? There are the most famous

Militarization of Children in Latvia

"Only the international struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is in the position to defend achievements and to show the oppressed masses the way to a better future!"

Under this slogan a girl and a boy, born in 1967, are wielding a Soviet assault weapon AK47M (kalashnikov). The place is a classroom of the 4th Middle School in Valmiera, Latvia. The time is February 1983.

During the past few years the militarization of schools in the Soviet Union has been substantially intensified. As far back as 1967 Breshnev introduced military sporting games for children and young people. At the games, which received the name "Kāvi" ("Summer Lightning"), pupils from 11 to 14 years of age had to participate in marksmanship exercises, drills and military sporting events outside of school. In addition, military sporting games "Erglēns" (Eaglet) have been introduced since 1972 for the pupils in the upper classes. Military instruction has been gradually incorporated into the school plans. The boys and girls are now called "Young Soldiers", and every class has received a reserve officer, who supervises the formation of the Young Soldiers battalions. Besides the pupils from middle, vocational and technical schools, young industrial and kolkhoz workers also participate in the military sporting game "Erglēns". Recently the participation of all general educating and boarding schools in the military sporting games "Erglēns" and "Kāvi", is obligatory as stated in the Riga teacher's newspaper

"Skolotāju avize" reports in its November 23, 1983 edition.

The military sporting games "Erglēns" and "Kāvi" take place three times a year in Latvia: in autumn, winter and spring. The time between the pupils use to practice in preparation. The Commander of these games in Latvian SSR is the Hero of the Soviet Union, Major General of the Air Force, the Russian Nikolai Groshev. With his Order No. 34 of September 5, 1983 he commanded among other things that Young Soldiers battalions be formed (published in the Komsomol Newspaper "Padomju Jaunatne" of September 14, 1983, refer to the enclosure). With the slogan "to be ready at all times" the Young Soldiers have to carry tanks, artillery, missiles and mortars made of cardboard.

At the execution of the military games DOSAAF (Voluntary Society for Cooperation with the Army, Air Force and Navy), the unions and the Komsomol work closely together. The strictly organized structure of the military games is managed by a military staff. Approximately 12 million pupils participate in the military sport games in the Soviet Union alone.

Military instruction is given once a week as a school subject beginning with class 10. The construction and function of small arms, grenades and gas masks, breaking down and assembling assault weapons (in 17 seconds), target throwing of hand-grenades, civil defence, association with chemical poison gas, political and moral lessons are distributed over

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achievements of Marxism, Leninism and Communism. Those who do not believe me, let them go to the Russian "paradise" and find out for themselves.

Today, let us stand shoulder to shoulder, united, denouncing imperialism and tyranny in the Soviet Russian Empire. Let there be freedom for Ukraine, and freedom for all the oppressed nations who are under the yoke of communism.

several subjects. In addition to military education within the scope of military instruction, drills, target throwing of hand-grenades, overcoming barriers and other related military exercises are conducted. One hour per week is designated for civil defence.

In history and social studies the following topics receive preferential treatment: the theory of "just and unjust wars", class consciousness, the systematic creation of an enemy, the special mission of the Communist Party by the liberation of oppressed workers in the capitalistic countries (the occupation of Afghanistan is designated as "the performance of international duties"). The directive for this is "The Military Patriotic Educational System for Middle and Vocational Schools", drawn up by the Russian G. Mosolov, Hero of the Soviet Union.

The influence of the military increased under Andropov. The young person growing up is firmly incorporated in a military training system. The pupils, students, pioneers and Komsomols are already prepared for military duty during their training. The Soviet Army no longer needs to waste time for military basic training in its entirety, for draftees serving their military terms.

O R D E R No. 34

of the commander of the republic military sporting games "Kāvi" ("Summer lightning") and "Erglēns" ("Eaglet").

Riga, September 5, 1983.

Comrades Young Soldiers!

Comrades consultants and active helpers of the Organization of the Military Sporting Games "Kāvi" and "Erglēns"!

A section of the military sporting games

1983 in Soviet occupied Latvia



Military arms training in a classroom of the Stucka Middle School in Riga. The students are wielding a Soviet assault weapon AK47M.

has ended. The results of the patriotic military performance have been recorded. The final games of the Military Sporting Games in the republic, in which 33 units of Young Soldiers participated have been successful. The units of Young Soldiers of the 2nd Middle School in Cēsis, the 4th Middle School in Jēkabpils, the 5th Middle School in Jūrmala, the Middle School in Ezere, Rayon Saldus, the 2nd Middle School in Dobeles as well as other units of Young Soldiers have achieved the best performances in the final games.

In the all-union finale of the victors, our republic was notably represented by the Young Soldiers of the 2nd Middle School in Cēsis.

The new school year began with the hour of peace. For the participants of the military sporting games "Ergēns" this year will be the year of the republican and all-union final games.

I O R D E R

1. that until October 1st battalions of Young Soldiers be drawn up in the middle schools, technical vocational schools and in the special middle educational establishments according to the regulations for the military sporting games;

2. that the exercises for the Young Soldiers be begun, and that weekly "Days of the Young Soldiers" be organized, in which all Young Soldiers participate;

3. that until October 15th the number of battalions and the number of Young Soldiers be reported on from the headquarters of the Rayons and the cities to the Headquarters of the Republic in Riga, I. Sudmala iela 28, Education Division Methodology of the Ministry of Education, tel. 211430 or 213216;

4. to organize for the Young Soldiers of the game "Kāvi" the competition "The Friendly and the Brave" (in October) as well as the contests "Sharpshooters", (in

November and December) (refer to page 8 of the order) and for the Young Soldiers of the game "Erglēns" the participation and the competition "Triple Contest of the Young Soldiers for Readiness to Work and Defence of the USSR for the Glory of the Heroes and the Komsomol" (in October), and for the contests "The Friendly and the Brave" (in November and December) (refer to page 12 of the order). I further order that order number 44 of September 2, 1983 of the commander of the Military Sporting Games "Erglēns" be studied (in the September 7th edition of the magazine "Sowetsky Patriot").

That the republican headquarters be informed about the contests and competitions regularly carried out and that the central headquarters be implicitly informed on the results of the competition "Triple Contest of the Young Soldiers for Readiness to Work and to the Defence of the USSR".

A successful take-off, Young Soldiers!

N. Groshev

Hero of the Soviet Union, Major General of the Air Force, Commander of the Military Sporting Games

The political conception of the ABN is based on ideas and principles which hold good and are recognised in the civilised world as the highest possessions and values of human life; freedom and justice for every individual, and state independence for every people. These basic rights we demand and claim for our peoples, too and those who refuse us those rights, deny the natural rights of mankind and show themselves to be advocates of brute violence.

(From the book "The Truth About ABN" by Niko Nakashidze)

Latvian Baptists Sentenced to Long Imprisonment

On December 7, 1983 the Supreme Court of the Latvian SSR sentenced the 34 year-old Latvian Baptist Jānis Rožkalns in Riga to 5 years' hard labour with additional exile for a term of three years. At the same time the co-defendant, the 28 year-old Latvian Baptist Jānis Vēveris was sentenced to 3 years of hard labour. The Prosecutor Bataraks proposed 7 years imprisonment and 5 years' hard labour for Rožkalns and 4 years hard labour for Vēveris.

Both Latvians were accused of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" in accordance with Article 65 of the Criminal Code of the Latvian SSR. In the court proceeding, which originally was supposed to begin on October 26, then postponed to November 21, both Latvians were cited with "agitation and propaganda carried on with the purpose of weakening the Soviet regime, causing enmity towards the Soviet state and social system and an effort to overturn the Soviet regime".

Jānis Rožkalns was arrested and awaiting trial since April 20, 1983. Approximately 40 Bibles, various religious essays, recording tapes with religious songs, the Human Rights Charter of the United Nations, the mimeographed text of the Helsinki Agreement and various other articles were found and confiscated during a number of house searches.

In spite of these facts the court attached great importance to Rožkalns' not being accused for religious reasons, but rather for circulating national pamphlets and appeals. At the beginning of his trial Rožkalns admitted that he had been asked to participate in the underground "Latvian Independence Movement", but that he had recognized the illegality of such activity

about a year ago and had destroyed the documents which had been given to him. He immediately denied having wanted to weaken or overturn the Soviet regime. His activity had been solely of a religious nature. He had recognized the tragic situation of the Latvian people, which is marked by alcoholism, narcotic addiction and immorality, and had worked solely for a spiritual rebirth.

In his summary Rožkalns accused the Prosecutor of having distorted and taken his testimony out of context. Rožkalns admitted at the same time that he had represented national interests and could not subdue them.

Jānis Vēveris, arrested and awaiting trial since January 6, was accused of the same "crimes" which he admitted to before the court and regretted having committed them. At the time of his arrest copies of exile Latvian papers, films and several underground publications from Soviet-occupied Latvia were found and confiscated. Jānis Vēveris had been a repeated champion of the Latvian SSR in the academic rowing team as well as junior champion of the USSR in rowing.

The court had approximately 50 witnesses picked out and summoned, some of which incriminated Rožkalns with false statements. Witnesses for the defence were not admitted. Video recordings were made beginning with the first day of the public trial. From experience a television and press campaign can be expected within the next few weeks.

During his period of arrest awaiting trial, Jānis Rožkalns suffered a serious kidney ailment. His state of health would warrant admission to a hospital rather than transportation to a hard labour camp.

Lithuanian Catholic Priest Sentenced

On December 7, the "Sovietskaya Litva" announced that Father Sigitas Tamkevicius was sentenced to 6 years labor camp and 4 years of internal exile. This followed earlier TASS reports that Father Tamkevicius had been found guilty of malicious and premeditated anti-state and anti-Soviet activity.

TASS charged that "using the money of believers, he prepared and secretly circulated materials casting aspersions on the Soviet political and social system, urged believers not to observe Constitutional laws and to fight against people's power. Foreign special services engaged in subversion against the Soviet state paid attention to this vain and money-loving man."

In addition, Father Tamkevicius was accused of circulating slanderous materials, participating in anti-state activities and of sending these materials to foreign radio stations, including Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and Vatican Radio.

The trial of the 45 year-old priest began on November 29 in Vilnius, the capital city of predominantly Roman Catholic Lithuania, which borders on the Baltic sea, Poland, Russia and Latvia. Once an independent republic, it has now been under Soviet occupation for over 40 years.

Tamkevicius was arrested on May 6, at the trial of another Lithuanian Catholic priest, Father Alfonsas Svarinskas, who was sentenced to seven years strict regime camp and three years exile under similar charges.

These are the first two priests sent to prison since 1972, when three priests were sentenced for teaching religion to minors.

In 1978, Father Tamkevicius and Svarinskas were among the five priests who announced the formation of the Catholic Committee for the Defense of

Believers' Rights at a press conference in Moscow.

Father Tamkevicius is one of the most well-known priests in Lithuania. In 1975, while he was being interrogated by the KGB, it became clear that they regarded him as one of the editors of the "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania". The "Chronicle" is Lithuania's leading underground publication, which has been documenting human rights violations since 1972. Fifty-nine consecutive issues have thus so-far reached the West. It should be noted that two issues of the "Chronicle" have been published since Tamkevicius' arrest.

In November, 1978, he was fined fifty rubles for leading a religious procession to a cemetery on All Souls Day. Hundreds of parishioners protested to Communist Party officials about this and huge crowds attempted to attend his district trial.

Following his arrest this year, thousands of Lithuanians have circulated and signed petitions to Soviet authorities for the release of Tamkevicius and Svarinskas. A protest signed by faithful from 71 parishes (46,905 signatures) extols both priests' campaign from the pulpit against drunkenness and dishonesty and describes their arrest as "yet another attack on the Lithuanian Catholic Church and its most zealous priests".

For the past dozen of years or so, the Soviet government refrained from arresting priests, but it seems to have decided that now harsher penalties are needed. It would appear that the Soviet authorities hope to crush the Catholic activist movement in Lithuania by arresting the two most prominent members of the Catholic Committee.

As the second priest to be arrested and sentenced in Soviet-occupied Lithuania this year, Father Tamkevicius had been

repeatedly harassed by the KGB for his activities.

Father Sigitas Tamkevicius was born on November 7, 1938, in the village of Gudoniai, Lithuania. In 1955, he entered the seminary in Kaunas, one of the two allowed to train Western-rite seminarians in the Soviet Union. (The other is Riga, Latvia.) However, during his third year of studies, he was drafted into the Soviet Army.

Upon completion of his military service, Tamkevicius returned to the seminary in 1960. Twice during 1961, the KGB unsuccessfully attempted to recruit Tamkevicius as an informer, threatening him with expulsion from the seminary. In spite of this, he was ordained to the priesthood in 1962.

Failing to recruit him in two subsequent attempts in 1962 and 1963, the KGB began to exert pressure on the young priest. As an assistant pastor, he was reprimanded by Religious Affairs Commissioner Rugienis for the content of his sermons, and for catechizing children.

Government pressure forced his transfer.

The pressure continued. For a time, as assistant pastor in Prienai, he was forbidden by Rugienis to preach. In 1969, while serving in Vilkaviskis, he was denied the right to function as a priest for requesting that the seminary quota system be abolished. He worked in a factory, and later, with Father Jouzas Zdeskis (another charter member of the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights), at the Prienai land reclamation project.

During this period, he conducted retreats and did other clandestine priestly work. Because they could not monitor his activities, the KGB allowed him to resume parish work in 1970. In 1975, he was assigned as pastor of Kybartai, a large parish, in an attempt to overload him with work. During this entire period, he was subjected to continued harassment, which increased following his public involvement with the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in 1978.

123,000 Petition for Release of Imprisoned Priests

Before his death, a petition bearing over 123,000 signatures asking for the release of two Catholic priests imprisoned in Lithuania was addressed to Yuri Andropov. The priests, Fathers Alfonsas Svarinskas and Sigitas Tamkevicius, were arrested in 1983 for their involvement in the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights. Svarinskas and Tamkevicius were among the five founding members of the Catholic Committee, which in 1978 began systematically monitoring religious persecution in the predominantly Roman Catholic country of Lithuania.

The petitions, which 22 people signed in blood, were delivered to Moscow personally by a delegation of four faithful from Lithuania.

According to the latest issue of the Samizdat Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, Miss Aldona Sukyte, Miss Albina Zemaityte, Mr. Alfonsas Bumblis and Mr. Juozas Kazalupskas travelled to Moscow on three separate occasions to present the petitions to high Soviet officials. They were detained by authorities, interrogated and threatened, and carted back to Lithuania by armed guards.

The first visit took place in May 1983 with Prosecutor Utkin, who informed them that first, it was necessary to appeal to the Prosecutor of the Lithuanian SSR, and with his reply in writing, return to see him.

In Lithuania, the delegates went to see Prosecutor Bakucionis on June 24, 1983, but he emphatically refused to release Father Svarinskas or to drop charges against Father Tamkevicius, who had not yet been tried. Both priests received 10 year terms.

On August 24, 1983, the delegation returned to Moscow armed with the petitions and other letters of protest. Upon their arrival at the Moscow train station, they were met by militiamen and plain-clothes agents, who immediately hauled them off to the militia station. There, their personal belongings were searched and the petitions confiscated. Agents Ruslov and Tichonov drew up reports against them, restricting them from the city limits of Moscow. Despite threats and promises to allow them to return home scott-free, the four accused refused to sign the report.

Subsequently, their passports were taken away and a summons filed against them. They were charged with interfering with travellers and porters at the train station.

According to Chronicle No. 61, dated January 6, 1984, the four faithful said "the captain of the militia, who did not give his name, threatened to beat us up. Then the officials dragged us before the commandant of the militia department, Colonel Alexei Filimonov. With him were many militia officials and persons in civilian dress. He demanded that we sign the unjust decision denying us the right to visit Moscow or its environs, and threatened to put us in jail, to turn us over

to special services, called us fanatics, and accused us of some sort of agitation."

Eleven hours later, the four Lithuanian Catholics were hauled off to the Moscow Kaliningrad train station, pushed into a railroad car and escorted to Kaunas, Lithuania under armed guard. In Kaunas, their passports were returned to them.

The delegation of faithful, nevertheless, returned to Moscow again on September 15, 1983, with the petitions and a letter of protest over their illegal detention. They presented the documents to Prosecutor V. B. Golov, who declared that "Father Alfonsas Svarinskas is an enemy; you and all believers are enemies of the Soviet government".

Miss Sukyte, Miss Zemaityte, Mr. Bumulis and Mr. Kazalupskas sent letters to the editors of Pravda in Moscow on September 16, 1983, about their unjust arrest and the unethical conduct of Prosecutor V. B. Golov. The editors refused to publish their statements.

The petition drive for the release of the two Lithuanian Catholic priests was largely spearheaded by the youth of Lithuania. The Chronicle reports that many more signatures would have been collected if not for the repressive tactics used by the Soviet authorities to dissuade them.

Those caught collecting signatures, largely outside of churches, were taken in for questioning and fined 50 rubles. In an unprecedented move, the Chief Justice of the Lithuanian SSR made a television appearance, in which he warned that those even signing the petitions would be jailed.

NEW PUBLICATION
THIRTY YEARS
1950-1980

The martyrology of a Ukrainian father and son:
Roman and Yuriy Shukhevych
(Softcover 32 pp.)

SITUATION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

*ABN Report for the 16th WACL Conference
(Conclusion)*

Satellization of Bulgaria

Since Peace Movements are getting stronger and stronger in Europe, in fact they are performing many activities Communist Parties would have to do, let's give Bulgaria as an example of how a country once fallen into the Communist Russian grip becomes its satellite.

As soon as the Red Army entered Bulgaria, several hundred Bulgarian officers were executed or condemned to long terms of imprisonment. In June 1946, a law termed "of the Control and Direction of the Army" accounted for the dismissal of several thousand Army, Navy and Aviation officers within a fortnight.

The control of economic activities took place by means of the nationalization of all banks, industrial enterprises, mines, etc. by the control of inland and foreign trade, by an agrarian reform, but chiefly by the forced collectivization of all agricultural estates; by the subtle and unexpected change in the rate of the currency within only 24 hours; by the strict control of the population on the basis of blocks of dwellings and districts; by the establishment of so-called "reconditioning by labour" or concentration camps.

On March 4, 1945, or less than 6 months after the occupation of the country by the Red Army, a law "for the defence of the Power of the People" had to be introduced. Six months after the application of this law, which was exceptionally harsh and politically enforced, 37 law-suits had taken place in which over 400 people were condemned on the basis of stipulations.

The control of cultural activities was also listed in prerogatives of the Control Commission, i. e. of the Soviets. The

Commission had in fact supreme control of: the printing and diffusion of all printed publications, including "daillies" and periodicals; the import and diffusion of all foreign publications, "Life" and "Newsweek" were prohibited, amongst others; the staging of all plays and the showing of all films; all radio broadcasting; the postal, telephone and telegraph services; the granting of exit visas, both for nationals and foreigners; the supervision of the frontiers, especially those with Turkey and Greece; all flights; air and maritime transport; distribution of funds sent from abroad by UNICEF and similar organizations.

Until the Red Army officially left Bulgaria in the autumn of 1947, a time lapse of three years, tens of thousands had been imprisoned and massacred, the fundamental liberties suppressed and the country reduced to the unenviable role of a satellite, this both politically and economically. It is not our purpose here to describe the resistance to this take-over; we would only say that this resistance was undertaken under extremely difficult conditions: a foreign army occupying the country, Bulgaria cut-off from the rest of the world, neither help nor hope of help and yet the population resisted... and paid a heavy tribute in blood.

Restless Rumania

The same laws and the same conditions prevail in Rumania as in all Russian occupied countries. Here, as in the other countries, there is an extremely strong secret service and 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 em-

ployer. 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.

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. 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.

In 1977 was the last straw. From that time on Rumania has become restless. 35,000 mine workers revolted in Valea Iuliu. 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.

The Heroic Struggle of the Afghan People

In Afghanistan the heroic liberation struggle of the Afghan people, their "Jihad" (holy war) continues in the face of an ever more brutal Russian occupational policy. Despite the fact that Moscow has sent an invasion force of 110,000 Soviet soldiers, that are predominantly Russian, the Afghan "Mujahideen" control 85—90% of the countryside and have even managed to carry out insurgent-guerilla operations in Kabul and other major cities in Afghanistan. A recent CIA report estimated that Moscow will need at least twice as many soldiers to at best establish some semblance of control over crucial territorial areas in Afghanistan. The Soviet invasion force has been severely crippled in Afghanistan due to tremendous logistical problems, since not one Russian convoy can leave any of the military bases that Moscow has established without suffering heavy casualties. Even the major highways in Afghanistan, once considered a safe means of transit for the Russian army, are now under constant attack.

Recently, the Soviet army launched a major offensive in the Panjshair and Zadran provinces, both of which are major Mujahideen strongholds, in an attempt to widen Russian occupational control. However, the attempt proved to be futile, since after several days of fighting the Russians were forced to retreat, leaving behind a considerable cache of arms and ammunition, as well as several tanks and armoured personnel carriers. In light of the fact that over 20,000 Soviet troops took part in the Russian offensive in the Panjshair valley, their relatively quick defeat is indicative of Mujahideen strength.

In order to suppress the Mujahideen's insurgent-guerilla activity, which has the full support of the Afghan people, the

Russians have reverted to their traditional policy of mass genocide by means of chemical warfare. The use of Russian chemical weapons in Afghanistan was well-documented during the International Afghanistan Hearings that were held in Oslo, Norway on March 13—16, 1983. The ABN had two of its representatives present at these Hearings and their report was published in the *ABN Correspondence* (May-June, 1983). From this report we read the following conclusion: "despite the grim evidence 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."

PART II

60th Anniversary of the Existence of the Russian Empire

1982 marks the 60th anniversary of the existence of the Soviet Russian empire, the most brutal empire the world has ever seen. 60 million people perished under the rule of Soviet Russia.

ABN demonstrations were organised throughout the world, in particular in December in front of the Russian Embassies protesting the 60th anniversaries of Soviet Russian atrocities. There were in Washington, New York, Ottawa, Canberra, London, Copenhagen and other cities impressive mass rallies and demonstrations, sometimes 2—6 thousand strong with flags and banners condemning violations of national and human rights by Moscow and other Communist regimes, demanding liberation of countries occupied by force and release of political and religious prisoners from prisons, concentration and slave-labour camps and psychiatric asylums who committed no **crime whatsoever**.

The memorandum signed by the Byelorussian, Georgian, Lithuanian, Croatian,

Ukrainian, Latvian, Estonian and Slovakian representatives of ABN — Great Britain was handed over to the British Prime Minister the Rt. Hon. M. Thatcher drawing her attention to the continued illegality of Soviet Russian rule since 1917 and the continued attempts of Soviet Russian imperialism at world domination, requesting to bring this matter before the international forum.

Genocide in Ukraine 1933

This year the Ukrainian organisations were commemorating the sad anniversary of Russian genocide in Ukraine in 1933. Fifty years ago, in 1933 over eight million people starved to death in Ukraine where the Russians faced with a growing underground national-liberation movement and with stiff resistance to their policies, in this way "resolved the acute nationality problem" and enforced their collectivisation program. But nothing will ever stop the Ukrainian nation in its quest for freedom.

Rallies, church prayers, marches are still continuing in different places of the globe. Books were published and a series of articles appeared in Western and Far Eastern press.

Baltic Freedom Day

President Reagan addressed representatives of Baltic Americans on June 13 at a White House ceremony, during which he signed a proclamation designating that day as "Baltic Freedom Day". He declared: "We're gathered to draw attention to the plight of the long-suffering Baltic people and to affirm to the world that we do not recognize their subjugation as a permanent condition."; and "We should never delude ourselves as to just who and what we're dealing with. I can promise you we will not, in the process of seeking peace, be lured from our moral commitment to those captive peoples who are now held in bondage."

In his statement to the United Nations he writes: 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."

Hungarian Testimony

On July 14, 1983 the coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organisations in North America gave testimony before the Subcommittee on trade of the United States House of Representatives on a presidential recommendation to continue the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Hungarian Peoples Republic and the Peoples Republic of China and to extend the waiver authority under the trade act of 1974.

Tribute to Hungarian Revolution

On July 18, 1983 a special tribute to the leaders of the Hungarian Revolution was published in Congressional Record on the 25th anniversary of the execution of the leaders of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

The Washington Post from May 1, 1983 writes:

"The Hungarian solution" is regarded as a unique accommodation between communist dogma and free enterprise, between impossible dreams of political liberty and attainable goals of a more comfortable life.

But it turns out that Kadar — after more than a quarter of a century — is worried about the memory of the 1956 uprising that still burns in his people's hearts. He is apparently determined to stamp out the last spark of rebelliousness before it is fanned to life by the unrest in Poland.

Kadar has decided to "liquidate" the portion of Karapashi Cemetery in Budapest that contains the graves of some 240 freedom fighters killed in 1956.

It is the memory of all that which

bothers Kadar and his Kremlin masters. Perhaps they fear that a corner of Karapashi Cemetery will become a focus for reawakened yearnings for freedom — like the site where striking Polish shipyard workers were gunned down in Gdansk in 1970.

But Kadar may have miscalculated. Intelligence reports indicate that outrage is spreading over the proposed desecration of the freedom fighters' graves. Kadar may have succeeded only in giving the young heroes of 1956 an even firmer place in their people's hearts.

Estonian Independence in US Congressional Record

On February 24, 1983 the 65th anniversary of Estonian Independence was marked in the United States Congress. A number of prominent U.S. Senators and Congressmen entered their statements into the Congressional Record in support of the Estonian national-liberation struggle.

The ABN and EFC Meeting in Munich

On the 12th and 13th of May, the ABN and European Freedom Council held an enlarged Executive Board Meeting in Munich. The meeting was presided by the European Freedom Council Chairman Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P., who also held a speech on *The Current Military Position of NATO*. The other speakers were the Honorary Chairman of the EFC, HRH Otto von Habsburg whose speech was dedicated to *The Possibilities of EFC Co-operation with the European Parliament in Light of the Present International Political Situation*, ABN President and Honorary Presidium member of the EFC Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko who spoke on *The Analysis of the Current Military Position Behind the Iron Curtain*, Hon. G. Kirkpatrick, M.P. who analyzed the position of the Spanish Peninsula in context of European Defence system,

Prof. L. Magnino (Italy) who dedicated his attention to the young generation and Mr. Bertil Häggman who elaborated the whole plan of *Political Warfare Department*. Also present at the meeting were several members of the EFC Council from Great Britain, Germany and Spain and representatives of the subjugated nations Bulgaria, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Slovakia, Rumania and Ukraine.

In its statement it welcomes the strengthening of NATO, condemns Soviet-Russian encroachment on the sovereignty of independent nations (Russian submarines in the territorial waters of Sweden); believes that the 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; on the 40th anniversary of the establishment of ABN calls upon all freedom-loving peoples to render a full measure of moral and political support to the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations by Russian imperialism and communism; fully supports President Reagan's position regarding the "zero option" on European-based US and Soviet-Russian missiles: calls upon Western powers to initiate a psychological-political offensive; condemns Soviet Russia for its genocide in Ukraine, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Vietnam; endorses the recent resolution of the European Parliament expressing the E.P. support of the re-establishment of national democratic states in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia; expresses its conviction that present "peace movements" financed by Moscow are designed to spread anti-American spirit in Europe; appeals to the free nations to put pressure on the Kremlin to liquidate political prisons and concentration *camps*.

40th ABN and 25th Captive Nations Anniversaries Celebrated in US Capital

ABN branches in Canada and Australia and in particular in the United States (in

New York, Chicago, Detroit, Phoenix, Rochester, Boston, Cleveland and others) were active in organising Captive Nations Week. Several senators, congressman, governors and other statesmen were involved in these observances. The New York Captive Nations Week was very well covered by the American press. The culminating celebrations were in Washington in the White House and in the US Congress. The speech of US President Ronald Reagan on the 19th of July and that of Vice President George Bush on the 18th brought them to their highest level. In the US Congress jointly with the Captive Nations Week the 40th anniversary of ABN was celebrated.

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." The former premier of Ukraine in his address stated that "freedom or slavery — is the dilemma facing all of humankind" 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, Jean 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."

Richard Allen, former national security

advisor, dwelt on important US mistakes of the past in respect to the USSR.

At the afternoon World Captive Nations Conference presided by Gen. John Singlaub, the speaker on behalf of ABN was Mr. B. Fedorak, the President of AF ABN. ABN was active in preparing these observances.

On the 15th and 18th of July the EFC President, Hon. John Wilkinson, proposed in the British Parliament a motion regarding the official recognition by the British Government of the third week in July each year as Captive Nations Week. The motion is already sponsored by 130 members of British Parliament.

AF ABN Meeting

On the 5th of August AF ABN members, such as Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Turkestani, Afghani, Kampuchean, Vietnamese, Byelorussians and Americans held an enlarged meeting in New York. The meeting was presided by the AF ABN Chairman Mr. Vytenus (Lithuania). The speaker at the meeting was ABN President Hon. Y. Stetsko. Other speakers were Afghan and Ukrainian representatives. There was a discussion on present American policy towards the subjugated nations and several suggestions for ABN activities were deliberated.

ABN Canada

The prime long-term objective of *ABN-Canada* is to establish its lobbying group with wide grass-roots support for ABN goals. ABN-Canada eg. took part in the Progressive Conservative Policy Conference in 1982. The ABN position paper was presented to various M.P.'s and several important contacts were made.

On October 30—31, 1982, ABN-Canada held a "Freedom Weekend" in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. On October 30, ABN-Canada organised a rally at Nathan

Phillips Square, Toronto, City Hall, attended by nine members of municipal, provincial and federal government.

On October 31, ABN-Canada organised a festival at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre on Christie Street in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, attended by five politicians. Approximately 800 people attended the rally and festival.

In January, 1983, an ABN delegate attended the Progressive Conservative Conference in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

On June 25, 1983, ABN-Canada organised a successful "International Affairs Seminar" hosted by Mr. Yuri Shymko, M.P.P. at the Ontario Provincial Legislature, Toronto, Canada. Some 120 people took part.

On July 18, 1983, a delegation from ABN-Canada attended the 25th Observance of Captive Nations Week and the 40th Anniversary of ABN held in Washington, D. C.

During the period of 1982—83 the ABN-Canada National Executive held eleven working meetings.

Since its re-activation in November 1981, ABN-Canada has been systematically pursuing activities to rally public and official support for the captive nations and their goal of national liberation, independence and freedom.

ABN-Canada is currently in the process of establishing ABN-Canada branches in major Canadian centres.

Other Branches

Besides very active ABN branches in the USA, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, there are larger or smaller ABN branches in Germany, Spain, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Argentine, Venezuela, Turkey, India and Japan.

Russian Misinformation Counteracted

During the past year, the ABN continued its constant battle against Soviet

Russian stream of misinformation that is continuously being distributed among the media by the Soviet Russian press, television and radio. Soviet Russia "honoured" ABN 40th anniversary with the publication of a special booklet (70 pages) in the English, German, French, Spanish and probably other languages, full of lies and heinous attacks against the leading personalities of ABN. To effectively counteract this misinformation, the ABN utilizes a number of measures. The primary measure utilized was the publication of all the atrocities and subversive actions committed by Soviet Russia not only among the subjugated nations within its sphere of control but in the whole Free World as well. This was done constantly in the ABN Correspondence Bulletin and in other journals and periodicals.

The ABN Central Committee was in constant touch with its branches supplying them with relevant material to be utilized as a source of writing press releases, leaflets and memorandums concerning their respective nations and the subjugated nations in general.

The President of the ABN, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, sent telegrams to political leaders in various countries concerning the continuous suppression of national and human rights in the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

Finally, by means of mass rallies and demonstrations, the ABN in various countries visibly and verbally underscored the atrocities committed by Soviet Russia not only against the subjugated nations but humanity as well. These demonstrations were well received by the general public and received extensive coverage in the local media.

ABN Bulletin

A primary catalyst in these activities was the periodical — *ABN Correspond-*

ence. This journal serves as a source of information to the members and friends of the ABN. It features articles about the current situation in the Russian colonial empire. For example, in current affairs section the journal published articles such as: "The Revolutionary Processes in Ukraine", "Lithuanian Priests Condemn Religious Persecution", "The Life of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Catacombs", from an underground document from Ukraine, "Lithuanians Persecuted", "The Rev. Bronius Laurinavicius murdered by the KGB", "Lithuanian Underground Appeal: Ukraine, our Hope . . .", "Harsh Measures taken by the KGB against civilians in Riga in connection with Latvian Independence Day".

The ABN Correspondence also publishes the activities of its branches throughout the world. The following articles, for instance, are reflective of the activity of ABN branches: "Polish fight for existence" — a memorandum to President Reagan, "Byelorussia — a Soviet Russian Colony" — a memorandum of the Byelorussian Congress Committee of America to the Members of the United Nations, "President Reagan's Honoring the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group" — the resolution of the European Parliament calling on the United Nations to recognize the rights of the Baltic states to self-determination and demanding a referendum on this issue, and the activities of the American Friends of ABN in Chicago, the proclamation of Yuriy Shukhevych Week in Canada of March 28 — April 2, 1983.

The ABN Correspondence also published articles of an analytical nature concerning the subjugated nations. Among such articles were: Dr. Myroslav Charkevycz's "Why ABN?", Mr. Sviatoslav Karavansky's "The Use of Political Prisoners as Slave Labour", "The Revolutionary Processes in Ukraine", "Analysis of the

Current Situation in the Russian Empire” and others.

The ABN in its journal actively denounced Russian imperialism and communism throughout the world. The best example of this extensive coverage of the Russian aggression in Afghanistan, e. g., “Islamic Faith and Culture Violated in Afghanistan”, “The Determination of Afghan Freedom Fighters”, Dr. Bashir

Zikrias’s article — “The Guerilla Movement Covering the Country” and the reports of the ABN’s representatives to the International Afghanistan Hearings held in Oslo March 13—16, 1983. In addition, the ABN Correspondence in its issues published numerous pictures and quotations concerning the struggle of the Afghan people to retain their independence.

BALTIC POLITICAL PRISONERS JOIN UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

Two political prisoners from the Baltic states, a Lithuanian and an Estonian, have recently joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group while serving their sentences in labor camp No. 36-1 in the vast penal complex near Perm.

Viktoras Petkus, a 54-year-old founding member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, and Mart Niklus, a well-known Estonian dissident, apparently made the move in order to dramatize that the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which was formed in 1976 to monitor Soviet compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Accords, continues to function despite intense repression by authorities.

There are currently seven members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group serving sentences in camp No. 36-1 and No. 36 — Mykola Rudenko, Vasyl Stus, Ivan Kandyba, Lev Lukianenko, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Vasyl Ovsienko and Myroslav Marynovych. Although 26 of the original 37 members of the Kyiv-based group are either in exile or imprisoned and six have been expelled from the Soviet Union.

The group’s ranks have been replenished by activists who have remained anonymous to avoid persecution.

Mr. Petkus, a literary historian who served a six-year term from 1947 to 1953 for membership in a Catholic youth organization, ATEITIS, was sentenced in 1978 to three years in prison, seven years in a special-regimen labor camp and three years internal exile for activities with the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, which he helped form in 1976.

Mr. Niklus, a zoologist, was sentenced in 1980 to 12 years imprisonment and exile for his work in the human-rights movement. He was a close associate of co-defendant Juri Kukk, an Estonian historian who died in a Soviet Russian labor camp in March 1981. He previously served an 11-year term.

The two men’s display of solidarity with the Ukrainian human-rights movement underscores the notion that the rights of any one national group in the USSR can only be attained with the active involvement of all nationalities.

ANNEXATION OR RUSSIFICATION

by Mykhaylo I. Braichevskyi

Published by “Ukrainisches Institut für Bildungspolitik”, Munich, 1974.

News and Views

British Support for the Subjugated Nations in the Council of Europe

On September 29, in the Council of Europe, the situation of the German ethnic minority in the Soviet Union was discussed. After the German representative Dr. Jaeger, submitted a report of the Committee on the Relations with European Non-Member Countries John Wilkinson, M.P. from Great Britain, Chairman of the European Freedom Council made the following statement:

This report, Document 5098, of Mr. Jäger is one of this Parliamentary Assembly's great reports. It is comprehensive, thoroughly researched, historically sound and well documented and it was unanimously adopted by the Political Affairs Committee. I greatly hope that the Assembly, too, will adopt it unanimously. It is complementary to the reports on the Jewish minorities in the USSR that we debated and passed earlier this year. The two should be taken together and judged as a whole. The treatment is the same whether the person concerned is a Jew or, as in this case, ethnic German, harassment, ruthless discrimination in jobs and schooling, and wholesale suppression of the religious, linguistic and cultural heritage.

There are some who argue that we in the West should not continue to press for just treatment and civil rights within the USSR so much as press for peaceful co-existence with our Soviet neighbours here in Europe, even if that means suppressing our righteous and justifiable indignation at Soviet internal policies. Such an attitude is often made plain by virtue of what is not said rather than by what is publicly declared. For example yesterday the Prime Minister of Sweden rightly condemned the suppression of human rights in Czecho-Slovakia but said nothing about the far worse situation within the Soviet Union and only acknowledged, and then under pressure of questions from the Floor of this Assembly, the human rights

violations in Sweden's neighbouring nations, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, incorporated by force of arms into the Soviet Union. Western foreign policy-makers have long subscribed to the view of Helmut Sonnenfeld and others that it is dangerous to upset the status quo in Eastern Europe, that once the precarious equilibrium of the Soviet bloc is disturbed, the consequent destabilisation could be a threat to peace.

I argue that Soviet foreign policy-making would become more confident if we ignored the pressures within the Soviet bloc. But, anyway, do we have peace in our continent? The Soviet invasion of the fraternal socialist republics of Hungary in 1956 and of Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, the Soviet invasion of neutral Afghanistan in 1979, like the Soviet invasion of neutral Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in 1940, the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981 with Soviet support, and the suppression 30 years' ago this year by Soviet tanks of the people's uprising in East Berlin, are hardly peaceful actions, any more than were the enforced famine in the Ukraine 50 years' ago, when millions died, or the deportation of Crimean Tartars, Cossacks and, last but not least, the treatment of ethnic Germans, to which the report refers.

What help has the Helsinki process been? It has, of course, legitimised in Soviet eyes, and de facto also, the annexation by the Soviet Union of East Prussia

and other former German territories and the incorporation into Poland of Silesia and other former German territories beyond the line of the Oder and Neisse rivers. But what has been the response of the Soviet to those concessions? Far from facilitating the free movement of peoples, which is inscribed as a right within the Helsinki Accord, the Soviet policy of granting exit visas to Germans to the Federal Republic has become even more restrictive, and harassment of ethnic Germans has grown. The fruits of so-called "détente" have proved bitter to the racial minorities within the Soviet Union. If that is how the Soviet Union treats its own citizens and implements international agreements such as CSCE, how right we are in the West to be cautious in our dealings with the Soviet Union over crucial issues such as arms control and security policy.

Why study the crystal ball if one can read the book? If we want a short and good guide to internal policies within the Soviet Union, Mr. Jäger's report is an excellent document, but how can we practically help? First, the West should unanimously pass Mr. Jäger's draft recommendation, which wholeheartedly supports the efforts of the German Federal Republic to improve the position of ethnic Germans within the Soviet Union and to facilitate the granting by the Soviet authorities of exit visas to West Germany for those ethnic Germans who want to go there.

Secondly, foreign language broadcasting to the USSR by western nations should be stepped up. So often, especially with the financial constraints from which all our countries suffer, such broadcasts are increasingly under financial pressure. They should be made in languages such as Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian and German and not just in Russian.

Thirdly, the Council of Europe should commemorate the third week in July as captive nations week. Twenty-five years' ago both houses of Congress passed a captive nations resolution, which was enacted by the late President Eisenhower, as a result of which, throughout the length and breadth of the United States, the third week in July is commemorated as captive nations week for those behind the Iron Curtain who have lost their freedom. We here who believe in the self-determination of peoples and in human rights should commemorate that practically by public events and by displaying on the flagpoles outside this building the flags of those countries within the Soviet bloc that have lost their freedom.

Those would be small, practical measures, but if we do not show that we care and if we take the view that freedom is for us alone to enjoy, we shall carry little moral authority in the wider world and the authority of this Assembly will be diminished. I commend the report to the Assembly. I hope and trust that it will be unanimously passed.

**Wishing a Happy Easter to all our friends and supporters of
our cause as well as to all readers and subscribers of
the ABN Correspondence.**

Central Committee of the ABN

The Forgotten Holocaust

Robert Conquest on Stalin's treatment of Ukrainian peasants

A Ukrainian friend was remarking to me the other day that while the world was rightly deploring the killing of 269 innocent civilians in the Korean airliner incident, this might be put in profounder perspective by considering that the Russians would have to shoot down an airliner a day for 70 years to match the death roll of Stalin's terror-famine in Ukraine just 50 years ago.

The 1932-1933 famine had a number of special characteristics of which the most striking was that it was entirely man-made. The food was there, and was removed. At any moment reserves of grain could have been released, and millions spared.

Again, the famine was completely localised, affecting only Ukraine and the Ukrainian-speaking regions of the North Caucasus (with a few other lesser special targets such as the Volga Germans). Check points on the Ukrainian-Russian border sought to prevent Ukrainian peasants leaving, and those who succeeded in doing so and came back with bread had the bread confiscated.

This was no longer part of the attack on private farmers which had killed or deported several million, the regime's main enemies over the whole of Russia, in 1930-1932. By mid-1932 collectivisation was virtually complete, and it was the poor, collectivised peasantry of Ukraine which was now attacked.

The campaign started with a decree issued in mid-1932 setting grain procurement targets which could not possibly be met. Vasily Grossman, the famous Stalin Prize Novelist, writes in his last, secret, book "Forever Flowing" that there has never been such a decree in all the long history of Russia. Not the Tsars, nor the

Tartars, nor the German occupiers ever promulgated such a terrible decree. For the decree required that the peasants of Ukraine, the Don and the Kuban be put to death by starvation, put to death along with their little children.

First all the grain was taken; then the seed grain; then the houses and yards were searched and dug up, and any store of bread seized. They lived on a few potatoes; then on birds and cats and dogs; then on acorns and nettles; and in early spring they died.

There is no doubt that it was a conscious act of terror against the Ukrainian peasantry. Stalin had called the peasants the crux of the national question, and over this period the Ukrainian villages were persistently denounced for harbouring nationalists. At the same time, the other strong point of Ukrainian nationality, the country's educated élite, was attacked: the cultural institutions were purged and hundreds of leading writers and academics made public or private confessions and went to the execution cellars or labour camps; and the independent Ukrainian Orthodox church was similarly crushed.

Even on the inflated official Soviet figures of the faked 1939 census, there is a deficit of 10-11 million Ukrainians in this decade; and the actual deaths in the terror-famine can be estimated with reasonable accuracy as about 7 million, of which 2-3 million were children under the age of seven.

Stalin's knowledge of what was going on has sometimes been questioned, just as there are those who hold that Hitler was unaware of the Final Solution. In fact, it is perfectly clear that he had accurate reports from a variety of sources: indeed in Khrushchev's time Pravda gave a clear

account of such first hand reporting to him by a prominent Ukrainian Communist. His aim was to crush Ukraine, his method that practised by Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane, the "laying waste" of the refractory nation.

My Ukrainian friend refers to the period as the "forgotten Holocaust." It was well reported at the time in the West — by Malcolm Muggeridge, for instance — but Stalin simply denied that there was a famine, and took in a few distinguished visitors with show farms, so that progressive Westerners could dismiss, at any rate forget, these events, as George Orwell complained.

One reason for this lack of attention is, I think, ignorance in the West of the power of Ukrainian nationhood, the strength of Ukrainian national feeling. The country was only independent for a few precarious years, and we are inclined to think of it as always having been part of, even a national part of, the Russian Empire or the Soviet Union. But this is historically and emotionally false.

An important continuity between the Ukrainian holocaust and the airliner incident is provided by the fact that both were sponsored by the same régime and party, and that the present Kremlin leaders were young adults starting their political careers in the early 'thirties, just at the time when that party was throwing its younger and more brutalised elements into the struggle with the men, women and children they regarded as class enemies.

Mrs Thatcher's recent Washington Embassy speech about these characters produced a notable outpour of drive — needless to say from Conservative "wets" as well as others. Her remarks (I was present and heard them) were clearly and firmly expressed, and absolutely true. Clear and firm expression is denounced as "rhe-

toric," and truth thought better unsaid. One Tory superwet or megawet, even argued, first that though the Russians abuse us we should never answer back, and that if we both attacked each other verbally this would prevent negotiations. Of course this equates Mrs Thatcher's true remarks with their false ones; and the Kremlin will negotiate if it feels it to be in its interests whatever our speeches, as it happily did with a far more abusive Hitler.

More important, we can only negotiate realistically, if we know our adversary and if our leaders transmit that knowledge to the public, a procedure better done by an Iron Lady than a Jelly Gentleman. Meanwhile let us note, that in full accord with the Prime Minister's view of them, the Soviet leadership has never expressed repentance for, or even publicly admitted, the Ukrainian genocide operation, or many another of the massacres which mark their past.

My Ukrainian friend had been taking part in a Commemoration of the 50th anniversary of this atrocity, organised by the three-million-strong Ukrainian communities in the West. This article may be considered as a small contribution to that commemoration.

The Daily Telegraph, London, 5. 11. 1983

LIST OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

USSR News brief: Human Rights
May 1, 1983, 2nd English edition

Edited by Dr. Cronid Lubarsky

CAHIERS DU SAMIZDAT

48, rue de Lac

1050 — Bruxelles (Belguim)

Testimonies on Genocide

The National Committee to Restore Internal Security Held its Tenth Session on September 7, 1983 at one Federal Plaza in New York City. The Subject of the Hearing was World-Wide Communist Genocide.

Rosanne Klass, Director of the Afghanistan Information Center of Freedom House, pointed out to the Committee that there is a difference between such genocide as practiced by Hitler against the Jews, wherein a whole group of people were exterminated simply because they were members of that group and the genocide practiced by the Russian and Chinese Communists which are designed to accomplish Communist aims.

Miss Klass testified that the Soviet Russian aggression against Afghanistan has resulted in one million deaths, 100,000 of which were subjected to torture or exposed to lethal chemical agents. Executions occur at the rate of 50 to 300 per night. There are 3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, and 1.5 million in Iran — a quarter of the total population. She testified that the cruelties, barbarities and ruthlessness exceed all civilized bounds.

Yet the Soviet Russian carry on this genocide, according to her, to subjugate the population. If it ceased resistance, the severity of the genocide would abate.

Simon Wozhakiwsky, a professor who was a first-hand witness of the long forgotten genocide against the Ukrainian people in 1932-33, testified that the deliberate man-made starvation was imposed because the Ukrainians resisted incorporation into the Russian dominated USSR. If they had not shown resistance, the severity of their genocide, while still existing would have been modified.

Mr. Wozhakiwsky testified that he personally, on visiting his mother's home in 1933, saw the shrunken dead bodies of eight of her immediate neighbors which had not yet been taken away. While he was there a crude truck carried them off

to a large mass grave. He also saw corpses and bloated skeletons at the railroad station. He said that the Russians sent 35,000 agents, called the "Red Brigade", into Ukraine in 1932 to organize the starvation. Ukraine, a very strategic country, rich in minerals, was the largest to be forced into the USSR. The harvest of 1932 was totally gathered up and exported to Russia. The population lived on weeds, herbs, rodents and bugs for that winter but by spring even these were gone and people died by the millions. Altogether in that one act of genocide, he said conservatively, 7 million died. (Chairman Robert Morris said that Winston Churchill estimated 10 million deaths). Mr. Wozhakiwsky told the Committee that millions of Ukrainians have been killed by the Red Army and the KGB during the sixty years of its occupation, all without virtual protest by the civilized West.

To show that the same genocide exists in Communist China, the Committee heard from John Wang who spent 22 years in a Chinese labor camp where he daily endured and witnessed the severity imposed on the inmates — excessive labor, near-starvation diet, an interminable re-education regime and worst of all, forced confessions extracted by torture. The death tolls from these ordeals are excessively high, 50 percent being exposed to forced confessions.

Wang quoted from a Communist "Rules of the Labor Camps" which reported that there are 7,668 such labor camps with an estimated 23 million inmates, although other estimates exceed that. Scores of millions have been killed according to estimates of experts quoted by Wang.

Mr. A. Hadera, Chairman of the Ethiopian Refugee Foundation told the Committee that Communist-ruled Ethiopia has killed 100,000 civilians, caused 1 million Ethiopians to become refugees in the Sudan, 700,000 in Somalia and 40,000 in Djibouti. In the latter country, authorities collaborate with the U.N. in trying to lure refugees back to Addis Ababa.

Hadera said that the opposition to Mengistu, the Ethiopian dictator is strong, particularly in the north but it receives no assistance from the United States. He also predicted that Somalia will not be able to survive the insurgency attacks, the "liberation" thrusts and the incursions

from Ethiopia supported by Qaddafi and the Soviet-Russians.

Robert Morris, former Chief Counsel for the United States Internal Security Subcommittee, Chairman of the National Committee to Restore Internal Security presided the hearing. Dr. Victor T. H. Tsuan, Chairman of the Chinese American Academic and Professional Association, and Otto Dohrenwend, were committee members who participated in the questioning. The NCRIS is a citizens' committee which includes Lt. Gen. Arthur Trudeau as its Vice Chairman and former U.S. Senators George Murphy and William Jenner.

Mujahideen Leader Encourages Defection of Soviet Soldiers in Afghanistan

On November 10th the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine invited guests, staff members and the international radios to hear QUDRATULLAH MOJADEDI of the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen address the topic of the resistance movement in Afghanistan and particularly the possibilities of encouraging defection of non-Russian soldiers fighting in the Soviet army. One of the chief leaders of the Afghan resistance movement, Mojadedi was in the United States to speak with the administration, Congress, press and organizations about the ongoing struggle against the Soviet Russian occupation of Afghanistan and request aid. He was being escorted around by the Federation for American Afghan Action.

Introducing the representative of the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen, CONGRESSMAN DON RITTER called Afghanistan "the only place on earth where the Red Army is being challenged" and expressed his belief that its fight can offer hope to the resistance movements in Ukraine and the Baltic countries.

According to Qudratullah Mojadedi, the Afghan resisters are getting just enough aid from the U.S. to "fight and die, but not to free themselves." Although the morale is high, only 25% of those willing to fight are armed. Even without arms they have accomplished an awesome task, Mojadedi said, by keeping the Soviet army from controlling Afghanistan. He expressed hope that the defeat of the USSR would start from his country.

Describing the Soviet army, Mojadedi, stressed their low morale. The soldiers were told that they would be fighting Chinese and American armies; instead they are forced to attack civilian Afghans. He also claimed that 50 to 60% of the Soviet army is addicted to drugs.

The mujahideen leader insisted that the resistance is willing to accept defectors, and that the Islamic religion requires its followers to treat prisoners of war well. So far, problems have existed in communication and mass attacks by the Soviet armies whenever prisoners have been taken.

ANDREW EIVA, Executive Director of the Federation for American Afghan Action, told the audience that he had been informed by the mujahideen that they are willing to smuggle more prisoners of war out through Pakistan if their countrymen assist in convincing the U.S. to provide more aid to the resistance movement.

CONGRESSMAN MARK SILJAN-

DER, R-MI, also attended the briefing.

There is currently a resolution in the House and Senate asking for more aid for the Afghan freedom fighters. S. Con. Res. 74 was introduced by Senator Paul Tsongas, D-MA, in the U.S. Senate and Congressman Ritter is introducing it in the House of Representatives.

K. Chumachenko

Heritage Foundation Report on the UN Calls for Recognition of Independence of Ukraine and Baltic Countries

UNIS, Washington, D. C. — The Heritage Foundation's United Nations Assessment Project Study released a "Backgrounder" report on November 22, 1983 which analyzes Moscow's misuse of the UN, and discusses the role of Ukraine in the UN and its colonial status within the USSR, calling for UN recognition of the independence of Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The Heritage Foundation is a conservative think-tank in Washington.

The report, entitled, "Moscow's UN Outpost," was prepared by Policy Analyst Dr. Juliana Geran Pilon, with the assistance of former UN Under-Secretary-General Arkady Shevchenko, who defected in 1978. It proves that the Soviet Union, unlike the United States, has managed to make the UN serve its own purposes, through the effective use of the UN machinery and extensive contact with UN affiliated non-governmental organizations and the media.

According to Dr. Pilon, the USSR delegates routinely and falsely accuse the US, South Africa and Israel of not supporting decolonization. South Africa's role in Namibia, says Dr. Pilon, "pales beside the USSR's genocide in Ukraine or its annexation of the Baltic States — yet the label of "colonialism" is never applied in these contexts." In her footnote she

adds, "To recognize once again the colonialist nature of the Soviet Union, on July 26, 1983, President Reagan sent a statement to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar charging that the Soviet Union violates these nations' right to self-determination. In the *Memorandum Concerning the Decolonization of the USSR* submitted to the 35th General Assembly by the Ad Hoc Committee Consisting of the World Councils of Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Turkestanians and Ukrainians in October 1980, there is an excellent summary of the Soviet policy of Russification and colonization."

The UN has always been utilized by Moscow as a propaganda instrument. The report quotes Josef Stalin addressing a secret Communist Party meeting at the time the UN was being organized: "We do not need the UN. What we need is a stage from which we can express any opinion we want."

Besides the abuse of the UN as a propaganda instrument for such issues as colonialism, disarmament, peaceful co-existence and other issues which appeal to the Third World, such as racism, aggression and development, the Soviet-Russians take advantage of espionage and recruitment opportunities. The report cites the head of the FBI's New York division as saying

that there are about 1,100 communist-bloc officials in New York. About 30 percent of Soviet UN employees are skilled KGB officers, while the others are also believed to be involved in intelligence related activities. More important than espionage, however, is the recruitment of other employees to provide information.

Though Moscow has the overwhelming support of the "monaligned" nations, it has not contributed its financial fair share. "Counting assessed and voluntary contributions, the USSR — including the Ukrainian and Byelorussian shares — in 1981 paid only 4.21 percent of the costs of the UN system. Of assessed and peacekeeping outlays, the Soviet Union paid only 10.66 percent in 1980; in contrast, the US paid 31.42 percent. To make matters worse, the Soviet Union is about \$200 million in arrears in its payments to the UN."

The Heritage Backgrounder report makes the following conclusions: 1. The US and its allies should oppose in the strongest terms every Soviet attempt to compromise the impartiality of the Secre-

tariat; 2. Reports of cooperation with governments by Secretariat employees — in violation of Article 100 of the UN Charter — should be investigated and punished; 3. All cases of employee harassment and discrimination on political grounds should be vigorously opposed by Western members; 4. Soviet violations of UN procedures — misuse of rules, altering documents, stalling reports, manufacturing statistics — should be condemned; 5. The FBI should be reinforced to enable it to cope with the large number of soviet-bloc diplomats. The US should attempt to reduce the size of the Eastern bloc and communist missions in New York; 6. The US should press for UN recognition of the independence of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Ukraine.

Dr. Pilon also recommends John C. Etridge's Library of Congress Congressional Research Service study, "Ukraine and Byelorussia in the UN, Background and Arguments For and Against Expulsion," November 5, 1971, as a good analysis of the Soviet Union's three UN votes.

"Conservative Digest" Recommends Supporting Liberation Nationalism

WASHINGTON-UNIS — In a list of specific actions to stop Soviet terrorism, the monthly magazine "Conservative Digest" recommends support for the Ukrainian nationalist struggle. The article entitled "Terrorism: Vital Part of Moscow's Foreign Policy," suggests the need to "support anti-communist groups and movements inside the Soviet Union and Soviet-bloc nations. This would include Ukrainian nationalists in Ukraine, Afghan freedom fighters in Afghanistan and the Solidarity underground in Poland. We must demonstrate our willingness to help anti-communist groups that will put the Soviets on the defensive."

After first recognizing that Moscow is

responsible for most terrorist acts in the West and declaring that the U.S. government will take action to counter it, other specific actions include:

- Stopping all economic aid, loans and trade with the Soviet Union and all communist countries;
- Increasing pressure on Cuba to stop supporting terrorism in the Western hemisphere through more anti-communist broadcasting and literature and aid to anti-Castro Cuban groups;
- Scheduling more daily broadcasts over VOA and RFE/RL;
- Drastically reducing the number of KGB agents in the U.S.

LITHUANIAN RESOLUTION

We, the Lithuanian Americans of Cicero, Illinois assembled this 12th day of February, 1984, at St. Anthony Parish Hall, to commemorate the restoration of Lithuania's independence, do hereby state as follows:

That February 16, 1984 marks the 66th anniversary of the restoration of independence to the more than 700 year-old Lithuanian State:

That Lithuania was recognized as a free and independent nation and was a member of the League of Nations; however, she was by force and fraud occupied and illegally annexed by Soviet Russia in 1940.

Now, Therefore, be it Resolved, That

We are grateful to President Ronald Reagan and the Department of State for the statements of official diplomatic non-recognition of the forced incorporation into the USSR of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and for the commitments to the people of these Baltic nations in their struggle to regain freedom:

We support the President and Congress of the United States of America in their continuing increase of military preparedness to defend our country against any adversary:

We ask President Ronald Reagan to renounce the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, and request the Congress to ratify this action, thus reinforcing the position of the United States in its statements against incorporation of the Baltic States into Soviet Russia;

We ask that the President and members of Congress condemn the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact which divided Europe into two parts so that the independent states of Eastern Europe including Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia became Soviet Russia's colonies in violation of international law and self-determination of nations;

We ask the President to use every international forum to bring about the understanding that the Soviet-occupied countries are colonies of the Russian empire, and to support actions of its de-colonization, noting that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples also applies to Lithuania and other occupied countries;

We urgently request President Ronald Reagan and the members of Congress to curtail trade with Soviet Russia and its satellites, especially the sale of high technology products that in turn forces the United States to spend more tax dollars for defense.

We request that this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Secretary of Commerce, Presidential Council, United States Senators from Illinois, Chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Congressman from our district, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, other appropriate Congressional Committees, and the news media.

Stanley Dubauskas
Secretary of the meeting

Dr. Bronė Motušis
President of the Cicero Chapter
of Lithuanian American Council
and Chairperson of the meeting

Save us unnecessary expenses!

Send in your subscription for

ABN Correspondence

immediately!



The President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, unveiling the plaque dedicated to the 40th Anniversary of the ABN and the 20th Anniversary of the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford, in the Bradford Cathedral, November 20, 1983.

(Yorkshire Post, Leeds, GB, Nov. 21, 1983)



On the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, ABN groups protesting against Russian domination of the subjugated nations before the Soviet Embassy in London, Great Britain, November 19, 1983.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! ... Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Demonstrations Against the 'Peaceniks' Organised by ABN Canada and the 'Canadian Coalition For Peace Through Strength' on the Streets of Toronto.

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Captive Nations Week, 1984

A PROCLAMATION

By the President of the United States of America

Once each year, all Americans are asked to pause and to remember that their liberties and freedoms, often taken for granted, are forbidden to many nations around the world. America continues to be dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. If we are to sustain our commitment to this principle, we must recognize that the peoples of the Captive Nations are endowed by the Creator with the same rights to give their consent as to who shall govern them as those of us who are privileged to live in freedom. For those captive and oppressed peoples, the United States of America stands as a symbol of hope and inspiration. This leadership requires faithfulness towards our own democratic principles as well as a commitment to speak out in defense of mankind's natural rights.

Though twenty-five years have passed since the original designation of Captive Nations Week, its significance has not diminished. Rather, it has undeniably increased — especially as other nations have fallen under Communist domination. During Captive Nations Week we must take time to remember both the countless victims and the lonely heroes; both the targets of carpet bombing in Afghanistan, and individuals such as imprisoned Ukrainian patriot Yuriy Shukhevych. We must draw strength from the actions of the millions of freedom fighters in Communist-occupied countries, such as the signers of petitions for religious rights in Lithuania, or the members of Solidarity, whose public protests require personal risk and sacrifice that is almost incomprehensible to the average citizen in the Free World. It is in their struggle for freedom that we can find the true path to genuine and lasting peace.

For those denied the benefits of liberty we shall continue to speak out for their freedom. On behalf of the unjustly persecuted and falsely imprisoned, we shall continue to call for their speedy release and offer our prayers during their suffering. On behalf of the brave men and women who suffer persecution because of national origin, religious beliefs, and their desire for liberty, it is the duty and the privilege of the United States of America to demand that the signatories of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Accords live up to their pledges and obligations and respect the principles and spirit of those international agreements and understandings.

During Captive Nations Week, we renew our efforts to encourage freedom, independence, and national self-determination for those countries struggling to free themselves from Communist ideology and totalitarian oppression, and to support those countries which today are standing face-to-face against Soviet expansionism. One cannot call for freedom and human rights for the people of Asia and Eastern Europe while ignoring the struggles of our own neighbors in this hemisphere. There is no difference between the weapons used to oppress the people of Laos and Czecho-Slovakia, and those sent to Nicaragua to terrorize its own people and threaten the peace and prosperity of its neighbors.

The Congress, by joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), has authorized and requested the President to designate the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week".

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning July 15, 1984, as Captive Nations Week. I invite the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities to reaffirm their dedication to the international principles of justice and freedom, which unite us and inspire others.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and ninth.

RONALD REAGAN

“I AM PROUD TO STAND BY YOU”

Washington, July 17 — U.S. President Ronald Reagan on Monday told about 200 ethnic Americans, mostly of East European origin, that he was proud to stand by them in their struggle for freedom in their former homelands.

“You are men and women of courage, heroes who have devoted a lifetime to struggle for God’s greatest gift — for freedom,” President Reagan said in a speech at a White House ceremony where he signed, for the fourth time in as many years, a Proclamation designating this week as Captive Nations Week. With Vice-President George Bush looking on, President Reagan told the ethnic Americans: “I look at you and I know I am looking at people who have seen and suffered the full gamut of totalitarian terror”.

In his remarks, President Reagan said that “the struggle for freedom is the pre-eminent struggle of our time”.

The President said that the greatest single challenge to human rights in the world today is communist totalitarianism which “puts itself above God, that demands control over people’s lives, and that defines its very existence by the relentless drive to conquer more and more lands”.

President Reagan said that many nations today have been conquered by forces of violence and not by ideas. He mentioned as examples, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Vietnam and Cambodia. He said that the citizens of Nicaragua “are the latest to join this unhappy lot”.

The President also mentioned Afghanistan. He said the cause of peace “is NOT served by a conquering force of more than 100,000 Soviet troops”. He said that the cause of peace will only be served when those troops “are out and Afghanistan belongs again to the Afghan people”.

Near the end of his remarks, President Reagan mentioned Radio Broadcasts from the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. He said “freedom’s greatest shield is a shield of truth, and our shield is stronger today than ever before”.

Ambassador Max Kampelman, who headed the U.S. delegation to the Helsinki Review Conference in Madrid, spoke to the ethnic Americans about human rights, prior to the signing ceremony.

He said that communist efforts to create a Soviet people has failed and that there is reason to believe that there is in the Soviet Union “a deep resentment” against the police violence used to destroy “proud cultures with long historic roots”.

Kampelman said: “In countries like Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and the Caucasian Republics smoldering yearnings for self-determination continue to exist.”

He said that frantic efforts by Soviet military and police authorities to stop the intrusion of modern ideas into the closed society “are doomed to fail”.

He said: “The greatest threat to the leadership of the Soviet Union probably lies within its own borders”.

The USSR Boycott of the 1984 Olympic Games

Ukraine, the largest subjugated nation with a population of over 50 million, and the other subjugated nations — Byelorussia, the Baltic nations, Georgia, and others — do not have the opportunity to participate in the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympic Games. They are deprived of all sovereign rights by the Russian colonial imperialists. Ukrainian athletes, as well as all athletes of the other subjugated nations, are not able to decide for themselves whether to participate in the Olympics.

The achievements of the USSR's athletes make a mockery of the traditional Hellenic conception of Olympic competition. Its athletes are professionals; their medals are won for a fictitious "Soviet" people and not for the nations they are the true sons and daughters of.

The USSR, a totalitarian-terrorist Russian colonial empire, is constantly in a state of war against the subjugated nations. As a matter of principle, the USSR should not be allowed to participate in the Olympics.

The Free World should welcome the Russian colonial empire's decision to decline participation in the Olympics being held in a nation which fought for freedom and anti-colonial liberation. Moscow fears that an epidemic of freedom will spread from George Washington's land of justice. When confronted by the possibility of demonstrations by national groups in the United States, Moscow lost its nerve and began to claim that its athletes would be endangered. In fact, Moscow fears that its athletes would choose freedom and defect to the West. Characteristically, Goliath fears David.

Moscow's only superiority in the East-West struggle stems from its use and abuse of various forms of media. To our regret, it has managed to simultaneously present the world two different realities of the so-called Soviet Union. On the one hand, the Kremlin often stresses a unified society. On the other hand, it seeks through force of arms to incorporate additional peoples into the Russian-manufactured "union". The Communists' manipulation of various forms of media has always held as priority the misrepresentation of their totalitarian multi-national empire, while stressing one "Soviet" nation and one social entity.

The Russian colonial empire's disinformation smokescreen has been so extensive and successful that the majority of Western journalists have time and time again ignored fact in favor of Russia's fiction and propaganda. Thus, the West has forgotten Soviet-Russia's man-made famine/genocide of 1932/33 which murdered over 7 million Ukrainians who strived for freedom and the Ukrainian way of life. The fate of millions of political prisoners in the Russian Gulag goes unreported in the Western media. The murdered priests and cultural activists, the assassination attempts on Pope John Paul II, the murder of the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stefan Bandera (Munich, Germany in 1959 by a KGB agent), the imposition of martial law in Poland, the barbaric war in Afghanistan, the wars by proxy in Latin America and Africa — is this all forgotten?

In a television interview, Georgi Arbatov admitted that Russia does not want to again confront the political pressure that arises annually from the commemoration of the United States' Captive Nations Week. The decisive

cause of the Soviet-Russian withdrawal is fear of the subjugated nations in its colonial empire. The USSR's vulnerability becomes more and more evident each day as the demographic growth of the so-called Soviet Union is taking place in the subjugated nations and not on ethnic Russian territory. This increasing growth, coupled with the sky-rocketing number of non-Russian military personnel, has led to paranoia on the part of Moscow with regard to the subjugated nations.

The sports world ought to think not only in terms of competition, but also in terms of respect for the basic principles of the Hellenic Olympics; the principles that served to guide relations between civilized nations and peoples.

The nations subjugated in the USSR and the "satellite states" struggle for the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire into free, independent, democratic, and sovereign nations, taking as their example the American anti-colonial revolution. The International Olympic Committee ought to accept emigre athletes of the subjugated nations into the Los Angeles Olympiad as the proud bearers of their respective nations' flags. These athletes participated in the Free Olympiad held in Toronto, Canada, whose climax was a cross-continental Marathon run with the torch of freedom. Its final destination was a symbolic pedestal near the Olympic Stadium in Los Angeles.

Simultaneously, the Ukrainian Youth Association held its Jamboree in Los Angeles with over 400 young participants from all over the Free World.

The Ukrainian people are united with all other subjugated nations in their determination to liberate their homeland from Communist-Russian colonialism. We commend the American people for their unyielding and principled defence of national and human rights, not being taken in by the Communist-Russian colonial empire's campaign to discredit the Los Angeles Olympics and the United States Government.



Yurij Shukhevych with his mother, the wife of the now legendary Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), Gen. Taras Chuprynka — Roman Shukhevych. The cane he is holding is not only a walking stick, but a blind man's cane.

Yurij has been almost blinded from years of suffering and torture by the KGB.

SOVIET RUSSIAN GENOCIDE

Last year marked the 50th anniversary of formal diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. It was a year marked by continued Soviet atrocities in Afghanistan, missile-rattling in Europe, and the wanton murder of passengers aboard Korean Airlines Flight 007.

Despite all this, there were some who said that this event was still an occasion worth "celebrating". The world, they argue, is a better place for our decision in 1933 to recognize and begin a "dialogue" with the Soviet regime.

But, throughout all the speeches, dialogues, and celebrated articles surrounding our golden anniversary with Moscow, there has been little or no public mention of an event that was taking place in the Soviet Union — specifically Ukraine — at the time our first appointed ambassador was presenting his credentials to Stalin.

The 1932-33 famine in Ukraine was among the worst ever recorded in human history. But what makes this particular "famine" — in which 7 to 8 million Ukrainians starved to death — unique is the fact that it was not an act of nature. Rather, it was a cold and calculated decision on the part of the Kremlin to impose its will on the people of Ukraine.

Seen by the Soviet leaders as the final solution to a nagging problem, the "famine" marked the most brutal chapter in the long, sad history of the Ukrainian struggle for independence.

From 1917 to 1921, the Ukrainians had fought a national war of liberation to free themselves of over 200 years of oppressive Russian rule. Seizing upon the opportunity presented by the turmoil of the Bolshevik coup d'etat, the Ukrainians established an independent republic in January 1918.

Unfortunately it was short-lived. Soon after the Bolsheviks gained control of the Kremlin, they declared war on the new republic. Overwhelmed by Soviet Russian military might, the Ukrainian army was crushed and the republic was replaced by a pro-Soviet puppet regime.

Although defeated on the battlefield, the Ukrainians continued to resist. Fearful of the growing national movement, Moscow first liquidated the intelligentsia, then declared war on the backbone of Ukrainian nationalism — the peasantry.

The campaign against the peasants began in mid-1932 with a decree on grain procurements. Because procurements were purposely set impossibly high by Soviet authorities, the peasants had no chance of meeting established quotas. It was then that the terror began.

Eyewitnesses to the carnage appearing before a recent Senate hearing recalled the horror of 1933. Organized bands of communist thugs swarmed over the countryside, from farm to farm, plundering every last bit of grain. Under orders to take everything, they moved from house to house emptying kitchen pantries of everything from potatoes to pumpkin seeds.

Nothing was left to chance. To ensure that no food was hidden, the ground was probed with iron rods, floors were ripped up, ovens were wrecked, and walls were broken.

By the time the starvation began in earnest during the winter of 1933, Soviet authorities had sealed off the borders of Ukraine with armed guards. This mass murder, one of the most appalling acts of genocide in history, was carried out with barely a murmur of protest from the West.

What has been done to the millions of martyred Ukrainians by the Soviets cannot be undone. But, by recalling the tragedy which occurred more than half a century ago, we can offer a long overdue memorial to those who died, and a much needed warning to those in the West who cherish freedom.

This is why I am offering a special U.S. Senate resolution to officially recognize what occurred. Through this we can appropriately honor the dead, succor the living, and give those among us who wish to "celebrate" our relations with the Soviet regime something sobering to think about.

(Reprinted from Conference Reports which is a semimonthly column of the Senate Republican Conference).



The Washington Horizons Youth Conference sponsored by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) and the Joint Baltic-American National Committee (JBANC), held June 8-10 at Georgetown University. The lectures were given by: Linas Kojelis, associate director for the Office of Public Liaison; Gary Matthews, senior deputy assistant secretary at the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs; Dr. John Lenczowski, director of European and Soviet Affairs at the National Security Council; Kenneth Y. Tomlinson, director of the Voice of America; Lee Bellinger of the Center on National Labor Policy; Amy Moritz of the National Center for Public Policy Research on political activism; Ed Haismaier also of the National Center for Public Policy Research on conducting demonstrations; Morton Blackwell of the Leadership Institute on practical workshops; Ronald McNamara, legislative assistant to Sen. Alfonse D'Amato; George Nesterzuk, associate director of the Office of Personnel Management; Gerard Lamb, legislative assistant to Congressman Brian Donnelly and Norman Rankin, assistant director of political affairs for the Republican National Committee.

Afghanistan: yet another victim of Russification?

Afghanistan is in the midst of a continuing struggle for its survival as a nation. This struggle does not take place only on the battlefield between the Mujahidin and the forces of the Red Army. The war swirls through the offices of the installed government, the University of Kabul, in the mass media of television, radio, and the printed word, in the mosques and finally in the home of each individual family. Ultimately, it is for the hearts and minds of the Afghan people, but it is the soul of Afghanistan that defends herself and will in the end, be triumphant.

The following article is but a cursory examination of the trial by fire imposed on our land by the invader and the iron resolve of the Afghans, purified and even hardened by this trial. Afghanistan, has been forced to undergo many changes, changes that are not reforms, changes that have been in fact, against the very essence of that which is Afghanistan. We will describe aspects of some changes in the country-at-large, in its military structure and militia, in the academic and educational field, the mass media, and the family. We will conclude with some of the responses made by our people to these "changes" inspired by the invader.

The presently attempted russification process of the Kabul Administration in the fifth year of occupation by the Red Army is still not only unsuccessful but has in fact, back-fired. The russification process is limited to Kabul city only, and even there in the capital it is just limited to the Kabul administration and Kabul University.

The Soviet propaganda machine and its subtle manipulation of the mass media, especially the propaganda from Kabul Radio and the Russian films on Kabul TV are constantly presenting the Soviet

Union as victorious and invincible. The majority of the Kabul population is not affected by this propaganda, and the Afghan people are now becoming more politically conscious of their own national identity.

The russification process in Kabul must still be considered as a serious danger, and the occupation forces are seriously engaged in the following russification activities:

— The curriculum of Kabul University has been changed and five new subjects introduced and taught by the Russians, which are compulsory for the whole university. "Historical Materialism", "The History of Revolutionary Movements", "Scientific Sociology", "Dialectical Materialism", and the "Russian Language";

— the Russian language is mandatory and its extensive language training and teaching courses and programmes are carried out not only at Kabul University but also in the whole Kabul administration;

— several "Friendship Houses" or "Friendship Centres" are established by the Russians in their own style. The largest among these so-called Soviet-Afghan "Friendship Circles" is a large complex located at Deh-Mazang in the heart of Kabul city. Every "centre" has concert and meeting halls, a cinema, bars, cafeterias, a library, and so on;

— in short, these Soviet-Afghan Friendship Centres are established in "Mikro-rayon", the University, and in every college and school in Kabul. The former Kabul University Central Library was reorganized and renamed the "Soviet Studies Centre". Soviet literature is easily available, but when one asks for another kind of literature the answer is always: "it is out";

— the Baihaqi Kabul Government Bookshop, the largest bookstore of the

country in Kabul has become a centre of the Soviet literature and publications offered at very low prices. When someone asks for another kind of book, if the answer is not "it is out", then it would be very expensive;

— cheap Russian imported consumer commodities are offered at very low prices in numerous cooperative shops which are organized by the Food Procurement Department of the Ministry of Finance. The Kabul population is buying more and more Russian imported commodities because consumer goods from other countries, especially goods from western industrial societies are too expensive or not available at all.

The Russification of the Afghan Military

The beginning of Soviet influence in the Afghan military can be traced back to the late 1950's. The former Vice-President, Richard Nixon was at that time making a goodwill tour of the area and decided to make a stopover in Kabul, although Afghanistan was outside the recognized sphere of American interests. Mohammed Daoud, at that time the Prime Minister under King Zahir, asked Nixon for military aid and training for the Afghan army and air force officers. When Nixon returned to Washington, he advised President Eisenhower against offering military aid on the grounds that it might offend Pakistan, an ally by treaty with the United States. Mohammed Daoud, angered by this rejection of his request for military aid, turned to the Soviet Union which was more than willing to comply. From that point on, large numbers of Afghan officers were sent to the Soviet Union for military training and the Soviets began to supply the Afghans with tanks, fighters, and other military equipment. These Soviet trained officers later contributed to the overthrow of Daoud and the establishment of the Peo-

ple's Democratic Party (PDP) now in power.

Soon after the People's Democratic Party (PDP) seized power in April 1978, one of their first acts was to reorganize the Afghan military along the lines of the Soviet model. The post of political officer was established at each level in the military and Soviet advisers were appointed to most units.

Generally, militia forces and members for the Kabul regime are recruited in urban and semi-urban areas of Khost, Gardez, and other small towns among small traders and non-tribal population. When mountains and forests came under control of the resistance and business declined in the bazars, many fire-wood sellers and small traders lost their means of living. However, they soon found much better paid jobs. They signed one-year contracts for 3,000 Afs. a month. These contracts ended in July last year. The authorities started to recruit new militia and asked the old ones to renew their contracts, but, among the old, many had already fled with their weapons and the rest replied that, as they are constantly in the front line of fighting, the rate of their losses is too high for the compensation they receive. With the increase of 500 Afs. in their salaries some of them agreed to renew their contracts. At present, in the Khost district for example, there are about 85 urban militia men and 107 rural militia; in Ismael-khel 120; and in Dargay 45. There are also 257 militia men in different villages. Already, among the newly recruited members, some have taken up arms, but not returned to their duty.

The second group of "Bureau Guard" and "Avant Guard" party organizations sent to the USSR for a three-month training have returned lately to Paktia. They are mainly doing intelligence work directly with Soviet advisers and independently from KHAD (State Security Service).

Russification of Education

The Afghan government had made great strides in improving the education system prior to the establishment of the Marxist PDP regime in 1978. During the past twenty years, the government had greatly accelerated its efforts to extend education to the rural areas. By 1978 every village had at least one school and Lycées (secondary schools) for boys and girls had been established in the larger towns. In addition, technical and educational colleges had been established in Kandahar, Herat, Paktia, Ningrahar, and Mazar-i-Sharif. Kabul University, with an ever-increasing student body, had been enlarged with new faculties and departments. A second university with a college of medicine and a department of agriculture was founded in Ningrahar Province in eastern Afghanistan. Because of the increasing demand for education by the population, two hundred lycées were established in the rural areas in 1970 alone. Afghan students were also sent abroad to study. Before Prime Minister Daoud turned to the Soviet Union for assistance, these students had been sent to Western countries, such as Canada, West Germany, Great Britain, France, and various Arab countries. After his request for aid was rejected by the Eisenhower government, however, more and more of these students were sent to the Soviet Union and other Communist Bloc nations for graduate studies. These students were later to provide a pro-Soviet base for the overthrow of the Daoud government and a working cadre for the new PDP regime.

The Ministry of Higher Education controlled the universities, educational and technical colleges, and other institutions of higher education. This ministry was immediately reorganized after Soviet models as soon as the Marxist PDP regime seized power in 1978. The departments of Kabul University were reorganized under the direction of Soviet advisors along the

model of the Soviet university. The departments were replaced by faculties of history, philology, medicine, and others staffed by teachers and administrators sympathetic to the new government. The former faculty members and administrators were either imprisoned, fled the country, or were executed. A new faculty for Political Training in Propaganda and Agitation to which only PDP party members were admitted, was established. The professors of this new faculty were all Russians. A Spanish language department was also added with Cuban professors. The new subjects taught in all the faculties show the usual influence of Marxism-Leninism. The Russian language is made almost mandatory and the courses and language labs are staffed with Soviet instructors.

During the April coup, the reorganization of the Pashto Academy along the Moscow line was started by Professor Duriankov, who got his Ph.D. and other specialization works on Pashto Linguistics, Pashtun Culture, Pashto Ethnology, and, particularly, as researcher of the well-known Pashto poet, Khushal Khan Khattak.

This Academy was renamed "Afghan Academy of Sciences". Since then, only the Russian advisors make the decisions on the promotions and appointments of the Afghan scientific staff in this Academy. Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the official President is Suleiman Laiq, who, at the same time, is Minister of Tribes and Nationalities. In fact, however, the "real" president of this academy is Mr. Azimov, President of the Academy of Sciences of Tashkent in Soviet Tajikistan. He comes regularly every month to Kabul and usually stays for one week, signs administrative papers, gives necessary instructions and supervises work.

Russification of the Mass Media

Shortly after the PDPA came to power

it announced the upgrading of a former small department of the Ministry of Information and Culture (the Department of Radio and Television of Afghanistan) to the Ministry of Radio and Television modeled on the Soviet Union's communications system.

Different departments and agencies of both ministries have been reorganized and key posts replaced by party members and Soviet advisors. According to information received recently, this process of reshuffling is taking place in the whole Kabul administration and particularly in the Ministry of Radio and Television.

Kabul Radio and Television are shortly to be merged on a Soviet pattern into a single Government Committee for Radio and Television.

The Committee will include Directorates for News, Music, Arts, and Literature, and External Services. The External Services, for instance, are being extended by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours to 10 hours in order to include more Russian programs.

Russification of the newspapers in Afghanistan can be seen in the party's daily "Haqiqate Enqelabe Sawr" (The Reality of the Sawr Revolution), an exact duplicate of Pravda, the weekly "Haqiqate Sarbaz" (The Reality of the Soldier), based on the "Red Star" (Krasnaja Swesda) and the New Kabul Times, to name only a few.

The newspapers demand that party members and military officers study Marxism, Leninism, the Soviet system, and the lessons of the October Revolution. Recently, a complete Book Publishing Company has been donated by the Government of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany).

In this context, it must also be stressed that the russification enhances not only the publishing sector of the country but also the printing of Afghanistan's banknotes in Moscow, which since the Second World War was continuously done in

London by the "De la Rose" printing company.

Russification of the Afghan Family

The Afghan family structure poses a strong center of resistance to the authority of the Marxist government. This is particularly true for a tribal society, which is predominantly the case in Afghanistan, where the family unit controls and directs the lives of individuals on the local level. From the beginning, the problem for the new Afghan Marxist regime has been to first subvert and weaken the family structure while simultaneously creating a popular base of support whose members would owe their primary allegiance to the government and the Peoples Democratic Party.

The Marxist government turned to the education system as the principal instrument for undermining the position and strength of the family. The schools were immediately purged of non-Marxist faculty members and administrators at all levels. Marxists, particularly those from the universities, colleges, and academies were appointed to replace them. Many of the non-Marxist personnel were imprisoned, executed, or forced to flee the country.

With the schools securely in their hands, the government began to "re-educate" the students by indoctrinating them with Marxist values. In conjunction with the indoctrination process, students were encouraged to inform on their families. This was accomplished at the primary school level by asking scholars to describe their own or their family's activities. This is an innocent enough educational tool when used in Western schools where the experience has been that young children are able to express themselves more freely on subjects about which they are intimately familiar. However, the government was much more interested in learning about political attitudes. The Marxist teachers seemed especially interested in the types of reading materials available in the homes, whether

the parents or others were listening to forbidden radio broadcasts, such as VOA, BBC, or Radio Liberty, and the comments on politics or the regime overheard by the children. The answers frequently led to visits by the secret police and the disappearance of one or both parents.

We have summarized several aspects of the attempted russification of Afghanistan. The world is aware of the heroic battles the Mujahidin are fighting against the Red Army. The majority of Afghans believe in a code of honour, the "Pashtunwali" (a binding yet unwritten law). According to this law, if ever any one of the three "Z"; Zar (gold), Zar (woman), and Zamin (land), are violated by an invader then it is the duty of all Afghans to unite against him. Since the invasion, the Afghans have united under the "Pashtunwali" and declared a "jihad" (a holy war).

They are able to mobilize the whole of their fighting forces in a short time and also seem to be able to keep their fighters at the battle front for a longer period. The appeal for war is immediately answered; nobody would wish to be dishonoured by staying behind. The warriors armed with their personal weapons are already organized into clan groups and know their respective areas. They divide among themselves the attack or defence positions and start moving. A minimum food supply, re-inforcement and replacement of fighters from behind are instinctively organized. On the other hand, fighters organized by political groups, (i.e. the Soviet invaders), are not able to achieve this. When fighters of a political organization decide to fight, the fighters of another such organization may not be ready to join them or may not agree; and as they are not organized to receive re-inforcement of food supplies from the area, they cannot keep fighting for a long period; they have to return to the villages and have to live off the population. However, these fighters can

operate in different regions, using hit-and-run tactics. Tribal warriors on the contrary do not leave their own territory.

In addition to military confrontations, the Afghans have enforced a number of resolutions binding to all. Inter-tribal councils or larger jirghas are also held occasionally in emergency situations. Resolutions adopted at these inter-tribal jirghas have the force of law for all tribal territory, such as the decisions concerning the Soviet occupation and the Kabul regime. Those decisions were first initiated by the Tanis tribe and seem to be accepted by all other tribes. They are:

1. Anybody from the tribe who enters the service of the Kabul regime will have his house burned down and will have to pay 1.000 Afghans to the tribe.

2. Anybody taking wood for construction or fire-wood to the Soviet-controlled city of Khost (the capital of Pakhtia Province), will be fined as follows: 20.000 Afs. per truck, 500 Afs. for a donkey load, 2.000 Afs. for a camel load.

3. Anyone undertaking intelligence work for the enemy will be heavily fined, or, in some cases, executed.

4. Persons taking food stuff, cloths, oil, and other commodities to the occupied zones for selling, or selling the same items to persons living in those zones, will be first warned and then heavily fined.

5. All kinds of hostility among clans and individuals will be suspended until the end of the "jihad" (the holy war). If someone carries on an old vendetta or starts a new one, he will have to pay 400.000 Afs., his house will be burned down and he will be prevented from cultivating his land.

Until now, among the Tani tribe, 2 million Afs. in fines have been collected and some 20 houses burned down. Some clans of the Zazi tribe, which have strong business interests in Kabul, were reluctant to follow the resolutions, but having no other choice, obeyed. *(to be continued)*

Why we Welcome Russia's Absence from the L. A. Olympics

The USSR is not a single country or a union of republics. In fact, the USSR is a Russian colonial empire. Russia's Communist Party, the KGB and the military machine hold culturally and historically distinct countries such as Ukraine, the Baltic States, Byelorussia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechia, Slovakia, Rumania, East Germany, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, North Caucasus, Idel-Ural and Siberia literally at gun point in the Russian effort to achieve world domination. In addition, the peoples of Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, North Yemen, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Cuba are also deprived of all their national, religious and human rights by the imposition of a Russian-Communist system. The freedom fighters, political and religious prisoners, and dissidents of the subjugated nations are systematically tortured and murdered in slave labor camps and psychiatric prisons.

Based on the foregoing, can any nation or person in the Free World question the demand of these subjugated peoples that the USSR be disqualified permanently from all Olympic competition? After all, the Olympic Games — starting from the times of Ancient Greece — have been based on a principle of peace, freedom, cooperation and respect between nations and peoples. Certainly, the Kremlin, by virtue of its brutally repressive colonial subjugation of so many nations, should be automatically ineligible for all Olympiads.

The following is a quote by Yaroslav Stetsko, Prime Minister of Free Ukraine, during a meeting with William Simon, Chairman of the American Olympic Committee:

"The Free World should welcome the Russian colonial empire's decision to decline participation in the Olympics being held in a nation which fought for freedom

and anti-colonial liberation. Moscow fears that an epidemic of freedom will spread from George Washington's land of justice. When confronted by the possibility of demonstrations by national groups in the United States, Moscow lost its nerve and began to claim its athletes would be endangered. In fact, Moscow fears that its athletes would choose freedom and defect to the West."

Athletes of the Subjugated Nations: Tools of Moscow

Over the period of the last eight Modern Olympiads, the athletes of the subjugated nations have accumulated an outstanding number of medals. For example, during this period, the sportsmen and women of the 50 million strong Ukrainian nation have won 131 Gold, 68 Silver and 67 Bronze medals. Unfortunately, all these medals have gone to the greater glory of an absurdly fictitious "soviet" people and an equally ludicrous "Russian super-nation". Moscow uses the athletes of the nations under its occupation to propagandize its power and Communist system and thereby commits the ultimate act of politization of sport.

The International Olympics Committee is obligated by its charter to protect and preserve the traditional Hellenic Olympic ideals. The peoples of the subjugated nations demand that athletes from their nations residing in the Free World be allowed to represent their unfortunate fellow sportsmen and women behind the Iron Curtain.

The following is a quote by Leo Rautins, a star basketball player with the Philadelphia 76ers:

"In fact, the very foundation of the Modern Olympics rests on national boundaries. Since the revival of the Games in 1896, athletes have been competing not so much for themselves, but as the repre-

sentatives of their nations. The Baltic, Ukrainian, Turkestani, Armenian, Azerbaidjani, Georgian, Croatian and other peoples want that same right."

The Pull-Out: Moscow's Motivations

Moscow ultimately made its decision not to come to Los Angeles for two basic reasons. First, the colonial regime was afraid that the athletes from the non-Russian nations would defect, choosing the freedom of the West over the terror of the Russian prison of nations. In this respect, the Kremlin's anxieties are entirely justified.

Secondly, Moscow was afraid to face the political pressure that was being generated by the national émigré groups from the subjugated nations here in North America. The Kremlin realized that the peaceful mass demonstrations and other protest actions that have been planned would cast world attention on the heinous terror apparatus functioning in the USSR and its "satellite" countries. In a television interview, Georgi Arbatov — a spokesman for the Russian imperialists — admitted that Russia specifically does not want to confront the political heat that comes with the annual commemoration of Captive Nations Week. Upon that occasion last year, President Ronald Reagan stated to the freedom fighters of the subjugated nations:

"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, 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, someday, you, too, will be free... You are the conscience of the Free World."

Clearly, this all points to the fact that the decision by Moscow to withdraw from the Olympics is a deathly fear of the subjugated nations within its colonial empire.

The USSR's vulnerability becomes more evident each day as the demographic growth of the so-called Soviet Union is taking place in the subjugated nations and not in Russia itself.

However, due to the Russian colonial empire's disinformation-propaganda campaign, the West has largely ignored Russia's man-made famine/holocaust of 1932/33 which resulted in *the murder of over seven million Ukrainians* who were striving for freedom and the Ukrainian way of life; the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which fought a two-frontal war of liberation against both Hitler's Nazi Germany and Stalin's Bolshevik Russia: *the scores of murdered priests and cultural activists*; the assassination attempts on Pope John Paul II; the imposition of martial law in Poland; *the barbarous invasion of Afghanistan*, the KAL 007 mass murder; the wars by proxy in Latin America and Africa — *How can all of this be forgotten?*

The peoples of the subjugated nations are united in their determination to liberate their countries from Russian-Communist colonialism. Indeed, the dissolution of the USSR would constitute the end of the world's greatest military and nuclear threat. We ask the American people to continue their unyielding and principled defense of national, human and religious rights. Moreover, we congratulate them for not having been taken in by the Russian colonial empire's campaign to discredit the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympic Games and the Government of the United States.

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

Lithuania and the Soviet Union

Lithuania has been an internationally recognized state since the middle of the 13th century A.D., an equal partner of Poland in the dual Commonwealth negotiated in 1569 until the three partitions by Russia, Prussia and Austria at the end of the 18th Century. Independence was briefly restored in 1812. After massive insurrections of 1831, 1862-'64, and a peaceful revolution of 1905, Lithuania declared the restitution of its State Independence on February 16, 1918.

On July 12, 1920, a Peace Treaty was signed with Soviet Russia in Moscow. Article I of that Treaty incorporated a proposal, in Lenin's own handwriting, to the effect that Russia recognized "without reservation the sovereign rights and independence of the Lithuanian State with all juridical consequences arising from such recognition, and voluntarily and for all times renounces all sovereign rights of Russia over the Lithuanian People and their territory".

Thereafter, in 1926, by the Non-aggression Treaty, the Lithuanian Republic and the Russian Soviet Socialist Federal Republic undertook "to respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and inviolability" and pledged themselves to refrain from "any act of aggression, whatsoever, against the other party".

Lithuania (3.5 mil), Latvia (2 mil) and Estonia (1.5 mil), representing 7 million people, were members in good standing of the League of Nations, and in good faith they signed treaties of peace and non-aggression and other covenants with the Soviet Union.

On August 23, 1939, in violation of these obligations and of the League of Nations Charter, as well as the handwritten pledge of Lenin, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was concluded with a "Secret Additional Protocol", which stipulated that "the northern boundary of Lithuania shall

represent the boundary of the spheres of influence of Germany and the USSR". This protocol was amended on September 28, 1939, by a "Boundary and Friendship Treaty" signed in Moscow with another "Secret Supplementary Protocol" to the effect that "the Lithuanian territory situated to the southwest of the line marked on the attached map should fall to Germany". When the Soviet Union, after an ultimatum to Lithuania, militarily occupied the country on June 15, 1940, the Soviet troops also occupied the strip reserved for Germany. Following the formal annexation of Lithuania, Germany had agreed on January 10, 1941 to sell its share of Lithuania and collected 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ million gold dollars from the Soviet Union.

When mass deportations were started in Lithuania in the middle of June, 1941, a national uprising erupted within a few days. Kaunas and Vilnius were liberated by the Lithuanian freedom fighters before the arrival of the German armies, and a Provisional Government of Lithuania was installed until it was disbanded by the German military occupation authorities eight weeks later. The patriotic Lithuanian movement went underground. A Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania was formed in 1943, and the armed resistance by the freedom fighters against the re-occupying Soviet armies continued into 1952. Thereafter, and to this day, the underground resistance continues determinedly in the defense of the universal human rights, religious and civil freedom, the rights of the Lithuanian language and nationality, as well as the restitution of the country's sovereign rights and the choice of the form of government.

It is further interesting to note that the resistance is so great that at the present time, there are more underground publications in occupied Lithuania than in any other Soviet occupied territory. Even to

this day, the great democracies never recognized the Soviet annexation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

Last year, on the 61st anniversary of the de jure recognition of the three Baltic Republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia by the United States, President Ronald Reagan released a statement on July 29, 1983, to be circulated by the United States Mission among the members of the United Nations of the 38th General Assembly meeting in September 1983, which would consider the importance of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence. The President stated: "Today, the Baltic people continue to struggle to attain the freedom and their right to self-determination. 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..."

In the same spirit Lord Carrington, former Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary (1979-1982) of Great Britain, stressed the Western political and moral obligations toward Eastern Europe: "We must face squarely the complex moral and political dilemmas which developments in Eastern Europe pose for the West... Our prime concern must be for the peoples of these countries themselves. We have a historical duty, and a political and moral responsibility to uphold their right to freedom and self-determination". (NATO review, No. 2, 1983, p. 2).

In 1975, thirty-five countries signed The Final Act of Helsinki. Soviet Union as a signatory of the Helsinki document endorsed Principal VII, which states, and I quote: "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". These are the words of the Helsinki Final Act.

However, it is sad and tragic, that the Soviet Union never, never lived up to this and many other signed agreements.

The brutal military interventions by the Soviet Union against free and independent countries did not stop with the occupation of the Baltic States. Even today, the Soviet Union continues its merciless campaign to achieve world domination, by intrusion in the internal affairs of the European, African, Asian, Central and South American countries.

Crushing of Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, the invasion and the attempt to occupy Afghanistan, suppression of the Solidarity Union in Poland, and the most recent massacre of 269 innocent people of many nationalities on the Korean commercial airline 007, clearly demonstrates that the barbaric actions without respect for human life or values, continues to be a dominant daily policy of the Soviet Union.

What can the free world expect from a country which still lives by the repulsive creed of its founder, Lenin "promises are like piecrust, made to be broken".

On January 13, 1983 in Strasburg, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the situation in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, proposing that the issue of the Soviet occupation, annexation and subjugation of the said countries be submitted to the Decolonization Subcommittee of the United Nations and that the plight of the people of the said Baltic States should also be a subject of review by the conferences monitoring the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

The only colonial empire that is still in existence today is that of the Soviet Union. The free world must recognize the horrendous consequences of this fact.

**Dr. C. K. Bobelis, President
Supreme Committee for the Liberation
of Lithuania**

Ukraine Versus Ukr.SSR

1. In 1918, the Ukrainian state was re-established through a proclamation of independence and sovereignty. Shortly afterwards, a war with the forces of imperialist Bolshevik Russia commenced. Unfortunately, after having withstood Russia's massive onslaught for several years, Ukraine was over-run and once again occupied by a foreign invader — Russia. Thus, the Ukrainian state — the Ukrainian National Republic — was liquidated and its president, Symon Petlura, was murdered by an agent of the Russian GPU in Paris in 1926. Nonetheless, the struggle for Ukrainian national liberation continued despite the Russian imperialist relentless efforts to erase it from history.

The most graphic example of Russia's imperialist tactics is the Great Artificial Famine of 1932/33. In an effort to crush the resistance of the Ukrainian nation, Bolshevik Russia imposed a holocaust of unprecedented proportion on the Ukrainian people. Over seven million Ukrainians — men, women, children, and old people — were intentionally starved to death in order to institute a communist system of collectivization on the lands of Ukraine. This action was undertaken to force the Russian colonial way of life onto Ukraine.

2. In the wake of such oppression, Russia fabricated a puppet Ukrainian government, as it has done most recently in Poland and Afghanistan. However, the so-called Ukrainian SSR, as it was labeled, was and never has been recognized by the Ukrainian people through the process of free and democratic elections. The government that the Ukrainian people whole-heartedly supported was created during World War II on June 30, 1941. At that time, on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, the Ukrainian Revolutionary National Assembly restored an independent and democratic Ukraine. Both Ukrainian churches — the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church — bestowed their blessings on the restored Ukrainian state. The newly-created government was confronted by a war on two fronts against both Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. In a truly pluralistic fashion, the Ukrainian National Government was composed from the representatives of different political party groups. This government's head was the deputy leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Yaroslav Stetsko, who refused Nazi Germany's ultimatum to revoke the proclamation of the restoration of Ukrainian statehood. Yaroslav Stetsko, Stepan Bandera (the leader of the OUN), several members of the government, and thousands upon thousands of Ukrainian patriots were arrested. Several members of the government were killed by the Gestapo. Several other members escaped to join the underground, where, on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was created to continue the struggle for freedom and independence. The UPA's Commander-in-Chief was Gen. R. Shukhevych-T. Chuprynka, a member of the Ukrainian government. Under his leadership, the UPA, the OUN, and the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (which was acting in place of the 1941 government whose members were arrested by the Nazis), fought against both occupants of Ukraine — Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia.

It was the soldiers of freedom — the UPA and the OUN — which the Ukrainian nation embraced. The government of the so-called Ukrainian SSR was rejected as a mere facade — a tool of Russian colonialism. The members of its government were and are treated as Moscow's stooges by the Ukrainian people.

3. Ukraine is misrepresented in the United Nations. The true representatives of the Ukrainian people are those who fought and suffered for a free, democratic, and sovereign Ukraine. The national liberation struggle led by the OUN deserves recognition from the world's highest international body as it has received from the Ukrainian people themselves.

The Ukrainian nation desires its own spokesman for its will and sovereignty in the United Nations. This will is democratic, as evidenced by the duly-elected government of 1918-1920 and the restoration of Ukrainian statehood on June 30, 1941. This will is further evidenced by the ongoing struggle for freedom and independence in present-day Ukraine under the leadership of the OUN as currently headed by the Prime Minister of the 1941 Government, Yaroslav Stetsko.

We state that the Ukrainian SSR is a colony of Russia and is a spokesman of Moscow's imperialist aspirations within the forum of the United Nations.

The USSR is not a true union of republics, but a colonial empire ruled by the Russian communist monoparty, the KGB, and Russia's military elite.

Russia systematically subjugates scores of peoples and nations with unique and distinct age-old national histories and cultures in its attempt to achieve its ultimate aim of world domination. The tools of this process of subjugation are Russian military force and communism. Russia has succeeded in camouflaging its imperialism in a modern day mask and, consequently, has deceived the Free World.

4. The United Nations' Resolution on Decolonization ought to be applied to the USSR. The USSR ought to be dissolved into independent national democratic states of the currently subjugated nations. The British, French, and other Western empires largely acted voluntarily on the desires of colonial peoples for independence. The USSR ought to be excluded from the United Nations for its flagrant and constant violations of the United Nations' Charter.

The United Nations' Resolution on Namibia ought to be applied to the nations subjugated in the Russian colonial empire. The so-called "Soviet Socialist Republics" are not states in any substantive sense, but merely "gubernias", "Reichskommissariats". They are no more than administrative configurations of Russian colonial imperialism. They possess and/or wield no sovereignty either formally or practically.

It is the Russian super-nation which holds all the sovereignty in the USSR as guaranteed by the USSR's constitution which grants all power to a fictitious "Soviet people". Sovereignty's chief ingredient is statehood; something the Ukrainian SSR does not have.

5. A truly sovereign Ukrainian state would make its own decisions with regard to domestic and foreign matters. It would have its own army, diplomatic corps and embassies, an elected parliament and other democratic institutions.

As the situation now exists, in Ukraine there are only gubernian technocrats and administrative colonial "apparatchiks" who implement decisions made in Moscow

and only in Moscow. The Ukrainian SSR's communist apparatus is only an extension of the Russian Komparty — another fabrication of Russian imperialist colonialism. The Politburo and the Secretary-General of the Komparty in Moscow holds all sovereign power to make decisions of state-political character in all essential matters pertaining to the Ukrainian SSR.

6. The PLO and SWAPO have been designated a particular legal status in the United Nations. Thus, it is unjust to refuse legal status in the United Nations to the representatives of the 50 million-strong Ukrainian nation. This injustice is further compounded by the fact that the puppet-government in Kyiv has been granted the opportunity to speak on behalf of the Ukrainian people. It is a tragic paradox for Ukraine to be represented in the United Nations by the very people who carry out the policy of colonial occupants in Ukraine.

7. In the name of justice, the United Nations' Resolution on Decolonization ought to be applied to the Russian colonial empire and, consequently, the real spokesmen of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, and the other captive nations of the Russian colonial empire should be given their rightful and deserved places in the United Nations. The USSR ought to be excluded from the United Nations.

The Ukrainian nation requests that the delegates of the Ukrainian SSR in the United Nations be replaced by the legitimate representatives of Ukraine; namely, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement — the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — which continues the struggle for freedom and independence and complete decolonization of the USSR under the leadership of the head of the most recent free Ukrainian government on Ukrainian soil.

UKRAINIAN PROTEST AT BALLET SHOW

Detectives mingled with theatre-goers as furious Ukrainian exiles besieged a performance by Russian ballet stars in Wolverhampton. The Ukrainians were protesting at Soviet suppression of their culture.

Nearly 100 exiles protested outside as ballet fans arrived at the Grand Theatre last night for a gala show by the Moscow Classical Ballet.

The protest passed off peacefully. Police reported no arrests.

Plain clothes officers mingled with the audience as show promoter Victoria Charlton made a plea from the stage before the curtain rose for no disruption during the performance.

The show, one of a series being staged at the Grand, passed off without incident.

The Ukrainians handed out leaflets to people arriving for the show protesting over the conditions in their homeland.

Mr. Dmytro Pawliw, leader of 500 Ukrainians in Wolverhampton, said it was wrong that the Russians could be allowed to display their culture here while the Ukrainians' relatives back home were not allowed to enjoy their traditions.

"Our composers are imprisoned or even killed by the Russians for trying to practise their art," said Mr. Pawliw.

Before the show, star performer Ekaterina Maximova condemned the protest.

The demonstrators could be outside the theatre for every performance until June 2.

Express and Star, Friday, June 1, 1984

(Great Britain)

Nicaragua, Foreign Aid and Domestic Terror

Since the 1979 takeover by the Sandinistas of the Nicaraguan government, 80,000 of its 2.5 million population have fled the country from its present communist regime. Are they all, as the Sandinistas allege, followers of the late dictator Anastasio Somoza? Or upper classes? No, those people left long ago as they saw the handwriting on the wall. Some of the refugees crowded into the primitive and unhygienic camps, 50,000 in Costa Rica and 28,000 in Honduras, many who are not even in refugee camps but undocumented refugees living out a base existence in the often infertile and unfriendly lands of their now also threatened neighbors, are "Ladinos," farmers and agricultural workers from Nicaragua's north-central provinces. Other refugees are 15,000 Indians from the northwestern parts of Nicaragua where the Sandinistas have been erecting a "cordon sanitaire" to prevent political infiltration into Nicaragua. These Miskito Indians have lived in this area for a long time. Since 1860 their language and customs have been protected by various regimes. Even Somoza, for all his faults, granted them land and let them live there alone and at peace. The situation is very different today. The collectivists in Managua could not tolerate that kind of cultural multiplicity.

Today Nicaragua is an armed camp. From the Soviet Union, either directly or through a circuitous route sometimes including Algeria, Libya and Cuba, 6,000 tons of war material was shipped to Nicaragua during 1981 and 1982. The total in 1983 amounted to more than 11,000 tons. These are shipped on Soviet vessels, more than 20 of which brought Soviet hardware to the two main Nicaraguan ports of Corinto and Puerto Sandino during 1983, or by Bulgarian ships. Stationed permanently there is also a North Korean

patrol boat, showing to what extent Cuba and the Soviet Union intend to use Nicaragua as an armed camp for subversion of their three main Central American targets: Costa Rica, Panama (with its canal), and Guatemala, at which it directs intensive destabilization and subversion.

With uniformed military amounting to 27,200 and a militia of 60,000, Nicaragua has armed forces considerably beyond any imaginable need to defend its 2.5 million population. This contrasts so strongly with Costa Rica which, with its 2.2 million population does not have any defense forces at all.

Nevertheless, Nicaragua as a Soviet base is only one aspect of the uses the International Communist Movement has for Nicaragua. It has become a new Cuba as a base for subversion. Increasingly the radical left and idealistic liberals find it difficult to see the virtues of the Sandinista regime. More and more defectors tell us of the radical non-democratic movements of the regime which force the people of that country into an ideological straight jacket. Both the Catholic Church and the Moravian Church (which for a century have worked closely with the Miskito Indians) have been singled out for attack. Mormon, Jehovah's Witnesses', Seventh-Day Adventists', and Pentecostal churches have been closed down. Nor have the intellectual and press freedoms escaped the attention of the rigid new communist dictatorship in that country. Allen Weinstein, professor and journalist who was a member of a commission to investigate the freedom of the press in Nicaragua, reports: "In Nicaragua we found the situation of journalists profoundly threatening. The 1979 Nicaraguan revolution... has been generating into an uneven struggle between the Sandinista government and its opponents... The government of

Nicaragua and its military forces now rule by decree under a recently declared state of emergency. Even before the state of emergency, *La Prensa* had been closed down six times for printing articles which violated vague and sweeping government regulations prohibiting publication of information on economic and national security matters... Today, as a result of the recent state of emergency declared in March, all independent radio news programs have been shut down and newspapers... must submit all copies for pre-censorship..."

Valentino Berko

The Peace Strategy of the Slovaks

Today the whole world is talking about peace. Everywhere there are different peace movements dedicated to the cause of peace. We Slovaks, too, speak of peace, however, of a true peace based on justice. Consequently, we mean the just peace which finally originates in the right of self-determination of nations.

The thinking of many politicians in the West culminates in the category, to contain the Soviet-Russian expansion in Europe and in the world. Such thinking is certainly welcome, but this is not sufficient, for in this thinking something elementary is missing, i.e. *the claim* for decolonization of the Soviet Union and consequently for the state independence of the non-Russian nations.

If the Soviet-Russians want a true peace indeed, they should, for instance, give full nationhood to the Ukrainians, the Baltic and other nations.

If the Soviet-Russians would like to have a just peace in Europe, they should finally release the political and military pressure against the peoples of Central Europe and withdraw their troops.

If the Soviet-Russians would contemplate the goal of a just peace policy, they should immediately dissolve the Czechoslovak state, which was established in

Another testimony is given by Lucia Salazar, Human Rights Coordinator for the Nicaraguan Democratic Front, whose brother was killed by Somoza and whose husband was killed by the Sandinistas: "All human rights are violated in Nicaragua every single day and every single hour... there is lack of freedom of expression... no free association of labor... and Humberto Ortega, Minister of Defense, has said he was going 'to hang from the trees any Nicaraguan who would not support the revolution'."

1945 with the aid of the Red Army against the political will of the Slovaks, and support the creation of two sovereign states, i.e. the Czech and the Slovak state.

Such a policy of Moscow would certainly serve the true and genuine peace policy in Europe. This depends only on Moscow to realize the just peace policy.

All delegates of the ABN (Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations), including the Slovaks, support such a peace policy. Thus we are the true freedom fighters and as such we will remain, as long as the Soviet-Russians wage their expansionist and colonial policy.

May this just policy of the Slovaks and other nations, represented in the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), not only be understood as sincerely as we indicated, in Moscow and Prague, but also in Washington, Paris and London, as well as in Rome, Bonn and Vienna.

The consequence of such political thinking in the East and West would therefore eliminate any question regarding rearmament or stationing of missiles.

Now again it depends on the Soviet-Russians if they say "yes" to the policy of decolonization and accordingly to the just peace policy in Europe and in the world.

The Impending U.S. Presidential Election

The fate of the Free World depends on its support of the nations, subjugated by the Soviet Russians. The subjugated nations are constituting that decisive power which, with the support of the Free World, could destroy from within the Russian empire and the communist system. This support is necessary, for the danger of bolshevism is a universal threat. The bolshevist threat of the destruction of cultures which dates back thousands of years, does not only concern the present subjugated nations, but is a matter of concern to the whole civilized world. The synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism — i.e. bolshevism — is a cancerous ulcer with continually spreading metastases, which systematically destroys cultures, traditions, religions, national and spiritual values of all humanity, nations and individuals. Whoever faces this threat, whoever aids or supports the liberation of the subjugated nations, will himself have the support of all the emigrants of these subjugated nations. Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in the United States are not influenced by the fact of whether a certain candidate belongs to one Party or another, but by his personal attitude to the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by bolshevism.

A leading advocate with a firm policy towards the Russian empire, as seen in his policy of the build-up of military strength of the United States as a means of protecting the Free World against the contagion of bolshevism, in his support of the captive nations and his respect and high esteem of their liberation struggle, is President Ronald Reagan. We will always remember his historical words, spoken on the 25th Anniversary of the Captive Nations Law and the 40th Anniversary of ABN: "Your struggle is our struggle, your dream is our dream. You, too, will be free one day. You are the conscience of the Free World".

This year, in his Proclamation on 'Captive Nations Week', President Reagan warmly expressed his sympathy and admiration of, as well as solidarity with the staunch and unyielding Yuriy Shukhevych, who has become a symbol of devotion and loyalty to his Father and his noble and great ideals. The President expressed his high esteem of Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) as well as other countless victims with the following words: "During Captive Nations Week we must take time to remember both the countless victims and the lonely heroes; both the targets of carpet bombing in Afghanistan, and individuals such as imprisoned Ukrainian patriot Yuriy Shukhevych. We must draw strength from the actions of the millions of freedom fighters in communist-occupied countries, such as the signers of petitions for religious rights in Lithuania, or the members of Solidarity, whose public protests require personal risk and sacrifice that is almost incomprehensible to the average citizen in the Free World. It is in their struggle for freedom that we can find the true path to genuine and lasting peace".

The nations of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc will never forget this. Disregarding party-political differences, the whole émigré population of the subjugated nations will cast their unanimous votes in the imminent Presidential Election to this unique American Statesman, who has had the courage to confront the threat of bolshevism for the salvation of the whole world and has always found

words to express his sympathy towards the nations subjugated by Bolshevism and the freedom fighters of these nations.

SUPPORT RONALD REAGAN'S RE-ELECTION

All U.S. citizens of nations subjugated by Russia, with feelings of duty towards their respective countries and towards the United States, should in unison start a campaign for the re-election of Ronald Reagan as President and George Bush as Vice-President, being the friends of Afghanistan, Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Latvia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan and all the other subjugated nations. President Reagan and Vice-President Bush take heed of the views and opinions of the people, and render them due respect.

President Reagan personifies the best elements of the freedom-loving American nation and its tradition of an anti-colonial war of liberation which brought this country independence under George Washington. Friends and sympathizers of ABN in the U.S., will fully support the re-election of President Reagan and Vice-President George Bush to enable them to conduct future American policies in the same spirit and in accordance with the Resolution passed by the U.S. Congress in 1959 on Captive Nations.

Free Olympiad Held

The second Free Olympiad was opened on July 5 and came to a close on July 7 at Etobicoke's Centennial Stadium, Toronto, Canada. Over 3,000 sports fans cheered on athletes representing Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia as they competed for medals in eight olympic events.

The raising of the four national flags alongside the Canadian, American and Free Olympiad flags symbolized the underlying principle behind the games — a manifestation of the inability of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian athletes in the Soviet Union to participate in the International Olympic Games under their own respective flags.

The flag-raising ceremony was followed by the lighting of the Free Olympiad flame which with the closing of the games, was transported to Los Angeles, California, the site of the XXIII International Olympic

Games where it will remain for their duration.

The most popular events of the Olympiad were the volleyball, basketball and ice hockey competitions, the latter being one of the newly added sports this year along with swimming, tennis and rifle and trap shooting.

A crowd of several hundred people enjoyed the Free Olympiad Cultural Festival held on July 2 in the Molson Summer Garden at Ontario Place. Aside from performances by representative ensembles of the four organizing communities, the festival was highlighted by the lighting of the Olympic torch which was carried by runners through the city of Toronto, stopping at each of the four cultural centers before arriving for the opening ceremonies in Etobicoke. The torch was lit by Honorary Chairman, Leo Rautins, of the NBA's Philadelphia 76ers and Denis Flynn, mayor of Etobicoke.

PATRIARCH'S BIRTHDAY

On the Patriarch's 92nd birthday, Ukrainian political, scientific, cultural and youth representatives from all over the world came to Rome to pay homage to Patriarch Yosyf I, Cardinal Slipyj.

On the photograph Patriarch Yosyf I is listening to the Prime Minister of Free Ukraine, Yaroslav Stetsko's, address.



*His Excellency
Yosyf Cardinal Slipyj
Vatican City
Your Eminence:*

It is a pleasure to extend my warm congratulations as you celebrate your ninety-second birthday.

Through the years you have not only been a hero to all Ukrainians but a powerful symbol to freedom-loving people everywhere. You have epitomized the strength and power of religious beliefs and the virtues of uncompromising principles. From campaigns of harassment to imprisonment in Siberian labor camps, you have suffered for many long years the difficult consequences resulting from your devotion to religious freedom.

Your life serves as an inspiration to all those who have fought and struggled to preserve the liberty and dignity of the individual to pursue his or her own spiritual values.

May God bless you and everyone honoring you on this happy occasion.
Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Vulnerabilities of the Last Empire

(Towards a new Western strategy that recognizes and will seek to exploit the internal weaknesses of the Soviet-Russian empire).

Foreword

Over the course of the last decade, Western democratic societies have developed a type of paralysing fear in reaction to the alarming rate of military build-up in the Soviet Union. This fear is further exacerbated by the fact that a better informed and more concerned Western public clearly realizes that the Warsaw Pact possesses an overwhelming advantage regarding conventional military weapons, matériel and capabilities. With this greater awareness of NATO's increasingly more vulnerable, or — some would say — non-existent, conventional deterrent value, the paralyzing fear that is tightening its grip on Western free societies is, to a large degree, warranted, particularly in light of Moscow's re-emerging expansionist ambitions. However, the irresponsible and self-indulgent demands that certain segments of today's consumption society and welfare state are placing on their governments, demands that preclude any possibility that the Western European member-states of NATO will be able to meet the projected 3% per annum increase in defense expenditures, are completely unwarranted and morally reprehensible.

Taking into account the Western Alliance's absolute inferiority in terms of conventional armaments, NATO's strategy of flexible response, i.e., a vertical escalation of military hostilities to a level sufficient enough to halt a Soviet-Russian offensive on Western Europe, has acquired all the signs of an antiquated, hollow and dangerously self-deceiving doctrine. Recently, the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) estimated that the Alliance is not prepared to withstand a Russian attack for more than a few days

at best, despite the five American divisions presently stationed in Western Europe.¹

Flexible response was officially adopted in the 1960's, when NATO's forces possessed a sufficient *qualitative* preponderance of defensive conventional capabilities, coupled with a clear nuclear advantage. Then, NATO did not need to rely on the nuclear component in its total deterrent force to such an inflexible degree as at the present time, since the nuclear threshold was much higher on the vertical scale of "flexible response". The thinking of that time was that NATO's larger and technologically superior naval fleet and air force negated Moscow's advantage in motorized and armoured ground forces. By the 1980's, however, the Soviet Union was able to considerably narrow the technological gap largely through the covert operations of the KGB's "Line X" section.² Also, Moscow has greatly enlarged its naval fleet and air force.

Flexible response was justifiable in the 1960's not only in the strictest military terms, but on political and on *moral* grounds as well. Then, no one in NATO's political and military decision-making circles was seriously contemplating a scenario that would necessitate the West's "first use" of nuclear weapons in order to repel a Russian offensive on Western Europe, since NATO's conventional forces were considered a sufficient deterrent in themselves. It was this fundamental assumption and unchallenged belief, shared by Western public opinion, that cast the United States and the Western Alliance in general in a relatively pristine moral light in the eyes of the world; and it was precisely on this moral ground that a broad public consensus was achieved, that ensured NATO's cohesiveness and without

which it is unlikely that NATO would have been appropriated the funds necessary for the implementation of its strategic plans.

Presently, however, in the battle for the minds of men and women, the tables, although not yet reversed, have at least been turned around enough, that NATO's formerly altruistic and morally righteous image from the 1960's has been seriously shaken. There is an increasing sense of moral indignation taking hold of Western societies, as an even larger spectrum of people is beginning to question the moral validity of "first use" of nuclear weapons — the present kingpin in Western deterrence — although, rationally speaking, this is the only alternative that NATO has in view of the lack of resolve, particularly on the part of Western European governments, to strengthen NATO's conventional capabilities.³ Consequently, and largely due to Moscow's covert subversive activities and overt psychological propaganda campaign (eg. its conspicuous attempt to influence the recent German elections), a long shadow of doubt has been cast upon the United States, as even more people are beginning to equate the U.S. with the USSR and to blame both superpowers for being co-responsible for the present nuclear dilemma.

Commenting on the strategy of flexible response, which for political reasons *only* continues to be NATO's official doctrine, Henry Kissinger writes: "In today's circumstances this doctrine has a fatal weakness: neither existing nor projected NATO conventional ground forces are adequate to repel a major Soviet conventional attack. Therefore, the doctrine would require a nuclear response at an early stage. Yet strategic nuclear parity deprives the threat of strategic nuclear war of much of its credibility; mutual suicide cannot be made to appear as a rational

option. And no alternative nuclear strategy has been developed".⁴

The foundation for an alternative strategy

The premise of this study is that a major re-evaluation of Western strategic thinking needs to be undertaken; an alternative needs to be found and effectuated. Indeed, the reason for the preceding introductory, albeit cursory, analysis was to demonstrate that NATO's doctrine of flexible response has, in fact, become rigidly *inflexible*, due to its unavoidable dependence *only* on the nuclear component of its deterrent forces. Moreover, insofar as a credibility gap has arisen regarding NATO's professed contingency on "first use" and the theory of "Mutual Assured Destruction" (MAD) that underpins the Western Alliance's pursuit of a policy of deterrence, this study takes the position that from a military, political and moral perspective NATO's strategic thinking ought to concentrate more on eliminating altogether the threat of nuclear war, rather than seeking transient means of deterring an expansionist Soviet-Russian empire that is unencumbered by any moral restraints (re: Afghanistan, Poland and the KAL incident).

Taking into account present-day realities, deterrence is nothing other than an alluringly deceptive label for a policy of postponing an inevitable East-West nuclear confrontation, while making allowances for the continuing escalation of the nuclear arms race, so that once the confrontation does take place, the resulting catastrophic destruction will be so immense as to be irremediable; human life, as we have known it, will — for all intents and purposes — cease to exist, as Carl Sagan has made eminently clear. In short, *deterrence*, paradoxically enough, *has become an immoral policy*.

Moreover, given the fact that Moscow has deployed a significant number of its

intermediate-range nuclear missiles (SS-4, SS-5 and SS-20) on the territory of Ukraine, while most of the remaining Russian European-theater INF (intermediate-range nuclear force) is located in Byelorussia and the Baltic "republics", the Western response has been to target these ethnographically non-Russian lands with its own theater nuclear arsenal.⁶ In the event of a Russian conventional attack on Western Europe, present NATO strategy would inevitably require an early escalation of military hostilities to a tactical nuclear situation. Consequently, vast areas of Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltics will be subjected to incalculable nuclear destruction and loss of human life, while ethnographically Russian territories would be left relatively unscathed.⁷ By Western strategic design, Ukraine, Byelorussia and the three Baltic states — nations that are Moscow's colonies, but that have a long history of opposition, even armed strug-

gle, against Russian imperialist rule, and therefore are the West's potential allies — will be transformed into an infernal nuclear laboratory.⁸

The basic flaw in NATO's political and military strategic reasoning is that it does not recognize the manifold internal systematic weaknesses in the Soviet Union, that primarily stem from the heretofore unresolved "national problem", i.e., the irresistible aspirations of the peoples subjugated by Soviet-Russian imperialism and communism towards national independence, statehood and sovereignty, democracy and basic human liberties. Recently, in an article in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Professor Gary Guertner wrote: "The literature concerning U.S. strategic doctrine treats the Soviet Union as an *unitary* state, powerful in its military and political potential to threaten the United States and its allies. Little has been done in unclassified sources to examine the multi-



40th Anniversary of ABN commemorated by AF ABN on November 27, 1983 in Detroit. At the podium: Hon. Senator Carl Levin. To his right: Mr. B. Fedorak, AF ABN President with Mrs. B. Fedorak, Hon. Congressman Philip Crane, Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, Mrs. Philip Crane, Mrs. Slava Stetsko.

national (*ie. imperialist, authors*) character of the Soviet state and its potential effect on the Soviet-American mutual deterrence relationship"⁹ (*italics added*).

Clearly, a re-evaluation of NATO's political thinking needs to be undertaken with a view towards comprehending the many complexities of the Soviet-Russian imperialistic system, and ultimately leading to a re-evaluation of Western military strategic thinking, initially at least insofar as NATO's tactical nuclear targeting policy would be more effective, if its missiles were to be *exclusively* targeted at Russian ethnographic territories, where Moscow has its major power base and where its major military-industrial complexes are located.

In this respect, Professor Guertner comments on the basic flaw in Western strategy by alluding to Hitler's flawed policy towards the subjugated nations during World War II: "As the German armies moved through Ukraine, the Baltic regions, and Byelorussia, they conquered regions that had been most cruelly hit by forced collectivization of 1930-33, the famine, and Stalin's russification policies. ... One can only speculate about what ... problems the Soviets would have encountered had Hitler proclaimed the independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, and the Baltic states ... As it was, pockets of anti-Soviet partisans in these areas resisted the Soviet army for several years following the German surrender in 1945 ... The nationalities issue is especially significant in assessing Soviet vulnerability to nuclear war. Nuclear retaliation (or the threat of retaliation) concentrated in ethnic Russian areas would significantly increase Soviet vulnerabilities ..."¹⁰

Threat-elimination, not deterrence

The central point, however, is that the overbearing burden of moral imperatives requires that the Western Alliance, in the long run, pursue a policy not of deter-

rence, *ie.*, postponement of an inevitable nuclear Armageddon, but rather of seeking to *eliminate* the threat of nuclear war. Until now, arms limitation/reduction talks were considered the ultimate panacea to the world's nuclear ills, as the United States sought to de-escalate the nuclear arms race in piece-meal fashion through a series of drawn-out negotiations with the Soviet Union. In retrospect, it would be fair to conclude that these negotiations did not bear any significant fruit, and even considerably contributed to an escalation of the arms race in certain areas.¹¹

The bare fact, which the West fears to admit is that the danger of a nuclear holocaust cannot simply be negotiated away. The threat does not lie in these inanimate instruments of death, but rather in the irrational ambitions of those who wield them. It logically follows that the USSR, or rather its dominant Soviet-Russian imperialist component, as the world's primary aggressor, irrationally bent on establishing its neo-colonial hegemony over the world, *is the world's primary nuclear threat*.

This threat can be precluded only with the elimination of its only root cause; its present ultimate source: Russian imperialist expansionism. The primary point that this study attempts to demonstrate is that the Soviet-Russian prison of nations, *ie.*, the USSR and its "satellites", can be dismantled from within, without a nuclear or global war, or without any type of military confrontation in the classical conventional sense. The dissolution of the Soviet-Russian empire and consequent elimination of the Russian nuclear threat will be the inevitable outcome of the national-liberation, revolutionary processes in the subjugated nations, that until now the Soviet-Russian imperialist regime has not been able to harness, despite its system of wholistic terror. The "national problem" in the Soviet Union continues

to pose an inexorable and increasingly more acute dilemma to the Kremlin, and is further exacerbated by the manifold internal systemic weakness and contradictions in the empire.

Revolutionary Processes

A national revolution is not an isolated, unitary "event", but rather a series of phases; a drawn-out, total, multi-faceted process that permeates all levels 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 has its ebbs and flows, but it is 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 and intrinsic 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 Soviet-Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the "satellite" countries have developed to the point that Moscow may soon be faced with an irreversible revolutionary situation, i.e., the emergence of two irreconcilable, diametrically opposed poles of power and pseudo-authority: on the one hand, the colonial, occupational regime representing the imperialist and totalitarian power and pseudo-authority of Moscow, and, on the other hand, the legitimate, national, revolutionary authority of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, representing a *de facto* "underground state".

Professor Chalmers Johnson, in his monograph — *Revolutionary Change*, asserts that a society is ripe for revolutionary upheaval when it is in "disequilibrium", or when the ruling power only pays lip service to certain lofty ideals and values upon which, purportedly, the system was founded, while in fact pursuing

a set of completely incongruent ends. Prof. Chalmers writes: "Of all the characteristics of the disequibrated system, the one that contributes most directly to a revolution is *power deflation* — the fact that during a period of change the integration of a system depends increasingly upon the maintenance and deployment of force by the occupants of the formal authority statuses."¹² This is clearly the case with the Soviet-Russian empire as the "Formal (i.e., illegitimate, unjust, — authors) authority statuses" in the Kremlin increasingly have to rely on sheer force and institutionalized terror to maintain the system of occupation in the subjugated nations intact. Moreover, Moscow's capability to project "communist" values is fraught with glaring inconsistencies. For example, Moscow on the one hand seeks to promote "movements of national and social liberation" abroad, while concurrently severely repressing the national-liberation aspirations of the peoples that it has enslaved, even though the "right of secession" is "guaranteed" by the Soviet Constitution.

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 rejects the colonial values and norms¹³ of the oppressor-nation. In the words of one underground Ukrainian writer, the entire nation becomes a "dissident".

In the Soviet-Russian empire, this stage is particularly vital to the success of the successive phases of the revolutionary processes, 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 or a "value-system", is well-suited to the essentially collectivist, nationally amorphous, and autocratically inclined Russian national spirit,¹⁴ 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 deceptive label of a "Soviet people".¹⁵

The subjugated nations for the most part have managed to withstand this onslaught on their national fiber. In the 1960's and 1970's leading cultural activists and academics initiated a spontaneous search for their respective nations' spiritual roots, in the process making manifest their people's national cultural uniqueness in clear distinction to the Russian cultural heritage. As this feeling of na-

tional distinctiveness grows in the subjugated nations, the enslaved peoples' cognizance of their subjugated status becomes clearer and, hence, their antipathy towards 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 all the more irresistible.

In the 1980's the revolutionary processes in Ukraine — Moscow's largest colony in the USSR — had entered into a second, more purposeful phase that requires a systematic and planned structural revolution of all aspects of life and the building of an incipient underground state that in itself will reflect the nation's incremental reappropriation of political authority and national sovereignty. Given the ebbs and flows that every revolution undergoes, this critical second phase, if successful, will eschew the next, ultimately decisive phase



AF ABN national representatives at a banquet held on the 40th Anniversary of ABN in Detroit.

of insurgent-guerilla activity and the formation and organization of a "home-grown" insurgent-military force of liberation that will stand as the territorial guardian of the authority and sovereignty that had been reinvested in the nation as a whole.

The totality of the Bolshevik system of subjugation

Moscow need not always maintain its occupational troops on the territories of the nations that it has conquered, since Bolshevism, as a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, is in itself a total, highly centralized and wholistic system of occupation. This system is enforced in the subjugated nations by the Communist Party, the KGB and the entire terror apparatus in general. 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, i.e., Russian communist, collectivist, "étatist", atheistic, anti-individualistic and anti-national institutions. For example, collectivism, as it was brutally instituted in Ukraine in the early 1930's, was not strictly an economic policy. Its primary function was to destroy the Ukrainian people's individualistic and traditionalist way of life — the bastion of which was the Ukrainian village. As long as the Ukrainian village remained a nearly self-sufficient and stubbornly individualistic unit, Moscow would hardly be able to break the Ukrainian people's resistance to its economic policies, particularly in the crucial agricultural sector, and to its general colonial policies in Ukraine. As a result, Moscow found it necessary to murder over seven million Ukrainians in 1932-33 by means of a horrific, historically unprecedented artificial famine. This policy of mass starvation was deliberately instituted in Ukraine 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 the subjugated nations, paradoxically enough, this condition *sine qua non* of Bolshevik imperialist domination is also a potential source of internal systematic 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 is 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 Russians 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 one sector of the system, resulting from the sabotage activity of the revolutionary underground, will reverberate in greater magnitude throughout the system as a whole. For example, by sabotaging an oil refinery plant, the revolutionary underground can effectively cripple for a time the entire industrial network of one or more economic regions in the Soviet-Russian empire.¹⁵

A total system of terror

One of the primary indicators of an imminent political and social revolutionary upheaval is when the ruling elite is capable of maintaining power *only* by relying on force and terror. Every stable political society undergoes change so as to adapt to progressively changing circumstances. When a political system cannot make room for necessary peaceful change

without fundamentally undercutting the very foundations upon which it stands, then those entrusted with authority in that system must resort to the use of force so as to prevent change. Prof. Johnson writes: "When confidence has evaporated to the extent that the exercise of power is futile, when the authority of the status holders entrusted with supervision and command rests *only* on their monopoly of force, and when there is no foreseeable prospect of a procedural change in this situation, revolution is at hand."¹⁷

The above paradigm is, for the most part an apt description of the situation in the Soviet-Russian empire, particularly with regard to the subjugated nations. The primary weapon that the Russian colonial regime has utilized against a national-liberation movement is the application of indiscriminate terror against the nation as a whole. The institution of rule by terror has been the one manifest feature of the projection of Soviet-Russian authority in the nations that it has conquered. In Afghanistan, for instance, the Russians are conducting a war of attrition against the entire population; they soon realized that a speedy victory over the stubborn and determined mujahidin by conventional means was not near at hand. Small toy-bombs have left countless of Afghan children maimed and crippled for life.

There comes a point, however, when such terror tactics become counter-productive, since they transcend the 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.

After Andropov took over the helm of power in the Russian colonial empire, immediate measures were taken to reinstitute a Stalinist-type of system of terror on all Socio-economic levels in the USSR. Official press organs in the USSR, particularly the "republican" press in Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, published a series of scathing attacks against "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 on the strengthening of their role in the management of enterprises, institutions and organizations" was published in the Soviet press. This "draft" was presented in typical Orwellian "double-think" fashion, as a means of bringing even greater democracy in the work place. However, this draft, which has since become law in the Soviet Union, makes a complete charade of what the West has come to understand under "democracy". The authors of this law, undoubtedly on Andropov's instructions, openly stated that its intent was to strengthen "productive and labor discipline", ie., to reinforce Moscow's policy of oppression and terror.

By incorporating the working collectives within the jurisdiction of the police organs in the Soviet Union, Andropov — the former chief of the KGB — intended to embellish the system of terror with cosmetic "legal" trimmings, and to bring within the jurisdiction of the internal security administration even wider means of punishment, sanctions and controls. Following Andropov's death, M. Gorbachov, who was, from all indications, being groomed by Andropov to be his successor, became the apparent "No. 2" man in the Politburo. Gorbachov was also given unprecedented control over the entire economic sector, so that we can justifiably assume that Andropov's neo-Stalinist policies will be continued, and — in accord-

ance with the new law — these policies will be rationalized in Moscow's propaganda statements to the effect that they were implemented with the "permission" and upon the "entrustment" of the working committee.

In the past the colonial regimes in the subjugated nations were able to control the population through a network of informants. The people, however, were soon 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 printed special forms in all of the Soviet press organs, so that an informant simply has to fill in the blanks and still remain anonymous. Also, special brigades have been formed in the "Komsomol" (Communist youth organization) that carry out unexpected "raids" on factories, enterprises or collective farms, checking up on the workers and reporting on their productivity.

Moscow is not even bothering to cover up the fact that a neo-Stalinist-type of terror is being reinstated in the work place. The figure of Stalin is now being glorified in most of the Soviet historical, academic and literary journals.¹⁸ In the many articles that have since 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". Nowhere is there the slightest hint of the ruthless tyrant that brutally murdered over seven million Ukrainians in 1933.

In conjunction with this reinstatement of a neo-Stalinist system of terror in the Russian colonial empire, Andropov's ascendancy to power also brought with it an intensification of the campaign of Russification in the subjugated nations. In a speech on December 21, 1982, delivered on the 60th anniversary of the USSR,

Andropov declared that Moscow's goal is "not only the bringing together of nations, but their absorption". He then went on 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 (the Russian people's, authors) benevolent brotherly aid, the 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."

In the peculiar Soviet political lexicon, Andropov's words were, in effect, a signal to higher and lower echelon communist officials throughout the Russian colonial empire that greater efforts must be made to bring about the total russification of the enslaved peoples. However, past experience has shown that more often than not an intensification in Moscow's russification policies actually strengthens the distinct national consciousness of the enslaved peoples in the USSR and provokes even greater anti-Russian sentiment. On the other hand, a lessening in the degree of russification is also dangerous, since this would allow the underground national-liberation movements in the subjugated nations to more prominently assert themselves. The Soviet Union is in a "Catch 22" situation, resulting from the manifold internal contradictions in its oppressive system of occupation; contradictions that chiefly stem from the heretofore unresolved "nationalities question". One may say that the USSR, as a whole, is one great contradiction *in adjecto*. On the one hand Moscow must pursue a policy of russification in the subjugated nations, since it cannot actively pursue its

expansionist foreign policy aims without a relatively stabilized "home front"; on the other hand Moscow must also expend much time and energy towards maintaining the facade of a "federated union of nationalities", which is essential in the projection of its "internationalist" image. There can be no "international nation"; this is a contradiction in terms. Moscow's real aim is to create one great Russian "super-nation" under the deceitful guise of a "Soviet people". As the enslaved peoples begin to comprehend this essential fact, as they begin to more fully grasp the manifold contradictions inherent in the Soviet-Russian political system in their every-day lives, the existing revolutionary situation will become all the more acute and irreconcilable.

The ideological bankruptcy of communism

On June 14, 1983, at a Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Konstantyn Chernenko, the present chairman of the Politburo, delivered the keynote speech, which dealt exclusively with "the ideological and mass-political work of the party". This speech was, in fact, necessitated by the growing 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 Russian communist leaders admit to their problems, albeit in a qualified and non committal manner, only when forced to do so by critically extenuating circumstances. Hence, Chernenko's outward sincerity" should be viewed as 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 faces with regard to the "national question" in the Soviet-Russian colonial empire. He echoed Andropov's call for a more intensified campaign of russification in the subjugated nations as a key pre-condition for 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 incredibly cynical can one get to even suggest that Ukraine, for instance, a nation with a population of over 50 million with an ancient historical cultural heritage, 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 characterizing the present crisis that the present policies of the Russian communist 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?!

Our conclusion is that the many paradoxes and contradictions in Chernenko's speech reflect the complete and unequivocal failure of the communist system in the USSR and the "satellite" countries and of the inability of the Kremlin to project even the most elementary communist ideals onto the political "Soviet society" that it rules over.

According to "the value theory of society", held by such eminent sociologists as Max Weber, Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons, every political society is first and foremost a "moral community" that is integrated by a set of shared values. The purpose of ideology, or of the ideological-political framework that defines the ends of a particular political society, is to project these integrating values onto the people in that society; to create a dynamic moral relationship between the society's value-system and the people. Where such an ideological-moral "integrator" is lacking, the ruling elite — as we have already established — must resort to force which is then rationalized by increasingly more hollow-sounding and less and less deceiving quasi-ideological statements. Chernenko's speech was, in fact, an attempt to inject some essentially non-communist ideological vitality into the Soviet-Russian system, while simultaneously paying lip-service to Marxist-Leninist ideological dogma. The Kremlin is seeking ways to head-off an imminent revolutionary upheaval.

In an ideologically decrepit and stagnant system, a dynamic revolutionary ideology and political counter-culture will inevitably appear to challenge the very

foundations upon which that political system rests, while projecting a diametrically-opposed set of moral and political values; a revolutionary vision of a new political and social order that is irreconcilable with present realities. Prof. Johnson defines a revolutionary ideology as "an alternative value structure that becomes salient only under disequibrated systems and which is addressed to these disequibrated conditions".²⁰

In the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries such a revolutionary ideology has been increasingly making itself more manifest in "dissident" literature and underground publications and is posing a serious challenge to the official communist ideology of the Soviet-Russian empire. The aggregate of ideas and values that is expressed in this literature has two central features: the complete and unequivocal rejection of Bolshevik colonial norms and communist values in all spheres of life and the recognition of the need to re-establish national, independent and sovereign, democratic states of the presently subjugated nations. As an ever-larger circle of people in the subjugated nations begin to feel a sense of alienation from the official but stagnant communist ideology, a national dynamic counter-culture will grow and develop, leading to mass mobilization of the enslaved peoples in general in the struggle against Soviet-Russian imperialism and communism.

The irresistible force of religion must also be weighed as a revolutionary factor in the imminent creation of a dynamic national counter-culture. In spite of the relentless and brutal efforts of the KGB, religion — that proverbial Marxist "opium of the people" — has not been weeded out in the subjugated nations. On the contrary, in Ukraine, for example, an underground Church persists in serving the faithful.²¹ In Afghanistan, the religious fervour of the mujahidin is one of the

primary reasons that Moscow has not been able to conquer this heroic people. Moreover, we have all witnessed the significance of the Polish Church and of the Pope's visit to Poland in the rise of the *Solidarnosc* movement. A recent UPI dispatch reported that several hundred Polish students took over an agricultural school near Warsaw after they were ordered to remove crucifixes from their classrooms.²² In his keynote speech from June 14, 1983, Chernenko voiced the trepidations of the Kremlin gerontocrats regarding the threat of religion: "A segment of the people still remain under the influence of religion, and this segment, to put it quite 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."

The ideological-political crisis in the Soviet-Russian empire will, undoubtedly,

worsen, as the national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations continue to confront the Russian system of occupation on all levels of life. At one point in this process a political watershed will be reached and Moscow may soon find itself confronted on several fronts in the subjugated nations with mass national uprisings, threatening to tear assunder this last global empire.

In a clandestine interview, recently published in the *New York Times*, Z. Buyak — a leader of the Polish underground and "Poland's most wanted fugitive" — rejects any dialogue with the occupational regime and calls for a "long march" of resistance. This strategy consists of "a movement to boycott all institutions of the regime", "the building of clandestine structures" in diametric opposition to the "legal" structures of the occupational system. Buyak recognizes that "the strength of the regime and of Moscow comes from



Mrs. Slava Stetsko, ABN Executive Chairman, addressing AF ABN Meeting of Chicago Branch, May 8, 1984. To her left: AF ABN Chicago Chapter Chairman, Dr. M. Charkewycz and Dr. A. Ronnett.

using oppression against society, an oppressive system built into all possible areas of social life". Hence, he believes that "permanent pressure (must be placed on) the authorities in all areas of social and political life".²³

Buyak's comments further substantiate the revolutionary paradigm presented in this study, that perceives the revolutionary liberation processes as, essentially, a struggle between two diametrically opposed conceptions of life, two cultures, two polar world-views, two antithetical value-systems: a Russian, Bolshevik system of values against the national value-system of each subjugated nation.

Systemic economic weaknesses

The economic history of the USSR has been a series of one failure and setback 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 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 Plan. In fact, these grain yields have been so poor that Moscow has stopped publishing any exact figures on its agricultural output. This crisis is by no means a result of some disastrous natural occurrences. 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 for four years out of five is ludicrous.

The fact is that the agricultural crisis and

the general economic crisis are, to a considerable degree, directly a result of 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" system are completely anathema to the traditional, tenacious individualistic Ukrainian "peasant" spirit. During the period of the Ninth Five Year Plan, Moscow increased its capital investment in agriculture by nearly 75% over the amount spent during the Eighth Five Year Plan. Yet, the average grain yield was increased by only 12-13%. Concurrently, the private plots of Ukrainian farmers, that Moscow is forced to tolerate and that constitutes only 1% of land earmarked for agricultural production, yielded 12% of the total agricultural output.

In the industrial sector the situation is no less bleak. Although the USSR has managed to sustain a growth rate in its GNP of 3-5% over the last few decades, most recent economic projections estimate that Moscow will be more hard pressed at the present time to manage even a modest increase in its GNP. Much of the reason for this is that it has overextended itself in many of the crucial areas of its military-industrial complex. For instance, the *New York Times* recently reported that oil production in the Soviet Union, which until now has been the world's largest producer, has taken an unusual downward course since October 1983. The *N. Y. Times* report was based on official figures published in *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*, so that one can reasonably assume that these figures, although already presaging ill for the future, are inevitably doctored to mask the real catastrophe at hand. According to the *N. Y. Times*, the Soviet Union derives 60% of its foreign currency earnings from oil shipments to the West, most notably to the Western

European countries.²⁴ The hard currency that Moscow received from these foreign exchange earnings was in the past used to purchase desperately needed grain and high technology from the West. With the present drop in oil production, Moscow will no longer be able to make these purchases. The *N. Y. Times* article cites Professor John W. Campbell of Indiana University, an expert on Soviet energy, who stated that the present drop in oil production in the USSR may be a result of Moscow's past irrational policies of pressing the potential of the Siberian oil fields to make up for declines in older fields. "The effect of that pressure", said Prof. Campbell, "had to end sometime, and that time may now be at hand".

Due to the highly integrated nature of the Soviet economy, this present mini-crisis in oil production may soon balloon into an economic crisis of the highest magnitude. The Soviet Union may soon have to begin importing oil so as to keep its heavy industry sector operating at a maximum peak. Any lessening in the degree of heavy industrial output, which is crucial for military reasons, will have serious consequences for Moscow's military expansionist policies abroad.

Also, since Moscow will soon deplete its hard currency reserves, necessary for the purchase of grain from the West, it will soon be forced to institute a series of austerity programs, particularly in the subjugated nations, which will ignite widespread discontent. Within the context of the revolutionary paradigm presented in this study, this development can lead to serious social and socio-political problems for the Kremlin regime, since it has the potential to trigger a revolutionary uprising throughout the entire Soviet-Russian empire. The portentous events in Poland in the 1970's and 1980's verify our assumption in this regard. In explaining his theory of "rising expectations", Professor

James Davies writes: "Revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal... The crucial factor is the vague or specific fear that ground gained over a long period of time will be quickly lost".²⁶ Following 60 years of assurances by the Soviet Russian leaders that a "future socialist paradise" is soon imminent in the USSR, any reversal towards even greater austerity, even poverty, in the Soviet-Russian empire can have catastrophic, revolutionary consequences.

The Military Capacity of the Subjugated Nations

"An analysis of the position of a system's armed forces", writes Prof. Johnson, "always lies at the heart of any concrete study of revolution. Since mounting a revolution involves the acceptance of violence in order to cause the system to change, revolutionaries must necessarily confront the actors who are entrusted, equipped, and trained to employ force within that system".²⁷ Once a system's armed forces, the military establishment's rank-and-file, begins to fraternize with the revolutionaries and with the entire nation that has risen in revolt against the existing authority structures, once revolutionary ideas permeate the very military structure, the officer corps will be increasingly hard-pressed to maintain discipline; the military will undoubtedly lose much, if not all, of its effectiveness to control the revolutionary processes. This is particularly true within the context of a national-liberation anti-imperialist revolution. The imperialist regime must draft the young men of the subjugated nations into the armed forces, and in a national-liberation revolution this will be the first element that will desert to the side of the rebels. For instance, in 1956 most of the first divisions that Moscow sent into Hungary to squelch

the uprising were Ukrainians. These Ukrainian troops, who possessed an inherent hatred of the Soviet-Russian empire, were soon able to identify with the aims and aspirations of the Hungarian people, so that many of these Ukrainian soldiers began fraternizing with the revolutionaries and fought alongside them.

The first factor to be considered when assessing the capabilities of the subjugated nations to lead an armed insurgent liberation struggle is the fact that the Russians are in a minority in their empire by a proportion of 1:2, with the populations of the "satellite" countries 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 rates continue, every third inhabitant in the USSR will be Islamic in the near future.²⁸ From a military perspective these figures are significant, since the population breakdown of the USSR is reflected *per se* in the Soviet army. Every other soldier is, potentially at least, an enemy of the imperialist Soviet-Russian regime. It is also important to bear in mind that not every ethnically Russian soldier will be willing to fight to defend the empire from collapsing in an insurgent-revolutionary situation. The revolutionary ideas and the revolutionary vision that the national-liberation movements will project in the course of their struggle will also lead to the demobilization of a considerable number of Russian soldiers, since the subjugated nations seek *only* the dissolution of the Russian empire and *not* the destruction of the Russian national and sovereign state *within its own ethnographic borders*.

The Soviet army cannot be isolated from the revolutionary processes in the subjugated nations. It is also vulnerable to the pressures that these processes evoke.

The level of political-ideological mobilization in the subjugated nations is reflected in some measure throughout the ranks of the Soviet 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 the middle-level officer corps in the Soviet army are non-Russian. In a conflict situation it is these officers that are ultimately responsible for carrying out the tactical plans of the Soviet military command, and who may decide to sabotage these plans, particularly if ordered to shoot at their own people. The infiltration of revolutionary ideas of liberation in the Soviet army is crucial to the success of the subjugated nations' liberation 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 three months after Bolshevik Russia and Nazi Germany entered into war, nearly three million Soviet soldiers, primarily from the subjugated nations, voluntarily deserted to the German side.

The Soviet Union is a totally militarized empire. School children and university level students receive military training. On all levels of industry Moscow has applied a military principle of labor organization. Even the collective farms are run according to a military principle, without which Moscow would hardly be able to keep the lid on the national disaffection and unrest in the subjugated nations. However, in a revolutionary situation, this militarization can be used to the advantage of the subjugated nations, since it will not take much time or effort on the part of the liberation underground to organize the population into pockets of resistance to the Soviet-Russian imperialist rule. For example, given the proper pre-conditions, 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. In this respect, Western radio-broadcasts can again play a significant role, particularly as a nexus of communication between the various pockets of guerilla activity in a wider decentralized revolutionary network.

The potential that insurgent-guerilla warfare offers to the subjugated nations and the immense difficulties that it would create for Moscow have been demonstrated in the past. In 1940 Finland managed to withstand the onslaught of the Soviet army by employing a warfare of guerilla strategy. A better example is the war of liberation fought by the Ukrainian nation on two fronts against 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 occupation troops in Ukraine well into the 1950s. It even carried out so-called "raids" onto the territories of other subjugated nations and helped organize insurgent units there. Moscow was able to force the UPA to discontinue its open insurgent-guerilla activity only several years after signing a Tripartite Pact with the PPR and CSSR in 1947 and then engaging their armies in the anti-UPA front.

The technological improvements of the Soviet Armed Forces over the years have been of no avail to Moscow in Afghanistan, where the Afghan mujahidin 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 on Moscow's other, as yet non-military, fronts in the subjugated nations in the USSR.

Conclusion

The point of this study has been twofold: a) to demonstrate that NATO's present military and political strategy are fraught with many, potentially fatal, flaws, primary among which is a complete lack of understanding of the true imperialist nature of the Soviet-Russian system; b) to point out several of the vulnerabilities within this system, which chiefly stem from the Soviet Union's "nationalities question" and which, if properly exploited, can lead to the dissolution of the Soviet-Russian empire into national, independent and sovereign, democratic nation-states of the presently subjugated nations each within its ethnographic borders, thereby precluding the present growing threat of a nuclear holocaust. The subjugated nations do not need Western soldiers intervening within the Soviet-Russian empire to achieve their liberation. They have the political and military potential to liberate themselves. However, insofar as there exists a real necessity to mobilize the populations of the subjugated nations into a wider revolutionary national-liberation struggle, Western moral and political support is indispensable. Furthermore, the West must create the necessary pre-conditions in order for this struggle to be most effective and ultimately successful, by terminating all forms of technological and economic assistance to the Soviet-Russian empire. Such a policy would be in the interests not only of the subjugated nations, but of the Western democracies as well. If the West refuses to actively support the subjugated nations in their national-liberation struggle, then it should at least desist from helping their enemies.

ABN Research Center

¹ This estimate leads us to conclude that NATO's strategy of forward defense, i. e., to meet and thwart a Russian attack as close to the border of the two Germanies, is highly dubious, particularly since the Soviet armies,

employing a *blitzkrieg* strategy, will at least initially have the luxury of choosing the point of their attack and of maintaining the initiative after massing most of their forces at this point. The strategy of forward defense is nonetheless adhered to by NATO strictly for political reasons, although it is logically untenable and its military value is negligible.

² "Line X" is the KGB field section for science and technology, responsible for appropriating the latest technological advances in the West, that Moscow cannot legally purchase.

³ In the United States, the present Reagan administration, although constantly stressing the need to re-arm and to "close the window of vulnerability," has concentrated its defense expenditures on the nuclear component to such an overbearing degree that the most recent data shows a 25% drop in the combat readiness of the United States' conventional military units since President Reagan took office. Consequently, although the Pentagon is committed to reinforce NATO with an additional 10 divisions within 10 days in the event of a Soviet-Russian attack, the annual posture statement of the U.S. Army unequivocally states that only six divisions could be transported to Europe within that period. Hiatt, Fred, (Washington Post Service), "U.S. Data Shows 25% Drop in Combat-Ready Units since '80", *International Herald Tribune*, Tuesday, March 6, 1984, pp. 1—2.

⁴ Kissinger, Henry, "A Plan to Re-shape NATO", *Time*, March 5, 1984, p. 14.

⁵ Sagan, Carl, "Nuclear War and Climatic Catastrophe: Some Policy Implications," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 62, No. 2, Winter 1983/84.

⁶ The maximum range of the presently deployed and projected U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles in the European theater (Pershing 1A — 740 kms, Pershing II — 1800 kms, GLCM or "cruise" missile — 2500 kms) leads us to conclude that these missiles are capable, indeed are intended, to strike *only* at the territories of Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic states, since for the most part they cannot reach ethnographically Russian population centers and military-industrial complexes.

⁷ In view of the fact that prevailing trade winds in the western and north-western regions of the USSR blow in a south-easterly direction, the repercussions resulting from nuclear fallout will not significantly affect Russian ethnic territories.

⁸ In the event of a "limited" nuclear confrontation with NATO, Moscow can assume with reasonable certainty that a considerable segment of the populations of the subjugated

nations will actively enter the war *against the West*, particularly after being subjected to an inordinate dose of Moscow's inevitably twisted propaganda barrages. It will, indeed, be nearly impossible to convince the peoples of Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltics that the Western democracies are their friends after Nato's missiles have turned their lands into a vast nuclear testing ground.

⁹ Guertner, Gary, "Strategic Vulnerability of a Multinational State: Detering the Soviet Union", *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 96, Number 2, Summer 1981, p. 210.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¹¹ The production of MIRVed (multiple independently-targeted re-entry vehicles) rockets as directly a result of SALT I, which placed a ceiling on missiles and launchers, but not on the amount of warheads that each missile could carry. Consequently, both sides sought ways, as could have been expected, to find loopholes in the SALT I agreement by producing and deploying MIRVs, so that the ghastly specter of global nuclear destruction was increased ten-fold, as each American and Russian missile — in accordance with SALT I — was permitted to carry 10—20 times more nuclear throw-weight than before.

¹² Johnson, Chalmers, *Revolutionary Change* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966), p. 91.

¹³ Prof. Johnson defines "norms" as role requirements, or standards of expected performance that govern one's role in society. Norms differ from "values", which are "general moral and definitional symbols, which, when shared, establish the conscious solidarity that characterizes a moral community... Norms derived from a value structure will provide morally acceptable (i. e. legitimate) rules for performing the roles dictated by a particular division of labor." Prof. Johnson continues: "At times when values are insecure as a result of social change, norms themselves — partially legitimized by the crumbling value structure but all buttressed by coercive enforcement — become the basic principle for organizing the work of the society. Since they no longer rest on a solid basis of legitimacy in shared values, norms in times of change will be subject to frequent violations, taxing the abilities of the authorities to enforce them; and their contents will become the major focus of attention and argument in society."

Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁴ The forerunner of the "kolkhozes" (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 Russian notion of "mir", or the communal world, permeates all of Russian philosophy and is the basis for the Russian people's characteristically communal way of life. For an in-depth and authoritative discussion of the communistic traits of the Russian psyche, see Berdayev, Nicolas, *The Origins of Russian Communism* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1937).

¹⁵ For a further discussion of this point see below section on "The ideological bankruptcy of communism", p. 12.

¹⁶ On the basis of recent reports, we have been able to establish that a section of the Siberian natural gas pipeline was blown up near the city of Uzhorod on the Ukrainian Czecho-Slovak border. These reports coincided with statements made in Moscow that the pipeline will not be completed by the target date due to certain "unforeseen circumstances". We can only conjecture that at least one of these "unforeseen circumstances" was the revolutionary act of sabotage near Uzhorod.

Following this event, the regional KGB network for Uzhorod began an extensive search for hidden Ukrainian nationalists. Uzhorod is located in a heavily wooded and mountainous region of Ukraine, which is ideal for underground and insurgent guerilla activity. Although the KGB was able to uncover several Ukrainian nationalists, who were subsequently executed, the cost of this search-campaign was considerable, since several open gun battles took place. In one such battle, Borys Terelya — the brother of a well-known Ukrainian political prisoner and himself a nationalist underground leader that managed to evade the KGB for at least one-and-a-half years by hiding in the Carpathian mountains — was killed in open combat with KGB agents.

¹⁷ Johnson, Chalmers *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁸ As an example of this glorification of

Stalin, see Sysenko, O., "The Goal", *Vitczyzna*, No. 2, 1983.

¹⁹ *Radyanska Ukraina*, Wednesday, June 15, 1983, No. 135 (18744), p. 1.

²⁰ Johnson, C., *op. cit.*, p. 82.

²¹ For years Moscow has been trying to completely destroy the Ukrainian Catholic and Autocephalous Orthodox Churches by forcibly amalgamating them into the officially-sanctioned Russian Orthodox Church. Within the context of a discussion on whether the Kremlin leadership is essentially a Russian imperialist regime, or whether it is strictly a communist, and therefore "a-national" regime, it is interesting to note that Moscow has always at worst tolerated the existence of the Russian Orthodox Church and has oftentimes buttressed it, while seeking to destroy both Ukrainian Churches.

²² *International Herald Tribune*, Thursday, March 8, 1984, p. 2.

²³ "Polish Fugitive urges 'long march'", *New York Times*, December 19, 1983, p. 8.

²⁴ Shabad, Theodore (New York Times Service), "Oil Output Falls in the Soviet Union", *International Herald Tribune*, Monday, March 5, 1984, p. 9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Davies, James Chowning, ed., *When Men Revolt and Why: A Reader in Political Violence and Revolution*, (New York: The Free Press, 1971). This same view was held by Ted Robert Gurr, who developed the "J-Curve theory"; *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1970).

²⁷ Johnson, C., *op. cit.*, p. 99.

²⁸ For an excellent study of the demographic trends in the USSR and the impact that they will have on future Soviet-Russian policy in the subjugated nations, see Carrère d'Encausse, Héleène, *Decline of an Empire; The Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt*, (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1978).

LAUGHING TO SURVIVE

A piece of wry humour, about a code of survival facetiously called "The Five Communist Commandments", is being widely circulated (privately) in Eastern Europe.

The "commandments" are: 1. Don't think. 2. If you think, don't speak. 3. If you think and speak, don't write. 4. If you think, speak and write, don't sign. 5. If you think speak, write and sign, don't be surprised.

In Moscow, the Soviet gerontocracy is the target of similar humour, which usually takes the form of a dialogue. Here is a recent example: Question: How do Politburo members start the day? Reply: With resuscitation.

And another example: First Muscovite: I wanted to go to Brezhnev's and Andropov's funerals, but I couldn't get a permit. Second Muscovite: Fortunately, I have a season ticket, so I went to both funerals.

Afghan Leaflet in the USA

"...The only true revolutionary war at the present moment would be a war against all capitalist countries... We cannot do this now... Every Marxist, if he is not a renegade, must put the interests of socialism above the right of nations to self-determination."

"We are not pacifists... We have always declared it to be absurd for the revolutionary proletariat to renounce revolutionary wars that may prove necessary in the interest of socialism."

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

The Soviet Russian Government wishes to create the impression that its foreign policy is founded on high moral principles of international behaviour. In particular it seeks to persuade world opinion that the Soviet Union champions liberation of nations, self-determination of peoples, and, most of all, defends peace against "imperialist warmongers".

Contrary to the false peace propaganda, the above teachings of Lenin himself define the true intention of Soviet foreign policy. The incompatibility of Soviet international conduct with its propaganda slogans is yet another touchstone, revealing the expansionist nature of Soviet Communism.

The invasion of Afghanistan, contrary to all norms of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, and the stationing of over 100,000 Soviet troops in that country is a recent example of Soviet neo-colonialism. It is essential that the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan should be studied and dealt with in the context of Soviet policy of world domination. This intervention is of immense international dimension. The fall of Afghanistan would undoubtedly mark the beginning of the downfall of especially the Third World countries.

The sustained struggle of the Afghan nation is, in fact, a struggle on behalf of the Free World. Support of this struggle remains by far the most effective means of reversing the process unleashed by the Soviet invasion.

If the Free World, for its own survival, intends to contain the Soviet Russian expansionist designs, it should try to reverse what has happened in Afghanistan and seek to ensure that it can never happen again, neither in Afghanistan nor anywhere else.

*Leaflet by Afghan Community in America
139-15 95th Ave., Jamaica, New York 1346*

Russification of the Baltic Republics

(cont.)

Language/Education

According to the Soviet Constitution (Article 36), all Soviet languages are guaranteed equal rights and all Soviet citizens are assured the right to use their native languages alongside any other language of the USSR. Yet this ideal disappears before the reality of russification and sovietization. "In practical terms, the unification process is progressing step by step, for the *homo sovieticus* remains the ultimate goal according to which the common must continuously gain ground against the particular."³⁵ The Soviet nationality policy now stresses that since the Russian population is the largest ethnic group in the Union, its language should be the central one through which "the heights of Soviet and world culture can be reached."³⁶ Native languages are preserved merely as cultural phenomena and exemplify the unity and cohesiveness supposedly already achieved.

The spread of bilingualism proceeds not only in the sphere of material but also of cultural production. Under the condition of mature socialism there takes place an unheard of flourishing and rapprochement of national cultures, an all-around development of a single Soviet Socialist culture, which represents a higher state of the contemporary cultural progress of mankind. Through the Russian language the representatives of all Union Republics, Autonomous Provinces and Autonomous Districts have acquired the possibility of mastering all the achievements of Soviet and world culture.³⁷

In the 1930s approximately 130 languages were spoken in the Soviet Union. Today only approximately 70 still remain.

Yet by their very existence they keep at bay the model of Soviet uniformity by allowing the separate cultures to maintain their ethnic identities.³⁸

The in-migration of Russians to the Baltic Republics forms a major threat because of their large numbers. There is the only ethnic group which "generally enjoys the privilege of mother-tongue schools, media and cultural institutions outside their own republic. There is no party pressure for Russians to learn the languages of other ethnic groups, but the reverse is true."³⁹ Subsequently, because the immigrants are not learning the local languages and the natives are required to learn Russian, it follows that Russian becomes the public language, including use in educational and bureaucratic institutions. In Latvia (the Baltic Republic with the greatest percentage of non-natives in its population), "more students (were) admitted to the Russian-language than the Latvian-language course at the Riga Polytechnical Institute."⁴⁰ The 1979 census showed that the number of Latvians claiming Russian as a second language grew in ten years from 45.2 % to 56.7 %.⁴¹ Meetings in all three Baltic Republics are conducted in Russian if any are present to request it. Invoices, order forms, certificates, legal documents, boat and airline tickets, internal documents for almost all factories, design firms, planning offices, etc. are all in Russian. In Estonia, many doctors and nurses do not speak Estonian, leading to difficulties in the health care professions.⁴²

"Relying on ethnographic studies, Soviet sociologists have argued that the most desirable form of acculturation occurs among those non-Russians who have

learned Russian at an early age."⁴³ Accordingly, the latest tightenings of language-education policy began in the late seventies, heralded by the USSR Council of Minister's decree (10/13/78), "On Measures for Further Improving the Study and the Teaching of the Russian Language in the Union Republics" and the all-Union Scientific-Theoretical conference proceedings and recommendations, "The Russian Language—the Language of Friendship and Cooperation of the Peoples of the USSR" in Tashkent, May 1979 (hereafter referred to as the Tashkent Conference).⁴⁴ Essentially, the conference focused on a need for greater education of the Russian language in all of the Republics. The final document "enjoins the appropriate authorities to intensify dramatically the teaching of Russian at the pre-school (kindergarten) level, in elementary and secondary schools, in vocational schools, and in institutions of higher education. More and better Russian language teachers are to be trained, more textbooks are to be published, etc".⁴⁵

With regards to higher education, the Tashkent Conference resolved the use of Russian in classrooms other than just language classes. Social sciences, general education and special disciplines were to be taught in Russian. Scholarly dissertations must be written in Russian.⁴⁶

Attempts have been made by the Ministry of Education to create "mixed" schools versus merely national ones, with plans to build more. However, ethnic relations cause problems at a very basic level. Prejudice of local nationalities against the immigrants is great and it is virtually impossible to combine children from both ethnic groups under one roof.⁴⁷ In Lithuania, "(Lionginas) Šepetys (Lithuanian Party Secretary for Ideology) stresses that nationalistic attitudes are likely to arise when individual political work is neglected. All subjects taught in the schools, in particular history, the so-

cial sciences, and literature should be so organized so as to reveal the achievements of Soviet national policy".⁴⁸

The ideological role of the Russian language training is to instill a love and pride for the "Motherland" through knowledge of the language. The pressure on the Baltic peoples to succumb to this ideological training is intense, dominant, and unending. Political education is to be advanced in part by allowing the pupils to read political literature in the original language text. Furthermore, on April 30, 1982, Šepetys stated, "Atheist education is an integral part of a Communist upbringing and thus schools must, in order of priority, more effectively inculcate a materialistic world view, improve atheist indoctrination, and intensify the struggle against all forms of religious extremism."⁴⁹

Resistance to russification is strong among the native populations. However, Estonian-language education faces numerous difficulties, among them outdated Estonian-Russian dictionaries, lack of typewriters with a Latin alphabet, and strict regulation of a very limited number of photocopying machines.⁵⁰ Teaching of Estonian in Russian-nationality schools begins in the fifth grade, if at all; Russian philologists who generally teach it tend to speak Estonian poorly. Even so, by pleading the need for an extra year to master the Russian language, Estonia—as well as Latvia and Lithuania—has retained its 11-year basic educational system in spite of former Premier Nikita Krushchev's introduction of a standard 10-year system in the rest of the Soviet Union.⁵¹ The 1979 census figures show the surprising statistic that the knowledge of Russian in Estonia has *dropped*; it was the only Republic to show a decline.⁵² Whereas in the 1970 census, 29.2% ethnic Estonians claimed to have a good knowledge of Russian, that figure had dropped to 25.4% in 1979.⁵³ 75% of the newspapers and 90% of the periodicals are printed

in Estonian.⁵⁴ Estonia had even managed to maintain its colorful medieval names for downtown streets instead of turning them into variants of "Lenin Street" or "Marx Boulevard". The Estonians have one major advantage over the other two Baltic Republics: although radio reception from the West may be jammed, it is impossible at present to jam television waves. According to surveys, about 70% ethnic Estonians watch Estonian television; Finnish television (including a range of American and other Western programs) is watched by 70% of the viewing audience as a second alternative.⁵⁵

Lithuania is seemingly holding its own. Least industrialized of the Baltic Republics, its ethnic population percentages have not yet reached critical levels. Furthermore, the Catholic Church is a formidable force in maintaining cultural identity. Lithuania is the most prolific of the three Republics with underground literature that reaches the West. Even with the recent crackdown after Yuri Andropov's ascension to power, the "Chronicles of the Catholic Church in Lithuania" is still coming out regularly with reports of human rights violations and russification.

Lithuanian nationalists believe that the party is trying to bring about the linguistic russification of the population as part of its ultimate plan to denationalize the Lithuanian nation . . . the Lithuanian language is considered to be the most sacred manifestation of the national cultural heritage, while its preservation remains the single most important component in the struggle to retain national self-identity. Dissatisfaction is expressed at the growing use of Russian at public meetings, cultural events, and factories and other places of employment, and particular resentment is voiced towards the relatively recent requirements that Lithuanian children begin their study of

Russian in kindergarten and that doctoral dissertations be written in Russian.⁵⁶

Latvia's situation is the most urgent. The intensive industrialization and the number of immigrants combined with facts already mentioned—low birthrate, etc., make the position of language and cultural identity far more precarious. Sandwiched between Lithuania and Estonia, Latvia lacks the strong unifying force of a national religion that strengthens Lithuania, and the linguistic and media ties with Finland and the West that Estonia enjoys. Furthermore, Latvia's party government is strongly dedicated to bilingualism. Aivars Goris, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee's head of the cultural section is quoted from *Cina* (5/12/76):

With the medium of the Russian language, Latvian literature and art have gone far beyond their own narrow republican borders. Everything new and worthwhile that is created in the industrial, cultural, and social spheres by the effort and imagination of the fraternal nations enters our life by means of the Russian language.⁵⁷

Similarly, the First Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party, August Voss, has issued statements supporting bilingualism. National activism in Latvia seems to suffer from lack of unity. One Latvian man is quoted as saying, "For us the main thing is to survive. Ours is a passive resistance. We're trying to preserve our culture and our traditions. We suffer from the Russian presence: Our initiative is suppressed. The Russian standards of inefficiency and incompetence weigh on us. Our cities are not maintained. Shops are dirty. Service has declined."⁵⁸

Language is the key to maintaining cultural identity in the Baltic Republics. As native languages are replaced by Russian

in higher education, in the cultural community, and in science and research, they inevitably lose their usefulness and become secondary languages. Continual modernization and transmission to the whole population is critical to maintain the viability of the native languages. Success relies on the attitudes of the cultural, scholarly, and scientific-technological elites towards the continuity of cultural identity. To gain significance, however, their efforts at modernization must find general application through language education and daily use within the population. This again runs into the problem of the massive in-migration of non-Balts and their disregard for the native languages.

In Estonia and Latvia a primary battleground in the years ahead will be precisely in the area of public language use—in communications, in education and in cultural institutions. Most educated Estonians and Latvians have been multilingual for over a century, and hence the requirement that the natives learn Russian is not as crucial an issue in collective identity maintenance as it is often made out to be. Of more serious consequence is the fact that the immigrants by and large are not learning Estonian and Latvian... The existing situation creates pressures for the increased use of Russian in public communication, at work, in commerce, in interaction with governmental and party bureaucrats, and so forth.⁵⁰

The youth of the Baltic Republics also play a major role in the preservation of national identities. The decision whether or not to use their native languages rests upon their judgements. Furthermore, children of mixed marriages are allowed to choose which nationality they claim as their own. To date, the majority have chosen their Baltic nationalities.

We return once more to the overall objective of Soviet language policy: to de-

sign and construct a basis for the further diffusion of the Russian language into non-Russian Republics in order to form a "soviet" nation. This apparently has not yielded the desired results. A "soviet", as versus a national loyalty, has not developed, and the primacy of the Russian language has not been accepted. The harder the Soviets press for the creation of a Soviet peoples, the greater the resistance among the nationality groups; the greater the dissent, the more they are pressed.

All Estonians living in Soviet Estonia, intentionally or otherwise, work, create, and think not only for themselves or for the good of their people, but also for the foreign oppressors. Each day we must decide how much, to what extent, we will obey, adopt, participate in, to which documents we will, so to speak, lend our signatures, and the masters do not cease from pulling our chains and demanding more victims from us.⁶⁰

In the future, stiff russification measures may lead to an increasingly strong response, one seeking greater autonomy for the Baltic Republics and their leadership. This can only lead to greater repression, because economic and military reasons for the continued occupation far overshadow the intangible and political considerations.

Although this paper does not deal with the dissident movement in the Baltic Republics, it should be noted that Baltic dissidents often point to russification measures as a cause for their discontent. Strong expressions of nationalistic spirit have broken out recently, to some extent inspired by the Solidarity movement in Poland. Yet the West and its people should never lose sight of the unique position of Baltic dissenters and their drive to inform the world of the calculated annihilation of their cultures.

To summarize, the difficulties faced by

the Baltic Republics today and in the future are threefold: 1) to maintain their native languages; 2) to maintain their national cultures (through the use of language); and 3) to keep the Soviet/Russian cultures at bay. These steps are essential if the ancient folk histories of these peoples are to survive and be maintained for future generations. They are essential to prevent the entire history of the Baltic Republics from being rewritten in a non-objective, disinformative way. Achievement of such goals must be approached from all fronts: education/language and immigration/population/demography. Appeals to the central Soviet government rarely result in concrete measures favorable to native Balts. Efforts toward limiting Soviet changes, such as 10-year versus 11-year schooling, are a case in point. More important is the knowledge of the continued support by the Western alliance for these actions by the enforcement of the policy of not recognizing the incorporation of the Baltic Republics into the Soviet Union. Balts are denied access to news in the West and developments within their own countries. Therefore, continued support, along with increased funding for and effectiveness of the radio services, Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, is vital to maintain a stream of up-to-date information regarding events in the world outside the Iron Curtain. Perhaps even more important are transmissions regarding internal events such as political, social, economic and cultural developments and the encouragement of nationalistic spirit.

Continual pressure needs to be maintained in national and international forums (such as the United States Congress, the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the Helsinki process, etc.). Actions such as the European Parliament's Resolution of January 13, 1983, calling for the return of the right of self-deter-

mination to the Baltic Republics, the Baltic Freedom Day in the United States, and so forth, indicate to the Soviet Union that regardless of their efforts to quell the Balts, they are still recognized by the West as independent from the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the United States can discourage expansion into the Baltic Republics of Western industries that would supply jobs for Russians and encourage more in-migration of non-Balts into the area.

Finally, the United States cannot ignore the precarious situation in Latvia. In the geographic picture, Latvia acts as a crucial link between Estonia and Lithuania. It is also most severely russified. Should Latvia succumb to Soviet pressure, Estonia and Lithuania would be substantially weakened, and if all three of the Baltic Republics succumb, the United States and the West will lose true allies on a strategic Soviet border should the political reality of today shift in a different direction.

³⁵ Bohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

³⁶ Bilinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 319, (note 7).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

³⁸ Bohman, *op. cit.*, pp. 261—262, (note 33).

³⁹ Parming, *op. cit.*, p. 404, (note 6).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

⁴¹ Girnius, K., *op. cit.*, (note 18).

⁴² Scholars, *op. cit.*, p. 29, (note 24).

⁴³ Roman Solchanyk, "... Everywhere," *New York Times*, October 11, 1979.

⁴⁴ Roman Solchanyk, "Soviet Language Policy: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?" *Radio Liberty Research* 47/82, January 28, 1982.

⁴⁵ Bilinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 321, (note 7).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

⁴⁷ Scholars, *op. cit.*, p. 32, (note 24).

⁴⁸ Kęstutis Girnius, "Plenum of Lithuanian Party Central Committee Discusses Political, Atheist, and Internationalist Education," *Radio Liberty Research* 184/82, April 30, 1982.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Seppo Heikinheimo, "Estonian Language Oppressed" (addition to report from Tallinn, "Pressure on Estonian Culture: Alarming Ethnic Statistics," publ. October 25, 1981), *Helsingin Sanomat*, October 26, 1981. (reprinted

AF ABN Conference in New York

On June 2, 1984, the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations Inc. hosted a conference at which different national leaders discussed the threat of the Soviet Russian empire to the Free Western World. The conference was held under the theme "An Alternative to the World Wide Nuclear Threat". The speakers developed various aspects of the philosophical foundation of Soviet Russian domination. Not only leaders of the subjugated nations, but also prominent American activists, participated in this conference, such as: the New Jersey candidate for the Senate, Robert Morris — a good friend of the subjugated nations, head of the public commission set up to investigate terrorism and genocide in the subjugated nations, author of the book "Globe under Siege", judge, former adviser to three Senate commissions and former commander of the American naval forces. Dr. Michael Sotirhos, Chairman of Ethnic Voters, spoke on the subject entitled "Real Alternatives to Unilateral Disarmament". In his speech, Dr. Sotirhos, described all the advantages that the United States enjoys under the leadership of President Reagan, who has raised the sense of dignity and patriotism and all of the high ideals which now inspire the nation of Washington and Lincoln. The representative of Governor Cuomo, Mr. John Nikas, spoke on "Captive Nations: The Un-recognized Allies".

Professor Victor T. H. Tsuan (China) spoke on "How to Cope with the Constant Aggressive Actions of Communism", (See p. 49).

Speakers from the subjugated nations were: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Executive Chairman of the Central Committee of ABN, who spoke on the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations and our counter-action against Soviet Russian subversive activities in the Free World; Dr. Baymirza Hayit (Turkestan), member of the Central Committee of ABN, informed the audience of the close ties between the Turkestani population and the Afghan Mujahidin; Mr. Habibullah Mayar (Afghanistan) made a moving appeal for help for his heroic nation against the Soviet Russian invaders. He also emphasized the tremendous adherence of his people to national and religious ideals.

Professor M. Chyrowskyj (Ukraine) gave a lecture on "Economy, as a Weapon when Dealing with the USSR". The last speaker was Dr. M. Szaz (Hungary), who spoke on the close cooperation of ethnic groups.

The conference was opened by Mr. Peter Wytenus, AF ABN National Chairman and led by Mrs. Roksolana Potter, Chairman of AF ABN, New York Chapter.

At the end the conference passed a Resolution (See page 54).

in *Called to Freedom and Charity* pp. 15—16, [notes 24 & 53]].

⁵¹ Elizabeth Pond, "The USSR's West," *The Christian Science Monitor*, October 29, 1975, p. 2.

⁵² Binyon, *op. cit.*, (note 28).

⁵³ Seppo Heikinheimo, "Pressure on Estonian Culture: Alarming Ethnic Statistics," *Helsingin Sanomat*, October 25, 1981. (reprinted in *Called to Freedom and Charity*, p. 13, [notes 24 & 50]).

⁵⁴ CRS Report, (Estonian Overview), Con-

gressional Research Service, The Library of Congress, Washington, DC, 1982.

⁵⁵ Heikinheimo, *op. cit.*, p. 14, (note 50).

⁵⁶ Kęstutis Girnius, "Tautos Kelias, A New Lithuanian Samizdat Publication," Radio Liberty Research 139/82, August 10, 1982.

⁵⁷ Aina Zarins, "Ideological Pressures on Latvia," Radio Liberty Research 311/76, June 22, 1976.

⁵⁸ Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 4, (note 22).

⁵⁹ Parming, *op. cit.*, p. 404, (note 6).

⁶⁰ Scholars, *op. cit.*, p. 33, (note 24).

How to Cope with the Constant Aggressive Actions of Communism

A speech delivered by Professor Victor T. H. Tsuan, Ph. D., at the Conference of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc., New York, June 2, 1984.

Communism became an active movement in 1848 when Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels published the Communist Manifesto. They were theorists whose ideas were carried out first by two Russian communist leaders, Nicolai Lenin and Leon Trotsky in 1917. During the past 66 years, communism has expanded into 26 nations. Unfortunately too many people in the non communist world do not realize the rebellious nature of the communists and their determination to communize the whole world.

Most people in the Free World have come to take a democratic free society for granted; they fail to appreciate that freedom prosperity must be constantly earned and renewed through hard work, caution, risks and even sacrifice. The US being the leading capitalist nation of the world is in serious danger if the American people do not soon recognize the fact that under the rules of Marxism-Leninism, the continuing class struggle means that the socialist camp is at war with the non-communist world on a continuing basis, we are not living in a period of peace. The conflicts now raging in Central America and the Middle East are the latest battles between democracy and communism.

The communist forces are organized and trained to use their total national resources, in combination with the so-called "national liberation movements" in the underdeveloped countries: and the communist parties in the capitalist nations engage wide range subversive activities. Unfortunately the great majority of American people, who have had no personal experience, would disbelieve such

facts. For instance, no less an authority than the former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, in his famous book "Master of Deceit" divulged this startling fact about the communist menace in America, but strange as it may seem most American citizens consider his book as mere "hog-wash".

Currently in Europe President Reagan has the image of being tough with the communists because of his firm policy in the deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles. His tough uncompromising line with Moscow is appreciated, and it is clear that the Soviet leadership is now waiting to see if President Reagan is returned for a second term before resuming the Geneva talks, which they will then no doubt approach with more realism.

On the other hand, President Reagan went to Peking last April, and indicated to the world that the Peking brand of communism is less deadly than the Moscow brand. The fact is that Communist China will never be an ally of the US in the event of a military confrontation with the Soviet Union. To think otherwise is to engage in wishful thinking of a very dangerous sort. Here are two nations with hostile ideologies. Communist China needs the US to support its dealing with the Soviet Union, while the US needs Red China to keep détente with the Soviet Union on an even keel. The basis of the Washington and Peking relationship as expressed in the Shanghai Communiqué of Feb. 27, 1972, has had reverse effects in both countries. In the US it has eroded the American instinct for self-preservation to consider that Communist China is no longer our enemy. On the other

hand, Communist China has continued to regard the US as a number one imperialist enemy. In many areas of international affairs Red China has displayed hostility toward the US, and it has backed the underdeveloped countries against most American positions in the UN. Since both the Soviet Union and Communist China have close ideological ties and mutual distrust of capitalist countries, especially the US which has been their mutual enemy, the present conflict between these two communist countries will be resolved in order to defend their common interests as soon as they are confronted by a third nation or nations. Moreover, the prospect of leadership changes both in Moscow and Peking might have a reverse effect and when it happens, cooperation between these two communist countries against the US will be another possibility. Therefore, for the

sake of our own survival we must educate our people to be aware of the hard facts, in order to urge them to make sacrifices if necessary.

As the most powerful nation of the world, the US cannot stand aloof, or even merely maintain the status quo. It must choose between world leadership or rapid decline. Under the democratic political system, our government cannot assume great leadership without the intelligent support and participation of the American people; and no such support will be forthcoming until more Americans overcome their traditional indifference to world affairs. The isolationism practiced by grass-root American attitudes to the world of Great Power politics before 1941 was finally challenged by Japan at Pearl Harbor. There is a saying that those who fail to learn the lessons of history



Dinner hosted by Chinese Community for Mr. Bob Morris, candidate for Senator— (from left to right) Mr. Peter Wytenuus — AF-ABN National Chairman, Mrs. Roksolana Potter, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Gen. J. F. Singlaub, Mr. Bob Morris, Chairman of Chinese community — Dr. Hung and Prof. T. H. Tsuan.

will be condemned to live through the events again in a contemporary form.

The advocates of *détente* in the Free World have concentrated their efforts to reach agreements with the two leading communist countries, without realizing that the communist leaders in both countries will break any promise for the sake of pursuing their own national interests. Not only do we get nothing in return, but also we are bound unilaterally by these agreements.

Records indicate that when the Free World was confronted by such great dangers as the Soviet ultimatum over Berlin in 1948, the North Korean invasion of South Korea in 1950, the emplacement of Soviet missiles in Cuba in 1962, and Cuban communists' penetration in Granada last year, the West demonstrated decisive strength and determination, thus greater danger was finally avoided. It proves that a strong military posture is the best insurance policy for peace. A militarily strong nation with firm determination for resistance is the best way to avoid war.

We must recognize that the Free World's most reliable allies are the enslaved peoples within the Communist empire. The weakness of the Communist camp is the restlessness and disaffection of the people under its domination. 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 of the Ukrainian model of 40 years ago inside the Soviet Union? Can you imagine the immobility of the panic-stricken Soviet armed forces if it were faced with a few Afghanistans on and inside its borders? The fact that the Polish Solidarity Movement has grown several fold since the imposition of martial law gives some indication of the magnitude of this restlessness and the potential for resistance based upon national consciousness. The

fact that the Afghan Freedom Fighters are gaining support and effectiveness in the face of increasing Soviet commitment there, stands as testimony to the strength of Muslim resistance to communist imperialism and colonial aggression. Let us not forget that Communist China is subject to the same pressures of restlessness and disaffection of its own enslaved people, as clearly pointed out by two bright New York Times reporters Richard Bernstein and Fox Butterfield.

Since communist tyrants, Russian and Chinese, fear nothing so much as the infiltration of ideas of freedom and justice into their sphere of influence, a non-violent, non-military truth campaign beamed at the enslaved peoples of the world will have a significant deterrent effect against future communist expansionism. In fact, the free nations of the world who now find themselves confronted by an ever-increasing worldwide communist offensive, carried out under the threat of nuclear attack, can best defend themselves by turning the tables and hitting Soviet imperialism in its most sensitive spot, namely, the internal resistance inside the captive nations.

The relations between the Free World and the communist bloc are today at dead center and will most likely remain so for some time, but it is fortunate for us that the situation within the communist bloc nations is rapidly deteriorating. Not only are they failing to find a successful cure for the rising disunity in their ranks, they are even failing to supply their own people with the minimum demands for basic goods and services. We firmly believe that the communist parties all over the world can no longer resist man's powerful desire for a better standard of living and for self-determination. World communism has already passed its zenith and will rapidly decline. The final bankruptcy of the communist system is only a question of time.

Afghanistan: The Forgotten War

Last Wednesday marked the third observance of "Free Afghanistan Day". It went unnoticed by the nation's main print and electronic media. It is safe to say most Americans are not concerned about that continued aggression by the Communist super-power of the Soviet Union against Afghan neighbors. A few Mujahideen have been touring our country, but have made apparently little impact on either congressional policy or media events. We may — in a kind of geographical myopia — think of Afghanistan merely as a poor and mountainous Asian country with little impact on events of the world. Yet as Karen McKay, Executive Director of the Committee for a Free Afghanistan, points out: "Afghanistan is playing the same role it played for thousands of years. It has always been the necessary passage point for any conquering army... Today the Soviet Russians still have the need for warm water ports that the Czars had, which is why they are pushing for the Indian Ocean... From their bases in southern Afghanistan, the Soviet MiG fighter-bombers are only 350 airmiles, 20 minutes, from the Straits of Hormuz and the Persian Gulf oil fields... Yet Afghanistan is the Soviet Union's soft underbelly. That's where they are vulnerable. That's where we plug our window of vulnerability... Afghanistan is a case of naked imperialistic aggression and if we're going to fight the Soviets anywhere, that is the place to do it." (*Washington Times*, March 21, 1984).

Karen McKay's words, however, have not always been understood nor have they won approval in the halls of Congress. Even Senate Resolution 62, which calls for increased support for Afghanistan, is being held up chiefly by Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland, who, it appears, is

one for whom the "Vietnam Syndrome" has lingering effects. He fears that the resolution's promise of "material assistance" would jeopardize our negotiations with Soviet Russia, as if such negotiations at the cost of our silence would be worthwhile to pursue.

From time to time we read in our nation's press about that kind of material assistance we have given, and muck-raking journalist Carl Bernstein somehow has made the support appear like a "CIA plot to kill Russian soldiers in Afghanistan with Soviet-made weapons". The fact is that the help has been chiefly of humanitarian character — food, blankets, books, medicine, and the like. The weapons available to the freedom fighters are, mainly those which have been captured from the troops of the puppet regime or brought in by those defecting from the government troops. Against the small arsenal of handcarried weapons the freedom fighters have is the combined strength of Soviet arms, including fighter-bombers, long-range bombers, MI-24 helicopters, and long-range surface-to-air missiles stationed in 34 bases throughout the country, including six or eight strategic bases along the borders to Iran, Pakistan, and China, indicating that Soviet Russian aggression in Afghanistan may be only one of a series of such aggressions to secure MORE than a foothold in the Middle East. This would assure access to the oil and also make sure that the untapped riches of natural gas in Afghanistan can assure the Soviet Russians of the vitally needed hard currency it obtains from the sale of Afghan natural gas to European countries.

To many this may be a war of attrition. Already the defections from the Kabul army, which is estimated to have declined from 100,000 to 20,000 in the first year

of the war, strengthen the freedom fighters, and the Soviet Russian strength must correspondingly increase. David Isby in a recent article in the *Washington Times* pointed out the importance of the U.S. policy in this area: "If U.S. policy projects the image that nothing is being done, the effectiveness of what we actually do will be undercut. Not only will more and more Afghans consider their struggle abandoned, but the people in Pakistan and other Islamic countries will be reluctant to take the stand of aiding the Afghans if the United States, as leader of the Free World, has had little visible impact with its aid." (March 21, 1984).

The Afghan Mujahideen can win, even against overwhelming odds, but to do so

they must counter the insidious forces of Soviet Russia who hope to win by "migratory genocide". Recently "in an orgy of violence the Soviet troops reportedly bayoneted and slit the throats of children of suspected Afghan resistance fighters, altogether slaying 5,000 persons of all ages in one town where 45 percent of the houses were flattened". (State Department Press report) President Reagan in 1981 corrected Frank Reynolds of ABC when he referred to the Afghan Mujahideen as "rebels". "They are freedom fighters," President Reagan said, "who are fighting for their own country and who don't want to be a puppet state of the Soviet". Let us help make that battle for freedom a reality for the 17 million people of Afghanistan.



AF ABN Chicago Branch meeting, May 8, 1984 — Dr. Alexander Ronnet addressing the meeting.

“High Frontier” Strategy must be Accompanied by “Low Frontier” Strategy

Resolution of the Conference of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. (New York City, June 2, 1984).

1. Whereas, Soviet-Russian imperialism continues to forcibly occupy Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, Georgia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Azerbaidjan, North Caucasus, Poland, Armenia, Slovakia and other nations in the Soviet-Russian empire;

2. Whereas, Soviet-Russian imperialism has made its “satellite states” from Cuba, Angola, South Yemen and Ethiopia;

3. Whereas, Soviet-Russian forces are currently conducting a brutal war of invasion against Afghanistan;

4. Whereas, Soviet-Russian imperialism is now centering its aggressive policy on Nicaragua and El Salvador;

5. Whereas, on the one hand, Moscow largely finances the pacifist “peace movement” in Western Europe in order to decouple the Western European democracies from the United States and, on the other hand, withdraws from the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympic Games because of its fear of peaceful anti-Soviet-Russian demonstrations by national groups in the United States;

6. Whereas, the Soviet-Russian withdrawal from the Olympics for the above stated reason reveals that the nationalities problem is the Achilles Heel of the Soviet-Russian empire;

7. Whereas, the subjugated nations, because of their continuous struggle against Soviet-Russian imperialism are the greatest allies of the Free World, as well as an alternative to nuclear war;

8. Whereas, the manpower, material-economic resources and territories of the subjugated nations are crucial to the Soviet-Russian imperialists in their strife for world conquest;

9. Whereas, despite having signed the Helsinki Accords, Moscow is systematically strangling all Helsinki Monitoring Groups in the USSR and has most recently murdered Oleksa Tykhy, a co-founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, in a Russian slave labor camp;

10. Whereas, Moscow continues to use inmates of concentration camps as slave laborers in the construction of the Russian pipeline and other vast projects while subjecting them to inhuman and disgraceful working conditions;

Therefore, let it be resolved by the Conference of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (New York City, June 2, 1984) that:

1. The Conference 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;

2. The Conference condemns the use of Russian chemical weapons in Afghanistan and calls upon the Free 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;

3. The Conference condemns Communist persecution of Churches and religious belief and calls for appropriate actions in defense of religious and political prisoners, including demonstrations to protest

the murder of Oleksa Tykhy and other religious and political prisoners from the subjugated nations;

4. The Conference calls on the peoples of the Free World to give all their possible support to the liberation movements of the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain who fight for their national sovereignty and basic human liberties;

5. The Conference urges the United States Congress to improve and strengthen Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, Voice of America and Radio Marti in order to promote the spirit of the ideal of national liberation, independence, democracy and the necessity for the dissolution of the Russian empire and its Communist system;

6. The Conference supports all Western efforts to disperse and eliminate all terrorist groups sponsored by the Russian empire in its attempt to subvert and weaken the Free World and, thus, make it more vulnerable to Russian conquest;

7. The Conference appeals to the Free World to use all possible means to attain the liquidation of all Soviet-Russian concentration camps, slave labor camps, psychiatric asylums and the release of all political and religious prisoners in the USSR and all other Communist-dominated countries;

8. The Conference appeals 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 (UPA), who has been blinded by the KGB's torturers and has been imprisoned in Russian concentration camps since the age of 14;

9. The Conference welcomes the absence of the Russian colonial terrorist empire, the nature of which contradicts the Ancient Hellenic Olympic tradition, from the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympic Games;

10. The Conference fully supports the Free Olympiad in Toronto for athletes of emigré national groups and their subsequent Marathon Run with the Freedom Torch from Toronto to Los Angeles. We request that the International Olympic Committee accept these athletes as the true representatives of the nations behind the Iron Curtain;

11. The Conference fully supports President Ronald Reagan's policy for strengthening the military capabilities of the United States and the NATO alliance and welcomes his statement on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the ABN and the 25th Anniversary of Captive Nations Week:

"Your struggle is our struggle. Your dream is our dream. And someday, you, too, will be free... You are the conscience of the Free World."

We whole-heartedly support President Ronald Reagan's re-election bid and urge all national groups in the United States to do the same.

12. The Conference affirms that the "High Frontier" strategy must be accompanied by a "Low Frontier" strategy which calls for the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire and Communist system from within by means of national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations, who, if supported by the Free World, constitute an alternative to thermo-nuclear war.

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Dr. Volodymyr Horbovy, Nationalist Leader, Died aged 84



Volodymyr Horbovy, an outstanding figure in the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) since the 1930's, died on May 21, 1984, in his native village of Obolonia, Ukraine. He was 84 years old.

Horbovy played an important role in the re-establishment of an independent Ukrainian state on June 30, 1941, together with Stepan Bandera and Yaroslav Stetsko.

In reporting the death of Horbovy, the leadership of the OUN here noted that he died under unusual circumstances. According to information received from Ukraine, Horbovy was immediately buried and his son not given the opportunity to attend the service.

Horbovy, who was born on January 30, 1899, became active in the Ukrainian nationalist movement while a law student in Czecho-Slovakia. He joined the underground Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and

for a short period of time served as its acting national commander in Western Ukraine.

Upon receiving his degree, Horbovy practiced law in the town of Dolyna and he belonged to the bar association in Lviv.

Horbovy was arrested for the first time on October 28, 1933. Polish authorities charged him with belonging to the UVO and OUN and incarcerated Horbovy in the notorious concentration camp in Bereza Kartuska from July to December 1934.

Following his release, Horbovy joined a group of Ukrainian lawyers who were defending the leadership and members of the OUN at a trial in Warsaw. The trial lasted from November 18, 1935 to January 13, 1936. The OUN members were accused of assassinating Polish Minister Bronislaw Pieracki.

Subsequently, Horbovy served as the defense attorney for Bandera and Stetsko at the Lviv trial from May to June 1936.

With the demise of the Polish government in September 1939, Horbovy moved to Crakow, where he headed the Ukrainian Relief Committee for prisoners of war and refugees from Russian prisons. Horbovy was closely aligned with the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera since 1940.

In April 1941, Horbovy became head of the statehood planning commission of the OUN, which was to prepare the groundwork for the re-establishment of an independent Ukraine, which was proclaimed on June 30, 1941.

On June 22, 1941, Horbovy replaced Gen. V. Petriv as head of the Ukrainian National Committee. This committee was responsible for issuing the 'Manifesto on the Eve of War'.

In it, its writers declared that the sole, legal ruler of Ukraine is the Ukrainian nation and it is entitled to its own independent, sovereign state.

For disseminating the manifesto, the Nazis arrested him and imprisoned him in the Polish Monte Lupich prison in Krakow on July 7, 1941. He was released on July 14, 1942, in very poor health.

He re-settled to Prague, where the local police arrested him in 1949 and turned Horbovy over to the NKVD. Soviet Russian authorities sentenced him to 25 years of hard labour in a concentration camp.

Horbovy soon earned the reputation of being the unofficial president of a fighting Ukraine. Together with the then Archbishop Josyf Slipyj and the late Mychaylo Soroka, Horbovy was among the most outstanding Ukrainian political prisoners of the 1950's and 1960's.

Despite his poor health, Horbovy survived the concentration camp and on August 1, 1972, he was allowed to return to his native village of Obolonia.

As further punishment, Soviet authorities denied him social welfare assistance and refused to let him go abroad for eye surgery.

In eulogizing Horbovy, the OUN leadership said: "Despite suffering and persecution, the late Dr. Volodymyr Horbovy proudly defended his national and human dignity and the idea of rebuilding an independent, sovereign Ukrainian state. He died in the 85th year of his heroic life. He will assume a principal place in the pantheon of undaunted fighters and heroes of the Ukrainian national revolution. The Ukrainian nation will always pride itself with its great sons, such as the late Dr. Volodymyr Horbovy".

Oleksa Tykhy, Founder of Ukrainian Helsinki Group †

Oleksa Tykhy, one of the founders of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, died in late April or early May in imprisonment following stomach surgery. He was 57 years old.

He was imprisoned in labor camp No. 36-1, located in the prison complex near Perm in the Ural mountains.

At the time of his death, Tykhy had totally succumbed to the brutal treatment afforded him by Russian prison officials. When last seen by visitors during late March, Tykhy, a large man, had withered to only 90 pounds and was severely malnourished. At the time of his death, Tykhy was suffering from tuberculosis, severe anemia, arteriosclerosis, liver disease, and an ulcerated stomach. The immediate

cause of Tykhy's death was a delayed surgery for stomach ulcers.

It is not known where the stomach operation took place and whether Tykhy died on the operating table or some time after surgery. Tykhy had been seriously ill with ulcers for many years, but authorities had refused to provide him with proper medical treatment.

Oleksa Tykhy was born on January 31, 1927 in Eastern Ukraine. After completing university studies, Tykhy began a career in the high school system of the Donbas area of Ukraine. In 1957, he was arrested and sentenced to seven years imprisonment for attempting to increase the number of Ukrainian language courses offered in a local high school's curriculum. After his release, Tykhy was black-listed from the teaching profession and found work as a



manual laborer. In 1967, he was re-arrested and sentenced to ten years imprisonment and five years hard labor for discussing Ukrainian culture amongst his fellow workers. After early release in 1977, Tykhy was again arrested and sentenced to ten years imprisonment and five years internal exile for writing a book on the subject of Ukrainian education.

Tykhy was a co-founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Accords Monitoring Group in 1976 while still incarcerated. This citizens' group was established to monitor the USSR's compliance with the Helsinki Accords which called for basic human, national rights and civil liberties. Furthermore, the Group stepped out against Russian occupation and oppression of Ukraine and in favor of total independence, freedom, democracy, and sovereignty for Ukraine. As a result, the other nine co-founders of the Group — including the poet Oles Berdnyk and Mykola Rudenko an author — were all imprisoned or internally exiled.

Many in Ukraine and in the West raised the banner in defense of Rudenko and Tykhy. Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general, announced in New York

City on June 8, 1977, that he had agreed to serve as legal counsel for Rudenko and Tykhy at their trial in a factory in Druzhkivka, outside of Donetsk. They were sentenced on Thursday, June 30, 1977.

Tykhy is survived by his mother, Maria Kondrativna, who lives in the Donetsk region and his wife, Olha Alekseyeva, who resides in Moscow. Tykhy also has a son, Volodymyr in Kyiv.

Tykhy devoted his life to the liberation of Ukraine from Russian subjugation and the restoration of an independent Ukrainian state. Ukrainians the world over bemoan his tragic death.

Dr. George Paprikoff †

On March 29, 1984 the Bulgarian nation lost one of its most notable and prominent émigré leaders

DR. GEORGE PAPRIKOFF,

President of the Bulgarian National Front, Inc. and editor of the journal "Borba".

Dr. Paprikoff passed away at the age of 72, at the peak of his activity in the struggle for his country's independence. The deceased was born in Sophia, Bulgaria, on February 25, 1912. Having been brought up in a family of long-standing military tradition, which included several renown generals, he lived for the ideals of the Bulgarian nation, namely to strive for, and achieve, national independence for his beloved country. As a young man, during the period between the two World Wars, this upbringing served to make him into one of the most uncompromising fighters against Russian communist tyranny and its subjugation of his homeland.

Dr. Paprikoff graduated from the University of Sophia in 1937 with a doctoral degree in medicine, where, as a student, he became known through his activity in Bulgarian national organizations, whose aim was to rid their country of Russian communist rule.



During World War II he was drafted into the army, but left Bulgaria and emigrated to West Germany after the communist take-over on September 9, 1944. In 1947 Dr. Paprikoff graduated from the University of Heidelberg as a Doctor of Medicine.

Afterwards he co-founded the anti-communist émigré organisation, "The Bulgarian National Front, Inc.," and for many years he was its vice-president, later, president, and was also editor of its journal "Borba".

In 1951 Dr. Paprikoff emigrated to the United States where he practiced medicine in Chicago.

He dedicated his life to the struggle against communism, and for the freedom of Bulgaria and all the subjugated nations. He was also an active member of the ABN and for many years a member of the Presidium of the AF-ABN. He kept close contact with all Bulgarian and various foreign émigré organisations, whose aim was national independence from Russian communist rule.

Dr. Paprikoff received numerous awards for his work for the cause of freedom, including those received from H. M. Simeon II, King of the Bulgarians, the Bulgarian National Front, Inc., and several captive nations organisations. He

accumulated a vast library, which consisted of thousands of volumes written by Bulgarian as well as foreign authors and which dealt with the history of Bulgaria from its earliest beginnings. In addition, he owned the largest collection of Bulgarian stamps, as well as medals and coins from the independent Bulgarian state, which were internationally exhibited and highly commended.

Dr. Paprikoff's death is an inestimable loss to the struggle for freedom of the people of Bulgaria and all the subjugated nations. He will always be remembered and honoured.

The burial took place on April 2, 1984 in Chicago, Ill. and was attended by several hundred Bulgarians from Chicago and the representatives of The Bulgarian National Front, Inc. from many cities of the United States and Canada, as well as the representatives of the AF-ABN Organisations who came to pay their last respects to this great patriot.

Dr. Nicolae Jancu †

On July 15, 1984, Dr. Nicolae Jancu, a great Rumanian patriot, passed away at the age of 74 in Sao Paulo, Brazil. The death of Dr. Jancu is a great loss for both Rumanian and non-Rumanian freedom fighters.

The deceased was born on January 1, 1910 in Rumania. He was an active anti-communist, a lawyer, poet and painter, who managed to organize representatives from 25 ethnic groups into an organization called "Frente de Libertacao dos Povos Subjugados Pelo Comunismo" (Front for the Liberation of Nations Subjugated by Communism).

The deceased has left behind a sister and all his friends-patriots from 25 Ethnic Groups in Sao Paulo.

News and Views

Russia's Political Pipeline

It makes no sense to support Russia on preferential terms in the cause of detente argues Gordon Crovitz.

The Russian natural-gas pipeline to Europe is often described as a controversial project. The 3,600-mile pipe did cause a political disagreement between the United States and its European allies. But the pipeline should have been controversial from the start because it is an economic fiasco for the European countries involved.

Those countries, including Britain, that arranged to sell pipe and equipment to the Russians provided low-interest loans and accepted below-market prices. Continental countries such as France and West Germany agreed to buy Siberian gas in large quantities through the end of the century at prices far above the current going rate.

The pipeline is a success only for the Russians, who put no money down and will use most of the pumped gas themselves. The West should now learn that private traders, not governments, must be left to negotiate the economics of East-West trade according to the rules of the market, not of politics.

It is clear in retrospect that during the European-Soviet negotiations from 1979 to 1981 the Russians managed to get very favourable loans, pipe prices and gas-supply contracts. European negotiators were burdened by two false assumptions; the first was the then-fashionable notion that détente required trade with the Russians even when this involved no mutually advantageous exchange. The other was the neo-Keynesian error that public spending, here in the form of subsidised employment

in the steel and equipment industries, would ease the recession. In fact, the pipeline has become a significant drag on European economic recovery.

The negotiating procedure itself made it difficult, perhaps impossible, for the Europeans to benefit from the project. The Soviet Union skilfully forced its trading partners to compete among themselves at each step of the seven billion pound project. Rather than purchase the pipe and pumping equipment outright from European suppliers, such as John Brown, the Russians insisted on low-interest loans that would only be paid back with the hard currency gained from the gas sales. The French offered the below-market interest rate of 7.8 p.c., which the other Europeans then competed to match.

Several European companies originally sought to sell equipment, but (as reported by Deutsche Bank's representative in Moscow at the time, Alex Lebahn) price competition resulted in price cuts of up to 60 p.c. Several companies, and countries, chose to drop out of the project entirely because they saw no profit in the undercutting.

Information

The Russians had all the information as to price and financing bids. Europeans were left to match each other's best offer in each part of the project. The USSR thus enjoyed a kind of monopolist position, able to pick and choose to whom it would sell and buy what, when and for how much. There is a recent illustration of the kind of damage produced by this self-defeating competition among Europeans.

Japan's four largest steel pipe makers announced in late January that they had agreed to sell the Russians some of the

large-diameter pipe for the line to Europe. But the Japanese had to take a 20 p.c. price cut off their most recent agreement with the Russians because European mills had so undercut the market price.

The pipeline could not have been built without European government credits and guarantees — that is, it required taxpayer support. Following the French lead, the British Government agreed to lend the Russians the equivalent of \$350 million at below-market rates. This meant that the Government lent money at rates lower than what it had to spend to pay for the money in the money markets, effectively crowding out private investment opportunities at home. This Government spending created growth in the Russian economy while contributing to recession in the West by misallocating scarce financial resources.

Free market

The neo-Keynesians who argued that public spending itself would create growth were proven wrong by the pipe-line. Instead of encouraging a Thatcherite free market, British policy was to interfere with the competitive market by protecting uncompetitive jobs in the steel industry. Jobs created through subsidies inevitably destroy jobs elsewhere in the economy, creating inefficiencies and therefore irretrievable social costs.

The British Government was, however, wise in choosing not to purchase any of the Russian gas. France and West Germany are now quietly trying to renegotiate their gas-supply contracts with the Russians. Although the contracts are secret, it has been possible to learn enough of their details to see that the gas-importers got the short end of the negotiating stick. Reductions in the market price for energy since the 1981 contracts will apparently not benefit European importers. Under the contracts, all the risk of both a falling inflation rate and the beginning of the end for Opec fell on the

importers.

The irony of these imports is that Western Europe has ignored many of its own energy resources. Peter Odell, a British economist at the University of Rotterdam, has argued that, "Europeans must finally realise that they are able to find and develop most, if not all, of the gas they will need at today's price. Unfortunately, the Russian contracts provide for so much more gas than Europeans are likely to need that development of local resources will probably now be put off indefinitely".

A present political danger has arisen from the bad economics of the pipeline in the form of the European state-controlled gas importers who now seek to renegotiate the contracts with the Soviet Union. There are few if any economic incentives for the Russians to lower the price or the volumes which must be purchased. The danger is political favours in exchange for economic concessions by the Russians. This is the most slippery of slopes, and of course must be avoided.

But governments negotiated and signed the pipeline contracts, and so the project was fundamentally political from its inception. Viewed in this context, President Reagan's 1982 sanctions against European licences of United States exporters appear at least to have served the purpose of raising a debate about the pros and cons of the project, even if it was too late to remedy the contract provisions themselves.

The West must learn from these mistakes. It makes no sense to support the Russian empire by offering subsidised loans, selling manufactured goods at below-cost rates, buying resources at too-high prices and transferring hard currency. If this is what "detente" was all about, we should all rejoice its death.

[Gordon Crovitz is editorial page editor of the Wall Street Journal (Europe)]

*The Daily Telegraph,
Mon., March 26, 1984*

Free Olympiad Protests Soviet Policy

The 6-foot-8 Leo Rautins, considered the best basketball player Canada has ever produced, would make an imposing figurehead for the Free Olympiad, to be held at Etobicoke Centennial Park, July 5 to 7.

But Rautins, 24, who started playing basketball at the Lithuanian Church of the Resurrection on College St. and is now with the Philadelphia 76ers of the National Basketball League, isn't just lending his name to this ambitious competition.

"My heart and soul are in the Free Olympiad, the athletes' way of protesting the policies of the Soviet Union," Rautins said yesterday.

"I had made Canada's Olympic basketball team in 1980, but when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, I refused to go to Moscow. That was before Canada decided to boycott the Moscow Games".

"My parents came to Toronto from Lithuania in 1948. I know the hell they went through to get to freedom. Apart from my immediate family, I have no relatives; they were killed by the Russians. I grew up free, but my parents never let me forget how they lost their families," said Rautins, the honorary chairman of this second Free Olympiad.

The flags of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Ukraine will fly once again in Etobicoke when some 400 athletes from Canada and the United States compete on behalf of their compatriots in their Soviet-dominated homelands.

The budget for the 1984 Free Olympiad is \$80,000 and the major source of funding will be ticket sales, although a presentation has been made to the Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Recreation for financial aid.

The first Free Olympiad was held in Etobicoke in 1980 to publicize the violation of the Olympic ideals by the Soviet

Union, says Toronto psychologist Dr. Ray Petrauskas, executive director of the games.

Under the Soviet regime, athletes from Ukraine and the Baltic nations of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia are prohibited from competing under their ancestral flags.

The Soviets forcibly occupied Ukraine in 1920 and took over the Baltic nations in 1944, during World War II.

Rautins pointed out that, since the 1952 Games in Helsinki, which marked the Soviet's return to the Olympics, more than 300 medallists have come from these flagless nations.

Petrauskas said that such Soviet-influenced nations as Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia would not be represented at the Free Olympiad, because these countries still had their own identities in the Olympic Games.

Rautins emphasized the Free Olympiad was not part of a movement to ban the Soviets from international competition, but a statement to make it clear Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians and Ukrainians are not Russians, nor are they willing citizens of the Soviet Union.

"My hope is that the public will not view the Free Olympiad as an unwarranted attempt to politicize the Olympic Games," Rautins said.

"But the very foundation of the modern Olympics rests on national boundaries; athletes are competing not so much as individuals but rather as representatives of their nations. We want the same right for the Baltic and Ukrainian athletes".

"Debunking the myth of Soviet sports superiority by recognizing the contributions of these 'hidden Olympians' is one way of keeping the driving force behind national freedom alive," Rautins said.

(Al Sokol, Toronto Star, Friday, June 8, 1984.)

Freedom of Political Prisoner-Aim of Ukrainian Petition

Freedom for a renowned political prisoner is the aim of a week-long rally and a petition-signing drive by Mississauga's Ukrainian community, culminating this Sunday.

The Mississauga chapter of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine is seeking the release from the USSR of Yuriy Shukhevych. The 50-year-old man is in his 31st year of imprisonment and is totally blind.

The petition, in the form of individual postcards, will be mailed directly to Prime-Minister Pierre Trudeau. The Ukrainian community is asking Trudeau "as part of your peace initiative... to intervene with the new Soviet leader" for Shukhevych's release.

Trudeau's employment and immigration minister, Lloyd Axworthy, has already told Shukhevych's supporters Canada is prepared to facilitate his entry to this country. A letter has been issued to the Canadian Embassy in Moscow indicating a visa will be granted as soon as Shukhevych is released and given a travel permit.

At least 120 members of Mississauga's Ukrainian community are taking part in the week-long rally at Toronto City Hall to publicize Shukhevych's plight. Petition postcards are available at the downtown rally, which will end with a concentrated effort Saturday. Cards can also be signed this Sunday (April 1) at the St. Mary Dormition Ukrainian Catholic Church at Cawthra and Burnhamthorpe Rds. beginning at 9:30 a.m.

Shukhevych's father, Roman, was a leading member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), a resistance movement whose aim was to gain independence of Ukraine. During World War II, his father became Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

(UPA), a guerrilla force that pitted itself against both Nazi and Soviet forces.

In 1943, at the age of 10, Shukhevych, along with his mother, was seized and deported to Siberia. Five years later the teenager was sentenced to a prison term of 10 years of hard labor.

Except for a four-year period (1968 to 1972) since that first arrest, Shukhevych has been a prisoner of the Soviets.

Shukhevych was brought out of prison in 1950 to identify the body of his father who had been killed near Lviv.

Shukhevych refused to publicly denounce his father and on the day of his scheduled release he was re-arrested on alleged charges of inspiring "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" among the inmates of Vladimir Prison. Shukhevych was sentenced to an additional 10 years in a hard labor camp.

Upon serving his sentence and being released, Shukhevych was not permitted to return to Ukraine for five years. He was forced to settle in Nalchyk in the Kabardinian ASSR (Caucasus) where he married Valentyna Trotsenko with whom he has had two children.

Following a major crackdown and mass arrests of Ukrainian activists in 1972, Shukhevych was again arrested. It became known that Shukhevych had begun to compile personal memoirs of his previous 20 years in Soviet prisons and labor camps. In a closed trial during September 1972 he was found guilty of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and sentenced as an especially dangerous criminal to 10 years of hard labor and an additional five years of exile.

Since his imprisonment in a high-security prison, Shukhevych has signed several protests and participated in hunger strikes. In January of 1979 he became a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, and later renounced his Soviet citizenship.

Minority Tension Seen Chink in Soviet Armor

US foreign policy should take advantage of the vulnerability of Soviet society caused by tensions between the dominant Russian population and other nationalities, said President Reagan's new nominee for Deputy Director of the US Information Agency yesterday.

An analysis of such ethnic differences presents the United States with "a whole different perception of the great Russian bear," George Nesterczuk said.

Tension between the Soviet Union's diverse ethnic groups and the Russian people represents "weakness" in the Soviet system and Mr. Nesterczuk said, adding: "and we need to exploit weaknesses".

"It has a tremendous impact on our foreign policy and military strategy. Do you need to go with a nuclear threat or are there other approaches to dealing with the Soviet Union?"

President Ronald Reagan announced Mr. Nesterczuk's nomination for the No. 2 spot at USIA this week while in London, where he is attending an economic summit.

Mr. Nesterczuk currently serves as Associate Director for Work Force Effectiveness and Development at the office of Personnel Management. He is also a former campaigner for Mr. Reagan.

He spoke to senior editors and reporters of "The Washington Times" yesterday and with representatives of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of Ame-

rica. Mr. Nesterczuk is of Ukrainian ancestry.

"For the Ukrainian community, or for the Balkan community or even for the Czech or the Slovak or Polish community in the United States, their antipathy towards communism is paralleled only... by their antipathy to Russia," Borys Potapenko, a consultant to the Congress said. "Such antipathy toward the Russian people," Mr. Potapenko said, "also exists among the many nationalities that today compose close to fifty percent of the Soviet population".

Mr. Nesterczuk noted the performance of the Soviet army in Afghanistan, where for almost four years it has been engaged in a war against Afghan guerrillas resisting Soviet domination of that country, demonstrated the vulnerability of the Kremlin's forces when put under pressure.

"That army is subject to demoralization under pressure," Mr. Nesterczuk said. "There is a hierarchical structure there, where the Russians provide the officer corps, and the ethnic groups support the support base. There's a lot of tension in that," he said.

*Timoty Elder, The Washington Times,
June 7, 1984*

Two West Germans Reported Detained in Prague.

Weiden, West Germany, June 6 — West German authorities reported today that two members of a West German tourist group have been taken into custody in Prague for trying to remove a Soviet flag. Officials at Waidhaus border checkpoint said the travel group from North Rhine-Westphalia returned home without the two detainees, a teacher and a student. Reportedly the two were intoxicated when they tried to take the flag.

According to latest information, Shukhevych was taken to a Leningrad hospital in January 1982, where surgery was performed for detached retina on both eyes and removal of a cataract. Two weeks after the operation he became totally blind.

Shukhevych is currently being held in Chistopol Prison.

The Mississauga News, March 28, 1984.

Was Chernenko a Stalinist Killer in the '30s?

While President Reagan comes under new political pressure to negotiate with Soviet President Konstantin U. Chernenko, a disturbing page out of the past suggesting direct association of the mysterious communist leader with Stalinist killings is being scrutinized by U.S. officials.

The mystery about Chernenko centers on his official biography's description of the late 1930's in such murky terms as to reveal nothing. The circumstantial evidence linking Chernenko to the worst excesses of mass killings is contained in a monograph by the Soviet-affairs scholar Mikhail Agourski (first published in the French newspaper *Le Monde*, France's leading liberal newspaper).

The Agourski study provides no hard evidence, but makes what one Reagan administration official calls a "strongly circumstantial" case. Officials say privately that could help explain the deep freeze that has brought U.S.-Soviet relations to their most dangerous point in the decade-long post-detente period.

If Agourski is correct about Chernenko's hidden past, he precisely fits the Stalinist mold of Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and Defense Minister Dmitri F. Ustinov.

That also may explain why they have been elevated to unprecedented power since Chernenko's ascendancy.

Agourski's theory is based on his discovery that Chernenko signed the 1972 obituary of Simon Zadiontchenko, long-time Communist Party chief in the Ukrainian city of Dnipropetrovsk. The honor of signing death notices usually is limited to party leaders closely linked to the deceased. But official Soviet records eliminate the possibility that Chernenko and Zadiontchenko could have worked together after 1941.

That leaves the late 1930s — the very years where impenetrable fog shrouds Chernenko's official biography — as his probable time in Dnipropetrovsk. But why would the Communist Party be so loath to place Chernenko there at that time?

The Sovietologist's explanation makes chilling reading. Party purges and killings of Ukrainian victims reached a notorious peak in Dnipropetrovsk under command of the NKVD secret police (predecessor of today's KGB). Chernenko's earlier assignment to the Frontier Guards in Siberia linked him to the NKVD, which had over-all command of the Guards.

Agourski's newly-discovered source is a contemporary Russian account anonymously published in Germany in the 1950s. He writes that "nightly" killings were conducted "by the hundreds" in NKVD garages, the noise of shooting stifled by the running of automobile engines. "Among perpetrators cited by the author is a certain Chernenko, described as the chief of an NKVD unit, but without any initials given," Agourski writes.

The name Chernenko is not uncommon in the Soviet Union, but U.S. government officials say it would be quite a coincidence if the reference were not to the present Soviet leader. That conclusion is based on the "strongly circumstantial" evidence: the obituary signature, the strange blank in the biography, the Frontier Guards connection with the NKVD.

A decision by the Reagan administration that the Chernenko file may indeed be more foreboding than ever suspected would mean no sudden policy changes. But it would transform Chernenko from the closemouthed apparatchik who clearly

prefers to be Mr. Low Profile into the thuggish Stalinist prototype he actually may be. "There's something repellent about Chernenko," an American who has spent several hours with him told us, "something eerie."

That sets him a little apart from his immediate predecessors in the Kremlin: Nikita S. Khrushchev, who denounced Stalinism in 1956; Leonid I. Brezhnev, who avidly courted detente and fancied fast cars, and Yuri V. Andropov, who tried hard, but failed, to make it as the whiskey-drinking, jazz-loving Modern Soviet Man ready to do business with Washington.

Reagan has never harbored illusions about the character of the men who run the Soviet Union, but he is now fighting off pressures from within his own party to give up hard-won positions and negotiate.

A confirmed dark, new page in the Chernenko file might strengthen Reagan's position that he will not give something for nothing. It might also induce more attention from his own Senate leaders to the nature of the men in the Kremlin who must be dealt with.

*Chicago Sun-Times,
Friday, June 15, 1984.*

THE MOST SEVERE SENTENCE FOR IVAN KANDYBA

Ivan Kandyba, a former lawyer, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, and long-standing campaigner for political independence for Ukraine, is serving a second lengthy prison sentence for his views and criticisms of government policy. On July 24, 1981, he was given the maximum sentence of 10 years in a special regime corrective labour colony — the most severe type — to be followed by five year's internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

Kandyba was born in 1930 in the village of Stulno in Pidlasie, now inside Poland. He graduated in law at the Ivan-Franko State University in Lviv and worked as a lawyer locally. In 1961 he was arrested for his involvement in a small underground organization, the

Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union.

Convicted of "treason" he served his full 15-year prison sentence during which he took part in numerous protests and hunger strikes against human rights violations. Chronic undernourishment and heavy forced labour affected his health.

In November 1976 he became one of the 10 founding members of the Ukrainian monitoring group and until his arrest in 1981 was active in helping to put out a large number of documents exposing violations of human rights. More than 20 members of the group have been arrested: Kandyba is the last of the original 10 to be taken into custody.

By Caroline Moorehead

*"The TIMES"
Tuesday, 10. 7. 1984, p. 8*

IRYNA SENYK RETURNS TO LVIV

The latest news from Ukraine is that Iryna Senyk, the Ukrainian poetess and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, has returned from internal exile to Lviv. She was sentenced in 1973 to 6 years of imprisonment in concentration camps and 5 years of internal exile for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda', and also for writing patriotic poems. Iryna Senyk, a nurse by profession, served her sentence in Mordovian camps. Since November 15, 1978 she lived in exile in Kazakhstan, working as a maid in a hotel. After undergoing a complicated spinal operation, she became an invalid of the second category. She is now 57 years old.

Ad Hoc Committee on Baltic States and Ukraine

UNIS, Washington, D. C. — The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Joint Baltic American National Committee are pleased to announce that the Ad-Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine has topped the 100-member mark with the recent addition of two new congressmen, Dan Burton (R-IN) and Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY).

The Committee, chaired by Representatives Don Ritter and Brian Donnelly, is a bipartisan caucus which focuses attention on issues of concern to American citizens of Ukrainian, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian heritage, particularly the plight of Ukrainians and Balts in the Soviet Union. It was formed in 1981.

"We are extremely pleased with the growing numbers on the Committee. This has been one of our goals for the first session of the 97th Congress and we are gratified for the continued bipartisan support for Baltic and Ukrainian issues in Congress," said Congressman Brian Donnelly, one of the founders of the Committee.

Among its many activities, the Ad-Hoc Committee has supported resolutions on behalf of dissidents, and issues like the Ukrainian famine and separate designations for the Baltic countries on Defense and State Department maps; sponsored briefings on human rights; and hosted receptions to commemorate important dates.

The Ukrainian National Information Service, the Washington office of the UCCA, and the Joint Baltic American National Committee, the public relations office for the Estonian American National Council, the American Latvian Association and the Lithuanian American Council, have been actively recruiting members. Working on a special project, three student interns at JBANC were particularly effective at adding members over the past summer.

Both organizations wish to heartily welcome the new members of the Ad-Hoc Committee. A complete list of the Ad-Hoc Committee on Baltic States and Ukraine is given below:

ARKANSAS:

Hammerschmidt, John

CALIFORNIA:

Dreir, David
Dymally, Mervin
Fiedler, Bobbi
Lagomarsino, Robert
Levine, Mel
Lowery, Bill
Moorhead, Carlos

CONNECTICUT:

Gejdenson, Sam
Johnson, Nancy
Kennelly, Barbara
Morrison, Bruce

DELAWARE:

Carper, Thomas

FLORIDA:

Pepper, Claude
Young, C. W. Bill

ILLINOIS:

Annunzio, Frank
Corcoran, Tom
Crane, Daniel
Crane, Philip
Durbin, Richard
Hyde, Henry
Lipinski, William
O'Brien, George
Porter, John

INDIANA:

Russo, Marty
Simon, Paul

INDIANA:

Burton, Dan
Hall, Katie

MARYLAND:

Mikulski, Barbara

MASSACHUSETTS:

Conte, Silvio
Donnelly, Brian
Early, Joseph
Frank, Barney
Markey, Edward
Mavroules, Nicholas
Moakley, Joe

Shannon, James
Studds, Gerry

MICHIGAN:

Broomfield, William
Conyers, John
Crockett, George
Dingell, John
Hertel, Dennis
Levin, Sander
Siljander, Mark
Wolpe, Howard

NEW JERSEY:

Courter, James
Dwyer, Bernard
Florio, James
Forsythe, Edwin
Guarini, Frank
Howard, James
Hughes, William
Minish, Joseph
Rinaldo, Matthew
Roe, Robert
Smith, Christopher
Torricelli, Robert

NEW MEXICO:

Lujan, Manuel

NEW YORK:

Ackerman, Gary

Addabbo, Joseph
Biaggi, Mario
Boehlert, Sherwood
Carney, William
Fish, Hamilton
Ferraro, Geraldine
Green, William
Gilman, Benjamin
Horton, Frank
Lent, Norman
McGrath, Raymond
McHugh, Matthew
Nowak, Henry
Ottinger, Richard
Scheuer, James
Solomon, Gerald
Stratton, Samuel
Weiss, Ted
Wortley, George

OHIO:

Eckart, Dennis
Feighan, Edward
Kaptur, Marcy
Kasich, John
Oakar, Mary Rose
Stokes, Louis

PENNSYLVANIA:

Borski, Robert
Coughlin, Larry
Gekas, George

Kostmayer, Pete
Ritter, Don
Yatron, Gus
Wasgren, Doug

SOUTH DAKOTA:

Daschle, Thomas

TEXAS:

Frost, Martin

VIRGINIA:

Robinson, J. Kenneth

WASHINGTON:

Bonker, Don
Lowry, Mike

WASHINGTON, D. C.:

Fauntroy, Walter

WISCONSIN:

Aspin, Les
Moody, Jim
Roth, Toby

SENATORS:

Rudy Boschwitz, Minnesota
John Heinz, Pennsylvania
Donald Riegler, Michigan

Reagan Names Ukrainian American to Number Two Post at USIA

Washington, June 6 — President Ronald Reagan has nominated George Nesterzczuk, a Ukrainian American, to be deputy director of the United State Information Agency which, among other things, oversees the operations of the Voice of America. Nesterzczuk, a former campaigner for Reagan, is now associate director in the personnel management for the Federal Government.

Nesterzczuk is 39. He was born in the Western-occupied part of Germany and later emigrated to the US. He is of

Ukrainian ancestry and has been active in Ukrainian affairs. Nesterzczuk heads the Washington branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

The nomination must be approved by the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Last month the Committee rejected Leslie Lenkowski who was Reagan's initial choice for the post. The rejection came following charges that Lenkowski was involved in blocking Liberals from a speakers program run by the USIA.

STAR WARS

*ABN Canada and the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies organised two meetings with Guest Speaker, Lt. General Daniel O. Graham, USA (Ret).** The first lecture was entitled, "High Frontier: A New Strategy For The West", and was held on Saturday April 28, 1984 in the auditorium of the Canadian Forces Staff School in Toronto, Ontario.

The second lecture took place on Sunday, April 29 in the Legislative Building, Toronto, Ontario and the subject was "Coping With The Soviet Russian Threat".

The United States must immediately act upon the development of a defense system against a possible nuclear attack as an alternative to the present offensive tactic of arms build-up, according to Lt.-Gen. Daniel Graham, director of project "High Frontier".

Graham, a retired US Army general, was in Toronto, Ontario during the weekend of April 28-29 to address two gatherings on the topic of defense against the enemy's first nuclear strike which would involve the realization of his very detailed "Star Wars" technology proposal.

To this point both the United States and the Soviet Union have been engaged in an offensive arms race based on a system called MAD — "mutual assured destruction". In other words, should one side initiate the first strike, the other side, realistically, only has the option of deploying its nuclear warheads to simultaneously destroy the enemy. Neither power has, thus far, developed any form of defense against an attack.

High Frontier, according to Graham, is a defense system capable of destroying 95 percent of the missiles which the Soviet



(From left to right) — Mr. Orest Steciw, Chairman of ABN Canada, Mrs. Maria Shkambara, Ass'n. of Ukrainian Women in Canada, Gen. Daniel O'Graham, Mr. Teodozzy Buyniak, Chairman of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine.

Union could direct toward the United States in a first strike. The system would take the form of three layers of defense. A network of satellites would be designed to identify the target early in flight and to fire off interceptor missiles with an estimated success rate of 70 percent. Missiles which penetrate the first layer would be subject to destruction by a second network of satellites equipped with lasers. Finally, a defense system on the ground would be equipped to make an attempt at destroying any remaining warheads before they explode.

The United States is capable of producing the technology and launching the space system by the end of the decade if an agreement can be reached within the Reagan administration. There is still a considerable amount of opposition to the proposal. Space technology is an area in which the Americans have a definite advantage over the Soviet Russians. Graham claimed, however, that if the United States does not launch High Frontier in time, the Soviet Russians will. It is this possibility which is the most frightening since it is guaranteed that the Soviet Rus-

sians will treat space with a similar form of "protective custody" now applied to their air space. In Gen. Graham's words, "he who controls space may well control the future of mankind".

** Lt. General Daniel O. Graham is a graduate of West Point and the US Army War College. He has enjoyed a distinguished military career serving in Germany, Korea and Vietnam, and has held several key assignments in the US Army and the intelligence community. After retiring in 1976, Gen. Graham worked as a Research Professor at the University of Miami and served as an advisor to Ronald Reagan in the 1976 and 1980 campaigns. He has also been on the staff of the American Security Council and Co-chaired the American Council for Peace Through Strength. He is a specialist in Soviet and East European affairs and has published five books — among them "New Strategy for the West", and "Defense that Defends". He is currently the Director of High Frontier, Inc. and member of the Honorary Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.*

The Peace Movement and the Soviet Union

The question as to the Soviet Union's influence on the West European Peace Movement will over and over again be the main topic of internal political discussions in the weeks and months to come. Without exact knowledge of the peace politics as they are understood and applied by the Soviet Union, is the individual, however, unable to form a just opinion.

The Swiss Eastern Institute (SOI) in Bern is, therefore, publishing in the

newest issue of its bi-weekly magazine *Zeit Bild* revealing background information about different aspects of the communist peace work. In particular, it will present the establishment of the World Peace Council over 30 years ago; it will show the financing of international organizations and their activities by Soviet "peace funds" as well as prove the relentless persecution of pacifists in the Soviet Russian empire.

Senator D'Amato Blasts USSR

NEW YORK — Making his announcement soon after learning that he had been denied a visa to visit the USSR, U.S. Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-C-NY) condemned the violation of national, human and religious rights in Ukraine and other countries dominated by Soviet Russia. D'Amato, together with scores of demonstrators before the gates of the United Nations, further demanded a U.N. investigation of Soviet Russian rights abuses and state-sponsored international terrorism”.

“I am outraged that the United Nations has failed to act in a decisive manner in the wake of these Soviet actions. With U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar scheduled to meet Kremlin leaders tomorrow, I am insisting that he demand

Soviet accountability and that the U.N. undertake an international investigation into Soviet treatment of human rights activists and the Soviet connection in regards to shooting the Pope,” D'Amato stated.

D'Amato asserted that his reason for wanting to travel to the USSR was to make inquiries on a variety of topics, including the Soviet Russian occupation of Ukraine. “What about what's happening to the Ukrainian people? Maybe these questions are embarrassing to the U.N., to the Soviets..., but I continue to press on, to demand that all freedom-loving people of the world are given their natural rights. The Soviet Russians are guilty of nothing less than crimes against humanity... We will not allow them to turn away from



During Senator D'Amato's demonstration — (from left to right) Mychaylo Shpontak, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), Mrs. Slava Stetsko, ABN Executive Chairman, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, Mr. Peter Wytenus, AF-ABN National Chairman and a representative of the Jewish community in New York.

our voices of protest. They seek not only to oppress and assassinate but to obliterate the very conscience of mankind. Our presence here today reminds them that the world will not stand idly by and allow them a free hand to distort and destroy truth," he continued.

Speaking after the Senator, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Executive Chairman of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, pledged her defense of political prisoners in particular Yuriy Shukhevych. "I am confident that all political and religious prisoners in the USSR are fortified by the efforts of such courageous fighters for freedom and democracy — Senator D'Amato and President Reagan", Mrs. Stetsko stated. She further demanded that the subjugated nations in the USSR be represented in the United Nations by their rightful leaders and not by the agents of Soviet Russian occupation. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of

Nations, created over 40 years ago, advocates the dissolution of the USSR into free, nationally independent and democratic countries within ethnographic boundaries.

Also speaking on the agenda were: Tanya Yankolevych, the daughter of Andrey Sakharov; Dennis Dillon, District Attorney of Nassau County, and, Peter King, Comptroller of Nassau County.

The highly vocal and visible protestors consisted of Chinese, Jews, Balts, Poles and many Ukrainians. When asked his reason for attending, Mr. Nick Czorny of the New York School of Bandura commented: "I'm here to protest the 30-year unwarranted incarceration of Yurko Shukhevych, son of the legendary Ukrainian liberation leader, Roman Shukhevych... The world has remained largely deaf to Yurko's horrible plight."

Zena Matla-Rychtycka

Meeting of AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter

Taking advantage of Mrs. Slava Stetsko's, visit to Chicago, Illinois, the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Chicago Chapter, organized a conference on May 8, 1984, attended by more than thirty representatives of different nationalities, namely Byelorussia (John Kosiak), Bulgaria (Alex Darvodelsky, Jennie Darvodelsky, Dr. Stanke Paprikoff), Cuba (Dr. Manfredo Borges, Suzanna Borges), Lithuania (Victor and Mrs. Motusis), Rumania (Dr. Alexander Ronnet) and Ukraine (Dr. Myroslaw Charkewycz, Olena Charkewycz, Ivan Halamay, Myron Hrynewych, Mychajlo Huminiak, Mychajlo Karaczewsky, Dmytro Kostyniuk, Victoria Mazur, Wolodymyr Mazur, Jr., Wolodymyr Mazur, Sr., Vasyl Palahniuk, Osyp Panczyszyn, Zena Rychtycka, Oleh Saciuk, Andriy Steciuk, Chrystyna Wereszczak) in addition to invited guests Dr. Jan Morelewski and

Maria Kenar of Polish-American Council.

Dr. Myroslaw Charkewycz, Chairman of Chicago Chapter, convened the conference by introducing an indefatigable fighter for the dissolution of the Soviet Union and liberation of all subjugated nations from under Russian occupation, the Executive Chairman of the Central Committee of ABN. Then he asked the gathering, with a minute's silence, to honor the deceased President of Bulgarian Liberation Front, member of the Presidium and Executive of AF-ABN, and Vice-Chairman of AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter, Dr. George Paprikoff, as well as Lubomyr Rychtyckyj, writer and a leading member of the Ukrainian Community.

In her address, Mrs. Stetsko elucidated Europe's duplex attitude toward President Reagan's political conception, namely, the positive support of governmental establishments, and general public, on the one

hand, and demonstrations against nuclear armaments, generally, and President Reagan, specifically, inspired by communist agents who exert an extensive influence on today's European youth in the majority of leftist tendencies, on the other hand. She informed the conference about ABN activities throughout the world, in particular in Great Britain and continental Europe. Further, she talked about the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of ABN and 25th Anniversary of Captive Nations Week Proclamation which took place in Washington, D.C., and in which President Reagan, Vice-President Bush and Mrs. Kirkpatrick took part, as well as about the attacks on President Reagan and ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko by Russian and satellite mass media. Mrs. Stetsko also touched upon Radio Liberty which has changed for the better due to the fact that today the Baltic nations, Ukraine and other nationalities possess the same status as the Russian service. In the past, all nations in the Soviet Union constituted sections of the Russian sector. She mentioned that great improvements have also been accomplished at Voice of America, but that both, Voice of America and Radio Liberty need qualified people. She asked the conferees to look for young and bilingual people to expand the staffs of both. In addition, Mrs. Stetsko praised the accomplishments of Cuba's Radio Marti. She informed the conferees about the widespread "Project Democracy" whose anti-communist activities are limited to Africa and South America, and suggested that those activities, through ABN's intervention, should be expanded to cover Cuba and the subjugated nations in the USSR and satellite states.

Mrs. Stetsko recommended that all nationalities comprising the ABN join in President Reagan's re-election campaign, since he is the only candidate who supports the conception of liberation of subjugated nations. In addition, she illustrat-

ed the opportunity presented by the Los Angeles Olympics for propaganda against Russian imperialism, and invited AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter to join in the Free Olympiad organized by young members of ABN in Toronto, Canada. In conclusion, Mrs. Stetsko advised the conferees about the World Anti-Communist League conference in San Diego, California from September 3 to 8, 1984, recommending that Chicago Chapter send as many young members as possible.

Dr. Charkewycz thanked Mrs. Stetsko for her absorbing remarks and presented a short report of truly extensive activities of AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter.

Dr. Jan Morelewski explained about the activities of "Alliance of Friendship" and "Pomost", also touching upon the religious-patriotic influence of Father Professor Franciszek Blachnitski, concluding his remarks by stating that only united we can overcome.

Thereafter, a discussion evolved, in which Dr. Manfredo Borges, Suzanna Borges, Dr. Myroslaw Charkewycz, Alex Darvodelsky, Victoria Mazur, Victor Motusis, and Dr. Alexander Ronnet took part.

The conference was concluded by Dr. Myroslaw Charkewycz, extending sincere appreciation of the entire membership of AF-ABN, Chicago Chapter to Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Dr. Jan Morelewski and everyone present.

LIST OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

USSR News brief: Human Rights
May 1, 1983, 2nd English edition

Edited by Dr. Cronid Lubarsky

CAHIERS DU SAMIZDAT

48, rue de Lac

1050 — Bruxelles (Belgium)

A Visit to Embattled Cambodia

THAI-CAMBODIAN BORDER — As 75 journalists from 18 of the world's nations proceeded on their five-nation fact-finding tour in Asia, we left the exquisite comforts of the Siam Intercontinental Hotel to proceed by bus for five long hours to the Thai-Cambodian border. There was hardly a demarkation as we passed the small fortification, and before long we were in Cambodia. It is here that 20 refugee camps along the Thai border, but inside Cambodian territory, house 226,279 refugees. Eleven of these camps are administered by Khmer Rouge, one by the Sihanouk faction, and the rest by the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), who are attempting with the others to provide some defense and resistance to the overwhelming Vietnamese forces — the fourth largest army in the world, one million men, and subsidized by the Soviet Russians for the price of five million dollars a day, at least three million dollars of which goes for armaments.

It was hard to believe that we were really inside the embattled borders of Cambodia (or Kampuchea, as it is now called). In the dusty plains of this border area a large camp had been erected containing an open air briefing room, a rudimentary communications station, a dispensary, a school, a little store, and everywhere friendly and curious children. We were briefed by the vice president of KPNLF, General Dien Del, who explained about the difficulties to care for the 600,000 refugees that had fled toward Thailand since hostilities began in Kampuchea in 1975. The major part of the refugees are Cambodians; others are Hill-tribes from Laos, others Laotians and Vietnamese. Those who cannot be resettled in third countries must, for the

most part, live within the Cambodian borders where they are cared for by a variety of agencies, as well as by the Thai defense forces. While all cannot be housed on Thai territory for obvious reasons of security, yet 137,000 still live in refugee camps within Thailand.

It is evident that a nation such as Thailand, itself in the process of development with a poor rural population, cannot care for these tens of thousands alone. Of the recipient countries for Indo-Chinese refugees and displaced persons, the USA has accepted the overwhelming majority. Together with boat people and the initial refugees from a vanquished Vietnam, they now number 654,000 persons.

While the statistics may be impressive in scope and numbers, each one of those statistics has the potential of revealing a human tragedy. After all, in addition to those who have found refuge, tens of thousands have died from the war brutally conducted by 200,000 Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea and 50,000 in Laos. Then there are those who have died from diseases, and starvation. It was the lucky ones we saw in Ban Sagnae. Those smiles of friendship and gratitude were compelling. Before we left these same children gave us a show — an exhibition of the traditional Khmer (Cambodian) dance whose stylized grace was accompanied by the drum, flute and other traditional instruments.

We next crossed the border back into Thailand to visit the small village of Taphraya, whose women and children gathered to greet us and answer our questions. This village had suffered from Vietnamese bombardments, and the 16 men in tattered clothes constituting the village militia would be no match for MiGs. There was still more to see — a relatively

small Army unit serving as border-guards, and then the huge Khao-I-Dang detention camp with its men, women, and children, one of several such refugee camps filled with Laotians, Vietnamese and Kampuchians, the jetsam and flotsam of man's inhumanity to man — Indo-China style — now totalling 1.5 million who have fled their homelands since Communists overran their countries nine years ago.

This "holding camp" was really a whole city, whose 43,000 population had remained fairly constant, some having lived within its dusty roadways over five years. Yet it was immaculately clean and had many of the superstructures of permanent village-life including many services not

ordinarily available to a village population in these parts of Thailand: clinics, hospitals, handicraft-shops, dairy, and an experimental vegetable garden.

We were briefed by the UN officials in charge of the camp, namely Mirza Hussein Khan, who told of the important role played by 45 international voluntary organizations providing both funds and expert staff to help the refugees while they wait to be accepted by a host-country. There are still 132,961 refugees in Thailand alone waiting to be accepted by a host-country, among the millions of the world who are the victims of Communist terrorism. We must ask ourselves: Have we done all we can to help?



Mrs. Slava Stetsko addressing the participants at Sen. D'Amato's demonstration.

“Russian Missiles on the Streets of Toronto”

Successful Demonstration Against the ‘peaceniks’

The world peace movement designated the third week in October 1983 as a week of mass protests against the deployment of the latest “Pershing-2” and “Cruise” missiles in Europe and for unilateral disarmament of the West. The latest missiles were to be deployed in the New Year to counterbalance the hundreds of Soviet SS-20 missiles, which are at present threatening Western Europe.

The “peaceniks” main day of action was planned for October 22, when approximately 2 million people all over the world walked out in protest onto the streets. In spite of this great number of people, the percentage regarding the total population of all NATO countries, was very minimal.

It must be remembered that the majority of the voting population in NATO countries want their governments to take the necessary steps and do all they can to protect their respective countries against Russian aggression. This is made clear when governments are elected in NATO countries, who take a firm and resolute stand in their foreign policy, especially when it concerns the defense of the Western World.

Such protests also took place throughout Canada on October 22, staged by various pacifist groups, whose SOLE object of protests was aimed against the testing of “Cruise” missiles on Canadian territory, against the strengthening of means of defense in the West and a call for unilateral disarmament of the USA. However, only 40-50 thousand people took part in these protests in Canada, of which most were at the demonstration in Toronto.

This time, in order to bring to the at-

tention of the Canadian people the fact that the only real threat to the protection of our planet is Moscow and its policy of world domination, a “counter-demonstration” — probably the most successful — took place in Toronto and was widely reported in the press.

This “counter-demonstration”, which was attended by approximately 1,000 Canadian citizens, was organised by the “Canadian Coalition For Peace Through Strength” and the Canadian Section of ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations).

One of the highlights of this demonstration, which was brought to the attention of thousands of people, was a ‘military’ truck laden by models of Soviet SS-20 missiles, which was ‘attended’ by an armed Russian bear and the Cuban Communist dictator, Fidel Castro. On both sides of the truck were two banners, on which were written the words: “Soviet-Russian Missiles — Target: North America”. Ukrainian demonstrators held banners with captions, such as: “Russian Missiles Out Of Ukraine”, “A Free Ukraine Without Soviet Missiles”, etc.

After this successful action, all the demonstrators went to the American Consulate, as a sign of support for President Ronald Reagan. During a short programme, in which the organizers of the “counter-demonstration” summed up the aims of their action, the main speaker was Joseph Hendry — the father of 25-year old Mary Jane Hendry, who was killed on board the Korean airliner shot down by the Russians. The demonstration ended with the burning of the Soviet-Russian flag and the singing of the Canadian National Anthem.

(See Photos on the front cover)

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

*1984 Pre-Conference WACL/APACL Executive Meeting
Ostend, Belgium, April 11, 1984*

Members of the Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and the Executive Committee of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) — from North America, Latin America, Africa, Europe, Asia, Australia, Oceania, and the Middle East, including those representing captive nations organizations — met at Ostend in Belgium on April 9-11, 1984, for a joint meeting to review the current international situation and work out important details in preparation for the 17th WACL Conference and the 30th APACL Conference to be held later this year. The participants co-operated to the fullest extent in the best interest of anti-Communism.

Aware of the continuous world crises, the members have agreed to repeat the warning that free nations' tactics of aiding and co-operating with the Chinese Communists have, instead of curbing their expansion, only encouraged further aggressions.

The Meeting confirmed that if the free world is to defeat the Communists to maintain common security, the strength of free nations should be welded for a joint effort against Communists everywhere.

The Meeting calls upon the free nations, to work out a positive global anti-communist strategy and to persuade their mass media to maintain a standard of strength for world peace and freedom.

The Meeting also calls upon President Ronald Reagan as the leader of the free nations to refrain from making any commitment during his visit to the Chinese mainland this month to benefit the enemy at the expense of the Republic of China and other free nations. The Free World is requested to stop supplying and transferring military hardware and hi-tech know-how to Peking.

The WACL Executive Board and the APACL Executive Committee strongly support the heroic anti-Communist struggles of the Afghans, Nicaraguans, Salvadoreans, Grenadians, Angolans, as well as those of the Chinese mainland, North Korea and Indochina. They also support the liberation struggles of Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Georgia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and other nations for their national independence and human rights. Heroic fighters are encouraged to strengthen their struggles against Communist tyranny in order to destroy the Iron and Bamboo curtains from inside. Resolute support shall also be provided to the endeavors of national reunification in freedom and democracy by the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and all other nations now divided because of Communist usurpation.

The members recall the tragic massacre in Rangoon, Burma of 17 Korean government leaders by North Korean agents on October 9 last year and strongly condemn this inhuman atrocity.

The Middle East is one of the most important and explosive regions in the world. In order to prevent the Communists from capturing the world's oil resources, the free world is urged to find a just solution to allow Palestinians to form their own government in consultation with Jordan.

The Meeting hailed and sent congratulatory messages to His Excellency President Chiang Ching-kuo and his Vice-President Lee Den Whiew for their recent election as President and Vice-President, respectively, of the Republic of China, affirming total confidence in their leadership by the freedom-loving Chinese people to carry on the fight to final victory over Communism.

All free nations are urged to form a unified battlefield against Russian imperialism and other Communists by a spirit of unity and cooperation. Priority should be given to the free world interests above and beyond all individual ones.

The Meeting decided to adopt as the theme of the 17th WACL Conference — “United Strength for Peace — With Freedom for All” and “Freedom and Security for the Asian-Pacific Region is Indivisible” as the theme for the 30th APACL Conference. The Meeting has decided to hold the 17th WACL Conference at San Diego, California, USA on September 3-7, 1984 and the 30th APACL Conference just a few days before on August 27-31, 1984 at Honolulu, Hawaii. The Asian Youth Anti-Communist League (AYACL) will hold its 5th Conference at the same time and place of the APACL Conference.

The members of this Meeting in Ostend are sincerely appreciative of the hospitality and excellent arrangements organized by the WACL Belgium Chapter and are most grateful for making their stay pleasant and fruitful.

Ukrainian Information Center Opens in New York City

NEW YORK, July 5 — The Ukrainian Information Center was established on July 5, 1984, in New York City.

Created under the auspices of the Ukrainian-American Freedom Foundation and the Ukrainian Division of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the Center's objective will be to disseminate to the general news media and public uncensored information about Ukraine and Ukrainians, and their struggle for national, human and religious rights.

The Center will also make available various news publications covering current events, literature and academics. It will also serve as a clearinghouse of information about the movement for independence in Ukraine as well as events in the Ukrainian émigré communities in the free world.

“The Ukrainian Information Center will respond to any form of Russian-Communist disinformation which appears in newspapers or magazines, television and radio in the United States and Canada. Such information is not only detrimental to the cause of freedom, independence, sovereignty and democracy for Ukraine, but also to the security of the West,” Michael Shpontak, the Center's newly-appointed director, said.

For more information, contact the center at 136 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. 10003; telephone: (212) 982-5042.

LITHUANIAN RESOLUTION

We, the Lithuanian Americans of Cicero, Illinois are assembled this 10th day of June, 1984 at St. Anthony Parish Hall to commemorate the death and mass deportation of Lithuanians by Soviet Russia.

On the night of June 14, 1941 more than 40,000 Lithuanians were deported to Soviet concentration and labor camps. Since the end of World War II, hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians have been deported, imprisoned or executed. In the post war period 30,000 freedom fighters lost their lives fighting the Soviet occupation.

Therefore, Let it be Known

That Lithuania was recognized as a free and independent nation and was a member of the League of Nations; however, she was by force and fraud occupied and illegally annexed by Soviet Russia in 1940;

That it is the official U.S. policy of non-recognition of incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia into the Soviet Union;

That the Office of Special Investigations of the Justice Department has established liaison with the illegal Soviet Government in Lithuania for assistance in obtaining evidence about so-called Nazi collaborators.

Now, be it Resolved

That we agree with President Ronald Reagan's military program and ask Congress for its support;

We ask President Ronald Reagan to ensure that the provisions of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930 be enforced when dealing with the Soviet Union. In general, this law prohibits trade with countries that use forced or slave labor.

We ask the present administration and Congress to curtail the activities of the Office of Special Investigations in dealing with the illegal Soviet Government in Lithuania. This activity is contrary to the position of non-recognition by the U.S.

Government which has been publicly stated on many occasions by the present administration and the Congress.

We request that this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Secretary of Commerce, Presidential Counsel, United States Senators from Illinois, Chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Congressman from our district, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, other appropriate Congressional Committees and the news media.

Dr. Brone Motusis

*President of the Cicero Chapter
of Lithuanian American Council
and Chairperson of the meeting*

Stanley Dubauskas

Secretary of the meeting

Freedom Day

The World Freedom Day on January 23 each year marks the return to freedom on that day in 1954 of the 22,000 ex-Communist POW's of the Korean War, more than 14,000 of them Chinese, who ignored Red enticement and defied intimidation as they refused to be sent back behind the Iron Curtain.

It is observed throughout the world but in particular it has been well organized in National China. This year it included: 12 lecture meetings, 3 forums, 2 mass rallies (one of them televised on the spot and attended by 60,000 people; the other with 3,000 participants and broadcasted live by a national radio station), a number of social functions, field trips, etc. — successfully carried out on January 18-24, thanks to the full co-operation of all the concerned sources and the presence of more than 100 foreign guests, including parliamentarians, and high ranking government and party officials, who came (many on their own) specially for the occasion from 40 countries.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



BULGARIA

Bulgaria's Christians stand firm

The Protestant church of Kritschim (near Plovdiv) was allowed to build a new church for its some 300 members, under its own efforts and by its own means. However, in its building permission, the Communist regime demanded that the building should not be recognizable from the outside as a religious site. The community were not allowed to enter into debt to obtain help for building and equipping the church, on pain of severe punishment.

Estonia

Mart Nikols on hunger Strike

The Estonian freedom fighter Mart Nikols announced that he will start a hunger strike as a sign of protest against the enforced use of the Russian language in the Chestopolskyj prison. M. Nikols, sentenced in January 1981 for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation", was forced to speak with his own mother through a Russian interpreter.

East Germany

Another priest hounded to death

Protestant vicar Burgemeister, aged about 48, committed suicide by gas poisoning at the end of January 1984 in Rathenow in the "GDR" district of Brandenburg. In his capacity as vicar of the Protestant regional church, Burgemeister had played a leading role in the church's "Peace Decade" initiative. He

was involved mainly in obtaining posters with the slogan "Swords into ploughshares" for his regional church. For some years he had been under open observation by a Party comrade in his youth work. Vicar Burgemeister was obliged to appear regularly before the local council to account for his sermons. The authorities ordered that Burgemeister's death should be described as an accident in the kitchen of the Rathenow community centre. However the vicar's colleagues describe his death as a deliberate act of desperation on the part of a persecuted man. Burgemeister's widow is the mother of 4 daughters aged between 15 and 19. Her address: DDR - 1830 Rathenow, Kirchplatz.

Catholics in the "GDR"

Constant indoctrination, consciences under pressure and an increased level of militarization are the main features of social life in Central Germany in 1984. This is reported by a member of the Berlin Church Council, Msgr. Wolfgang Knaufft, on the situation of Catholics in the "GDR". In an article in the daily paper DIE WELT Knaufft said, "He (the Christian, editor's note) often has to swim courageously against the tide from childhood to old age in order to live according to his beliefs. Neither priests nor bishops in the "GDR" are affected so directly by the tension between the Gospel and Socialism as are children, young people and Christian parents. This begins in the Socialist process of education which has no place for Christian thinking. Being educated to hate one's class enemies and the friend/foe cliché represent a constant process of indoctrination against which the parental home and spiritual advisors find it difficult to strike a counterbalance.

Support for Western peace movements 'coincides with a wave of militarization which it is difficult for Western visitors to imagine'."

Old clothes aid costs 19,000 monthly wages

Young Christians in the "GDR" district of Erfurt collected 335 sq. metres of old clothes for Mozambique to "send part of our excess to those who live in poverty". The Protestant regional church had canvassed with the words, "Who cannot imagine the face of little Matuta or of little Holomini who have shoes on their feet for the first time and now wear a smart pair of trousers and bright pullover?" The old clothes collection brought traffic to a standstill in the centre of Erfurt on 29th January 1984. A year ago, on 3. 3. 1983, the "GDR" government officially announced its total support for the Communist regime of Moises Machel in the civil war aimed at justifying, in a Marxist-Leninist manner, the mismanaged economy and misery on a huge scale in Mozambique. The "GDR's" 'nationalised' transport company DEU-TRANS is now asking the Christian collectors of the old clothes for 400 marks transport costs per tonne. That makes a total of 134,000 marks or, going by average wages in the "GDR", around 19,000 monthly wages.

Church services used to exert pressure

In the "GDR"'s women's prison Stollberg-Hoheneck permission to attend church services is withdrawn to exert pressure on the prisoners. A service is held once a month. As soon as there is any complaint against a prisoner by prison staff, permission to attend is refused. The Protestant prison chaplain Giebler is responsible for the Hoheneck women's prison, a man already infamous from his activities at the Brandenburg prison. A

female prisoner who is now in the West after being bought free tells how, in sharp contrast to the Catholic priest, Giebler enjoys complete freedom within the prison, including private conversations with the women. However the prisoners in Hoheneck trust him no more than their male counterparts in Brandenburg. Various reports give the impression that there is a single Protestant prison chaplain to cover all "GDR" prisons with some 5,000 to 7,000 political prisoners and about 40,000 prisoners altogether.

Arrested for carrying a lighted candle

On 13th February 1984, the anniversary of the bombing of Dresden in 1945, some 3,000 young people gathered at the Church of the Crucifix and about 1,000 of them proceeded from there to the ruins of the Church of Our Lady, bearing lighted candles. They were accompanied by large numbers of police, both in uniform and plain clothes. Since August 1983 the "GDR" regime has used mass arrests to try and dissuade young people from taking part in religious work for peace. Many suicides in prison and unusual departures for the West bear witness to the State's harsh methods. Even church employees and priests have been temporarily detained or their forcible transfer demanded from the church authorities. While in 1982 and 1983 the Bishop of Dresden was able to organize a church service for peace and a public discussion, there was no church cooperation in 1984, according to a report by the Protestant Press Service, epd. The young people had come to Dresden from all corners of the "GDR". According to public statements by church leaders in the "GDR", the bishops there fear that the young people's repeated questioning of the "GDR"'s arms buildup and about human rights could lead the government to take strong measures against the church. In many other towns

in Central Germany there have been demonstrations with lighted candles for human rights and against the new Soviet missiles. People arrested with lighted candles had to pay a fine of 450 marks, more than half one month's salary.

Will we soon have to smuggle Bibles to the "GDR"?

"Year after year the demand for Bibles exceeds the number available in the bookshops". This statement comes from an article in a "GDR" Protestant church publication. It points out that this discrepancy is due to the fact that church offices rarely submit large-scale orders for Bibles. Some 20 to 30 years ago about 50% of youngsters received a Bible at their confirmation. Today an average of just 3% of children in the "GDR" want to be confirmed. The great demand for Bibles comes from non-baptised members of the population.

*(Nachrichtendienst der Hilfsaktion
Märtyrerkirche e.V.) No. 4/1984*



GEORGIA

Numerous anonymous letters are flooding the leading governing bodies of the Georgian SSR. They are being sent in connection with the unsuccessful hijacking attempt of a passenger plane (out of the Soviet Union) in November of 1983. The authors of these letters threaten massive terrorist actions throughout Georgia if anything should happen to the hijackers.

As is well known, the hijacking attempt coincided with the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the "unification" of Georgia with Russia — a jubilee which the majority of the Georgian population considers an outrageous disgrace.

The participants of the hijacking attempt are the children of prominent families and had the opportunity to leave the country

legally. For this reason, the majority of Georgians do not consider this hijacking incident to be a real attempt to flee the USSR, but rather a symbolic act.



LITHUANIA

According to the "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania" 4.3% of the Lithuanian population have signed a petition for the release of the Catholic priests A. Svarinskas and S. Tamkevicius. This is the biggest independent vote of its kind to become known so far in any Communist state. The two priests are members of the "Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the Soviet Union". For their work in this connection both were sentenced in 1983 to ten years imprisonment.

Slovakia

Police in Czecho-Slovakia threatened young people who had taken part in a pilgrimage in Sasstin (West Slovakia) that they were throwing away their whole future, rendering themselves ineligible for higher education and that they would not find any training place. During the service the police forced their way among believers to record their particulars. Later young people aged under 15 in particular were intimidated in long interrogations and forced to give information on their personal religious lives. The pilgrimage took place on 15th December 1983 and brought together some 25,000 believers at the Slovakian national shrine.

Priests in the service of the State

Catholic priests in Czecho-Slovakia are employees of the atheist government. This situation is a considerable hindrance to spiritual work as priests are constantly being forcibly transferred or banned from

working as soon as their work begins to have a noticeable effect. In January 1984 youth pastor Father Homoka from Bratislava was banned from working, priest Jozef Rybansky was sentenced in Modry Kamen and priest Marian Prachar transferred for disciplinary reasons. As many priests now work on a part-time helping-out basis because of being banned from working officially, the State organs fear the formation of an underground church. For this reason "technical repairs" are constantly being carried out in the apartments of Christians under the most diverse pretexts. The Christians fear they are under permanent supervision by means of bugging devices.

Teachers may not be Christians

In June 1983 the teacher Jana Micianova from Nova Dubnica in Czecho-Slovakia was dismissed from school service because she had registered her son for religious instruction. However religious instruction is open to every citizen in Czecho-Slovakia under law (para. 120/76). The reason given for her dismissal was that, as a former atheist, her mode of living was provocative and would influence other parents and children.



NEWS FROM THE GULAG

Mychajlo Klishch

Mychajlo Klishch, an artist, born in 1941, of Greek Catholic denomination, was arrested sometime in the late 1960's or early 1970's. He was declared "unfit to stand trial" and placed in the Sychevsky psychiatric asylum. On August

13, 1975, he was transferred to the Ivan-Frankivsk general psychiatric asylum and shortly thereafter released.

In October or November of 1980, M. Klishch was rearrested for unknown reasons. He is presently serving his sentence the length of which is also unknown at a camp whose address is:

288360 Ukrainian SSR
Vinnytska Oblast
Trostyanetskyj Region
m. Ladyzhyn
yct. IB-301/39

Olha Matusievych

On October 13th 1983, Olha Matusievych was tried for the following "criminal acts": anti-Soviet conversations in the camp, outspoken praise of the Polish "Solidarity" union, poetry writing, and the use of a secret code for the transmittance of information outside the camp. Olha Matusievych did not admit to being guilty.

Oles' Berdnyk

At the end of 1982 and the beginning of 1983 Oles' Berdnyk was transferred to a strict Regime camp in Perm — BC 389/35. In the summer of 1983, he was transferred again, to Kyiv to so-called "isolation".

Vyacheslav Chornovil

In mid-December of 1983, Vyacheslav Chornovil, as we previously reported, according to the bulletin "News from USSR", edited by Dr. K. Lubarsky, was conditionally released and forced to work in the chemical industry. His address is:

678010 Yakutsk SSR
Ordzhonykdyzewsky R-N.
post Pokpovsk — I
Vyacheslav Chornovil

Book Reviews

The following book reviews were written by the Swedish scholar Mr. Bertil Häggman, LL.B., Director of the Foundation for Conflict Analysis in Sweden and Director of the Political Warfare Department — European Freedom Council.

The Political Warfare Front Beyond Containment

"The original idea behind containment was that the containment of Soviet-aided and Soviet-sponsored advances would allow time for an internal evolution of the Soviet regime in a less aggressive direction... Thirty and more years later it is obvious that these expectations have proved unfounded. Containment by itself is deficient". These words comprise the central theme of an important collection of essays published by the Institute for Contemporary Studies in San Francisco. The work deals with alternative American policies toward the Russian empire. It is the result of a series of seminars in 1983

An Oversight by Moscow's Censors

The Soviet journal "Technology for Youth" is being read in Moscow with a great deal of interest because it contains the science fiction sequel "2001: Odessey 2" by the American author Arthur Clarke. The novel has as its theme a joint Soviet-Russian American space mission.

The fact is that 1.7 million young readers in the USSR are discovering that the 7 Soviet cosmonauts in the mission with the Americans have the same last names as 7 convicted dissidents (the first two are Ukrainians): Marchenko, Rudenko, Kovalov, Brylovsky, Orlov, Ternovsky, and Father Hlib Yakynin.

Western observers are waiting impatiently to find out whether or not Moscow's censors will permit the printing of the fictional sequel with realistic undertones.

led by political scientist Aaron Wildawsky. It is the first of four volumes on the subject. The other volumes will consider American foreign policy in relation to defence policy, the U.S. allies and the Third World.

Of interest for students of political warfare is especially the contribution by Max Singer, former president of the Hudson Institute. In his essay, "Dynamic Containment", he underlines the importance of the War of Ideas between Communism and the West. Mr. Singer calls Political Warfare Political Action and underlines that ideas change as the result of producing and delivering information. He gives two examples of important parts of a political action program: the United States needs to support pro-Western political forces. Ways have to be found to support organisations and parties, media and religious groups. Also action must be taken against terrorist groups and their transnational supporting networks (Cuba, Bulgaria etc.).

To Mr. Singer "dynamic containment" contains among other things an intellectual effort to change the Russian empire within its borders. More doubtful is Mr. Singer's declaration that the United States "should not commit" itself "to replacing the Communist regime in the Soviet Union". The replacement of the regime with a democratic system must be the ultimate goal along with the liberation of the nationalities oppressed by the Russians.

The editor of the collection, Professor Aaron Wildawsky, in a final essay, "From Minimal to Maximal Containment", di-

vides the variants of containment into five main groups: *minimal containment* rests on the hope of early change of the system in Russia, which has proved futile. Russian aggression has not diminished since World War II. *Fixed line at borders of the empire* means no retreats, no trade. Moscow has breached that line so this variant is merged with the next: *fixed line around assets* (Western Europe, Israel, North America, S. Japan, etc.) *vital to the United States*. This would mean that the United States would not repel aggression outside that line. It could mean a retreat to "Fortress America". *Flexible containment* would be all forms of containment using economic and political means to persuade Moscow to moderate its behaviour. *Maximal containment* is the choice of Professor Wildawsky. This policy is to go beyond defence against aggression, persuading Moscow not to undertake aggression and use measures to weaken or limit the expansionist tendencies. Although Professor Wildawsky is not a supporter of liberation he supports a policy of using all sorts of measures of "pluralization". No trade in strategic goods and no subsidy of Russian trade. Facilitating the flow of ideas and information. The privilege of the nomenklatura should be exposed and dissent amplified.

The book, "Beyond Containment", leaves out many important aspects of the East-West conflict. Its publication is a sign that U.S. strategists are beginning to see the limits of containment. There may not yet be a conviction of supporting a policy of liberation of peoples from Russian and Communist oppression but it is a first step towards a broader discussion of alternative policies towards the Russian empire in the 1980's and the 1990's.

Beyond Containment — Alternative American Policies Toward the Soviet Union. (Editor: Aaron Wildawsky) Institute for Contemporary Studies, San Francisco. 1983. Price: \$8.95 Paperback.

Russia as an Empire

Edward Luttwak's latest book, "The Grand Strategy of the Soviet Union" is one of the most important books published so far in the 1980's on Russian communist strategy and Western response. Luttwak argues that Russia today is a great military empire in the classic tradition. The Russians are an imperialistic people just as much as they were under the Tsars. It is the military that dominates the planning in the empire and Russia will, according to Luttwak, continue to convert the economic resources of the empire into military strength. Further expansionism is to be expected and the West better prepare itself for conflicts in the 1980's and 1990's.

The best solution for the leaders in the Kremlin would of course be to attack the United States directly but it is strategically impossible. The second best solution is to attack some part of NATO territory without unleashing a nuclear response. This would demonstrate the failure of the United States to protect its allies. In this context it would be important to seize strategically important territory such as the Baltic approaches, northern Norway or northeastern Turkey. There are for instance in Norway no nuclear weapons and the conventional balance is most unfavorable to the West. Compared with northeastern Turkey northern Norway would be somewhat more of a risk because of the importance of Norway to transatlantic connections. Luttwak, however, rules out these alternatives as less likely but states: "It is certainly inexcusable that the remote flanks of the alliance should be so lacking in defences against a Soviet coup de main that would amount to a mere commando operation writ large: as it is, even a single Soviet division of good quality could seize the crucial terrain of the far north of Norway almost overnight, if well provided with helicopters."

Luttwak also examines the possibility

of a Soviet strike against Communist China, not on the eastern part but the thinly populated western parts bordering on the Asian territories of the Russian empire which create a "Turkestan People's Republic". A limited, but map-changing war, is a possibility. Soviet armed forces in the area are strong enough to accomplish an offensive with a short, sharp shock. It means of course a large risk but cannot be ruled out.

Thirdly the book examines the interest of Moscow in having client states on its borders. Finland does a certain duty as client state as do East Germany and Poland in Europe. According to Luttwak Russia has no need of Turkey as a client state, being economically and politically weak and constitutes no threat to the empire. Further east is Iran where Russia, if it feels uncertain about the situation in Teheran it may contemplate some sort of Finnish type client state. A possibility would be to recreate the Azerbaijan client state that existed until 1946. The Azeris, numbering about 11 million are numerous enough to form a state. Another option could be to form a Turkmenistan in the northeast of Iran, a perfect match for the Turkmen SSR across the border. A Baluch state in the southeast is one valuable asset, creating a corridor to the Persian Gulf. A Kurdistan would also be one of the alternatives of the rulers in the Kremlin when contemplating imperial expansion in the area. No major military operations would be needed to "liberate" the Azeris, Kurds, Turkmens and Baluchis of Iran. A quick crossing of the border would only be opposed by small Iranian garrisons in the border area.

To keep the Soviet empire growing is costly: there is a military bill to be paid and presently the client-states of Moscow overseas are costing more than they are earning: Cuba, Vietnam, Ethiopia. Luttwak makes the guess that the real cost of the empire is close to 50 percent of the

Soviet GNP. The Russians own their economic base which the Romans for instance did not. No shadow army of tax collectors and enforcers is needed. Russia, it is stated in this important book, is the only remaining empire in the classical tradition. The colonial empire of the British, Belgians, French, Dutch and Portuguese have been given up in this century. There is not the same threat against the Russian empire to-day as there was against the other empires, with one exception: "the Soviet Union finds itself confronted by the very force that dissolved all the other empires: the National Idea — and this time it cannot be fought by any means except for repression pure and simple". Edward Luttwak ends the book with a warning: "If the Soviet Union believes that the nations of Western Europe and Japan will refuse to respond seriously to anything short of direct attack the Soviet Union will be set on the road to war in an imperialistic tradition — a war neither Western nor nuclear but quite possibly catastrophic all the same. The pieces are even now on the board; the game could begin at any time." There are two important appendixes in the book: "The Economic Basis of Soviet Power" and "The Evolution of Soviet Military Power Since 1965".

Edward N. Luttwak: *The Grand Strategy of the Soviet Union* St. Martin's Press, New York. 1983. \$ 14.95.

Time of Action

One of the most persistent voices of warning in Western Europe against Soviet military and political strength has been the Belgian General Robert Close, now Senator of Brussels in the Belgian senate. Senator Close has now published a sequel to his sensational book of 1977 "Europe without Defence". Robert Close's career is distinguished. Having fought the Nazis during World War II he was incarcerated in various concentration camps in Germany.

In 1966-70 he was Military Attaché in London and in 1976 appointed Commander of the 16th Armoured Division in the rank of Major General. In 1980 he resigned from active service and joined the Belgian Liberal Party. He was elected senator for that party in November 1981. In his new book *Senator Close* deals in one chapter with political warfare. Propaganda, he writes, is the favourite battlefield of the third world war. "The Russians are devoting a hitherto unprecedented amount of energy, resource and talent to it at present." The propaganda expenses have grown proportionably along with Russian military expenditure. The goal: both are investments aimed at the final victory of Communism over the whole world. Disinformation is an important weapon in the armoury of the Russians. "The department of disinformation has the job of intoxicating public opinion, and demoralising non-Communist countries by means of clandestine campaigns carried out by its own personnel or by other KGB services. One of the favourite methods is the defamation of people and organisations that stand in the way of action for the Soviet Union and the local Communist parties. Its eventual aim is to influence the action of foreign governments by presenting a distorted image of the Russian reality. If

the department of desinformatsiya has only become one of the most important in the KGB in the last 20 years, the intoxication of public opinion goes back to the earliest days of Communism and Lenin's principles."

The General turned politician understands both the military and political predicament of the West today. Time is getting short. "History will not give us a last-minute reprieve. While we have been wasting our time playing political games, indulging in sterile quarrels... the Soviet Empire has been patiently and tirelessly building up an unprecedented military power, to the detriment of the legitimate aspirations of the countries it has conquered or enslaved. Russia may feel the time is ripe to take advantage of an ephemeral superiority and of the divided and chronically feeble state of Europe." Senator Close's book is really a call for action and should be read by all those in Western Europe who have not learned the lessons of totalitarian aggression of the 1940's.

Robert Close, *Time for Action*. Brassey's Publishers, London. 1983.

*Bertil Häggman, Director
Political Warfare Department
European Freedom Council*

An Uprising for Germany, June 17th, 1953

The national uprising in Central Germany and in East Berlin on June 17, 1953 moved and shook not only the Germans in their divided fatherland.

Wolfgang Strauß, a well-known expert on Eastern Europe, describes in this contemporary historical and explosive documentary Central Germany's political road from the unconditional capitulation on May 8, 1945 to Stalin's note on Germany's reunification and right up to the dramatic events which finally led to the national

uprising. Mercilessly and regardless of the former occupational forces in the East and the West, the causes and background scene of the workers' revolt are clarified, in this study and placed in relation to the great world politics.

The uprising of June 17th, embedded in the competitive power blocks which divided plundered Germany among themselves, was a desperate and dramatic attempt not only to throw off the Soviet "blood" government of Pieck, Grotewohl

and Ulbricht or to intercede for the improvement of standards. On the contrary, it was the passionate will to re-establish German unity. The uprising had to fail because the spheres of influence set down by the victors in Yalta and Potsdam could not be altered. The western politicians' big promises and empty words were the answer to the call for freedom.

Strauß takes the reader beyond June 17th, 1953. In just as concise and vivacious strokes does the author describe the succeeding stages of political development up until the present. Finally, the author concentrates on the freedom movements and

the freedom endeavours in Central Germany which are leading a struggle in the underground for a free, united and independent Germany.

A contemporary historical study which is revealing, fascinating, gripping and deeply moving. A documentary which one cannot put down without being inwardly moved.

Wolfgang Strauss: *An Uprising for Germany* — June 17th, 1953, 284 pages, 19 photos, bound in a protective cover, DM 32,50, Druffel Publishers — 8137 Leoni am Starnbergersee.

Unjust treatment of Latvian Bishop, Kazimir Dulbinskis

Bishop Kazimir Dulbinskis was born in 1906 in Latvia. He was ordained as a priest in 1932 and appointed bishop in 1947.

Only two years later, however, began a life of suffering for this Latvian Bishop. On May, 12th, 1949 he was arrested by the Soviet authorities and deported to Siberia. In November 1955 he was allowed to return home, but was re-arrested in February 1956 and once again deported. In September 1958, Bishop Dulbinskis was released, but not allowed to resume his post as bishop in his diocese in Riga. Therefore, he spent over a year in his home parish, from where in 1959 he was yet again deported, this time to Byelorussia, where he was forced to work as a woodcutter and carpenter in a furniture factory.

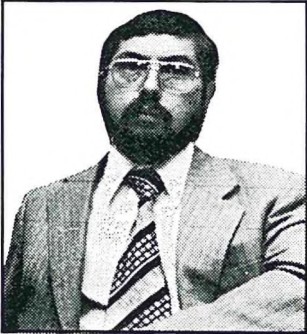
Meanwhile he was not allowed to perform his priestly duties. In 1964 he was permitted to return to Latvia, where he

also had to execute heavy physical work until the age of 60.

Today, Bishop Dulbinskis is permitted to celebrate Mass and to hear confessions, but is not allowed to carry out his episcopal duties. He has approached the Soviet authorities on several occasions asking to be rehabilitated, but as yet has not received any reply. Even Cardinal Julijans Vaivods, under whose jurisdiction he falls, is powerless to help him in any way.

For the past 20 years he has been remembered in the communal prayers at the annual congress of 'The Church In Need' in Königstein.

The ban on the execution of Bishop Dulbinskis episcopal duties is a great injustice; it contradicts the UN Charter on Human Rights, as well as the Helsinki Agreements to which the Soviet Union was also a signatory and, moreover, it is not in accordance with the Soviet Constitution.



On July 19, 1984, Andriy Bandera, son of the former leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera, died suddenly at the age of 39 in Toronto, Canada.

Andriy Bandera was born on May 16, 1946 in Munich. He was an active member of OUN, a prominent public and political activist, a leading member of the Ukrainian Liberation Front and the spirit and soul of mass demonstrations and actions in defence of Ukraine, especially in defence of political and religious prisoners. He was an indefatigable participant and organizer of hunger strikes, staged in solidarity with imprisoned political and cultural activists in Ukraine.

The deceased was an exceptionally kind-hearted man, always willing to help people in need or in trouble, and to assist in the success of his compatriots. He had a talent for external-political affairs and for external-political activity in general. He was a talented journalist, especially in writing for the English-speaking public. He was editor of "Ukrainian Echo", the English supplement to "Homin Ukrainy". The deceased was a man of a firm and resolute character, and during hunger-strikes for the release of political prisoners he held out the longest, even at the risk of his own health.

The death of his father was a great shock to him and affected all of his later life. He always longed to come back to Europe, where his father lies buried. The death of his mother deepened the grief of this sensitive and subtle man. He found peace in his altruistic help for others and in his three children and wife.

His sudden and unexpected death cut short all of his hopes and dreams. The Ukrainian community has lost yet another patriot and idealist, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — a young fighter, his family — a father, husband and brother.

May the Lord guard and keep them all from harm, and may Andriy Bandera's memory live among us for ever!

The funeral took place on July 23, 1984 in Toronto.

AF ABN Conference, New York, June 2, 1984



AF ABN Chairman, Mr. Peter Wytenus, opening the conference — (seated) Mrs. Roksolana Potter, Chairman AF ABN New York Chapter and Prof. T. H. Tsuan.



Addressing the conference, Mr. Michael Sotirhos, Chairman of Ethnic Voters For Reagan-Bush Campaign 1984 — Mrs. Roksolana Potter and Dr. Baymirza Hayit (Turkestan), speaker at the conference and member of the Central Committee of ABN.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



His Holiness Pope John Paul II paying his last respects to Patriarch Josyf Slipyj in the Ukrainian Cathedral St. Sophia in Rome.

On September 16, in Winnipeg, Canada, during a visit to the Ukrainian Cathedral, His Holiness Pope John Paul II paid glowing tribute to the late Patriarch Josyf Slipyj. He praised the Patriarch for defending the Faith and His nation in the face of persecution. The Pope said that He was a hero, who suffered as Christ did on Golgotha and stated, that "they sentenced Him to 18 years of incarceration and suffering. He did not break down, but like a hero, survived nobly. Coming to live in freedom in Rome, he did not rest, but dedicated His life to the good of His Church and nation". "His death", this month in Rome, "has encompassed all of us with great grief". "Our prayers are with Him and we pray that the Lord reward Him for His suffering, faith in God and Church and all His work accordingly".

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PATRIARCH JOSYF SLIPYJ DIES

Patriarch Josyf Slipyj, primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church died in Rome in the late morning hours of Friday, September 7 at the age of 92.

Hundreds of mourners from around the world immediately began to gather in Rome to pay their last respects as the remains of Patriarch Josyf I lay in state in Rome's St. Sophia Sobor. Among the mourners was Pope John Paul II who arrived at the cathedral to pay his final respects prior to his departure to Canada.

Services were continually conducted at the cathedral throughout the week before the burial by the many priests who had travelled to Rome for the funeral.

Funeral services took place Wednesday, September 12 with the participation of members of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy led by Archbishop Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, the designated successor to the late Patriarch. Also present were hierarchy and clergy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as well as the Roman Catholic Church. Following the service a papal representative read a biographical outline of the Patriarch extolling his virtues and accomplishments. This document was then signed by all of the bishops present and placed in a capsule which was subsequently laid in the coffin. The coffin was then sealed.

Thursday, September 13 a Solemn Pontifical Liturgy was celebrated in front of the Sobor to allow all mourners, who numbered over one thousand, to participate. Present were many representatives of the many Ukrainian organizations, among them the Prime Minister of Free Ukraine, leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Ukrainian National Council in exile, Mykola Livytsky, and representatives of different political parties.

During the four-hour service, which involved the participation of over 70 priests, the eulogy was delivered by the Patriarch's successor Archbishop Myroslav Lubachivsky and Archbishop Myroslav Marusyn, Secretary of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches, spoke in Italian. The Pontiff's personal representative Cardinal Carlo Confalonieri also delivered an eulogy and later administered the final absolution.

Very moving was the reading of Patriarch Josyf Slipyj's pastoral testament by Very Rev. I. Choma.

The coffin with the earthly remains of the Patriarch was then carried in a solemn procession around the cathedral and then into the crypt beneath the church where Patriarch Josyf Slipyj was laid to eternal rest.

"NEVER RENOUNCE THE PATRIARCHATE OF YOUR CHURCH"

These words were the appeal of Metropolitan Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — a man who suffered and, throughout his 92 years, continued to fight undauntedly for the rights of his Church and his nation.

Born February 17, 1892 in the village of Zazdrist in the county of Terebowla, Western Ukraine, Josyf Slipyj was to become, during the course of his

life, a symbol of the persecuted Ukrainian Catholic Church. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1917 by the late Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and continued his theological studies in Innsbruck and Rome before returning to Lviv to teach at the theological seminary there. Eventually he reorganized the seminary into a Theological Academy becoming its first rector.

The then primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Sheptytsky, with the approval of the Holy See, chose Josyf as his successor consecrating him secretly. As a bishop Josyf Slipyj participated, along with Metropolitan Sheptytsky, in the 1941 Proclamation of the Restoration of the Ukrainian State and participated in the proceedings of the National Assembly as an official envoy of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, afterwards becoming a leading member of the Council of Seniors.

Upon the death of Metropolitan Sheptytsky November 1, 1944, immediately after the re-occupation of Lviv by the Russians, Josyf Slipyj became the Metropolitan of Lviv-Halych and thus the Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

His undaunting encouragement and support of the Ukrainian nation's war of liberation and the preservation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church led to his arrest in 1945 during a Soviet reign of terror over the Church. His offense: 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, 1957 and 1959 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 1941 proclamation of the Restoration of the Ukrainian State; his support for Ukraine's war of liberation; and his writing of pastoral letters during imprisonment.

Patriarch Slipyj's survival could be called a miracle at a time when all of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy had died in prison.

After a total of 18 years of imprisonment in Siberia, Patriarch Josyf was released by the Soviet Union arriving in Rome on February 9, 1963. His release however, was conditional and his new life in the West still marred by the lack of freedom for which he fought so courageously. The Soviet Union's Nikita Khrushchev agreed to the release of Josyf Slipyj with the hope of improved relations with the Vatican, but feared the repercussions — Josyf Slipyj revealing to the world the brutal reality of the Soviet Union. Mysteriously enough, upon his arrival in Rome, Patriarch Slipyj was escorted to a secret retreat with no access to reporters, and the Vatican continued to control his public exposure.

The obituary in "Time" magazine (Sept. 17, 1984) read in part, "...But Slipyj remained unhappy about the Vatican's Ostpolitik, including its openings to the subservient Russian Orthodox Church. He campaigned publicly for the creation of a Ukrainian patriarchate, with himself at the head, and was bitter that both Paul VI and John Paul II denied him that out of deference to East-bloc relations."

The final sentence of the obituary summarizes the main objective of Patriarch Slipyj's life — he strived for the recognition of a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate.

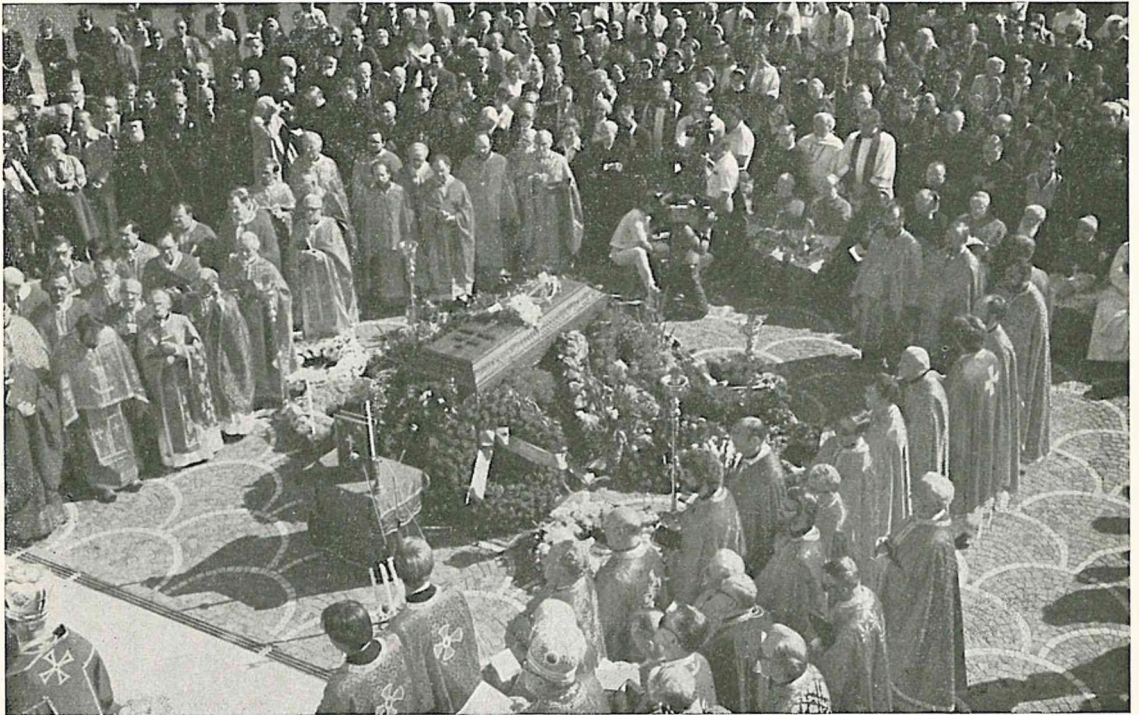
In a final pastoral testament written by the Patriarch he details his life-long struggle outlining the goals he had set for himself as well as for the entire Ukrainian nation. The document which is ten legal-size pages in length was written over a period of eleven years beginning in 1970 and was signed "Humble Josyf, Patriarch" on the eve of the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1981.

Regarding his first official appeal in the West for the establishment of a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate he wrote:

"At the time of my arrival in Rome the II Vatican Council was being held... the Council presents itself as a meeting of the highest pastors of Christ's Church, who testify to the faith and lives of those faithful to their teachings and pastoral serving of the Church.

...Fully aware of the importance of such testimony, in my Word to the Fathers of the Council on October 11, 1963 I spoke not of my testimony — it was well-known — but of the testimony of our Ukrainian Church:

About the testimony of her faith in Christ and His Only, Holy, Universal and Apostolic Church, the testimony confirmed by a blood-stained seal of fearless confession, suffering, martyrdom and mountains of sacrifices. So as to express the gratitude before the entire world, to give credit and especially, to declare our solidarity with the suffering and to give them moral support, I put forth a request; a proposition: To raise the Metropolitan See of Kyiv-Halych and all Rus' to patriarchal dignity."



The Requiem held for Patriarch Josyf Slipyj in Rome.

It was not until 1973 that Cardinal Josyf Slipyj was officially referred to as 'Patriarch' in a liturgy following a gathering of Ukrainian Catholic Bishops during which they, on behalf of the Ukrainian faithful, granted him the title.

With every opportunity Patriarch Slipyj defended the need for a patriarchate because he realized that only such a patriarchate could preserve the identity of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and ensure its existence as a unique entity both in Ukraine and the diaspora. The patriarchate would in no way undermine the Papal See or the authority of the Universal Catholic Church.

In his testament, Patriarch Slipyj also emphasized the need to defend the rights of countless individuals in Ukraine who are subject to religious and national persecution, who are denied the most basic human rights.

"...My thoughts fly to my brothers and sisters in Ukraine and throughout the entire Soviet Union, to those, who suffer while free, and to those, who are suffering in jails, prisons, labour camps and death camps ...Among them I see new fighters, scientists, writers, artists, peasants, workers. I see among them searchers for truth and defenders of justice. I hear their voice in defense of the basic rights of every individual and community. With wonder I look upon them, how they defend their Ukrainian word, enrich their Ukrainian culture, how with all of the strength of their mind and heart they rescue the Ukrainian spirit. And I suffer with all of them, because for this they are persecuted as if criminals."

In concluding his testament, Patriarch Slipyj requests to be buried in Rome's St. Sophia Sobor (which was built on his initiative). However, upon the liberation of Ukraine he asks for his remains to be transferred to the Cathedral of St. Yuriy (St. George) in Lviv, and adds: "If such is the will of God and the wish of the Ukrainian people of God, then lay my coffin in the vaults of the restored Cathedral of St. Sophia," (Kyiv).



From the funeral of Patriarch Josyf Slipyj in Rome. The funeral procession.

Ukraine's Representative Before God

Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko's last farewell at the open coffin of His Holiness Patriarch Josyf Slipyj at the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Rome on Wednesday, September 12, 1984.

Your Holiness, Patriarch Josyf, Pater Patriae, Father of Our Country.

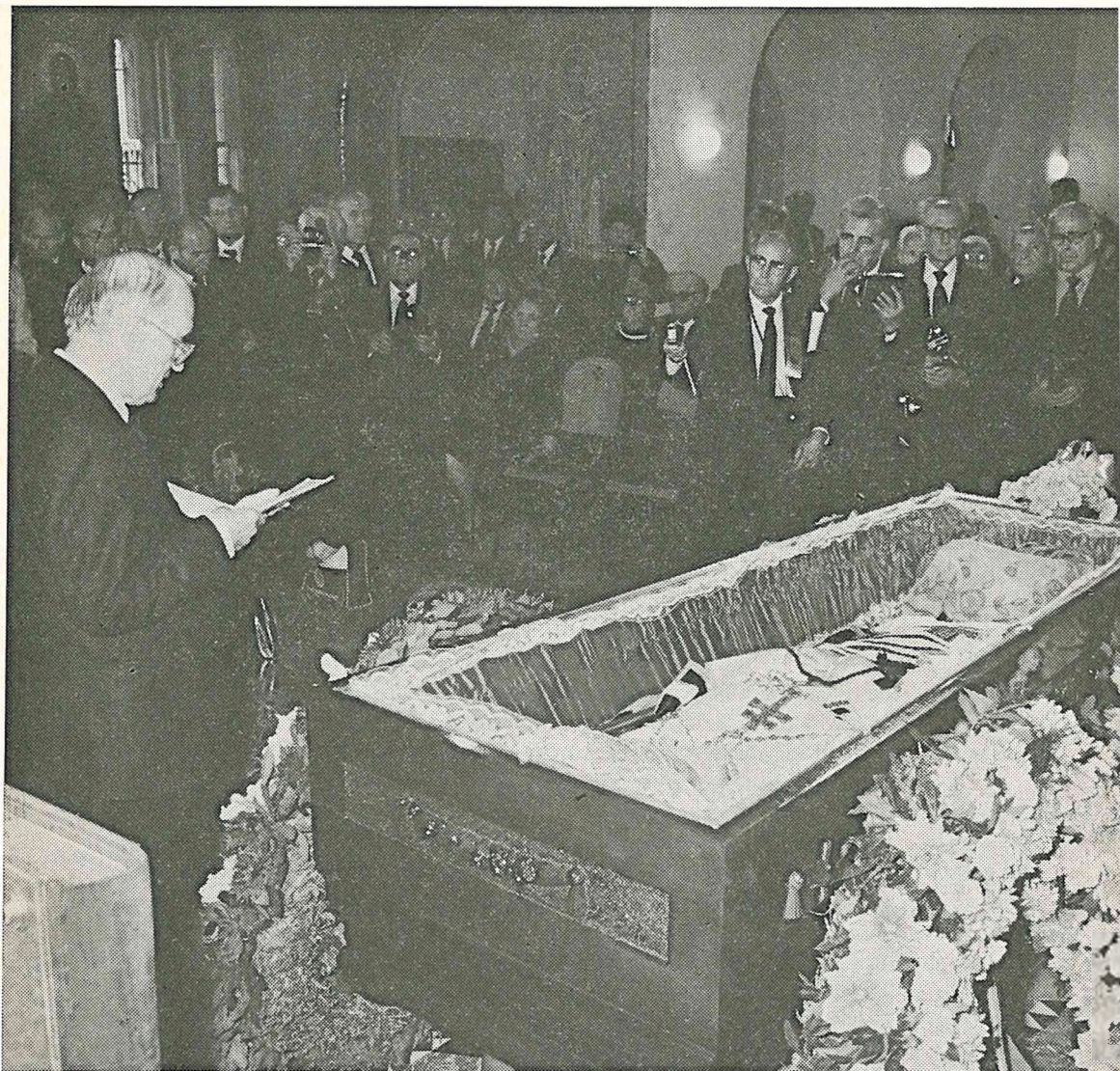
The Ukrainian people, struggling Ukraine, Ukrainians throughout the world from the tundra and taiga of the remote regions of Siberia and Polar Circles, across our Homeland and as far away as the vast lands of Brazil and Australia are filled with profound grief as they send their last farewell today to You, Your Holiness, as their spiritual Father, as the Saint of Ukraine — Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the greatest Ukrainian of our era.

Our hearts are filled with grief, but we are proud that the lands of Ukraine brought forth an Emissary of God into a world of bolshevik evils, raging atheism, national repression and captivity, a world of indifference to the eternal values of God and Nation, so that You, Our Father, were able to affirm during years of torture and suffering the Truth of Christ and Ukraine.

In Ukraine, the land of Saint Andrij Pervosvanyj — the Disciple of Christ, Saint Olha and Saint Volodymyr the Great, You appeared as a Disciple of Christ. You suffered the heavy fate for almost twenty years, Patriarch of Ukraine — the fruition of the very best qualities and values inherent to the Ukrainian nation. It was in Your eternal spirit, Your heroic morals and noble ideals that our nation recognised itself and achieved self-awareness. "Be yourselves" — that was Your motto. You appealed to the greatness of our Christian nation in order to awake within us self-respect, dignity, a feeling of self-esteem to enable us to stand up for our rights against the powerful of this world. You, our Patriarch, steadfastly held onto the glorious eras of our history, and the inherent values of our religious-church and national political life. You, Your Holiness, taught us how to unite the idea of Christianity with that of patriotism and nationalism. The idea of a Christian independent state was part of Your national religious teachings. However, Father, You suffered equally for both the ideas of Christ and of Ukraine. For You, these ideas were inseparable, for only within a Ukrainian Christian state are human liberties and human rights, the flourishing of our Churches possible. For You, the Cathedrals of St. Sophia and St. George were symbols of our heroic Christian faith and culture which are proof of our inherent sovereignty and especially our spiritual sovereignty. Christian Kyiv and atheist Moscow were the symbols for Your Holiness of two opposing worlds. Aware of the threat posed by anti-national, atheistic Russian messianism to Ukraine and the whole world, its culture and civilization, You not only constantly strove for complete separation from it, but for the independent development of all aspects of life and creativity of a Nation. A Patriarchate was for You a spiritual state, as it is for all our people. You fought for it, not for Yourself, but for our Church and nation, for the benefit of all Christianity, for the benefit of the whole ecumenical movement and, in particular, for the elevation and honouring of the Church of the Catacombs, acknowledging its specific God's given mission throughout Christendom. This idea of a Patriarchate has already become an intrinsic part of Ukrain-

ians, and not only Ukrainians, but among Christian movements in the world. This idea is invincible.

You, Patriarch Josyf, have left us to be with Christ our Saviour. In Your person as a Martyr, we have a Great Representative before Almighty God. Although we are filled with unbearable grief, having been orphaned, there glows, however, a comforting spark, an instinctive belief, that before our Almighty God — the Ukrainian nation now has the most eminent advocate



*Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko paying his last tribute to Patriarch Josyf Slipyj
in St. Sophia in Rome.*

of the aims it strives for — to live as a free people surrounded by free nations and to praise in freedom Our Lord and You, His Emissary on Ukrainian soil, You — Your Holiness, Patriarch Josyf — the Light of all Christianity, Martyr of the Cross and Ukraine, Saint of Ukraine. Ukraine and its Patriarch, together with His spiritual legacy, are one intrinsic entity.

All of Ukraine and the whole Christian world which sympathizes with it deeply bows down before You, our Patriarch, our Pater Patriae, on Your eternal journey, for whom the Ukrainian Church of the Catacombs and the heroic struggle of Ukraine prophesy the victory of Christ our Lord over the Russian anti-Christ. Please accept my greatest esteem, Your Holiness, my Great Teacher and Spiritual Father.

In the name of struggling Ukraine and all Ukrainians, who always remained faithful to You even in the most difficult moments of Your strenuous efforts in exile for Ukrainian Christian Truth, — I pledge before You, Patriarch of Ukraine, that we will remain constant followers of Your testaments, realize Your national-religious teachings, follow Your footsteps, cherish the idea of a Patriarchate and defend the Ukrainian Patriarchate which You created.

You, Our Patriarch, Saint of Ukraine, having passed onto eternal life as the Representative of Ukraine before Almighty God, will pray for God's grace for our Church, for the Ukrainian people, so that Christ the Saviour may help us in the very near future in realizing Your dreams and ideas on Ukrainian martyred soil and that Your remains may be made to rest in the capital of St. Andriy Pervosvanyj and St. Volodymyr the Great in Kyiv — for the Great Millenium of Christianity.

PRESIDENT REAGAN EXTENDS CONDOLENCES TO UKRAINIANS

It is with deep sense of loss that I acknowledge the death of Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and extend my condolences to Ukrainians throughout the world.

When we remember Cardinal Slipyj's 18 years in Soviet prison camps, when we reflect that he was condemned to the Gulag because he refused to betray his Church, we see the power and strength of the human spirit brought clearly into focus.

Even after release from that long imprisonment, Cardinal Slipyj's spirit and energy were not lessened. Between his release in 1963 and his death at the age of 92, he travelled the world to visit Ukrainian Catholics, and visited President Ford here in the White House. He established a Ukrainian Catholic seminary, built the impressive St. Sophia Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Catholic University. Recently, he was deeply involved in the planning of a worldwide celebration for the millenium of Christianity in Ukraine to take place in 1988.

Cardinal Slipyj's commitment to God and the freedom of men was unshakable, despite punishment and exile for his beliefs. Because of his inspired life, he has long been a symbol of the strength of God and human spirit. He will remain such, cherished not only by Ukrainians, but by men and women of good will in all nations.

Why Did They Kill Stepan Bandera?

15th October 1984, marks the 25th anniversary of the outrageous and ruthless act committed by the KGB, on the direct order of the Soviet Russian government.

On 15th October 1959, news broke out that shocked Ukrainian people all over the world — **Stepan BANDERA**, the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) had been assassinated in Munich, West Germany.

Later it became known that the assassin was Bohdan Stashynsky, 28 years old, a trained KGB agent, who had been chosen specially by Moscow to carry out this assassination. After his crime, Alexander Shelepin, then the head of the KGB, personally bestowed upon him the Order of the Red Banner (the highest order in the Soviet Union) for the “successful liquidation of Bandera”. He was told by Shelepin that “by this assignment, which he had successfully concluded, he had shown himself to be a worthy citizen of the Soviet Union”.

The Ukrainians, a nation of Eastern Europe, whose population today numbers over 50 million, fought hard in 1918—1920 for their freedom, but were crushed by Red Russian invaders. This struggle was taken up once again during the Second World War by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians joined in this struggle for independence; first against the Nazis, and then against the Red Russians as they drove towards the West. Stepan Bandera, who spent the war years in Nazi concentration camps, devoted his entire life to fight for the freedom of the Ukrainian people. His name became the symbol of the Ukrainian liberation struggle. However, though living abroad after the end of the war, the Soviet Russian leaders still regarded him as a threat to their imperialistic ambitions and therefore he had to die.

STEPAN BANDERA WAS NOT THE FIRST UKRAINIAN POLITICAL LEADER TO BE ASSASSINATED BY THE RUSSIANS.

In 1926, Symon Petlura, the former head of the Ukrainian National Republic, was murdered in Paris by an assassin sent by Moscow. Evhen Konovalets, the first leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), was murdered by a Soviet Russian agent in Rotterdam, Holland in 1938 and others.

Today in Ukraine, the struggle carried out by Stepan Bandera (OUN) and by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (created in 1942) continues. In the 1950's former members of OUN and UPA initiated uprisings that broke out in Siberian concentration camps. In the 1960's and 1970's political prisoners, who courageously defended Ukraine's rights, followed in their footsteps to the tundra and wastes of Siberia, where they learnt from their predecessors about the heroic struggle against the Russian imperialist state.

Stepan Bandera's name, has become synonymous today, with Ukrainian patriotism. His name still inspires fear in Ukraine's enemies, and pride in his compatriots for his uncompromising stance.

His example will serve well those who continue the struggle for a truly independent and sovereign Ukraine. Under his banner will march those, who will finally rid Ukraine and other enslaved nations of Eastern Europe from the shackles of Soviet Russian tyranny.

United States' Quarrel with the Soviet Union?

In recent days I have been re-reading Orwell's *1984*, for perhaps the tenth time. There is a marvelous line about the so-called Ministry of Truth, in which history is continuously falsified. Its slogan is: "Who controls the present, controls the past. Who controls the past, controls the future."

One of the most dramatic things which happened to us in the US was that we, in the present lost control of our past. Our history was rewritten, our triumphs were redefined as a national shame, and our shame was projected to a failed future, and in the process, much was lost.

I believe it is no exaggeration to say that *we live in a period which will define the civilization of the West and the world for the next several centuries.*

Ninety-three percent of Americans believe it would be better to fight if necessary than to accept Russian domination, though almost all of us are convinced that firm, strong leadership will make it unnecessary ever to make that choice, and almost everybody in our society, over 85%, is convinced that they and people like them can live successful lives if only they work at it. This is the return of the American dream — nothing more, nothing less, and it is one of the dominant facts of our times.

"... In the West, people are embarrassed to call the struggle between democracy and totalitarianism by its own name... preferring instead to speak of the struggle between the superpowers — as if the US and the USSR were politically or morally equivalent. People say to me in the UN, 'It is you superpowers who are dividing the world. You superpowers should get together.'"

In Australia not long ago, a friendly minister of a friendly government told me that "if only you and the Soviet Union could resolve your differences, then the world would be more secure".

I said to that minister, "I don't think you've put it quite accurately". That sort of comment produces a pause around a diplomatic table. I said, "The fact is the US has no particular quarrel with the Soviet Union — no quarrel any different from Australia's or New Zealand's quarrel with the Soviet Union, or Britain's, France's, or Italy's, or that of any democratic nation in the world. I do not think it is very useful to think of it as the United States' quarrel with the Soviet Union. It is more useful to think of it as some rather profound disagreements between those of us in the democracies who believe in self-government based on consent, and those who believed in dictatorship imposed by violence."

That's a very unfashionable way of putting the problem, let me tell you.

In New York, at the United Nations, a good many of my colleagues tried to suggest that the liberation of Grenada was the moral equivalent of the invasion of Afghanistan. How will we ever be able to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, they said, if you Americans have used force in Grenada? I asked them where were all the grateful Afghans lining the streets of Kabul shouting "God bless Andropov?"

Frankly, before I got to the UN, I had no idea how really bad off democracy was in the world. Until then, I did not fully understand the decline of the democracies. I did not understand how many of the representatives and leaders of the

democracies take for granted the fact that we have lost and will go on losing, and simply resign themselves to working out how best we should adapt ourselves to that problem.

Let me give you just a sense of the odds in the UN. In the 38th General Assembly, which recently ended, some 331 resolutions were adopted. One hundred eighty-three of those were adopted without a vote (simply not objectionable enough to irritate anyone).

If we go on and look at the contested resolutions, the issues that were not decided by consensus, and we see who voted with us and who didn't vote with us, what we find is that the average agreement with the US was 19%. The average level of agreement with the Soviet Union was 70%.

That kind of record, skewed in favor of the Soviets, is found in all groups in the UN except the group containing our very closest allies. In the so-called non-aligned movement, they voted 14% with us, 77% with the Soviet Union. The African bloc, the majority of whose members are heavily dependent on US assistance for their very survival, voted 14% with us, 78% with the Soviet Union. The Latin American bloc voted 16% with us and 71% with the Soviet Union.

Creating a new coalition inside the UN has required breaking some taboos. It has required refusing to bow to Soviet propaganda and intimidation. It means defending ourselves against the relentless verbal attacks of the Soviet Union who day after day accuse us of every crime in the books, and claim for their own miserable failed tyranny every advantage. Above all, it requires talking about the success of freedom — in economics and politics.

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Participants of the WACL Executive Board Meeting held in Ostend, Belgium, April 9-11, 1984.

Annual Conference

of the European Freedom Council, Munich, West Germany, September 29-30, 1984.

Opening Address Delivered by Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P., EFC President.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Welcome to this Annual Conference of the European Freedom Council. It takes place, ladies and gentlemen, at a most appropriate time. This year marks the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and it was 25 years ago next month that Stepan Bandera was murdered in this city by the KGB.

Chiefly, however at this time we should commemorate the life and witness of Cardinal Slipyj, the leader and Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church who died in Rome three weeks ago.

Accused by the Soviet authorities in April 1945 for his Christianity and loyalty to the Ukrainian nation, Patriarch Slipyj refused to compromise his principles or to betray his Ukrainian Catholic faith. In spite of his arrest along with virtually the entire Catholic priesthood in West Ukraine, his imprisonment for no less than 18 years in concentration camps, and in spite of his persecution by the Soviets, Patriarch Slipyj's courage and leadership did much to sustain the Ukrainian Catholic Church and as a result of his faith the Ukrainian Catholic Church has remained the largest banned denomination in the Soviet Union.

From his subsequent exile in Rome, Patriarch Slipyj was the inspiration of worldwide and numerous diaspora of Ukrainian Catholics and of course he was the great inspiration of persecuted Christians in Ukraine and very much the inspiration of the whole Ukrainian nation. I will not, ladies and gentlemen, chronicle to you the sometimes unhappy and strained relations between Patriarch Slipyj and the Vatican. Although elevated to Archbishop Major and laterly made a Cardinal, the Vatican proved keener to maintain a questionable detente with Moscow than to redeem officially the enforced betrayal of the Catholics of Ukraine at the Soviet sponsored Synod of Lviv of 1946. The Vatican then was keener on detente than by the restoration and re-affiliation to Rome of the Ukrainian Patriarchy under the primacy of Archbishop Slipyj to redeem that betrayal at the Synod of Lviv.

Pope John Paul II of course publicly defended the rights of Ukrainian Catholics and testified to their heroic witness to Christ, but his refusal to grant to Archbishop Slipyj the title of Patriarch should not lead anyone to belittle the achievements of Patriarch Slipyj.

In Rome Slipyj established a Ukrainian Catholic University and erected the church of St. Sophia. Worldwide he will be remembered for his indefatigable and heroic battle against the evils of godless communism. In this respect his

personal example has contributed much to the survival against murderous Soviet persecution of Christianity in Ukraine.

All too frequently today we learn of the compromises that the Church makes with Marxism. Marxism is, as Cardinal Slipyj always recognised, the antithesis of Christianity. It degrades the individual to a class identity and subordinates the interests of men and women to the group and the Communist Party. Finally, by setting class against class it destroys the love of man for man which is the touchstone of the Christian faith. If evil and exploitation flourish around the world, and they do, the path to their eradication lies not through class warfare but through the redeeming power of faith, Christian hope and charity.

I am no preacher, ladies and gentlemen, nor as a politician should I aspire to be one, but undoubtedly, in the life of Patriarch Slipyj, we have been granted a courageous witness, a true and faithful witness to the thousand years of Christian tradition in Ukraine. Patriarch Slipyj was indeed a 'fidei defensor', a defender of the faith in whose holy memory I ask you now to stand.



EFC Delegation paying tribute to Stepan Bandera — the Ukrainian hero, at his grave.

FOUR UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS SENTENCED TO DEATH.

'The Daily Telegraph' of October 12, 1984 reports that "four Ukrainian nationalists, one aged 73, have been sentenced to death before a firing squad by a court in Maryanovka, Western Ukraine." As is the usual tactic of the Soviet Russian authorities, the men were accused of "collaborating with the Nazis" during World War II. "Nationalist dissenters have been the only political dissidents executed in the post-Stalin period."

ERRATA

“Necessary Reforms for NATO”

Since this speech was typed-out from a tape-recording several errors occurred. The corrections are as follows:

Page 13, Par. 2, line 6 should read: have always to justify their defence expenditures to their electorates.
line 11 should read: in NATO have to make commensurate defensive preparations.

Page 14, Par. 2, line 3 should read: dominated and Soviet-backed NPLA and FRELIMO movements...

Par. 3, lines 2 and 3 should read: Libya threaten the pro-Western nations in the Horn of Africa, Sudan and Somalia. Navigation in the Red Sea...

Page 15, Par. 3, line 1 should read: In Europe, the nuclear threshold remains dangerously low, in spite of the...
line 5 should read: Indeed, as with most positive suggestions to enhance Western defence such as by the neutron weapon,...

Par. 4, line 2 should read: the subject of such orchestrated vilification...
line 10 should read: satellite weapons a precondition...

Page 16, Par. 1, line 14 should read: Union monolith must be broken up. For this purpose, a directorate of...

Page 17, Par. 1, line 3 should read: take place, and that their self-determination...
line 8 should read: this Council of Europe tie which represents European unity,...

Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. (Great Britain)

Necessary Reforms for NATO

The military problems of NATO are in part the problems of success. The Alliance has after all kept the peace in Western Europe for 35 years. It is a mature organisation with a well established bureaucracy, a command structure that appears to work well in exercises and above all no member country seems likely to withdraw in the foreseeable future.

However, a defensive alliance like NATO has intrinsic problems. The potential adversary to NATO's member states, the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies regard like Clausewitz did, military force as ideologically necessary and a justifiable element in the Marxist-Leninist campaign to destroy the free enterprise democratic system. By contrast, the democracies of Western Europe have always took, justified to their electorates, their defence expenditures. In the Warsaw Pact, as you know, the system is quite the opposite, where priority is given unequivocally to the build-up of military power in national budgets. Since the first use of both nuclear and chemical weapons on behalf of the Warsaw Pact is officially approved and is, in fact, regularly exercised, we, in NATO have to make promensurate defensive preparations. In the Warsaw Pact large chemical and nuclear stockpiles are amassed which are way in excess of the levels necessary purely for defence. As the last imperial world power, the Soviet Union has evolved a Grand Strategy both to secure its empire and to extend its frontiers and its political influence. Since the creation of NATO in 1949, the year after the Berlin airlift and the communist coup in Czecho-Slovakia, Soviet domination has spread now beyond the Eastern European so-called 'satellite states' and Soviet Grand Strategy today seeks to orchestrate the conduct of Soviet foreign affairs, diplomacy, military preparation and operations, economic and psychological warfare. It even orchestrates Soviet maritime policy, its space programme, its espionage activities, its disinformation, subversion and even its sponsorship of terrorist movements around the world. In other words, Soviet Grand Strategy is a concerted and broadly based campaign to undermine the democracies of the West.

In the 1950's the numerical preponderance of the Warsaw Pact allies was offset by NATO's nuclear superiority and the doctrine of massive nuclear retaliation was at the heart of NATO's defence. At that time also, the construction under the confident leadership of the United States of a worldwide collective security system helped to keep communism in check. There was in the heart of the continent of Europe the NATO alliance, in the Middle East the Central Treaty Organisation, in South-East Asia the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation, and for the defence of Australasia the ANZUS Pact. However, after the Korean War and after the Suez episode, the picture began to change, and by 1957, you will remember that the Soviet Union had entered the space age with the launch of Sputnik I. To its acquisition of thermo-nuclear weapons was now added a ballistic missile capability that increasingly threatened the American heartland and called in question the United States strategic nuclear guarantee to NATO. The former NATO tripwire strategy allies became less and less credible. For 20 years the NATO allies had enjoyed an effective defence

on the cheap which put a premium on nuclear retaliation rather than on conventional forces, but by 1968 the US Secretary for Defence, McNamara, persuaded the NATO allies to initiate a strategy of flexible response whereby a Warsaw Pact attack would be met with a response appropriate to the nature and to the scale of the aggression launched. The problem of course with this strategy has been that ever since it was created, NATO governments have consistently supported the end, the objective of this strategy, but failed to provide the financial means to carry it out. At the same time, by the late 1960's and throughout the 1970's the global balance of power was shifting steadily in the Soviet Union's favour. The successful United States naval blockade of Cuba in 1962, encouraged the construction, under the vigorous leadership of Admiral Gorschikov, of a Soviet Blue Water Navy. The British steadily abrogated their responsibilities east of Suez and the experience of the Vietnam war disillusioned the American public and political opinion with global peacekeeping.

As the decade of the 1970's progressed, the Soviet Union steadily advanced its strategic position worldwide. The Portuguese revolution enabled the Marxist dominated and Soviet-backed NPLA and FELINO movements to come to power in Angola and Mozambique respectively. In that same year the Ethiopian revolution overthrew Emperor Hailie Selassie and brought the marxist Mangistu to power. The West did virtually nothing to check these adverse developments. In the ten years that followed, the Shah of Iran was toppled from power, the Sandinistan revolution in Nicaragua took place and, of course, the Soviets supported the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia and Laos, and at the beginning of the 1980's the imposition of martial law in Poland. Worst of all, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has not only created misery for a proud and historic people, but it has, of course, given the USSR a stepping stone in South-West Asia of the greatest strategic significance. The Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty of 1971 has been steadily reinforced, and only the slender territory of Pakistan lies between the Soviet Union and its age-old ambition of direct physical access to the Indian Ocean. To the South-West of Afghanistan, the Straits of Hormuz which control the exit to the oil routes from the Gulf are only one hour's jet flight-time away from the Soviet air bases in Afghanistan.

Further West the trio of Soviet client states — South Yemen, Ethiopia and Libya threaten the pro-Western nations in the whole of Africa, in Sudan and Somalia. Navigation of the Red Sea is already jeopardized by mine laying, probably by Libya.

In short, NATO which is a purely regional alliance faces an immediate challenge, namely how to adapt itself to a global Soviet threat. Most West European countries with the exception of France, Italy and the United Kingdom seem almost wilfully to ignore developments in the wider world. These three nations that I have mentioned participated in the ill-fated Western peace keeping operation in Lebanon and France, until the initiation of its current withdrawal, provided an invaluable counterweight to Libyan expansion into Chad.

The Federal Republic of Germany by reason of its basic law is precluded from military operations outside the NATO area, but it does provide, of course, vital economic assistance to key pro-Western nations of strategic positions, such as Portugal, Turkey and Pakistan.

There is a firm determination on the part of most NATO European nations to continue to have their cake and eat it. With the US nuclear guarantee we have no objection, in fact, we wish it to be perpetuated and the stationing of Pershing II rockets and cruise missiles in Western Europe was admirable proof of our joint determination in Europe to maintain an adequate theatre nuclear deterrent and to offset the risk of nuclear intimidation and blackmail of Western Europe. Of course we are immediately apprehensive at any suggestions like those recently made by Senator Nunn that some US troops should withdraw from Europe. Yet we Europeans are all too unwilling to provide adequate troops and resources to compensate for any withdrawal of US NATO assigned troops from Europe to deal with contingencies that threaten Western security interests beyond the NATO theatre. This European reluctance to share the United States' global peace keeping role is paradoxical since the West European allies are much more dependent on secure access to overseas raw materials, to oil supplies and markets outside the NATO area than is the United States.

Lastly, it must be unambiguously stressed that in spite of the qualitative and quantitative US force improvements especially in the nuclear area and in naval forces there has been no sufficiently comparable effort in Western Europe. West European attitude to security policy often seemed to be dominated by wishful thinking, complacency and inertia. Hard-headed realism and not fond hopes must be the basis of diplomacy with the Soviet Union.

In Europe, the nuclear threshold remains dangerously low. In spite, of the strong advocacy by the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, General Rogers, of new technologies to interdict the battlefield and to prevent, in the case of Soviet aggression, the follow through of Warsaw Pact second echelon forces. Indeed, as with most positive suggestions to enhance Western defence by the neutron weapon, SACEUR's eliminative thinking of exploiting emerging technologies, has been received by a barrage of criticism from the peace movements. Likewise, at a strategic level, the construction by NATO of a space-based defence would offer in the long term an incentive to the Soviets to resume a genuine arms control dialogue with the USA. Even more importantly, although of course this is looking well into the future, it could negate the advantage of surprise attack to a would-be aggressor and make incredible a first nuclear strike against the West as a military option for the USSR.

No wonder that President Reagan's strategic defence initiative has been the subject of such orchestrated vilification. A research programme which is what the strategic defence initiative is, to decide by the end of this decade whether a space-based defence is feasible, can only enhance Western security. It is always those few areas of Western military superiority that become objects of disinformation in the media and a scare campaign by the peace movements. No wonder, therefore, that although the Soviet Union has already deployed into service an anti-satellite system, the Soviets should seek to make the cessation of testing by the United States of a new generation of anti-satellite weapons in precondition of starting talks on the control of space-based weapons. Likewise, the Soviet Union was happy to break off the Geneva intermediate range nuclear force talks and the START talks and not to resume them because of the strong relative position the Soviet Union has built up

vis-à-vis the Soviet Union in this area. Were the USSR in the position of relative weakness, their attitude would doubtless be much more accomodating. In short, NATO badly needs an injection of new ideas, firm leadership and enhanced commitment, particularly from the Europeans. The talks in Rome at the end of October on revivifying Western European Union, that is, the collective security arrangement based on the Brussels Treaty binding Federal Germany, Italy, the Benelux countries, France and the United Kingdom to their mutual defence could certainly help strengthen Europe's contribution to its own defence. Certainly we need a relationship of greater balance between the European and the United States components of NATO. A more comprehensive strategy is required, a Grand Strategy, to revert to my original theme — a Grand Strategy to mobilize western economic, political, military, psychological and diplomatic efforts. Above all, the Warsaw Pact monolith and the Soviet Union monolith must be broken up. For this purpose, a directory to the political and psychological warfare within NATO is required so as to orchestrate a campaign to unleash the potential force for freedom and the energy for liberation and the aspiration for self-determination on the part of the captive nations within the USSR and the Soviet bloc.

In this respect, no one has been a more active, vigorous and inspirational campaigner than Yaroslav Stetsko. Mr. Guillermo Kirkpatrick and I have the honour to serve on the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg which is sitting at this time. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has representatives from the 21 free democracies of Western



At the European Freedom Council Annual Conference. Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P., EFC Chairman presenting a gift to ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko.

Europe, but it is an open ended organisation and it is our hope and our earnest hope that with a due passage of time, the liberation of the captive nations may take place, their self-determination may lead to democracy and the participation of all the countries of Europe, that is, those within the laurel leaves of the emblem of the European Freedom Council Flag, that all of them may be eligible for the membership of the Council of Europe. As a small token of that hope, that long term aspiration, I would like to present to Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko this small tie which represents European unity, unity from the Atlantic to the Urals in the words of Charles De Gaule, a unity based on freedom, democracy and of shared Christian faith and values.

PRES. REAGAN SPEAKS TO UKRAINIANS AT CULTURAL CENTER

“You represent the dream of America more than most. I know that many of you came here with little or no resources. With your hard work and will to get ahead, you have built a good and decent life for your families. That is what America is all about. I hope I can count on your support so that in the next 4 years we can make certain that we pass on a strong, free, secure, and opportunity-filled America to the next generation.

Your great poet, Taras Shevchenko, whose statue stands in our Nation’s capital, wrote words for all free people. He wrote:

‘...you shall overcome
God is with you
For strength and liberty and righteous truth
Are on your side’.”



Mr. B. Fedorak, President of AF ABN and the World Ukrainian Liberation Front welcoming US President Ronald Reagan at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre, Warren, Michigan, USA, October 10, 1984.

NATIONAL LIBERATION 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", in reality a Russian super-nation. To achieve this, bolshevism, as a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, has instituted a brutal policy of Russification in the subjugated nations. The now non-existent Western empires never attempted to destroy the distinctive national fibre of their colonies.

Bolshevism, being a total system of occupation, enforced by the Russian armed forces, Communist Party, the KGB and the whole terror apparatus, whose purpose is to uproot and destroy the traditional institutions of a given nation, is replacing them by force with bolshevik, Russian communist, collectivist, etatist, atheistic, anti-individualistic and anti-national institutions. The bolsheviks recognize 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 nations. The bolsheviks have rejuvenated the Russian messianistic ideal in its present communist form and seek to establish a "World USSR", that is, a global Russian empire.

On numerous occasions, the Russians have declared their aims. In 1921 Lenin said: "Western Europe and America have closed their eyes before the facts and reality and will support the Soviet war industry with materials and technology that we need to defeat them."

A few years ago Brezhnev said to the President of Somalia, General Mohamed Siad: "We must acquire the two things that mean life or death to the West: the oil of the Persian Gulf and the minerals of Africa."

In 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."

Zbigniew Brzezinski, in an interview on September 10, 1984 said: "In the long run, there is no doubt in my mind that the multi-national reality of the Soviet Union is the Achilles' heel of the Soviet Union. I have never understood why the West has not provided more support and more encouragement to the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union, which are entitled, after all, as any other nation is, to self-determination and to self-definition — culturally and politically."

British Air Force Vice-Marshal, E. J. Kingston McClough, appropriately identified the enemy in his book "Global Strategy": "The enemy here considered is not simply embodied in an ideological threat but rather it is the State called Russia."

In consideration of all the above factors, the national-liberation revolution-

ary struggle of the subjugated nations is more complex than any of the historical revolutions of the past.

The greetings "God Bless You", or "Grüß Gott", or in the Ukrainian form "Slava Isusu Khrystu", are already revolutionary acts. The public singing of patriotic songs, speaking in native languages in public, and not in Russian, the singing of national anthems of the respective nations, the cult of national Saints and Heroes, the struggle for private ownership of land against the 'kolkhozes', the defence of truth always and everywhere, the struggle against lies — all of these are revolutionary acts.

In spite of totalitarian terror, there is a possibility for a revolutionary underground organization to exist. Such an underground organization requires the following: a) common aims — ideo-political constant truths, b) general directions for actions, which, in an epoch of developing technology and electronics, also mastered by members of the subjugated nations, can be disseminated with the aid of radio broadcasts. For example, the description of an action in one locality transmitted by a radio broadcast can instigate action in another locality. This was evidenced in the case of Poland's 'Solidarnosc', whose strikes and actions in Gdansk spread throughout Poland thanks to radio broadcasts in the West, and c) in an age of electronics and technology, there is no necessity for the previous centralization of groups in a subjugated nation from a technical-organizational point-of-view, since there now exist modern methods of communication.

The epoch of technology and electronics does not only lie at the disposal of the occupier, but also at the disposal of the subjugated nations.

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 bolshevist 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 re-inforced 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, 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 underground society. This stage requires the complete rejection of bolshevism in form and content and the systematic realization of the subjugated nations' values and norms in life.

There can be no co-existence between two centres of authority in the bolshevik system, as it was most evident in Poland. The leaders of 'Solidarnosc' did not realise that they were negotiating not with a Polish partner, but with Mos-

cow itself in the person of General Jaruzelski, who is maintained in power by a bolshevik system of occupation including Russian armed forces. 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. There can be no compromise between the two. This was also recently asserted by 'Solidarnosc's' underground leader, Zbigniew Bujak ("Polish Fugitive urges 'Long March'", New York Times, December 19, 1983, p. 8).

In his clandestine interview, Z. Bujak, the leader of the Polish underground, confirms also our concept of liberation by opposing any dialogue with the occupational regime. He calls for a 'long march' of resistance to the colonial regime, building clandestine organizations in schools, factories, scientific, academic and cultural institutions. Bujak believes that any type of legal forms of struggle are now unfeasible. He stated in the interview that "there exists a very strong resistance movement . . . , a very strong movement of rejection, a movement to boycott all institutions of the regime, and I regard this element as very significantly changing the classic system of Communist rule".

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 war in Afghanistan is brutal, but the Afghan people remain unvanquished chiefly because of their strong faith in God and their Nation. The Russians cannot triumph on this front. Just as in 1940 in Finland, similarly now in Afghanistan, an insurgent strategy has proven to be superior to Moscow's military strategy. Afghanistan will continue to be the Achilles' heel of Russian aggression and our strategy must be incorporated within the complex of psychological warfare in Afghanistan.

With regard to the situation in Ukraine, for example, we would like to draw the attention to two intersecting phases in the revolutionary processes: a) the continuity of the ideological-political struggle, and the struggle for Ukrainian national, social, cultural, religious and other structures in polar opposition to the Russian bolshevik structures forcibly implanted in Ukraine. One such structure is the Ukrainian Catacomb Church or the Lithuanian Catholic Church.

In its full scope, the national-liberation revolution of the subjugated nations is a struggle between two polar worlds, two systems, two world-views: the world of theism, faith in God, a heroic Christianity, the Islamic faith 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 "socialist realism"; the right of private property against collectivist slavery; the national against the imperialist ideal.

It is evident that Russian imperialism has lost this kind of struggle. The heroic struggle of such small nations as Estonia or Latvia is the best proof of this after 40 years of subjugation. The ripening of revolutionary processes continues unabatedly. The bolshevik system of life has gone bankrupt. Should we not consider the fact that a country like Ireland, as poor as it is, supplies wheat to the USSR to which the 'breadbasket of Europe' — Ukraine — belongs (forcibly incorporated)? This struggle is a monumental revolutionary process, which sprang 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.

In a recently published book, the Russian author O. V. Kartunov expresses concern that “the nationalist leadership has begun very heated activity, with the aim of enlarging their nationalist groups with young people, that have become poisoned with the ideology of bourgeois nationalism”. This ideology, the author continues, “has long since and forever lost its social base in Ukraine and has become an emigre phenomenon”. These statements contradict the positions of Andropov and Chernenko, who in their keynote addresses have called upon all party cadres to maintain a strict vigilance against the threat of nationalism and religion.

Paying the required tribute to the “indomitability of proletarian internationalism”, Kartunov states, that nonetheless “nationalism has attained a social base among the Ukrainian emigre community, . . . which lives in the spirit of the ideology of bourgeois nationalism and cultivates ethnic separatism”. In these words we find the real goal of the Russians: to bring about the assimilation of the Ukrainian emigre community, so that there will remain nothing of the nation’s struggle for independence and statehood in the Free World.

In an article in the ‘Trybuna Lyudu’ (‘The People’s Tribune’), the author — Yezhy Wisnowski, expresses concern with President Reagan’s words — “Your struggle is our struggle. Your dream is our dream.” He writes: “So much has been written about the fascist Stetsko and his comrades from the OUN, UPA, ABN . . .”; and further — “There is absolutely no social or political or any other base for the realization of their insane aspirations either in Ukraine or in Poland . . . However, any underestimation of this small, albeit determined and fanatical enemy would be a grave mistake . . .”

US General John K. Singlaub states: “The subjugated nations are in fact the West’s strongest allies and constitute the only real alternative to nuclear war.”

In order for this alternative to become a reality several changes must be made in the Western political and military strategy vis-à-vis the USSR. First, the West must target its 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.”

“In order to reduce Russian superiority in manpower, and so indirectly increase Western manpower, it is necessary to subvert the Russian armed forces, which are largely recruited from the subjugated peoples within the USSR and the satellite countries. Be it remembered that during the first few months of Hitler’s invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, well over 2,000,000 prisoners were taken by the Germans. This seems an incredible figure until one realizes

that the vast majority of these men were deserters — Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Turkestanis, Cossacks and other subjugated peoples.”

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.

During the uprisings in the concentration camps of Siberia already in the Stalin era, the political prisoners demanded that the West support their revolutionary aims, as was outlined by Joseph Sholmer in his book “Vorkuta”:

1. The dropping of leaflets over all camps giving the signal to prisoners to call a general strike.
2. The dropping of arms, radio transmitters, explosives, medical supplies and food. This is to be done not only at Vorkuta, but in all the forest camps along the railway leading southwards.
3. Immediate information for partisan groups of prisoners who would be in a position to cut the 1550 mile railway line at given points.
4. Creation of a separate republic independent from Moscow, which would embrace the whole vast forest network of European and Asiatic Russia. If the prisoners had arms, this would be quite unassailable. Neither tanks, air-



Hon. Y. Stetsko delivering his speech at the EFC Annual Conference.

craft nor artillery can operate effectively in this gigantic partisan terrain. Herein lies the immense significance of Siberia.

5. Intensive radio propaganda to the peoples in the Soviet Union from this independent republic with the aim of bringing about:
 - a) A peasant uprising under the traditional slogan "Land for the peasants".
 - b) A workers' uprising under the slogan "Factories for the workers".
6. Proclamation of national independence for the Baltic states, Byelorussia, Ukraine, the peoples of Caucasia, Turkestan and the Far East.

This is only one example of the actual reality of our liberation concepts. Allow me to once again quote General J. F. C. Fuller: "...Because in the Atlantic Pact is to be found the only potential first front against Russia, so in the ABN, however lacking in organization, in it is still to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither one without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim — not the containment of communism and Russian imperialism but the complete elimination of bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world."

This analysis applies more or less to all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism — Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, East Germany, Poland, Byelorussia, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Ukraine, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovenia, Albania, North Caucasus, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Idel-Ural and other subjugated nations.



Mrs. S. Stetsko delivering the report on EFC activities at the EFC Annual Conference.

Bertil Häggman (Sweden)

The Importance of the Liberation Struggle to the West

When preparing this paper for the EFC Annual Conference I decided to go back to the origins of the present day conflict: the October Revolution of 1917, the following Bolshevik coup d'etat and the Western reaction. I will not take up your time with the all too familiar details of the revolution and the following civil war. Just a few glimpses of what could have been will be enough. World War I ended in November 1918 and Lenin had months before sought peace with Germany at Brest Litovsk.

In July 1918 the territory controlled by the Bolsheviks had shrunk to an area not much larger than the Muscovite kingdom Ivan the Terrible had inherited in the early 16th century. On the West and the South the Germans occupied the Baltic countries, Poland, and Ukraine including the Crimea. Anti-communist governments, supported by the Czecho-Slovak legion, controlled the Middle Volga, the Urals and much of Siberia. The Red Army hardly existed. Hunger was rampant in the bigger cities and on July 6, Murmansk on the Kola Peninsula and Vladivostok in the Far East had come under Allied post-invasion control. Anti-communist risings had broken out in Moscow and Petrograd and several towns on the upper Volga. Authority was breaking down in the communist heartland, but Allied engagement was then concentrated in France. It was only after November 1918 when Germany was defeated that the Allies could turn fully to the problem of the communist regime in Moscow. However only two statesmen really understood the real danger of Lenin and his expansionist regime: Winston Churchill and the French Marshal, Ferdinand Foch.

Churchill went so far as to say in a cabinet meeting on January 10, 1919 that he was ready to rearm the former enemy:

"It might be advisable," he said, "to let the Germans know that if they were prepared to organise an Eastern Front against the ingress of Bolshevism, the Allied Government would raise no objection. It is a matter for serious consideration whether we should not now decide to bolster up the Central Powers, if necessary, in order to stop the tide of Bolshevism."

On February 25, 1919, Marshal Foch introduced a great plan stretching from the Rhine to Vladivostok. Peace with Germany had to be reached formally. Then the Finns, Poles, Czechs, Rumanians and Greeks and the White Russians would be supported in their attempts to overthrow the Bolsheviks. In March 1919, Marshal Foch put forward similar plans but he found little or no support.

The reason for the lack of support among the Allies for Churchill's and Foch's plans are of course many and to a certain extent understandable but had their ideas found support, it would be one of the many "ifs" of history and of the Russian Civil War. Let me not burden you with more ancient history except for one other small item, another "if", a peace offer that may have proven to be the ultimate downfall of Lenin.

In March 1919, the American State Department sent the later US ambassador to Moscow William Bullitt, when George Kennan was serving there, to Moscow to negotiate a peace in the Civil War. Bullitt met with Litvinov and had a long talk with Lenin. After a few days he was handed the Soviet proposal of terms, "Text of Projected Peace Proposal with the Allies and Associated Governments". The central formula was that "all existing de facto governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian empire and Finland are to remain in

full control of the territories which they occupy at the moment when the armistice becomes effective..." In fact Lenin was offering to sign away the Murmansk-Archangel area, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the western part of Byelorussia, more than half of Ukraine and Crimea, northern Caucasus, Transcaucasia, the whole of the Urals and all of Siberia. A peace conference was to be held in Norway and the deadline of acceptance was April 10, 1919. The whole communist proposal was based on the false dream that at any moment a world revolution would break out and sweep away all capitalist governments, not only those on the territory of the former Russian Empire, but all those in the West as well. However, a world revolution did not break out and Bullitt found President Wilson not interested in Lenin's peace proposal and the whole plan was thrown into the waste paper basket of history. Another "if" in this critical period.

With this short review of a few of the "ifs" of the Russian revolution I wanted to bring up the dilemma of those days which has become one of the constant dilemmas of the West: what is the policy in the East-West confrontation. The other permanent dilemma has lucidly been expressed by Whittaker Chambers, American ex-communist and posthumously recent receiver of the Medal of Freedom, in a letter. It was written in 1954 to William F. Buckley Jr., editor of *National Review*, writer and Conservative ideologist: "It is a Western body of belief that now threatens the West from Russia. As a body of Western beliefs, secular and rationalistic, the intelligentsia of the West share it, and are therefore always committed to a secret emotional complicity with communism which they dislike, not actual communism, but only what, by chance of history, Russia has specifically added to it — slave labor camps, purges, MVD etc. This is not because the Western intellectuals find this

unjustifiable, but because they are afraid of being caught in them. If they could have communism without the brutalities of ruling that the Russian experience has bred, they have only marginal objections. Why should they object? What else is socialism but communism with the claws retracted?"

Well, many may find Chamber's words harsh and uncompromising and much has changed since the days of the Cold War. The intellectual scene in France for instance is a remarkable sign of intellectuals, artists and film stars turning away from communism. Elections in a number of Western countries, the latest being the one in Canada, may be a sign of a turning point. So may the coming November elections in the United States. There may be promising possibilities for the second part of the 1980's and the 1990's when it comes to a change of the ideological climate and support by the Western states for the liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples.

Vital in the coming years is the constant activity by organisations such as the EFC to persuade the governments of the West that the time has come for a more active, reasonably orchestrated support of the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations. There are no limits to the different types of activities. First and foremost there is lobbying: lobbying in the corridors of power, in parliaments and organisations and of individuals of influence. If the right channels are found, I think a certain success may be achieved. The right technical approaches must be found.

Nevertheless, first we would have to present a well worded proposal with reasonable suggestions for support. To paraphrase General Singlaub: we need a High Frontier strategy and a Low Frontier strategy, and the Low Frontier strategy is the support for the liberation struggle behind the Iron Curtain. The answer

to Soviet Russian expansionism is a policy of synchronisation of the liberation movements in the Eastern bloc, a latent force of hundreds of millions of 20th century slaves waiting to play their part in a process leading to freedom just as the case was when the colonial empires of Western states were dismantled. This does not mean a return to the strategy of rolling-back of communism of the 1950's. We have to be more sophisticated. The Soviet Russian dictatorship rests on three pillars of power — terror and constant supervision of every citizen and the fear of a regime that can terrify every individual within its power at any time. If one of those pillars begins to sway the whole structure will start to shake and a collapse may follow. It is not enough to wish the subjugated nations to be free, they must become free.

The Moscow regime wages a total war against all non-communist societies — as societies, and on all non-communist institutions — as institutions. A political-psychological offensive is the best way to avoid a nuclear war and earn freedom for the subjugated nations. The Soviet-Russians wage a world-wide and lavishly funded political warfare campaign against the West. To counter that campaign it is not only necessary to support the subjugated nations. It is also necessary to insure our own survival. As we are meeting in Bavaria it may be of interest to bring up some of the facts brought up by Sir James Goldsmith the publisher of French *L'Express* news magazine in an address in Washington D.C. on the KGB's directed campaign against Franz Josef Strauss. In 1956 Strauss, at the age of 41 was an upcoming politician in Adenauer's government. As a supporter of the subjugated nations and a defender of a strong Western defence it became necessary for Moscow to discredit Strauss. It was a long-lasting and intensive campaign: — Photos, subsequently proven to be fabrications, depicting Strauss in sexually com-

promising situations were published in the East European communist press and distributed to West Germany.

— Efforts were made to smear Strauss by linking him to a murder trial, the Praun affair. A journalist ran a story associating Strauss with the case. Strauss took legal action and won the case.

— Efforts were made to impugn Strauss's honesty. In 1962 he was accused of recommending to the United States, for a major development project on US bases in Germany, an apartment designer, Lothar Schoss, who was connected with the Finanzbau AG (Fibag). It was suggested that Strauss was to share in the Fibag profits. Judicial and Parliamentary investigations followed and both cleared Strauss of misusing influence. Strauss also won a libel action in court.

— It was also suggested that Strauss secretly negotiated to buy for US \$375,000 cash the Casa Roccavispa villa in Switzerland. The real estate agent testified in court that he had been surprised to read the entirely false story but welcomed the publicity.

— Efforts were made to link Strauss with the Lockheed scandal. Compromising documents were circulated but these were subsequently shown to be forgeries.

Further, Moscow's weaknesses must be exploited ideologically. It is not enough to present "news" and facts on Western economic achievements. Concepts have to be set forth on political structure and personal and national freedom. It does not mean that certain ideas should be forced upon the subjugated peoples. They are more than competent to decide for themselves, but we must ask those liberation fighters presently exiled in the West for advice, assistance and knowledge. They are the best guides on how to show the inadequacies of the communist system and ideology.

The Western political warriors must appeal to "pre-existing attitudes". Marx-

ism-Leninism would have to be disarmed ideologically. The developments of the last decade and the communist setbacks should be presented and analysed. The subjugated peoples would learn that communism is not the force of the future, a theme that is constantly propagated behind the Iron Curtain. Many behind the Iron Curtain lack the full facts on communist oppression. The communist holocaust of staggering magnitude with human losses somewhere between 70 and 140 million is a very important subject in a political warfare campaign. We have never hesitated to present the facts on the Nazi holocaust. When will the West be ready to present the facts on the communist holocaust? True, we do not have the same massive evidence, but enough to build a strong case. Somehow the West must find and create a platform for discussion of mutual problems where representatives of the subjugated peoples can exchange ideas and meet with Western political warfare specialists of various organisations combating communism. It is important that each individual behind the Iron Curtain who opposes communism, and that probably is around 95% as the communist parties there in free elections probably would not receive more than 5% of the votes, that he feels he has the support of the West.

It is not necessary per se that change will come through mass uprisings although there are certain possibilities that this will happen if we study Poland, East Germany and Hungary. There has been no year since 1917 without strikes, demonstrations and revolutions behind the Iron Curtain. Insurrections may become unnecessary if the credibility of the communist regimes is so utterly undermined that a "revolution from above" may take place. However, non-violent action might fail. Therefore the West must always strive for adequate military preparedness to support, if necessary, uprisings. Evolu-

tion combined with pressure in different ways including a forceful political-psychological campaign could in the coming decade give rewarding results.

In all high-level conferences with Soviet Russia the issue of restoration of right to self-determination should be brought up for both the East European countries and for the subjugated peoples within the borders of Soviet Russia. The United Nations cannot perform its role as the champion of oppressed peoples as long as it refuses to recognize that 116 million East Europeans and 46 million Central Asians are deprived of individual liberties. At Moscow's initiative the "Committee of 24" was established in 1960 to focus UN attention on Western colonialism. Soviet-Russian colonialism has been protected by the UN majority. The United Nations is recognizing "national liberation movements" on virtually the same terms as those applied by Soviet Russia. It never legitimizes or assists those opposing Soviet-Russian imperialism or colonialism. Terrorist groups such as PLO and SWAPO are given full support while the real liberation movements, such as OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) for instance, which represents the same aspirations for self-determination of Ukrainians, is never supported. When will the UN recognize and support OUN, ABN and other organisations of the subjugated peoples? Only when that is done can the UN be regarded as a true anti-colonialist force in the world.

When the Soviet-Russians use cold war rhetoric referring to Western powers as "imperialist", "neocolonial", "aggressive", "racist" and "anti-peace" the West turns the other cheek afraid of being labelled "Cold War warriors" as the Soviet term goes. It is time to return the invectives and inscribe the question of denial of self-determination of the subjugated nations on the agenda of the United Nations.

Let us now turn to a brief analysis of

the present world situation seen in the light of Moscow's aggressiveness. In the Soviet Union itself there is dissension in the captive nations. The crops of the latest years have failed badly. Petroleum production is far below target. Moscow must subsidize more and more satellites and client states around the globe such as Cuba, Angola and Ethiopia. There are a number of future possible targets of expansion in the Americas: Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala, some of them already involved in bloody civil wars. In Western Europe Moscow has developed a lightning strategy and has forces available to overrun it in say around 6-10 days. Soviet fighters are making high-speed runs (up to Mach 3) at the West German border turning aside at the last second.

Soviet MIG 25 reconnaissance planes overfly Western Europe. Soviet Spetznaz commando groups are making landings on the Swedish Baltic coast and regularly Soviet submarines violate Swedish territorial waters. Merchant navy training ships are regularly visiting Swedish ports close to military training exercises. From the naval base of Kronstadt near Leningrad Spetznaz commandos, equipped with minisubs map the Swedish coast. Similar incidents have been reported from Japan. Scandinavia and Japan take up similar geographical positions at the Western and Eastern ends of the Russian empire. In Afghanistan some 27 Soviet divisions are deployed within striking distance of Iran and Pakistan and the routes to the Indian Ocean. There are 46 Soviet divisions on the Red Chinese border and 20-30 Soviet



Mr. B. Häggman addressing the EFC Annual Conference.

divisions can, if necessary, be launched against Japan, not to speak of the vast number of Soviet divisions in the Lenin-grad area and the Kola Peninsula ready to overrun NATO's northern flank.

In the latest years the Soviet Navy has expanded enormously and nuclear aircraft carriers and submarines are built at a fast rate. The high level defector Victor Su-ovorov has revealed the details of the KGB and GRU "death squads" which would kill Western political leaders and military generals, disrupt communications and destroy key targets. Other GRU units would destroy nuclear installations, attack NATO command centers and air bases. The Wall Street Journal and Reader's Digest in April-May this year reported on Soviet chemical/biological warfare weaponry and research including Cuban preparations for chemical warfare and probable American targets for such warfare.

The Soviet psycho-political warfare is stepped up constantly. Far back in 1933

Lavrentij Beria, Stalin's chief of intelligence, was reported to open a course at the Lenin School of the Moscow University with the following words:

"Psycho-politics is an important, if less known, division of geo-politics. It is less known, because it must necessarily deal with highly educated personnel — the top strata... Psycho-politics is a solemn charge, for with it you can erase our enemies as insects. You can change loyalties by psycho-politics... When you succeed, you will discover that you can make the capitalist himself, by his own appropriations, finance the larger portion of the communist conquest of the nation."

Maybe you think I have painted too dark a picture. It is possible that it is overly pessimistic but it underlines the importance of Western support for the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations. Here lies the key to the possible collapse of the Soviet Russian empire. As the last empire in the classical tradition



Hon. G. Kirkpatrick, M.P., delivering his speech at the Annual Conference of the EFC.

it is bound to fall, but its immense military power makes it dangerous. To hide internal failures, it may become necessary for the Kremlin leaders to start foreign adventures to divert the attention of the peoples from the poor state of the economy. The Marxist-Leninist economic model is now so discredited by its own abysmal performance that no country out of free will considers a communist economic

model. To-day the Soviet Russian empire, on the ash heap of history, is a grave threat to world peace, as there are signs that it may lash out at the world. To avert this possible catastrophe Western nations must finally realise that one of the most important parts of a strategy to counter this threat is a strong support of the liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Russian empire.

THE POPE'S VISIT TO UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

In the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of Saints Volodymyr and Olha in Winnipeg, the Pope addressed in Ukrainian an audience of some 1,200 invited guests. In the context of the Ukrainian millenium of Christianity, the Pope placed particular emphasis on the mission of the Ukrainian Church and the Ukrainian people in the ongoing ecumenical process of reconciliation between the Eastern and Western branches of Christendom. "...Your Ukrainian heritage and Byzantine spirituality, theology and liturgy prepare you well for this important duty in the endeavour towards reconciliation and full unity."



His Holiness Pope John Paul II with Ukrainian youth during his visit to the Ukrainian Cathedral of St. Volodymyr and St. Olha in Winnipeg, Canada, September 16, 1984.

Turkestan's and Afghanistan's Importance to European Freedom.

Turkestan, compiled of the present-day Soviet Socialist Republics Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizistan, Tadjikistan and Turkmenistan covers an area of 4 million km². This means that this country constitutes 1/5 of the complete territory of the Soviet Union. With regard to geographical and cultural aspects Turkestan is connected directly with China (with Eastern Turkestan, Tibet and inner Mongolei), Mongolia, Siberia, India, Pakistan (through the Afghan corridor) and Tatar-Bachkiria, which cover an area of approximately 33 million km².

From Soviet and Western sources we know that Turkestan is an important depot for raw-materials for the Soviet Union due to its mineral resources and its agricultural possibilities. The Turkestanian quota of the whole reserve of the Soviet Union is for example: coal 45%; petroleum more than 60%; natural gas 50%; iron-ore 70%; copper 76%; zinc, chromium and nickel 80-86%; antimony about 100%; mercury about 90%; cotton 96%; raw-silk 60%; jute 100%; fruits 60%; rice 65%. The economic potential of Turkestan alone is enough to cover the economic requirements of the Soviet Union.

Turkestan is strategically also of great importance. The distances from the frontiers of Turkestan are: to Moscow about 1000 km (bee-line); to Kharkiv 770 km; to Kabul 290 km; to Erzurum/Turkey 1010 km; to Bagdad/Iraq 1210 km; to Teheran 640 km; to Islamabad/Pakistan about 600 km; to Urumtschi (East Turkestan/China) 590 km and to the Gulf of Persia about 1000 km.

Today Turkestan is the centre of nuclear weapons and rockets of all sorts, and also the centre of propaganda for the infiltra-

tion of communism in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Today, more than 30 million Turkestanis (Turkish ethnic groups — Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghizs, Turkmen, Azerbaijanians, Tatars, Uygurs, Kara-Kalpaks and Tadjiks), who are Muslims, live in this strategically important country. These people are supervised directly from Moscow with the help of Russian communist colonial and native functionaries. About 10 million Russians, more than one million Germans and more than one million Ukrainians etc. live and work in Turkestan. Thus, presently Turkestan is considered as the central laboratory of the Soviet regime for the policy of inter-mixing and assimilation of peoples.

It is well known that Turkestan was a problematic country for the Russian Tsarist Empire and has remained so for the Soviet Empire. The Russians and Turkestanis know very well that Russia is for Turkestan and Turkestan for Russia a foreign country. Alone the climatical, anthropological, linguistic, religious, historical manners and customs and the cultural conditions of the Turkestanis fundamentally differ from that of the Russians.

The Russian communist functionaries do not trust their native fellow-members. Otherwise Moscow would not have had to nominate 2-3 Russian communists besides the so-called President of the Soviet republics and the first secretaries of the Communist Party, as their substitutes. Furthermore it is known, that all the chiefs of the KGB in Turkestan are Russian communists. The commandants of the Turkestan and Central Asian military districts, the frontier troops, the special service troops and garrisons are Russians. All Turkestanis that have functions in the

party or civil service are forced to carry out their duty in the Russian language alone.

The Russian control mechanisms are the true source of the persisting distrust of the Turkestanis towards the Soviet regime.

The mutual suspicion between Russians and Turkestanis has its historical background. According to all renowned historians, between 1716-1895, Turkestan has step by step been conquered by Russia. For 180 years Turkestan fought against the rule of Tsarist Russia. The people of Turkestan resisted against Tsarist Russia in more than 4000 revolts. The last popular rising, which the Russian socialist leader, Kerenskiy, called the second front against Russia took place in the year 1916.

Also during the period of Soviet regime, the Turkestanis tried to gain national freedom by armed resistance. Turkestan's struggle for independence, labelled as the Basmatchi (bandit) movement by Soviet propaganda and under which name it became world known, lasted from February 1918 to May 1934.

Today the resistance against the rule of Moscow is based rather on the cultural and spiritual level, in order to sustain national identity. The Turkestanis are engaged in strengthening the consciousness of their own cultural and historical past, up-keeping the Islamic religious life in the heart of every Muslim, maintaining family-life according to their tradition, avoiding assimilation on account of marriage contracts with Russians, sustaining the differences between Russians and Turkestanis in any respect, rejecting birth-control in order to increase the growth of the population. Soviet demographs, e.g. Kozlow, are of the opinion, that at the turn of the century the Uzbek population of Turkestan will be the second strongest ethnic group in the Soviet Union, after the Russians. Finally, we can point out distinctly that the mere existence of the nation is a guarantee for the continua-

tion of the national struggle for freedom of the Turkestanis.

Afghanistan, the neighbouring country of Turkestan, became the immediate victim of Soviet Russian imperialism since December 1979. We have to call to mind, that since the 19th century Russia was eager, particularly after the conquest of Turkestan, to incorporate Afghanistan into its sphere of influence. First of all Soviet Russia endeavoured to build up a confidential base in Afghanistan, to train and call in confidants from the native population, to force their way into national and governmental affairs by economical, military and cultural assistances, and to make communism interesting to a small group of Afghans. The Soviet Russians aim was to extend the communist regime in Afghanistan by infiltration and through communism to bind the country to Moscow.

The Soviet Russian actions in Afghanistan up to December 1979 were more or less generally known to the Afghan leadership as well as the western governments. Nevertheless, neither the former national leaderships nor western diplomacy was able to handicap or neutralize Soviet activities in Afghanistan. At the end of April 1978 Moscow succeeded in organising a communist insurrection, subsequently proclaiming it a revolution. In this way a long desired aim to establish a communist regime in Afghanistan legally was achieved.

However, communism was not able to assert itself in this area. The regime was about to collapse. This fact alarmed the Soviet leadership in Moscow.

The retirement of the communists from power or a temporary compromise with the non-communist forces would have meant endangering the Soviet Union directly, as the Soviet leadership believed that if the weakness of the Soviet Russians in Afghanistan came to light, this would encourage the antipathy towards

the Soviet regime in Turkestan. Soviet Russia then decided to install its troops at important exit-points of Afghanistan in December 1979. This continues up to the present day.

This time the Afghans realised that the Russians were the initiators of the communist revolution in April 1978. This time they came to Afghanistan as an occupational power. The only possibility for the Afghans to counteract communism and Soviet Russian imperialism was to engage in their national struggle for freedom and independence.

The Mujahedeen, as well as Islamic and Western powers tried to solve the national problem of Afghanistan by demanding a withdrawal of the Soviet troops — up to now in vain. The Russians do not want to withdraw from Afghanistan. If so, then only under the following conditions: maintenance of the communist dictatorship; subordination to Moscow; sovietisation of Afghanistan by the removal of national civil powers including the total surrender of the Mujahideen.

So far Soviet Russia has not been able to proceed as victor in Afghanistan. The majority of the first Soviet expedition troops in Afghanistan consisted of Muslims from Turkestan. The majority of these did not fight against the Afghans. They demoralised the Soviet troops in Afghanistan and the Afghan Mujahideen have received an illegal, large and generous support from the Muslims of Turkestan up until now. The national movements of independence of Turkestan and Afghanistan and the Afghan Mujahideen have — both nations are now anxious to free themselves of Russian imperialist rule.

The democratic, international public, particularly in Europe, the USA and in many of the Islamic states, demanded that the Soviet leadership withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and national independence of this state be re-established. The

problem of national freedom of Turkestan also came to the attention of the world public. The representative of the United Kingdom in the UN, Sir Patrick Dean, declared and demanded in the general meeting of the UN on November 26th, 1962: "After nearly a century of British rule Ghana became independent in 1957 and Nigeria in 1960. What is the target date for the independence of Soviet Central Asian territories?" Yet the world did not get a response to this question from the Soviet leadership. Nevertheless we are all waiting for it.

The national struggle for freedom of Afghanistan, Turkestan and other peoples in the Soviet Union is pursuing the only aim of guaranteeing the future existence of the nations. It is well-known that the Soviet Russian leadership tries in an unmistakable way to assimilate the people of the Soviet Union by russification to a 'Soviet Nation'.

If the Soviet leadership reaches this aim, then it will be the end of the existence of non-Russian peoples. We think that the people of Western Europe who sympathise with the ideals of freedom and humanity must have an interest in the national freedom of the people in Afghanistan, Turkestan and Eastern Europe.

The national independence of Afghanistan and Turkestan is important for the freedom of Europe for the following reasons:

1. The elimination of Russian power in these countries means the liberation of the European hinterland (back front) from the Russian empire.

2. The end of Soviet Russian rule in Turkestan and Afghanistan means for the Middle East and for all the neighbouring countries the abolishing of the influence of Soviet Russian attempts to gain political power. This also means that the Middle East will be liberated from the danger of Soviet Russian aggression. Consequent-

ly, European security in its hinterland can be normalised, the strategic basis of the Soviet Russians against Europe can be destroyed.

3. Europe will be able to organise with Afghanistan, Turkestan and the Middle East a region of contact for economic and political affairs on the basis of respecting national rights, which, in turn, would prevent the revival of imperialism of any kind. Consequently Euro-Asia can be established as a region of freedom.

4. The re-establishment of the national states of Turkestan and Afghanistan can be the basis for a Euro-Asian confederacy.

5. International economy must find uncontrolled access to the resources of Turkestan, through which Turkestan will be able to join on to the European economy. Thus, on a double sided basis, a contribution can be rendered to secure the social standard of the respective nation.

6. The national independence of Turkestan will enable it to be a centre of cultivating European and Turkestanian-Oriental communication. Russians who have been loyal to the Turkestanis under Soviet rule, in other words those who did not have anything to do with murder and other criminal offences, can live in the free state of Turkestan without any problems, providing that they give up their feeling for colonialism and that they are willing to respect the national sovereignty. These rules can also be true for all other

European ethnic groups like Ukrainians and Germans. In this way the European ethnic groups in Turkestan can contribute to the cultivation of the connection between Europe and Asia.

7. The Soviet Russian empire which encloses large parts of Euro-Asia must be abolished for the benefit of the national independent states. Thus Europe will become free from permanent Russian oppression.

As everyone knows the Soviet Russians hold the following view:

“West European imperialism withdrawn from the Orient and separated from India, Afghanistan and Persia ... will be stunted and will die a natural death.”

Formerly and also today Soviet Russian policy declares as follows:

“Turkestan is the outpost of communism in Asia”.

Western Europe following a policy with such aims, can stand up for and act on the following lines: Soviet Russian imperialism which is forced back by Afghanistan and Turkestan will forever lose its position in the Orient. Afghanistan and Turkestan will become the outposts of national freedom in Asia. The free nations of Europe, having been able to end their own colonialism voluntarily, will have the right and the responsibility to contribute to the abolishing of Soviet Russian colonialism. The liberation of Afghanistan from Soviet rule would be the first step in this direction.

TURKESTAN ZWISCHEN RUSSLAND UND CHINA

by

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

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Israeli Patriots Pay Homage to the Late Volodymyr Horbovyj

(UCIS) The Ukrainian Central Information Service recently received an "Eulogy in Honour of the Late Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyj", one of the most prominent members of the revolutionary OUN and Deputy Head of the Ukrainian Government. This "Eulogy" came from the 'Research Centre of Prisons, Psychiatric Prisons and Concentration Camps of Forced Labour in the USSR' in Israel, whose director is Avraham Shifrin, a well-known anti-communist activist and a good friend of Ukraine. The members of this Research Centre are former Jewish political prisoners, who spent long years of imprisonment together with Ukrainian political prisoners with whom they shared the same fate who, to this day, have remained loyal friends of Ukraine and sympathizers of Ukraine's strive to freedom and sovereignty.

"To my friends and to all those who hold dear a free Ukraine without communists! I am addressing you after having just learnt of the death of one of your heroes and my good friend, Volodymyr Horbovyj.

I was not acquainted with Volodymyr Horbovyj at the time of his self-sacrificing political activity and struggle for an independent Ukraine, but first got to know him only after his arrest. Together we spent ten years in Soviet concentration camps in which he had been incarcerated by the communists.

In spite of the terrible conditions in the camps, Volodymyr Horbovyj was an exemplar in his behaviour to all the other political prisoners: honesty, care for others, even if it meant putting himself at risk, discretion, human dignity and courage — were all characteristic features of his behaviour. His authority was accepted among the thousands of Ukrainian prisoners for whom his views and words were law. He made use of his own particular situation by doing all he could in keeping up the strength of Ukrainian fighters in their future struggle for a free Ukraine.

In the concentration camps, the KGB organs continuously conducted a policy of provocation, the result of which led to inflamed national hatred and set prisoners against one another — Russian prisoners against Ukrainian, and vice versa; Baltic prisoners against Chechens; Chechens against Ukrainians and Russians; and all of them together, against the Jewish prisoners.

It was in these conditions, when every such provocation always ended up in bloodshed and in the further execution of prisoners — 'agents provocateurs', that Volodymyr Horbovyj put in a great effort in explaining the necessity of and created a unity of friendship among all the political prisoners and a joint resistance to the KGB murderers, who were responsible for effectuating Soviet rule in the camps. I observed Volodymyr Horbovyj's work and took part in it myself whenever possible.

I will never forget the Christmas and Easter gatherings of the Ukrainian prisoners to which Volodymyr Horbovyj always invited representatives from all of the other nationalities, who were also incarcerated in the camp; and we, in turn, following his example, invited him and other friends to our Jewish festivals.

When I was translating Uris's "Exodus" from English into Russian, for which I could have received an additional 10 years of imprisonment (being the strongest work at the time that instigated the Jews to a national uprising), Volodymyr Horbovyj immediately arranged for it to be translated into Ukrainian, telling me: "The struggle of the Jewish nation for the independence of their country should serve as an example to us, Ukrainians, in our own struggle for an independent Ukraine and that is why I want this book to be read by Ukrainians, too".

Volodymyr Horbovyj always instructed Ukrainian freedom-fighters, who were released from the camp, how to make the Ukrainian people aware of the necessity to struggle for an independent Ukraine.

Today, we can see that under his leadership, this vital work has achieved positive results. The whole of Ukraine, today, is totally inspired by the ideas of a national liberation struggle; all strata of the population and moreover, the intelligentsia — the elite of the Ukrainian nation, — are fighting against Soviet Russian rule and against its policy of russification in Ukraine.

Volodymyr Horbovyj was a man of great courage and determination and was even prepared to escape from the camp in order to head the Ukrainian underground movement in exceptionally difficult conditions. In 1960, we both tried to escape. Personally, I noticed his hardiness and heroism. Here was a man, somewhat older in years and blind in one eye, taking a great risk in attempting to escape with men much younger than himself.

The Soviet Russian authorities and the KGB often tried to break the tough spirit of Volodymyr Horbovyj. I can remember the years I spent together with him, hungry and cold, on the plank beds in the special prisons of extremely harsh conditions, namely, "Ozerlaha" and "Dubrovlah".

His enemies, however, also tried to break the spirit of this fighter, using other means. For example, he was often taken from his place of imprisonment to Ukraine, where he was shown "Potomkin villages" and the "happy life in Ukraine" — a Ukraine, which had several times been destroyed by starvation, artificially created by the Soviet Russian authorities as a weapon to subjugate the people.

On these trips, he was promised all the comforts of a quiet life, a professional career in Kyiv and full security. All that was asked of him was to sign an appeal to the Ukrainian people condemning the ideas of nationalism and the struggle for an independent Ukraine! However, Horbovyj invariably chose to return to the camp, rather than betray his country. Volodymyr Horbovyj was a man of staunch character: unyielding and could not be forced to bow before his enemies.

That is why they finished him off: after 25 years of incarceration in concentration camps and prisons, he was exiled to a life of hunger, a life without the most basic means of human existence. He was also refused a visa to live with his son in Czecho-Slovakia, and now he is no longer among us. His body lies buried, but his spirit calls out to Ukraine to rise and fight for freedom. Therefore, let Ukraine be free and be an eternal monument to a valiant fighter who strove for its freedom — to Volodymyr Horbovyj!"

*Avraham Shifrin
Israel, 3. 7. 1984.*

How Communist Liberation Becomes Oppression

Speech by Hon. Stefan Terlezki, M.P., Great Britain, at Captive Nations Week Rally, Taiwan, ROC, July 21, 1984.

In the country where I was born, Ukraine, people were hunted down if they claimed that all the Communists wanted, was to gain power and that it was an illusion to expect that they would allow anyone to be entirely subservient. It was concealed because it would not be in their interest for the world to know about it.

Such fraudulent assertions mislead many well-intentioned people among Western Allies into believing that Communists were not Communists at all but, at worse, "agrarian reformers" who fought for the liberalisation of their country from Hitler. Because of their false pretences, Communists have many non-Communist allies in their struggle for power. In the course of events, they either terrorised them into silence, imprisoned them, or simply killed them, and so they were able to install a fully fledged "dictatorship of the proletariat".

Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Georgia, Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Afghanistan are just some of the countries that never had Moscow as their capital, but are being kept oppressed as part of the Soviet-Marxist-Communist Empire.

Who is helping to feed the 272 million people in the Soviet Union? Is it Moscow or Montana, USA? Who is helping who with industrial-military technology? The West. Today, Russian-Marxist-imperialism exists in Europe, Asia and in other parts of the world, militarily, politically, socially, religiously and economically. The Russian leaders are the biggest dictators since Hitler, and respect for freedom, for democracy, for human rights and human life is not part of their policy.

It is cynical and false to talk or analyse that a man or woman or a student in a bar or coffee shop or on a street corner in

Cardiff in Wales, or in Cracow in Poland, or Kyiv in Ukraine, or Cambridge in England have the same influence on their respective governments. They have not.

Our biggest misfortune was, the birth of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini, and that some of their subordinates still do their utmost to carry on and maintain the brutality, genocide, extermination, slavery, liquidation and persecution of innocent freedom loving people.

Your great leader President Chiang Kai-shek, an upholder of freedom and democracy left you a dowry that you should always treasure. That dowry is freedom, democracy, tradition, culture and above all independence. Preserve it, treasure it and pass it on to your children and your grand-children. Visitors who come here as your guests may not know where they are, as Taiwan is supposed to be a little island. That is not true. This is China to a great extent, because the China across the Taiwan Straits has allowed so much infiltration by Marxists and Communists. I am sure that Communist ideology differs from that of traditional China in many ways.

Your culture has been modernized and yet is still Chinese. The mainland's culture has been communized and that is a great difference. You are Chinese and I am sure you are very proud of it. To be anything else is something less, and it is your responsibility to see that you are not relegated to a status that is less than you deserve.

The West often makes important concessions to Communists and often received only pandas in return. It is an imbalance worth pondering about. The Communist regime is the opposite of liberty and the system of democracy as you well know, and which you have proven by your economic successes and your living standards.

Your prosperous country with 18 mil-

lion people does more trade with America than the land across the water and Russia combined. You are America's sixth largest trading partner, ahead of France and Italy. Do not let that be your weakness, as all prosperous people tend to lose the awareness of danger.

When President Reagan was anxious to talk directly to the people across the water from here, his speech was cut in many places for fear that the good people there might be listening for a change. He would have told them, and I quote "that Americans are a people of peace. It is important that you know that. We pose no threat to China or any other nation. We have no troops massed on your borders. We occupy no lands." President Reagan also tried to inform them that "Americans love peace and cherish freedom, because we have learned time and again, in place after place, that economic growth and human progress make their greatest strides when people are secure and free to think, speak, worship, choose their own way and reach for the stars." The cuts in his speech were similar to those when he lashed out

at the Soviet Union and lectured on the merits of capitalism and faith in God.

The Soviet Russians claim that "around your hemisphere, waters are cramped with United States nuclear weapons", but they say nothing about their massive expansion of military power in the Pacific area. Well over a hundred SS 20s are already deployed in the Eastern territories of the Soviet Union, with hundreds of nuclear warheads all pointing over in your direction. Soviet submarines and Backfire Bombers are violating territorial waters and airspace in the area around your country. The Russians have reinforced their military bases in the four disputed Islands lying to the north of Hokkaido, which the Russians have occupied since 1945 and claim as part of the Russian Kurile chain.

You must have confidence in President Chiang Ching-kuo to preserve freedom for you all. Freedom that you have all earned and freedom that you should all be proud of.

Help your President. Help yourselves. Do not let the Tibet formula succeed.



Demonstration for the release of political prisoners outside the Soviet Russian embassy in London, organised by the Ukrainian Women's Association.

Senate Resolution on Ukrainian Famine

Following is the text of a Resolution on the Great Ukrainian Famine approved by the U.S. Senate.

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 to 1920, died of starvation during the years 1932—1933;

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;

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;

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;

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, 73 D Cong., 2 D 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 Senate (the House of Representatives 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 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 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.

V. MARCHENKO — ANOTHER VICTIM OF SOVIET RUSSIAN GULAG.

Reports have reached the West that Valerij Marchenko, the Ukrainian writer, died in a hospital in Leningrad.

Marchenko, well-known as a translator and journalist, was 37 years old. He was



reportedly suffering from a serious kidney ailment.

The reports of his death were issued today by human rights organizations in Frankfurt and Amsterdam. A spokesman

for the Bukowski Foundation in Amsterdam said the group had been informed of Marchenko's death by his mother, Nina Marchenko, in Leningrad.

Western news reports at the week-end had quoted Mrs. Marchenko as saying in a message to sympathizers in the West that she feared her son was dying and had appealed for international help to save him.

She said she had not been allowed to visit him in the hospital in Leningrad, where he had been transferred from a labor camp in Perm.

Marchenko was arrested in Kyiv in October last year on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. He was sentenced in March this year to 10 years in a special-regime labor camp to be followed by five years' internal exile.

It was Marchenko's second conviction on such charges. At a trial in Kyiv in 1973 he was sentenced to six years in a labor camp and two years' internal exile. (CND/Agencies) RH/BOR.

GENOCIDE IN AFGHANISTAN

Since the invasion of Afghanistan by the Russians in December 27, 1979, in violation of all the International laws, the Russians have been waging war against the Afghan nation. They have committed various types of atrocities, brutalities and mass killings. As to how inhumanely and savagely this war is fought by the Russians against the people of Afghanistan is known to all. They began mass killings a long time ago. All of these crimes are hair-raising. With a view to proving our claim, we shall present the following examples:

1. During the fourth week of January 1984, thousands of Red Army troops fired guns at one hundred people in the Ishkamish area of Takhar Province. They set fire to several houses, burning alive their inmates.

2. On February 1, 1984, in the Fullol Village of Baghlan Province, the Russians rounded up nearly 140 people including children, old people and women. Some of them were bayoneted on the spot and some were lined up and riddled with bullets. Among the victims seven people belonged to the same family. Among the martyrs of Fullol Village are: Ghulam Farooq, Mohammad Fazil, Haji Imam, Haji Khan, Shad Muhammad, Dadur with all of his family, Bahadur and three members of his family, Abdul Ghafoor, Haji Mulladin, Abdul Manan with three members of his family, Mustafa and two members of his family, Abdul Jabar and three members of his family, Ghulam Rasul and seven members of his family.

3. On February 14, 1984, a number of Russian troops entered the Qather Ghai area, which is situated 15 kilometers away to the South East of Jalalabad. They searched all the houses and looted belongings and valuables of the people. Later on

they rounded up nine people and killed them on the spot. Seven of those martyrs are: Malik Haji Abdul Qadeer (50), Mohammad Omar, Shaista Lal (22), Haji Malang Jan (55), Sher Hassan (55), Noor Habib (45), Musafar Khan (60).

4. On January 8, 1984, Russian soldiers raided the villages of Mansoor, Kandghar and Mira Qala of Laghman Province, which is located 15 kilometers to the West of Jalalabad city, on Kabul Jalalabad Highway near Duruntha. They captured 27 people one of whom was gunned down on the spot.

On January 11, 1984, Russian troops beat some 22 people with sticks at Tapa Gul Gundi (also called Jamhoriyat Gundi) and poked out the eyes of the victims prior to killing them. They also cut off the hands and feet of the victims. Then the Russians left them in agonizing conditions. Next morning (i. e. January 12) they again arrived and brutally killed all of them with sticks and stones. In all, 27 people were massacred. Among the victims were two brothers (both were about 50 years old).

5. On February 29, 1984, tens of Russian bombers and hundreds of tanks raided Quzbin area, which is located about 70 kilometers to the East of Kabul city, on Kabul Jalalabad Highway near the bazar of Surobi. They gunned down 28 people including 6 women and children. Most of the victims had taken shelter in their houses and caves. The most tragic event of this barbaric raid was that of Mohammad Sarwar (60). He was taken alive by the Russian forces to their post. First, the Russian brutes plucked out his eyes and cut off his nose. Then he was tied with a rope and stoned. Later on he was riddled with bullets.

In order to inform the people of the

world about these barbaric and savage crimes, from time to time, we have given our reports to the mass media for publicity. To our dismay, they have turned a blind eye to these reports. Like the Russians, they also choose to remain numb about these inhumane crimes.

For instance, on February 16, 1984, we gave reports about Qathar Ghai and 3 villages of Laghman (i. e. Mansoor, Kand Ghar and Mira Qala villages) to foreign correspondents in Islamabad. On February 18, 1984, only the Urdu Service of the BBC in its morning programme mentioned that the Government forces had killed over 55 people during three operations in the Nangarhar Province. On the very same day even those two brief lines were missing from the Pushto service of the BBC, which is solely meant for Afghans and the people of NW FP, Pakistan. The publicity of such news can play an important role in Jihad Afghanistan. We wish the BBC's responsible authorities and other international news agencies to know that they have not fulfilled even two percent of their responsibility with regards to Afghanistan.

If they continue to stick to this policy of indifference about the struggle of Afghanistan, they would be doing a great service for the Russians in Afghanistan. It is rather astonishing that when one person is killed in Beirut, or when a man is wounded in Pakistan, the BBC gives top priority to such news. In Afghanistan,

where tens of innocent people are being killed daily by the Red Army, everybody keeps silent and numb. However, it is not due to lack of information, for, in fact, from time to time, the sources of the Afghan resistance supply full details to all the international agencies. Sometimes these news agencies pretend that they are unable to confirm the validity of these reports. After the experience of the last 5 years, they should have come to know as to which source is authentic and which is not! They must do their best to find out the reliability of the news reports. Unless a report is proven false, it should be published. More surprising is the fact that neither the United Nations nor any other free country has shown any reaction to this mass genocide in Afghanistan by the Red Army.

In short, we would like to warn the people of the world that Afghanistan is the bastion of Freedom Fighters for the security of the world. If today Afghanistan falls to the Russians, tomorrow will be the turn of the neighbouring countries and the day after tomorrow the turn of the whole world. Then, it is a foregone conclusion that the Western powers would not be able to do anything to save themselves. Afghans will definitely fight to the last drop of their blood to regain their lost freedom. On the basis of their faith, however, it does not matter if not a single person in the world sides with them in their ongoing struggle.

MUSLIMS UNDER THE CZARS AND THE SOVIETS

by

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The Colossus With Feet of Clay

Address delivered by Y. Vudka, former prisoner of the Soviet Gulag, now living in freedom in Israel, at the 17th World Anti-Communist League Conference, San Diego, California, September 7, 1984.

The communist system was born within the core area of the Russian state formerly called Muscovy. It is only by means of brute force, treachery and the lie that the system extended itself outside this Russian core. Although the communist world experienced a schism in the 60's, Russian bayonets remain the mainstay of the system. Without Moscow, communism in other nations would collapse or be transformed into systems which would be unrecognizable in terms of the present. For these reasons, the problem of communism is first and foremost a problem of Russian imperialism in its modern form. Therefore, it behooves us to examine the Russian colonial empire, which is erroneously referred to in its guise as an "Eastern Bloc", in order to analyse the defects of this empire and exploit opportunities to defend world freedom, globally threatened by Russian communist aggression.

I. Truth as a Weapon

Communism is a disease, not a living, autonomous organism. A disease is only capable of a parasitic existence within a living entity, whether a physical or spiritual one. Communism arose and developed in the least developed areas of Western civilization and its continued existence is solely the result of shortcomings and weaknesses within this civilization. Within the physical sphere, this is particularly obvious. The Russian colonial empire (together with its satellites) is indebted to the West for loans and credits exceeding one hundred billion dollars and this, after twice refusing to honor demands for repayment of prior substantial debts. This empire consumes Western bread, develops by means of Western technology and finances its growth with

Western currencies. This is, it would seem, the most unique example of mass self-deception where a great free civilization feeds and sustains its deadliest foe, who openly and unabashedly proclaims as his goal the destruction of this very same civilization and has pursued this goal with a diabolical thoroughness for nearly seven decades, sparing no means in this effort, from terrorism to the organization of drug smuggling. The very fact that communism owes its continued existence to the West is a testament to the physical wealth and strength of free civilization. Less obviously, the weakness of this civilization lies in the spiritual sphere, where the sin of materialism has pervaded the West in a process dating from the great French Revolution. This process has given birth to Marxist and Freudian concepts proclaiming the supremacy of mankind's base instincts and interests, which allegedly govern humanity and the universe. It is doubtful that with an arsenal of such concepts one may expect victory over a totalitarian materialist empire. With its lack of limits and totalitarian strengths, the empire can easily manipulate apparently "free" slaves of base instincts and exploit them in the accomplishment of its goals. Only a total change in basic values can improve the present situation, with a clear recognition that the human soul contains something stronger than any base needs. There exist superior values provided to us by the Creator and a human being worthy of the term is motivated by what is expressed in English by the term "challenge". Within the human soul there exists an unquenchable thirst for truth. It is not coincidental that the huge empire of lies reacts with a panicked and mystical dread before the ordinary expression of truth. It is not

coincidental that within this empire the dissemination of truth in any form constitutes an "especially dangerous crime against the state" (See Article 70 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic). It is likewise not coincidental that the stranglehold of state censorship carefully scrutinizes all published texts, while print, copy and broadcast media are under the total control of the KGB, with intensive jamming of foreign radio broadcasts.

The weapon of truth is the most dangerous weapon in the anti-communist arsenal. Fully exploited, it can achieve tremendous victories over communism, without risking the life of a single Western soldier. Current technology provides near-fantastic means for the waging of this war. Teletransmission by satellite permits direct access to any television set in any part of the globe. Neglect of these opportunities forces a reliance for defense upon "hot" weapons, which increase the risks of a nuclear holocaust. Unfortunately, it is known that Moscow's investment in jamming conventional foreign broadcasts exceeds the West's investments in such facilities by several orders of magnitude. This is particularly unfortunate since relatively inexpensive investment by the West in this competition would force Moscow to expend resources which would otherwise be used for the destruction of the Free World.

Let us examine the contents of the transmissions required for this struggle. To whom should these broadcasts be addressed and what truth should they proclaim? Two-thirds of the population subject to Moscow's rule are natural allies of the Free World. These are the nations whose national statehood, dignity, culture, beliefs and languages have been brutally trampled by the jackboot of Russian colonialism and occupation of their territories. These are the natural audiences to whom

the Free World's broadcasters should devote their primary efforts. Although there exist individuals amongst the impoverished Russian masses which are receptive to the truth, large portions of this population are mesmerized by Russian imperial conquests. It is the non-Russian nations which possess large masses of people who are receptive and eager for the truth. It is not the oppressor but the oppressed who thirst for the truth. The majority of broadcasts made in this struggle should be in the languages of these non-Russian nations and concern subjects appropriate to the causes of these nations. There is no reason to be hesitant about the unvarnished truth in these broadcasts nor does the truth require pseudo-Marxist "window dressing" in broadcasts to these audiences, as sometimes occurs in current Western broadcasts. It is necessary to reach the most distant nations of the empire, concentrating priority efforts towards the two largest non-Russian subject nations of the USSR, Ukraine and Turkestan.

II. The Weapon of National Spirit

The terrible holocaust of the early 1930's is deeply embedded in the national subconscious of these two great nations. It must be recalled that the idea of statehood captured the imagination of the dispersed Jews only after the full horrors of the Nazi holocaust had penetrated the national subconscious. As is now well known, fully one-third of the Ukrainians and Turkic peoples of Turkestan subject to Russian rule were then murdered by a variety of genocidal practices centered primarily upon a state-organized famine, food blockade, and deportations of the defenseless village populations of these countries.

The dead villages of Ukraine and the bloated corpses covering the steppes of Kazakhstan must stand before the eyes of everyone as an eternal indictment of Rus-

sian colonialism. The testimony of witnesses and survivors of the genocidal famine and detailed analyses of the methods by which it was organized must be scrupulously compiled, to convey the full horrors of these atrocities to the heart of every colonial subject of this empire through Free World broadcasts. These millions of murdered victims must stand as the bedrock upon which an irresistible national consciousness erects an independent nation-state. No colonized and enslaved person is capable of passing these rivers of the innocent blood of their relatives and fellow countrymen, meekly bowing their spirit before those who shed these rivers of blood in peacetime, surreptitiously, as if it were an act of Satan. Upon this terrible foundation, the need for one's own nation-state and national military force does not appear strange, even to the most deluded strata of the captive nation. It is necessary to remind the captives of what happened to their "liberators" in 1918, when Ukraine,

Turkestan and other captive nations seceded from "Mother" Russia and formed independent nation-states. The parasitic imperial core found itself without Ukrainian bread, coal and steel, Turkestanian cotton and, without oil and gas from the Caucasus. In Russia proper, the plants closed, trains stopped running and shops were shuttered. Once again, the hungry, ruthless and criminalized hordes of Muscovite "liberators" moved to plunder and loot everything about them... This was the price paid to reconstruct the Russian empire which now endangers the world and reaches out towards the frontiers of space. The stepping stones consisted of the corpses of millions of people and entire nations. The Russian imperialists did not limit themselves to physical destruction and exploitation of the captive nations, including exploitation of intellectual resources in the process. It is worthwhile to recall that the "Russian" MIG aircraft are named after their designers. The word is an acronym for the Armenian and



Part of the Ukrainian delegation with the Afghan Mujahideen Col. Gulam Werdak at the 17th WACL Conference, 3-7 September, 1984, San Diego, USA.

Jewish surnames of these designers — Mikoyan and Gurevich.

The role of Jewish intellectuals in the world and especially in the Russian empire is well known. It is for this reason that the Jewish national liberation movement of repatriation has a global, in addition to regional, significance. We live in distinguished times when, in fulfillment of ancient prophecy, a great Exodus from the new Pharaohs is occurring, a flight from evil pagans who worship an empty mummy in the Mausoleum and construct new monuments to Ramses upon the bones of millions of slaves. As was the case with the Pharaohs of old, they have boasted that no slave can escape their omnipresent vigilance and damning hand of punishment. Yet, as in ancient times, they are helpless before the Will of God to lead the people of Israel out from under their satanic rule. Although today the movement of the Exodus is experiencing a temporary crisis, it is again gathering the strength needed to break through the Iron Curtain and overcome whatever obstacles stand in the way to the Promised Land.

On this side of the Iron Curtain, let us be of assistance in this Divinely-ordained matter or, at the very least, not erect obstacles in its path. When Hitler dominated Europe and the doors to the Promised Land were closed to its people by foreign rulers, no one granted refugee status to European Jewry and no one wished to receive those for whom the only alternative was the crematorium. But, today, midway in their journey to Israel, Jews possessing the visas of their discrimination and of their free land are tempted by the refugee status and privileges afforded by great and wealthy nations, with which their small and young state cannot compete. The heroism of the martyrs of repatriation loses its sense when the masses on whose behalf they suffered are seduced elsewhere, midway in their journey. The right to repatriation

can be wrested from the Russian empire, since, it is a tiny percentage of its subjects who have an external homeland. But if the right of free, general emigration is substituted for repatriation, Moscow will never succumb for them, who will remain in the empire? Who will defend the rights of the native colonized nations in the empire from within its depths? Only heroism can shatter the Iron Curtain, a heroism fired by the homeland and not pursuit of the good life. This is why repatriation broke through the Iron Curtain, but on the road to emigration, the curtain closed once more. Therefore, what is necessary is assistance to those repatriating for resettlement in their ancient homeland, the land of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and not, to wealthy foreign countries. Then, the intellectual resources of Jews currently subject to Moscow's rule will cease to be exploited for satanic purposes and instead, will strengthen a democratic Israel which is an integral part of the Free World, preventing the transformation of the Middle East into another Afghanistan.

Today, the sons of many captive nations are dying in a brutal, colonial Russian war of conquest in the mountains of Afghanistan. Yet, protesting crowds of humanistic "beautiful people" are not seen in the streets of Western cities, as their "humanism" turned out to be a fig leaf for pro-communism. Neither the horrors of Kolyma, the genocides by famine in Ukraine and Turkestan, nor the barbarism in Afghanistan appear as yet to have moved any "humanist". And thus, a difficult mission stands before the emigrants from these captive nations: to use the weapon of national spirit against this latest aggression by Russian imperialism. In certain instances, there is nothing to be ashamed of in learning from one's enemy. In Vietnam, Moscow adapted and used the guerrilla warfare tactics of its implacable foe — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Also, we need only recall

the International Brigades which aided Moscow in the Spanish Civil War. In contrast, it is possible to organize NATIONAL BRIGADES in Afghanistan, each of which would consist of representatives of one of the captive nations, whose soldiers are dying in a Russian colonial war under the bloody flag of communism. News of the appearance of the nuclei of national armies fighting alongside the Afghans against the Russian occupiers of their homelands would quickly spread amongst Soviet troops, many of whom would prefer to fight with their free brothers for freedom, yours and ours, rather than die for slavery, also yours and ours. This could disintegrate the colonial armed forces from within, since more than one-half of the Soviet forces consist of non-Russians. Infiltration of the national brigades by KGB agents joining the flow of deserters can be avoided through use of polygraph technology and other means. Within the UN, nations of the Free World must raise the question of the decolonization of the Russian empire. The mere tabelling of this question will provide tremendous moral support to the colonised nations of the so-called USSR, long neglected by the rest of the world.

II. The Economic Weapon

I have heard of a marvelous instance of an economic boycott against the empire. It seems that a Soviet circus was touring Australia and found itself picketed by demonstrators with signs which said: "Donate To The Gulag". This so affected would-be circus goers that no tickets were sold and the tour was cancelled. This is an indication of what can be achieved by informing public opinion. Imagine the effect of demonstrators picketing banks which extend multi-million dollar loans to Moscow with signs that read: "This Bank Gave Moscow \$ 1,500,000,000! Customers — Your Funds Are Financing The Gulag!" I am not sure that the economic collaborators

could withstand this type of public pressure.

An important aspect of this struggle could be the public demand that the incumbents of important positions in public life in the West, including government, the military, the media and the private sector voluntarily submit themselves to annual polygraphic security investigations because the massive KGB penetration of these key sectors provides Moscow with a massive advantage in political, economic and psychological spheres. Once Moscow's spy networks were dismantled, the empire would be forced to develop its own technology instead of stealing it from the West, to finance its own growth rather than use Western loans to fund subversion against the Free World and, to concentrate its efforts to the solution of its supply and other internal problems, rather than create problems for the Free World in El Salvador, Nicaragua and other targets of its subversive activities.

The iron-fisted centralization of the communist command economy has totally ruined agriculture for the reasons that the weather is not subject to bureaucratic decrees and the collective farm slaves are not interested in labor on the communist latifundias, where the harvests are not theirs. The contemporary level of industrialization with its complex linkages of interdependence no longer responds to the centralized party regimen. The economy as a whole will either succumb under the communist stranglehold or be forced to overthrow it.

It is more than symbolic that communism has created no more than a spiritual desert over so long a period of time in so vast a territory. Communism merely expends billions of dollars for empty and deceitful propaganda whereas, true culture is concentrated in the labor camps and cemeteries.

Nevertheless, however terrible the sufferings of the enslaved, the campaigns of Russian communism against the individual, the nation and God are doomed to failure.

PERMANENT SOVIET RUSSIAN EXPANSIONISM

Current international tensions and conflicts of global importance are caused by the expansionist policies of Soviet Russia. This aggressive policy of Russian imperialism has continued persistently for the past 500 years. The basis of Russian expansionism is founded on Russian ethnicity, governmental autocracy, religious Orthodoxy, panslavism and naked military conquests. These factors are also used today by the Soviet Russian Government according to their suitability. However, this arsenal has been increased by a very advantageous new weapon — communism. Communism easily opens doors to each country for Soviet Russia, giving excellent opportunities for the organization of a local communistic revolt which serves Soviet Russian interests. The scope of this instrument is universal.

Communist subversion and military operations of communist detachments are presently occurring in the Far and Middle East, in Central Africa and in Central America. In each country in the free world there exists communist activity. The communist party leaders and military commanders responsible for those subversions and aggressions are trained primarily in special schools in the USSR. The revolts are organized, supplied, directed and controlled by USSR personnel, using auxiliary cadres and military detachments from communized countries, such as Cuba and the so-called "satellite countries". However, in important strategic areas neighbouring with the USSR, the most reliable means, such as the military forces of the USSR, are used. This is seen in the Soviet Russian invasion of Afghanistan.

Soviet Russia is presently approaching the final stage of neutralizing Japan by the installation of its nuclear ballistic missiles in close vicinity on the Kurile Islands

and Kamchatka Peninsula. The USSR has installed nuclear ballistic weapons against mainland China, prepared chemical and biological weapons, and keeps huge armies in readiness along the northern border of China. Special pressure is exercised presently by the USSR against a very important resisting factor, that of Western Europe. There is a rapid installation of additional nuclear ballistic missiles in Soviet Russian dominated countries neighbouring with Western Europe; there are increasing naval forces in the Baltic Sea; there is very active Soviet Russian espionage activity in the countries of Western Europe; there is a strengthened and enlarged activity of internal subversive forces in these countries, cleverly camouflaged by slogans, such as calls for peace and disarmament (of free countries only!). The recent installation of American missiles in Western Europe, which seriously counterbalances the military supremacy of Soviet Russia in this area, was met by a Russian paranoid propaganda reaction and the cancellation of all diplomatic relations regarding the limitation of armaments. However, the recent manoeuvres of the Soviet navy on a global scale, in particular around Western Europe, are exercised as a terrorizing method, pressing for concessions with regard to the will of the USSR.

The United States of America presents a most serious obstacle to Soviet Russian domination in the world. All previous attempts for the communization of the USA from within ended without success. Changing its tactics, Soviet Russia is arranging a communist take over in the countries of Central America, close to the borders of the USA. The installation of Soviet nuclear ballistic weapons directed against the USA are expected in those

lands, which will be difficult to detect. The fight for those strategic territories is currently raging without a proper understanding of the common threat and without a decisive counteraction on the part of the Free World.

The Soviet Russian Government is at present acting in a decisive way from the position of its military strength and supremacy. It openly states that the USSR will not allow any superiority of the free countries in the military area over their present military might. At the same time Russia is demanding talks and solutions of international problems on its terms only and is considering establishing a "socialist peace", i. e. *pax sovietica*.

The present global expansionism of Soviet Russia is fed by the potentiality of the subjugated nations. These subjugated nations are forced by the Soviet Russian Government to serve Russian imperialism by all possible means: with military and economic manpower, with natural resources, with their production and with the territorial accommodations. Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic countries are located between the Black and Baltic Seas. They have been transformed into a military springboard and into a rear of support for Soviet armies eventually operating in Western Europe. In those countries nuclear ballistic missiles are placed directly against Western Europe. Here, heavy industries are created, which are working with imported raw materials and energy and whose production is at present exported. However, in the case of war, they will easily be transformed for the production and repairing of armaments. For instance, in Byelorussia, factories producing very heavy trucks, tractors, heavy lathe machines, electrical motors, etc. are built. The coastal area of the Baltic countries, with all its ports, has been seized by the Soviet Russian Government and is used for large navy installations and the ship-building industry. The local popula-

tion, as politically "non-reliable", was removed from this area. Ukraine, especially its western part, has also been transformed into a military rear for Soviet Russian armies fighting in Western Europe. The so-called "satellite countries" of Central Europe have been turned into obedient instruments of Soviet Russian policies under the leadership of Jaruzelski, Husak, Honecker and others, who are brutally crushing the existing national aspirations of those subjugated nations.

The Soviet Russian Government plans its actions well in advance and is steadily conducting their realization on a global scale. However, at the same time the Free World is trying to keep the status quo. The Free World is not conducting any action to abate the present international danger and to secure a lasting peace by removing the source of this danger. The countries in the Free World are satisfied with diplomatic protests and rather symbolic actions as compared to the new flagrant or camouflaged aggressive actions of Soviet Russia. The continuation of such one-sided concessions and retreat is leading to a final tragedy.

The tremendous growth of Soviet Russian expansionism should be met head-on. The Soviet Russian actions for world conquest shall be challenged by a clear and decisive Western World plan with provisions for:

- a) Liberation from Soviet Russian threat;
- b) Halting of Soviet Russian aggression;
- c) Dissolution of the expansionistic empire — the USSR;
- d) Limitation of the Soviet Russian State to that of the ethnographic territory of the Russian people;
- e) Liberation of the subjugated nations and the restoration of their independent national states.

The sooner this process is started, the easier and more successfully can it be completed.

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SEPTEMBER
29—30
1984

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

MARTYRS FOR GOD AND FATHERLAND

Valerij MARCHENKO (right)
Ukrainian journalist.

Sentenced to 23 years, served 8 years. Died October 7, 1984, aged 37, in a Leningrad prison hospital due to medical neglect.



Yurij LYTVYN (below)
Ukrainian poet.

Sentenced to 31 years, served 21 years. Died August 1984, aged 50, in the Kuchino special-regime camp (Perm). He was driven to suicide.



Oleksa TYKHYYJ (above)
Ukrainian teacher.

Sentenced to 37 years, served 24 years. Died late April or early May 1984, in Labour camp No. 36-1, near Perm due to delayed surgery for stomach ulcers.



Rev. J. POPIELUSZKO (left)
Polish priest.

Murdered October 19, 1984, aged 37, near Torun, Poland after being abducted by Ministry of Internal Affairs officials.



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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 ABN Correspondence.
ABN Central Committee

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TESTAMENT
OF HIS BEATITUDE PATRIARCH JOSYF



To Our Children in Christ, to the Bishops, Priests, Men and Women of the Monastic Orders, and to All the Faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Peace in the Lord and Our Patriarchal Blessing!

“In a little while the world will see me no longer...” (John 14,19) “A little while, and you see me no more...” (John 16,16). For “a time is coming when I shall no longer use figures of speech” (John 16,25). Whilst leaving this world after a life of some 90 years or so, “sitting on the sleigh”,¹ as our ancestors used to say, I pray for you, my spiritual flock, and for the whole Ukrainian nation, whose son I am and which I have tried to serve throughout all my life, with the words of the farewell Archipastoral prayer of Our Lord Jesus Christ. For He is to us all and to the whole world “the way..., the truth... and life” (John 14,6).

Therefore making my way to the eternal world, I beseech the Heavenly Father to glorify His Son among you so that you may come to perceive Him, “who alone is truly God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent” (John 17,3), and that He may “give you another to be your Advocate, who will be with you for ever — the Spirit of truth. The world cannot receive Him, because the world neither sees nor knows Him; but you know Him, because He dwells with you and is in you” (John 14,16-17).

Together with my prayer saying farewell to this world and to all of you, my dear children in Christ, I leave you, as is commanded by our ancient holy Christian faith, with my fatherly pastoral Testament!

“Guard yourselves against the breakdown of your faith...” (compare with John 16,1), and “set your troubled hearts at rest. Trust in God always...” (John 14,1).

And this is my most important commandment to you: “Love one another...” (John 15,12,17), with a love over which there is no greater, such “that a man should lay down his life for his friends...” (John 15, 13).

*

It was this love for Christ, the love for the Holy Church, which is His Holy Sacrament, the love for my own Ukrainian Church, which is a valuable part of the ecumenical Christian Family, the love for my own Ukrainian nation, with its spiritual and material treasures of universal significance, that marked out the industrious path of my life, my thoughts and all my work both in freedom and in captivity.

Throughout my entire life I have been a servant of Christ, and so I remain upon leaving this world.

In the first place, I had already in my youth become His voluntary servant! For I was born and raised in a Ukrainian Christian and deeply-believing rural family. It handed down and instilled inside me a faith in Christ and a love for Him! Therefore today, when about to meet my family again in the next world “where there is neither pain nor sorrow, but everlasting life”, I pray for them with the gratitude of a son! For parents and a Christian family form the basis of a healthy society, a strong people and nation, and serve as the security of their growth and strength. And thus I command you to preserve in the Ukrainian nation the true Christian family, and where it has been shaken, to restore it as the inextinguishable hearth of the life and well-being of the Church and Nation!

I was also a voluntary servant of Christ when my love for Him drove me onto the path of study and research, and urged me to dedicate my life to academic work. I am indebted to God's Work that He set this spark alight inside me in my childhood, and to my older brother Roman for becoming the instrument of God's Work, for he began to educate me, then a boy of 5, and it was due to this that I was able to read and write even before I started to attend school, and it was that native school that kindled the spark of the love for learning. Through this love for knowledge and study I continued to be a voluntary servant of Christ when, having realised the call to the religious order, I made the decision to serve Christ.

The Christian family and our own native Ukrainian School are the necessary prerequisites for the proper upbringing of our future generations!

Therefore I command you to revive these institutions and save them from decay, both in Ukraine and in all the countries where Ukrainian people have settled!

In my vocation to serve Christ through the ecclesiastical order I can clearly see the Hand of God. Being aware of the voice of the Lord in my summons to serve Him and all the while being supported by the Hand of the Lord, I rejoiced that, throughout the few decades of the best years of my life, I was able to work as a voluntary servant of Christ, both as an academician and in my research on the greatest revealed Sacrament — the Triple Existence of God, and especially the Third Person of God represented in the Holy Trinity — the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, the Consoler and the Giver of Life, who is present everywhere and who dwells invisibly both in us and in the Church of Christ.²

Inspired by His grace, I served my native Church in the posts designated to me by the Head and Father of our Church, the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey, firstly as professor and rector of the Ecclesiastical Seminary and the Academy of Theology and most recently as the founder of the Ukrainian Catholic University here in Rome...

As one who became a voluntary servant of Christ, I served Ukrainian theological study, once so prominent, and tried to raise it from ruins and to restore it, in the awareness that knowledge is one of the corner-stones and pillars of the rebirth and strength of the people, and that theological study is the evangelical testament of Christ: "Go forth therefore and make all nations my disciples..." (Matthew 28,19). Learning forms "the basis of the Church in our nation"; through its academic and training institutions, the Church is the "teacher of the people", for through it "the individual becomes the more enriched the more he becomes instilled with the concept which embraces both heaven and earth, time and eternity, history and the present, and both the heart and the mind..."³

Reflecting in this way on the meaning and value of knowledge, when about to face eternity which for certain draws ever nearer to me, I command you: Get to love learning, tender it lovingly and enrich it with your work and knowledge; become its servants and serve it well! Erect the shrines of learning, the hearths of the spiritual strength of our Church and People, and remember always that the full life of the Church and the People without our own native learning and study is impossible. Knowledge is their breath of life!

When in 1939 the new time came for our Church to “bear the cross” and the great saint and highly-gifted scholar, the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey, called me to Archipastoral duty by nominating me Exarch of Eastern “Great” Ukraine in October 1939, and in December of the same year, as Bishop, nominating me his successor, I accepted these appointments as the calling of the mysterious voice of God, which, in the words of Christ, called out: “Follow me...” (John 1,44).

During these harsh and stormy times which befell our Church, I also came to understand what it really meant to “follow Christ”. For it was He who said: “Anyone who wishes to be a follower of mine must leave self behind; he must take up his cross, and come with me” (Mark 8,34). The vocation to take up the duties of a pastor requires one to renounce oneself, to pick up the cross onto one’s shoulders and to follow in the footsteps of Christ through love for Him, who also declared that “Whoever disowns me before men, I will disown him before my Father in heaven” (Matthew 10,33).

And so, I stepped on the next thorny path of my life. And what was engraved on my pastoral coat-of-arms — “Per aspera ad astra”, started to become reality. Before me, the successor of the Servant of God Andrey, and the inheritor of his spiritual heritage and legacy, now lay a long path of deprivations, bearing of the cross and testimony to Him “before men” “in this wicked and godless age...” (Mark 8,38). God’s mighty Hand guided me, a Prisoner for the sake of Christ, to testify before Christ as He had told His disciples and followers: “You will bear witness for me in Jerusalem, and all over Judaea and Samaria, and away to the ends of the earth” (Acts 1,8). But on the milestones of my life path there appeared different names. They were not Jerusalem, Judaea, Samaria, but Lviv, Kyiv, Siberia, the Krasnoyar region, Yeniseysk, Polar regions, Mordovia..., and literally on “to the ends of the earth”.

I had to suffer imprisonment by night, secret court-rooms, endless interrogations and spying upon me, moral and physical maltreatment and humiliation, torture, and enforced starvation. In front of the evil interrogators and judges stood I, a helpless prisoner and “silent witness of the Church” who, wearied and both physically and psychologically exhausted, was giving testimony to his native Church, itself silent and doomed to die... And the convicted prisoner could see that ultimately he too was doomed to die once his path reached “the ends of the earth!”

As a prisoner for the sake of Christ I found strength throughout my own way of the cross in the realisation that my spiritual flock, my own native Ukrainian people, all the bishops, priests and faithful — both fathers and mothers, young children, the dedicated youth as well as the helpless old people, were walking beside me along the same path. I was not alone!

I received a superhuman endurance and some mysterious strength from the words of Christ, engraved upon my soul: “I send you out like sheep among wolves; be wary as serpents, innocent as doves.

And be on your guard, for men will hand you over to their courts, they will flog you in the synagogues, and you will be brought before governors and kings, for my sake, to testify before them and the heathen. But when you

are arrested, do not worry about what you are to say; when the time comes, the words you need will be given you; for it is not you who will be speaking: it will be the Spirit of your Father speaking in you.

Brother will betray brother to death, and the father his child; children will turn against their parents and send them to their death. All will hate you for your allegiance to me; but the man who holds out to the end will be saved..." (Matthew 10,16-22).

As never before, the mystery of Christ's words "...you will bear witness for me..." (Acts 1,8) revealed itself to me. To testify before Christ is to acknowledge Him before men (compare with Luke 12,8), not to disown Him; to carry your own cross, and to suffer for Christ as well as with Him, to be prepared to face torture and even to be ready to give up your life for your friends, not fearing those who "kill the body" (Luke 12,4), and remembering that "Whoever cares for his own safety is lost; but if a man will let himself be lost for my (Christ's) sake and for the Gospel, that man is safe. What does a man gain by winning the whole world at the cost of his true self?" (Mark 8,35-36).

Today I thank our Lord God for granting me the favour of becoming the witness and confessor of Christ, as is commanded by Him! I thank the Lord God from the bottom of my heart that with His help I neither put to shame my country, nor my own native Church, nor myself, her humble servant and pastor...

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And so today, "sitting on the sleigh, having meditated in my soul and given praise to God, who has guided me up to this day..., sitting on the sleigh on my way into the far off distance, I say a prayer in a wearied voice"⁴ and command you, my children in Christ: Be the witnesses of Christ in Ukraine and on the territories of your free and enforced settlement, in all the countries you have come to live; in jails, prisons and concentration camps to the very ends of the earth and to the end of your earthly life! Bear witness on every continent of our unfortunate planet! Do not bring shame upon the lands of Ukraine — the land of your forefathers! Preserve in your souls the immaculate name of your Holy Church! Do not bring shame upon your own Ukrainian name, remembering the words of Christ: "I have set you an example: you are to do as I have done for you. In very truth I tell you, a servant is not greater than his master; ...happy are you if you act upon it" (John 13,15-17).

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With the help of biblical expressions and images, like in the parables, I have painted a picture of the path of my life — the path of a witness, a prisoner and a confessor, who found himself on the "edge of the earth" and on the edge of his own life, face to face with death in the unbearable climatic conditions of Mordovia, in the most frightening death camp of all, where the end of my life was drawing near.

But the will of the Merciful and Almighty Providence of God was different! Unexpectedly my release was announced! Who was responsible and how this came about will perhaps one day be explained in the works of those studying

the martyr's life of our Church. Whether it was the II Vatican Council with the prominent voice of our Episcopate in it, or whether it was the measures taken by Ukrainian and other sympathetic academic communities which stood up in my defence, or whether it was the momentary coming to the senses of those holding positions of power at that time, God only knows! All of these factors, however, were but tools of the Incomprehensible Work of God! Among them the petitions of the late Pope John XXIII, who was the personification of goodness, humanity, meekness and Christian love, held the most weight. Thus in filial gratitude I offer my prayers to the Lord for his glorification!

Although I was released, freedom was not granted to my own native Church! It was, therefore, my personal decision to remain on my native soil and to continue to bear the heavy cross together with my native Church as I had written while undergoing solitary confinement in a Kyiv prison: "Not even in my soul do I consider leaving Soviet Ukraine, but I just wish to attain the rights of the Greek-Catholic Church, which it already possessed in the Soviet Union until 1946, a right to which our Church is entitled on the basis of the Constitution, and one which is at present being trampled on!... I would like to stress again that I do not intend to leave at all, except perhaps under guard, as a silent witness of a silent Church".⁵

But the voice of the late Pope John XXIII called me to the Vatican Council. I regarded his voice as an order for in it I could sense the incomprehensible intention of God's Work. Was this not a call to give vivid evidence to our Church? Was this not a call to accomplish that which I could not achieve as a prisoner? And thus began the next new phase of my life, a path down which I have already wandered for about two decades. But even this path, as it quickly became clear, was not lit up by "astra" — bright stars. It was still the path trodden by a Prisoner for the sake of Christ, but this time of a prisoner in a whimsical freedom...

Hoping for a swift return after the conclusion of the Vatican Council — for a return to my spiritual flock — and having done everything which my Archpastoral duties demanded of me for the security of the continuous apostolic succession in the Ukrainian Church, I arrived in Peter's capital physically exhausted but unbroken in my soul... My arrival in Rome, like my unexpected release, and the first weeks and months of my stay in Rome, initially inside the walls of the Greek monastery of the Basilian friars at Grottaferrata, and later in the Vatican, were accompanied by unexplained signs. The best description of this could be found in the speech made by Julius Andreotti, the President of the Italian Parliament, during the consecration of the Cathedral of St. Sofia on 28th September, 1969.

He said: "If the stars were meant to be proportional to the thorns which outlined your life as a priest and as Archbishop Major, then we should with certainty be able to foreknow the empirical regions as yet unknown and undescribed to us. When you arrived in Rome the wisdom, about which our descendants will speak, if it can really be called wisdom, wanted everything connected with your arrival to take place here before us, Roman Catholics, in a peculiar silence. Strange is this world of ours! For it is a world in which on many occasions people fear to give due respect to the persecuted, and in fact are driven by the desire to prevent it, lest the persecutor should take this as an

urge to commit a greater evil than he has been committing up till now. We would have welcomed you with the kind of joy that the Christians of Rome welcomed St. Peter upon his release. We would have welcomed you as St. Peter, who had the presence of the Hand of God and the presence of angels about him, and who later on also established your presence here in Rome as a lasting mark..."

Julius Andreotti went on to say: "Your Eminence, in 1948 there was published a book... about the situation of Christianity in the Soviet Union. On page 282 of this book is written that 'On 11th April, 1945 several bishops were arrested: Metropolitan Slipyj, who was generally believed to be dead, was according to the latest information still alive'. And this present world which dared to accuse Pius XII of not discovering soon enough what was going on in secrecy inside the concentration camps, this very same world, after the end of the Second World War and the establishment of peace, in 1948 was still unable to know for sure whether, Your Eminence, you were already dead, or whether you were still alive. By good fortune, however, you are "dead," but one who talks, and not only one who talks, but one who creates..."

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While on my way to Rome via Vienna a pain in my soul perturbed me every time I thought of our Church and our People. All its achievements and a thousand years of effort of whole generations lay in ruins. I accepted this as God's will in deep belief that all historical achievements, including sufferings, are not in vain. I believed that our Church and our People would arise once more from the ruins. And with all my efforts I tried to find a way out of this, almost hopeless situation in order to lift up the Church and the Nation from ruin, and revive them. Once again I had to begin my work of revival from the very roots of the problem, from its basis. The basis I recognised to be learning, prayer, work and the pious Christian way of life.

As a silent and once again voluntary Prisoner for the sake of Christ, I rejoiced that with God's help, and thanks to the sacrifices of the whole Ukrainian people of God, especially the lay community, and my own humble effort, there arose the Ukrainian Catholic University the hearth of learning, the Cathedral of St. Sofia — the mark and symbol of the indestructability of God's shrine on earth, a place of prayer, the Monastery of the Studite Order — an eternally-burning flame and islet of Christian righteousness and the monasticism and piety of the Christians of the Eastern rite!

Therefore, having glanced upon these hearths, these marks and symbols, I once more command you:

Because atheism is now the official doctrine in Ukraine and in all countries of the Communist world, save the Ukrainian Catholic University, for it is the forge in which the new generations of priests and lay apostles of Christ, the fighters for truth and for learning free from coercion, have to study and be brought up!

Let the Ukrainian Catholic University, with its branches in the countries where you have settled, be an example for you, and an impulse to new and further research, academic and educational work! Remember always that a

nation which does not know, or which forgets, its past and the spiritual treasures which it holds, will die and disappear from the face of the earth. Native learning creates the wings on which a nation flies to the tops of maturity among the nations of the world!

And when you visit the Cathedral of St. Sofia on a pilgrimage as to your own native Temple, and look upon it and offer your prayers to God inside it, remember that I leave this Cathedral for you as a mark and symbol of the destroyed and desecrated shrines of God in Ukraine, among them the most important witnesses of our ancestral Christianity, the Cathedrals of St. Sofia in Kyiv and St. George in Lviv! Let this Cathedral of St. Sofia act for you as a symbol of the revival and the erection of new shrines on our native soil and an encouragement to raise shrines of God in the places of your abode! But, above all, let the Cathedral of St. Sofia be the leading symbol for you, and a witness of the Cathedral of the Living Ukrainian Souls, a holy place of prayer and liturgical Sacrifice for those already dead, for those living, and for those who are not yet born! I beseech God that He may protect the Cathedral of the Souls of the Future Ukrainian Generations!

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In his project to renew the piety of the Eastern rite Christianity, the Servant of God Andrey laid the foundations for the revival and growth of monastic life on the basis of the Statutes of St. Theodore Studite. His own brother, the late Abbot Clement, suffering and meek confessor of the faith, worked



Patriarch Josyf Slipyj after his release with his Holiness Pope John XXIII.

untiringly in this field. I took over the heritage of both these pious brothers in order to carry out their pleas, made upon sensing the approach of death, to save the Monastic Order of Studites. The Lord God helped me to fulfil their wishes. In Ukraine the Studite Order increased in size, despite the various blows made against it, and among the Alban Hills a Studite Monastery grew up with an Archimandrite at its head. And now even in far off lands the hearths of the Studite islets flicker.

The Studite "Lawra" Monastery and its daughter monasteries will gather in those who, having abandoned the worldly life through love for Christ and His Holy Church, go to serve the world in prayer and dedication, by renouncing it. They go to serve it not as selfish or weak-spirited fugitives of the world, but as untiring workers and those who pray for the whole world, for their own Church and for their own People... All who gather in the islands of monastic life become those who preserve and carve out their native Ukrainian Christian spirituality, which reveals itself in the Holy Liturgy, in the purity of the rite, in the Eastern-rite Christian theological thought and monastic life on the model of the ancient Eastern Christian piety. They also suffer together with those who stand in battle with the evil world, and by the life they lead they become an inspiration for ecclesiastical vocations to serve the native Church!

It was the wish of the Servant of God Andrey, and it is also my plea, as the inheritor of his legacy, that all our monastic Orders and Congregations, whose significance and work for the good of the soul no one underestimates, should compete amongst themselves not for influence and power or to be revered by people, but to compete in the growth of their individual sanctity and in the earnest and honest service of Christ and our native Ukrainian Church. Therefore I beseech all the monks and nuns: Do not be ashamed of what is yours. Treasure your spiritual heritage! For our spiritual heritage is both so precious and so abundant! It does not deserve to be scorned! "Do not give dogs what is holy; do not feed your pearls to pigs: they will only trample on them, and turn and tear you to pieces" (Matthew 7,6). Let our spiritual heritage penetrate your souls and light a fire in your hearts to preserve and cultivate it! Upon this heritage consecrate your souls with the grace and gift of the Holy Ghost!

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At the time of my arrival in Rome the II Vatican Council was taking place. As in past centuries, from the time of the First Apostolic Council in Jerusalem, the Council is a convention of the Archipastors of Christ's Church, who bear witness of the faith and life of the Churches assigned to their teachings and pastoral services. The Fathers of the Council testify before the Church and before the entire world.

Aware of the prime importance of such a testimony, I spoke in my Address to the Fathers of the Council on 11th October, 1963, not of my own testimony, which after all was already known, but of the Testimony of our Ukrainian Church. I spoke of the testimony of its faith in Christ and His One, Holy, Universal and Apostolic Church; the testimony which was supported by the bloody seal of the fearless confession of faith, suffering and martyrdom, as

well as by the mounds of our dead victims. In order to express before the whole world my gratitude and recognition, and especially to declare my co-suffering with those being persecuted and to give them moral support, I put forward a plea and proposition to raise the Metropolitanate of Kyiv-Halych and the whole of Rus' (ancient name for Ukraine) to patriarchal status.

This was the first time in the whole history of our Church that the idea of its Patriarchate was raised so clearly in public and on such an international forum as the Ecumenical Council, although the idea itself was not new. The Kyivan Metropolitanates had ruled over the Church as if they were actually patriarchs, making use of full patriarchal rights along the lines of other Eastern Churches, although they did not bear the official title of patriarch. They were aware that the Patriarchate of the Church is a visual sign of the maturity and selfhood of the particular Church, and a powerful factor in the life of the Church and the People.

It is not surprising therefore that in the most tragic period of decline and division in our Church, such serene figures in our history as Metropolitan Petro Mohyla and Metropolitan Josyf Venyamyn Rutskyj took all possible steps to restore the unity of the Church and to save it from destruction by



In his first speech at the second Vatican Council His Beatitude Josyf Slipyj proposed that the Kyiv and Halych Metropolitan seat be raised to a Patriarchate status.

uniting everyone on the strong basis of the Patriarchate of Kyiv and of the whole of Rus'.

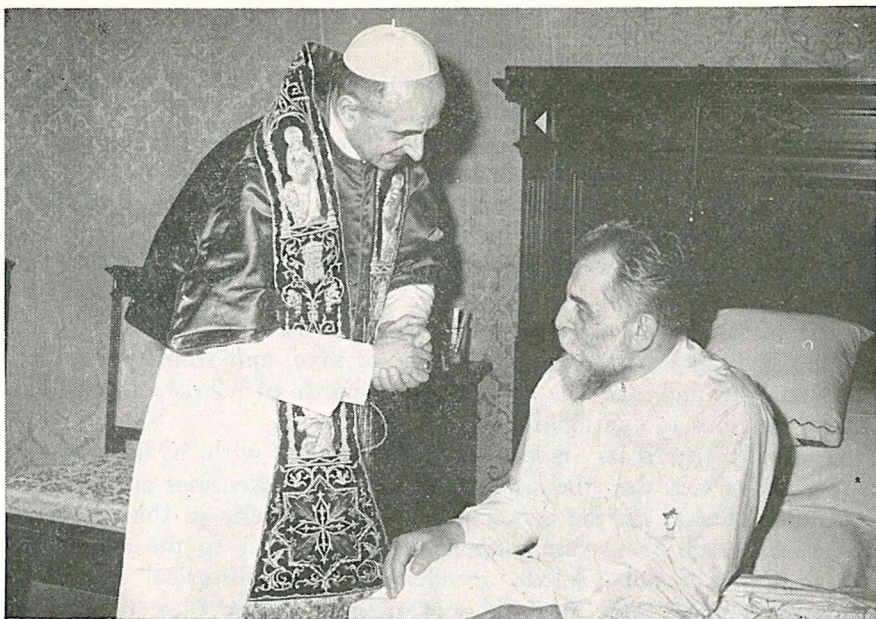
The rulers of the revived young Ukrainian state in the revolutionary years 1917-1920 also understood the importance of the Patriarchate, and stated their desire to see Metropolitan Andrey Sheptyckyj, recently released from a Tsarist Russian prison, as the first Patriarch of Kyiv, Halych and of the whole of Rus'. The ratified and proclaimed Constitution of the Ukrainian National Republic of 1920 clearly expresses this, and although this Constitution was later quashed, it testified to the immortal Idea of the Patriarchate of our Church.

As the history of the Christian Church on the territory of Eastern Europe shows, the Kyivan Patriarchate was meant to save, and would with certainty have saved, the unity of the Ecumenical Church of Christ, as well as our Ukrainian religious and national unity.

One should regard as historic shortsightedness, with its important consequences to this very day, the disregard of the great intentions of Metropolitans Mohyla and Rutsykyj by the contemporary ruling circles in the Apostolic See in Rome. Although these ruling circles did not object to the actual idea of the Patriarchate of our Church, an idea based on historical facts and the demands of religious life, they did, nevertheless, excuse their refusal to give formal consent to its accomplishment with motives of political "conjunctures". And although such motives do not pertain to God but are part of a purely human concern, they have, nevertheless, been repeated, used as an excuse and put into practice in relation to our efforts to accomplish the full rights of our Church in the form of a Patriarchate to this very day. To the ancient Ukrainian concept of Truth, in which both Truth and Justice are intertwined, such purely human motives are and have always been alien!

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As a faithful Son of the Catholic Church, referring to the clear resolutions of the Vatican Council on the question of the creation or the establishment of patriarchates, and making full use of the fact that I belong to the so-called Papal Family thanks to the late Pope John XXIII who nominated me a cardinal "in pectore", which he wanted to announce on his deathbed, and which was later announced by Pope Paul VI on 25th January 1965, I repeat, as a faithful Son of the Catholic Church, I asked Pope Paul VI on many occasions, both in letters and in conversations, for a formal agreement to meet my plea and proposition which the Fathers of the Vatican Council had accepted without objection. I constantly explained to the late Pope Paul VI that in the Eastern Church neither popes nor even Ecumenical Councils have ever established patriarchates of the separate particular Churches. The crowning of these Churches with the patriarchal wreath had always been the fruit of the mature Christian consciousness of the people of God, and of all its composite groups, of the consciousness of the clergy and pastors, but especially the consciousness of the lay communities — that spiritual flock entrusted to their pastoral services — has played an important role in this matter. It was the mature knowledge of one's own cultural and historic acquisitions and valuables, one's own efforts and sacrifices, which also became the treasury of the whole Ecumenical Chris-



Pope Paul visits the Metropolitan who is recovering from his long imprisonment.

tian Church, that formed a strong basis for a Patriarchate! I explained all the time that the Church in the Kyiv-Halych Metropolitanate has given enough proof of this consciousness throughout its entire history. Why then not recognise patriarchal status for Kyiv, the Cradle of Christianity in Eastern Europe?

With filial humbleness and with patience, but with great clarity I stated to the late Pope Paul VI: "If you do not approve it then your Successor will... For since we — our Ukrainian Church — exist, we can never renounce our Patriarchate...!"

✱

And I beseech you, my Beloved Children, never renounce the Patriarchate of your Suffering Church, for you are alive and you are her existing children! I strengthen my plea to you by repeating here my "Solemn Statement" written by my own hand in 1975:

"God created the human being and the family. Likewise He is the Creator of the kin, the tribe and the nation. The people and the nation are also entitled to the love and attachment with which every honest human being is tied to his family. Patriotism and zeal for the well-being of one's nation have always been regarded as God-given duties, and once in a while one has to defend the well-being of a nation against various enemies, or even against certain internal elements, which otherwise would cause the neglect of the basic needs of the people. And the same principle also applies to the Church. There equally exists a God-given duty to positively look after the well-being of the Church, and a duty and right to defend it against anyone who might cause it any harm. Our ancestors tried throughout a thousand years to maintain ties with the Apostolic See in Rome, and in 1595 and 1596 they strengthened their unity with the Roman Catholic Church under certain conditions which

the popes of Rome solemnly promised to observe. In the process of 4 centuries this unity has been verified by the great number of martyrs among Ukrainians, and even our own days are gloriously written down in the annals of the Church about the defence of the Holy Unity by our brothers.

In the 1970s the Apostolic See in Rome, under the influence and power of the officials of the Roman Curia, possibly even with good intentions, took a certain political line which dealt a very painful blow to our Church in Ukraine, and even more so to the section of our Church and People which found itself in the free world. The whole Christian world is a witness to the fact that our constant warnings and humble arguments, which we laid out before Pope Paul VI, were not taken into account”.

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Thus today, when the secret documents about the contact between the Holy See in Rome and the Moscow Patriarchy are known, documents which by their very nature pronounce the death sentence upon the Ukrainian Church and which humiliatingly affect the entire Ecumenical Church of Christ headed by the Successor of St. Peter the Apostle, I once more beseech, order and command you, my Spiritual flock:

“Live like men who are at home in daylight... Take no part in the barren deeds of darkness, but show them up for what they are. The things they do in secret it would be shameful even to mention...” (Ephesians 5,9,11-12). To the indifferent and the blind I call: “Awake, sleeper, rise from the dead, and Christ will shine upon you” (Ephesians 5,14). Again and again I beseech you all to be: “the very seal of my apostolate” (I Corinthians 9,2). “Be alert; stand firm in the faith; be valiant and strong...” (I Corinthians 16,13), for although we are “hard-pressed on every side, we are never hemmed in; bewildered, we are never at our wits’ end; hunted, we are never abandoned to our fate; struck down, we are not left to die” (II Corinthians 4,8-9).

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“We stand irreversibly by the patriarchal order of our Church”, were my words in a speech at the conclusion of our Synod in 1969.⁶

You, my Dear Brothers and Sisters, understood my words and like good children of your Church began to pray for your Patriarch both privately and during Divine Liturgy. With prayer you demonstrated your mature Christian consciousness, for prayer is, first of all, an expression of complete faith in God’s help and unyielding belief that Almighty God will realise that which we continually ask of Him. Did not Christ command us both to ask and to pray? Did He not promise to fulfil our trusting requests? For He said: “Ask, and you will receive; seek, and you will find; knock, and the door will be opened” (Matthew 7,7).

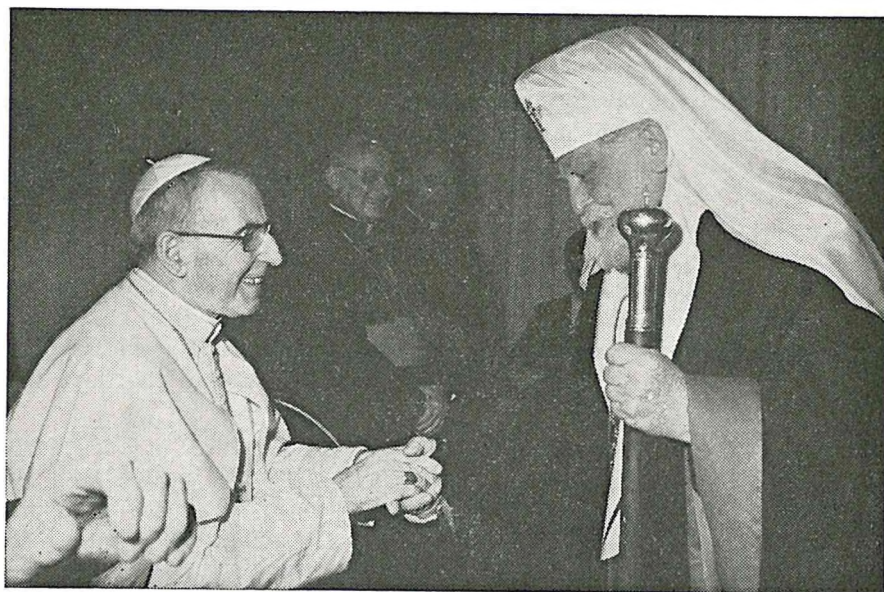
But the importance of prayer, especially liturgical prayer, lies also in the fact that in it the believing person expresses his faith in the revelation of the sacraments of the faith and his deep understanding of the very essentiality of the whole Christian Church itself, and with it also of his own native Church, as an inseparable and original part of the Christian Church, equal in rite, Liturgy, church administration, and spiritual heritage consecrated by tradition. In past centuries Liturgical prayer became the presage of the formulation of

the basic verities of faith on the basis of the "Symbols and Confessions of Faith". Liturgical prayer forms a basis for the formulation of canon laws which concern the Church itself. Thus, I am grateful to you for showing your mature Christian faith, when you prayed and continue to pray for "His Beatitude the Patriarch of Kyiv, Halych and of the whole of Rus'" in your shrines of God, and also when you prayed for him at the tomb of the Apostle St. Peter in 1975, during Holy Year. You also demonstrated your faith in the attainment of the full status of your Church by praying for the Patriarch in song, just as our people pray in song and demonstrate their faithfulness to unity — "God, grant us unity", or their faith in the attainment of its efforts for the completeness of freedom, when it implores: "our people are in shackles and our land in captivity, the enemy does not even allow us to pray... Great God, grant our land freedom, grant it fate and happiness, strength and power..." The Patriarchate, the vision of your faithful souls, has become for you a living reality! And so it will remain for you in the future! For in a little while, the Patriarch for whom you now pray will cross the threshold of life on earth, and the visible symbol and personification of the Patriarchate in his person will no longer exist. But, in your consciousness and in your vision there will remain a real and living Ukrainian Church, crowned with a patriarchal wreath!

Therefore, I command you: Pray, as you did up till now, for the Patriarch of Kyiv, Halych and the whole of Rus', although as yet anonymous and unknown! The time will come when the Almighty Lord will send him for our Church and reveal his name! But we already have a Patriarchate!

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Together with the struggle for the completeness of the life of our Church on the basis of the patriarchal order, there is also closely tied to it the struggle



Patriarch Josyf Slipyj with Pope John Paul I.

for the religious unity of the Ukrainian people. I feel great joy in my soul when I see that, although not yet united in a single Church, the sons and daughters of the Ukrainian nation, with crosses on their backs, are already united in Christ, and in His sufferings they are moving closer together, so that they can welcome one another with the kiss of peace and embrace in brotherly love! Expressing this joy, I beseech you all, and let my plea be my Will:

“Let us embrace one another and call each other Brother!” Walk in the footsteps of the Servant of God Andrey, who became the herald and champion of the unity of the Christian Church and dedicated his whole life to the unity of Christians! Rise up all of you in defence of the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, but also defend the rights of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, destroyed with equal cruelty by the violent deeds of the foreign invader! Defend also all the other Christian and religious communities on Ukrainian soil, for they are all deprived of the basic freedom of conscience and religion, and they all suffer for their belief in One God!

The closest to us in faith and blood are our Orthodox brothers. We are united by the traditions of our native Christianity, common religious and national customs, and by a two-thousand year old culture! We are united by a common struggle for the originality of our native Church and for its full status of which the visible symbol will be a single Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Church!

All of us, both Catholics and Orthodox, are fighting for the raising up of our Church and for its spiritual strength in Ukraine and in all the countries where our faithful have settled. And all of us, while confessing Christ, are bearing our Lord's heavy cross.⁸

Therefore I command you all: Pray, work and fight for the preservation of the Christian soul of everyone who belongs to the Ukrainian people, and for the whole Ukrainian nation, and ask the Almighty God to help us fulfil our longing for unity and our struggles for Church unity in the accomplishment of the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Church!

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Feeling my end growing near, I cannot fail to express the bitter pain in my soul that accompanied me throughout my stay outside my native land. This pain I felt on account of the lack of unity among our Episcopal congregation outside the borders of Ukraine. This lack of unity is like the original sin which stole its way into the souls of those who, like the brightly-glowing stars at night, should be showing the way. This sin has crept, like a thief, from here also to our Suffering Church in our native land.

Our misfortune and our sempiternal sin is the lack of a sense of and understanding of unity in the basic problems of the life of our Church and People.

I have pondered over this inconsolable phenomenon. It is, first of all, insufficient theological education, upbringing in foreign schools, the influence of a foreign environment, and a lack of knowledge about the past of our own Church which they have been summoned to serve at the highest levels... The rotten fruit of this is the disregard for everything that our grandfathers and great grandfathers achieved through their efforts and sacrifices, and a contempt for all that is our own, accompanied by the pursuit for honour and a lust for power, which remind one so much of the struggle for the vassal principalities

at the time of the decline of the Kyivan state. It is also unsteadiness of characters, the manifestation of which is subservience to foreigners and low bows before alien gods!

As the Head and Father of our Church I tried to teach and to remind. On more than one occasion, as a Father, I called for unity with beseeching words; on many occasions as the Head of our Church I gave advice with firm and decisive words whenever it was necessary to awaken the sleeping conscience and to point out the pastoral responsibility for the spiritual flock before God and the Church. For the Episcopate should be a model of unanimity in the administration of the Church and an example of unity in all aspects of religious and national life! All that I had to suffer because of this — the scorn, the mental wounds, in a word, all those “arrows fired at me by the evil one” — are well known to you. They were by no means easier than those in the prisons and in deportations. And I endured them as painfully as I had suffered the tortures in prison in earlier years. But today I thank the Almighty that I was beaten both in the prisons and in freedom! I thank Him that I was beaten and not glorified by the slaves!

I forgive them all, for they too are only instruments in the Hands of the Almighty, who summoned me and gave me His Blessing to be a *Prisoner for the sake of Christ, both in captivity and in freedom!*

Our serene predecessor, the Servant of God Josyf Venyamyn Rutskyj, in his testament implies the same sin, the same lack of unity in the ranks of



His Holiness Pope John Paul II with Patriarch Josyf Slipyj.

the Episcopate. He also mentions quarrels, a pursuit of gain and negligence of pastoral duties, as a result of which he calls all the bishops to spiritual harmony and earnest work. He beseeches them saying: "I ask only one thing of my Most highly reverend Fathers, Bishops of Rus', that through the love of Christ they unite with one another and with their Metropolitan. Let them confirm by words and deeds that they recognise him as father..."

Having here expressed the bitter sorrow and pain which fills my heart, I do not in any way wish to reproach anyone. Therefore, my Eminent and Dear Brothers in Episcopal service, forgive me as I forgive you! When I express my bitter pain I wish in this way for the last time, as a father and as a pastor, to remind you and to call on you: United together, save our Church from destruction and ruin! Let your unity, the unity of the whole Episcopate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, become a stimulus and an inspiration for all those pastors, clergy and faithful, whose fathers and ancestors were born from the Mother Church, the Kyivan Metropolitanate. In the process of history they have become scattered in different countries, among various peoples, and have forgotten the mother, who bore them. Help them to rediscover this Mother once more!

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"Sitting on the sleigh..." my thoughts extend to all my brothers and sisters in Ukraine and the vast expanses of the whole Soviet Union, to those who suffer in freedom and to those who languish in jails, prisons, hard labour camps or death camps... In their midst I can see new ranks of fighters, scientists, writers, artists, farm workers and labourers. I can see among them those who search for truth and those who defend justice. I can hear their voices raised in defence of the basic human rights of the individual and nations. I watch them with wonder and see how they defend our native Ukrainian word, how they enrich our native Ukrainian culture, and how with the full power of their minds and hearts they save the Ukrainian soul. And I suffer alongside them, for they are persecuted for this as common criminals.

I pray for you, my Brothers, and ask God to grant you strength to carry on defending the natural and Divine rights of every individual human being and of the whole society. I extend my blessings to you as the Head of the Ukrainian Church, as a Son of the Ukrainian nation, as your brother, your fellow prisoner and your co-sufferer!

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"Sitting on the sleigh...", here on the hill of the Vatican, as if on the rocks of the island of Patmos, where St. John the Theologian, a forced refugee from his native land, was in deep contemplation of his visions and revelations...

I listen to the voice of the Lord which says: "I am the Alpha and the Omega, who is and who was and who is to come, the Sovereign Lord of all" (Revelation 1,8). I also as once did John, "our brother, who shares with us in the suffering and the kingdom and the endurance which is ours in Jesus" (compare with Revelation 1,9), do prophesy to you the mystery of what I see and what is to come.

I can see the Daughter Churches of our Ukrainian Church in the various

continents of the world. One moment they shine brightly like the stars, the next they flicker like will-o'-the-wisps... Therefore my words are aimed at them.

To the Daughter Church nearest the frosty Polar region⁹ I call out: "I know all your ways; you are neither hot nor cold. How I wish you were either hot or cold!... You say, 'How rich I am! And how well I have done! I have everything I want in the world.'... *Be on your mettle therefore and repent*" (Revelation 3,15-17,19).

Before my eyes now appears in the neighbourhood the Daughter Church in the country which welcomes strangers with a monument — the symbol of liberty, and named this cradle of its birth and growth the city of "Brotherly love"¹⁰ Here also can be found the place where the first Daughter of the Ukrainian Mother Church was born and raised. I beseech you with the voice of the Lord which says: Christ gave you "the key of David — the symbol of power and authority (compare with Isaiah 22,22-25 and Revelation 3,7), the keys of death and Hades" (Revelation 1,18). It goes on "I know all your ways..." and they shall know that you are my beloved people. If you keep "my commands and hold fast I will also keep you from the ordeal that is to fall upon the whole world and test its inhabitants..." (compare with Revelation 3,8-10). Therefore avoid all temptation and be the defender of the oppressed and the suffering members of Your Mother Church! Be the live witness of brotherly love!

With the eyes of my soul I can see in the south a Daughter Church that is still young. It lies on the continent blessed by Christ the Saviour from a mountain by the side of the sea.¹¹ I too extend my blessings to you my Daughter Church, as humble as your Mother Church! Listen to the voice of the Lord which is directed towards you: "I know how hard pressed you are, and poor — and yet you are rich... Be faithful till death, and I will give you the crown of life" (Revelation 2,9-10).

With gratitude I think of the Daughter Church in the land of the antipodes¹² and in my prayers I offer it the voice of the Lord: "I know all your ways, your love and your faithfulness, your good service and your fortitude..." (Revelation 2,19).

Although you are situated so far away beyond the seas, yet you are tied so very closely in your soul and in your heart to the Mother Church! I extend my blessings upon you and implore you to endure in the faith of your fathers, in the love for your brothers, and in the service of your Mother Church! And let your reward be "the morning star" (Revelation 2,28), which the Lord will give to you.

With pain in my heart I watch the Daughter Church in the Albion.¹³ I will not speak to you any longer for I can see my end is near. But since my voice, the voice of the Head of the Ukrainian Church, did not reach your upper strata and did not stir their conscience, then listen to the voice of One "who has the sharp two-edged sword: I know where you live; it is the place where Satan has his throne. And yet you are holding fast to my cause. You did not deny your faith in me.. But I have a few matters to bring against you: you have... some that hold to the teaching of Balaam, who taught Balak to put temptation in the way of the Israelites... So repent..." (Revelation 2,12-14,16).

From my hilltop, as if from the rocks of Patmos, I also cast my glance upon the Daughter Church in the countries around me, on the old continent.¹⁴ I offer my prayers for it, ploughed up by frontiers and divided by curtains, and the voice of the Lord speaks to it, saying: "I know all your ways; that though you have a name for being alive, you are dead. Wake up, and put some strength into what is left, which must otherwise die! For I have not found any work of yours completed in the eyes of my God. So remember the teaching you received; observe it, and repent" (Revelation 3,1-3).

*

And among these visions which appear before my eyes, I can see Kyiv, the City of the Throne in my own native land. In farewell I speak to it with the words of the Revelation: "I know all your ways, your toil and your fortitude. I know you cannot endure evil men; you have put to the proof those who claim to be apostles but are not, and have found them false. Fortitude you have; you have borne up in my cause and never flagged" (Revelation 2,2-3). So the voice of the Lord reveals to you: "I shall raise up your guide light..." (Revelation 2,5). And I, your Son, bid you farewell. "Shine on", our own Jerusalem, and you shall rise again in your former glory!

This my vision, my Dear spiritual flock, I retell you and offer it to you as a Guidance in your pilgrimages!

*

I would not be a loving father or a good pastor if I were to forget my closest toilers. They are the ecclesiastical fathers, monks and nuns, who throughout my stay on this Roman island formed my spiritual family. They listened to me like to a father, they worked along with me and they served me, their Pastor, with their knowledge and with their untiring work. They prayed for me and with me, and they embraced me with their love. They helped me and cared for me when I lost my strength in old age. They shared their happiness and their pain with me and they helped me to carry the heavy cross of a Prisoner for the sake of Christ! With the sincere heart of a father I thank you and give my blessings to you with my infirm hand! And I ask the Almighty God, united in the Holy Trinity, that the Holy Spirit may consecrate, enlighten, preserve and encourage you in your faithful service to your own native Ukrainian Church!

*

Bury me in our Patriarchal Cathedral of St. Sofia, and when our vision shall turn into reality and our Holy Church and our Ukrainian nation shall rise once again in freedom, carry the coffin in which I shall come to rest to my native land and place it in the shrine of St. George in Lviv, near the tomb of the Servant of God Andrey. I die and pass away from this world as the one whom the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey, the Head of our Church, summoned in his authority to serve as the Exarch of Eastern "Great" Ukraine. If such is the will of God and the wish of the Ukrainian people of God, then lay my coffin in the vaults of the restored Cathedral of St. Sofia. I was made to suffer for many long years in the vaults of a Kyiv prison, when I was

still among the living, but I would like to rest in peace in the underground crypt of the restored Cathedral of St. Sofia, once my body has ceased to live!

★

Bury me, my Brothers and Children, and “find your strength in the Lord, in His mighty power. Put on all the armour which God provides, so that you may be able to stand firm against the devices of the devil. For our fight is not against human foes, but against cosmic powers, against the authorities and potentates of this dark world, against the superhuman forces of evil in the heavens. Therefore, take up God’s armour; then you will be able to stand your ground when things are at their worst, to complete every task and still to stand. Stand firm, I say. Buckle on the belt of truth; for coat of mail put on integrity; let the shoes on your feet be the gospel of peace, to give you firm footing; and, with all these, take up the great shield of faith, with which you will be able to quench all the flaming arrows of the evil one. Take salvation for helmet; for sword, take that which the Spirit gives you — the words that come from God!” (Ephesians 6,10-17).

“Sitting on the sleigh and on my way into the far off distance...” I say a prayer to our Heavenly Protector and Queen, the Ever-Virgin Mother of God: Take our Ukrainian Church and our Ukrainian People under your Powerful Protection!

May the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all! Amen!

† *Josyf, God’s Humble Servant, Patriarch and Cardinal*

In prayer and in deep thought I started to write this in 1970, and completed and signed it on the eve of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the most pure Virgin Mary in 1981.

Translated from Ukrainian and notes added by Stephen Oleskiw M.A.

¹ Taken from Volodymyr Monomakh, Grand Prince of Rus’: “Instructions to the Children” and refers to the ancient tradition of Kyivan Rus’ that the dead were borne to their place of burial on a sleigh.

² Compare with the prayer Tsariu Nebesnyi (O Heavenly Father).

³ Compare with Josyf Slipyj’s Address at the opening ceremony of the Academy of Theology on 6th October, 1929.

⁴ A fuller reference to Monomakh: op. cit. (see Note 1 above).

⁵ Extract from Writings in solitary confinement, Kyiv Prison, 33, Korolenko St., 14. 2. 1961.

⁶ See Blahovisnyk (Litterae-Nuntiae), Book 1-4, 1969, p. 120.

⁷ From the Ukrainian church hymns: O Lord, hear our supplication, and O Great Lord.

⁸ Compare with the Decrees of the Synod. Blahovisnyk (Litterae-Nuntiae), Book 1-4, 1969, p. 127.

⁹ Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada.

¹⁰ Ukrainian Catholic Church in the U.S.A.

¹¹ Ukrainian Catholic Churches in South America.

¹² Ukrainian Catholic Church in Australia.

¹³ Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United Kingdom.

¹⁴ Ukrainian Catholic Churches on the continent of Europe.

The Present Political Situation in Hungary

The political situation in Hungary today in comparison to the other Warsaw Pact countries is a unique status quo situation. It is impossible to either analyse or comment upon it. At present only the description of the visible conditions is possible while the new "small economic wonder" (as it is called domestically, and in the West is known as "Gulash Communism"), has completely changed the face of the communist regime.

The free democratic West has invested too much in Hungary economically and accordingly would like to see the democratic rules in order to protect its interests.

Hungary, as the threshold and East-West go-between agent of the highly indebted and economically miserable Warsaw Pact, has no alternative or possibility to build dams or barricades against Western demands. Thus, it has presented itself the 'Janus head' with which the communist regime can turn the democratic side of its face and then claim that in Hungary (behind the barbed wire, watch-towers, pack of hounds and MG's) everything has been democratised!

The tragedy lies in the fact that the West demands no documentation but rather (out of lazy convenience, naive stupidity, or shabby profit lust) believes, recognises and accepts everything.

The other side of the face of the regime — the terror — has lately disappeared from the street. It has withdrawn into schools, offices, state institutes and at present exercises its power without uniforms.

The complete picture of the country is much darker than before: Communism with the forcible help of the "democratic Christian West" — has become homely, and enjoys all civil rights. The terror ap-

paratchiks in international politics sit at the conference tables as equal partners, so what can or should the resistance movement of a small country await from Western politics?

The tactic of "small freedoms" in the "Gulash communism" is devilishly well thought-out. After 40 years of deprivation and misery, the people have become addicted and frenzy in the "small economic wonder". Since they have been let loose upon the now available, buyable, earthly goods, blind and without thinking, in a horrendous tempo everyone is trying to procure and collect those things that could only be dreamt of in the past 40 years. (Western prospectuses and catalogues were worth gold).

The transcendental values, such as God, the church, religion, fatherland, politics, moral, environment are no longer asked for today. There is practically no-one left who could draw attention to the ideals of humanity.

The Christian church which up till now had the greatest strength of resistance has turned into living dead. The church state authority has thoroughly carried out its work and can present an excellent situation. The clergy, true to the church and nation, in other words those priests still able to be active have been fully exterminated, partly through being banned to exercise their vocational duties and degraded to daily labourers, and partly through year-long persecution in which they were ill-treated and miserably perished. The episcopates are fully in the hands of so-called "peace priests" that are forced to carry out a "policy of small steps" (i.e. collaboration) without any power, or influence, thus being puppets of the State Church Authority.

Hungary today lives in a horror-vision.

Byelorussia Under Russian Pressure

Russian pressure of terror on the population of Byelorussia is especially strong, as my country is a strategically very important territory for an offense against Western Europe in case of an attack.

Moscow has deployed its important modern conventional and nuclear weapons on our territory. It is also known that numerous Soviet garrisons are stationed in Byelorussia.

For these reasons Moscow keeps the Byelorussian population under heavy control and increased policy of Russification. As a result, for many years now there have been no Byelorussian schools, not even in the capital Minsk.

In a joint decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia and the Council of Ministers of the BSSR (under pressure from Moscow), measures were undertaken which would increase the teaching of Russian in general schools and particularly in institutes

The small amount of freedom, the "small economic wonder", as well as the "Gulash Communism", are accredited as a sense of prosperity, as an achievement of the old and sick head of the government Janos Kadar. His death could be accompanied with a political earthquake and what will happen next? Will Stalinism return? The ghost of Stalinism hangs in the air as a permanent threat and causes the populace to flee to alcoholism which has become a national illness. The whole country in a doped state lives according to the motto of the old Romans: "Carpe diem!" — enjoy life to the full (before Stalin comes back)!!! This state of mind and situation passes well in Moscow's concept. Nations addicted to prosperity, fully doped cannot afford any resistance.

of education that teach in the Byelorussian language ("Sovietskaya Byelorus", 10. 7. 1983).

The aim of this campaign is to complete the Russification of the BSSR and degrade it to a province of Moscow.

In spite of heavy pressure from Moscow, the population, as far as it is possible, passively resists against the communist regime.

According to official press reports, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia insists that all sections of the Party and local executives of the BSSR pay special attention that the output in industrial and agricultural centres should increase ("Sov. Byel." and "Zviazda" 27. 7. 1983, "Sov. Byel." 3. 8. 1983, 7. 8. 1983, 18. 8. 1983, 20. 8. 1983, 31. 8. 1983, 21. 9. 1983).

The fall of productivity is noticeable in all sections of state life. Therefore, all Ministers, leaders of central offices and local executives are reminded to pay attention to unallowed waste of productivity time in factories, stealing of socialist property in order to increase the effectiveness of productivity and capacity of work. (Sov. Byel. 6. 7. 1983, 20. 8. 1983, 31. 8. 1983, 18. 9. 1983, 2. 11. 1983, 13. 12. 1983, "Zviazda" and "Sov. Byel." 21. 9. 83).

The Politburo of the CC of the CP reprimanded the Writers' Union that it did not give much attention to the subjects of Political Economy and Reorganization of the Village in the Sense of Communist Aims, etc. etc. (Sov. Byel. 13. 12. 1983).

Religious life is also put under pressure by Moscow. There are only a few churches left in which Mass is celebrated.

The Byelorussian Orthodox Church,

which in 1942 was proclaimed by the All-Byelorussian Church Council as Autocephalic, is now under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate and the followers of the Autocephaly deported to slave labour camps.

The only priest seminar existing was closed in 1959 and the majority of the theology students — on the grounds of so-called ‘fascist activity’ mostly sentenced to 5 years of forced labour in Siberia.

It is not allowed to build new churches. If some churches or synagogues are renovated, then only because they are of architectural interest. After renovation they are converted into “atheist museums”, concert halls, garages etc.

The best sons of the Byelorussian nation: Michael Kukabaka, Eugen Buzinnikau, Ivan Karejsha, Halina Wilczynskaya and many others who had the courage to defend religious, human and national

rights of the Byelorussian nation and other nations, were arrested and sentenced to hard labour.

Nevertheless, news about liberation activities in the Free World of Byelorussian emigrants, the Byelorussian Liberation Front, their membership and active co-operation in such organisations as ABN, EFC, APACL, WACL and others in the Free World, seeps through various channels into Byelorussia and strengthens courage, will and spiritual force of our nation to resist against the Russian Communist regime.

Finally, I would like to remark that only through co-operation of all common forces of the subjugated nations and the Free World, which strive towards freedom, communist imperialism and colonialism can be destroyed. Only then can such human values as: human and national rights, freedom, peace, justice and prosperity be realised.

STEPAN BANDERA'S DEATH COMMEMORATED



The requiem served at Stepan Bandera's grave on the commemoration of his heroic death 25 years ago.

Rumania's Independency?

It is a well-known fact that the East-European countries are not free — the Soviet Union regards itself as master over those countries. Immediately after the Second World War, the Soviet system of economy, law and government was installed upon these countries, much against the will of its peoples. After all, it is the Communist Party that governs these countries, the center and head of which is in Moscow.

As soon as the Soviets feel that somewhere their interests might be in danger, they appear on the spot, mostly along with their troops, as we have seen in Berlin, Prague and Warsaw.

It should not be too difficult to understand how this system is working, all the more so, as the Eastern press openly and distinctly writes about these subjects — if only we would take the trouble to read it. In *GAZETA ROBOTNIEZA*, for instance, we can read that the socialist countries have to fulfil different tasks. What kind of tasks these are, is explained in the book *SOCIALIST DIPLOMACY*, published in 1973 in Moscow, the German translation was published in 1974 in East Berlin. Here we find in detail how socialist foreign policy is functioning. We are also informed about the close co-operation of the socialist countries in economy and in science, about the co-operation of information and propaganda. How the delegates of the foreign ministries are gathering and discussing their common actions. The Soviet Russians are very carefully watching any unrest in their satellite countries, so that they may take immediate action.

We ask ourselves — how is it possible that the Soviets keep silent about those escapades of Ceausescu, how can they tolerate his so-called independent policy? The explanation is very simple.

The whole thing is a big theatre performance, directed by the Soviets themselves, because this way they deceive the Western countries, getting from them the support and financial aid, they otherwise perhaps would not get.

Since about 20 years, in the Western press we only hear about the independent policy of Rumania. Please tell me, what kind of changes have there been within this long period of years? Did Rumania quit COMECON, did it withdraw from the Warsaw Pact? No. Simply because this is impossible. Rumania is still bound to and interwoven into the Soviet system, as ever it has been. Factories are rising up in the Soviet Union, which are paid by the Rumanians; all along the Soviet-Rumanian frontiers new mutual economic projects are installed, so that the Eastern countries shall be bound together closer and closer in the future. The Soviets are not only playing their theatre performance effectively, they even get it payed by the West. The participation of Rumania in the Olympic Games is said to have cost 120,000 dollars. Now we learn that the American government has even promised to guarantee for Rumania the most-favoured nation clause.

Rumania is encircled by socialist countries. Due to economical and political reasons, nobody can extricate Rumania at present from the Soviet-Russian Empire. Ceausescu is the last person to do it. He, being a successful pupil of a School for Espionage in Moscow, cannot even rely on his own party in Bucharest, not to mention the Rumanian people. His only support is Moscow. We, Rumanians, feel deep sorrow while watching Western journalists and even politicians participating in this sad comedy. We feel hurt and humiliated. Rumania will only become free when Moscow falls.

B. Fedorak, AF ABN Chairman

“You Have Carried the Torch of Freedom”

The welcoming speech for President R. Reagan during his visit to the Ukrainian Cultural Center, October 10, 1984, Warren, Michigan.

On behalf of all present, it is a distinct pleasure and great privilege to warmly welcome you, Mr. President, to the Ukrainian Cultural Center.

Your presence among us serves to underscore your commitment to the concerns of Ukrainian Americans and ethnic Americans from the captive nations as a whole.

As your personal representative, Linas Kojelis, stated during the rally to protest russification of Ukraine this past September 16,

“You, Mr. President, pulled the Captive Nations Week out of the dustbin and polished it up, to have it shine like a beacon of hope as it is meant to be.”

Mr. President, within the past four

years, you have courageously and eloquently articulated the needs and desires of all Ukrainian-Americans and others who have fled communist Russian expansionism. More specifically, through your commitment to strengthen and broaden the activities of Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and Radio Marti, you have carried the torch of freedom to the enslaved people in Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Hungary, Byelorussia, Slovakia, Rumania, Croatia, Armenia, Cuba and others. In this way, you have reinforced their determination to liberate their countries from Soviet Russian imperialism.

We support and commend your personal commitment to make known the



The banquet held in honor of President Ronald Reagan during his visit to the Ukrainian Cultural Center, Warren, Michigan.

struggle of individual political and religious prisoners in the Soviet-Russian Gulag, such as Ukrainian patriot Yuriy Shukhevych who has served over 30 years for his refusal to denounce his father, General Roman Shukhevych, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Yuriy Shukhevych was brought one step closer to freedom by your words on his behalf in the Captive Nations Week Proclamation.

Ukrainian-Americans are especially proud of the numerous Ukrainians that you have chosen to serve in your Administration. The whole community is proud of the contributions of Ambassador Lev Dobriansky, Chairman Bohdan Futey, and recently nominated United States Information Agency Deputy Director, George Nesterchuk.

Mr. President, your personal condolence on the passing of Ukrainian Patriarch Josyf was very warmly welcomed by Ukrainians everywhere. As you may know, the mere mention of the Patriarch's name is enough to bring tears to all Ukrainian eyes, for it was he who stood alone before the Stalinist horror and said "No".

Just as our dear Patriarch Josyf said no to the Soviet Russians in 1946, Ukrainians around the world will continue to

say no to cultural, religious and political oppression forced upon them.

Mr. President, Ukrainians' deep commitment to their faith will be celebrated in 1988, the year of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine. Ukrainians around the world will mark this momentous occasion with a monument in Washington, D.C. to St. Volodymyr Velykyj who introduced Christianity in Ukraine.

Allow me to take this opportunity to extend a formal invitation to partake in the monument's unveiling during the second term of your Administration.

Finally, we wholeheartedly support and commend your clearly established moral vision for world peace and international harmony. Ukrainians are most heartened that national and human rights of the peoples of the captive nations hold a prominent place in this vision.

And now, Mr. President, according to our ancient custom which is sanctioned by centuries and has been used to bestow great honor upon Kings, Church dignitaries and national heroes, we present you with bread and salt wishing you health and prosperity.

Mr. President, welcome to the Ukrainian Cultural Center. "Our home is your home".

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE USA

We have learned very recently of the death in a Leningrad prison hospital on October 7 of Valeriy Marchenko. Mr. Marchenko, who was only 37 years old, was one of the Soviet Union's most prominent human rights activists.

A journalist by profession, Mr. Marchenko had already served eight years in prison — an ordeal which he barely survived. Nonetheless, this past March he was sentenced to an additional ten years of imprisonment and five years of internal exile because he had written articles criticizing the harshness of Soviet labor camps and the violations of human and national rights in Ukraine. It is reported that an appeal by his family for amelioration of his conditions, based on his precarious health, was refused by the Soviet authorities.

We are deeply saddened and enraged by Mr. Marchenko's needless death. His brave struggle for individual liberties is an inspiration to all of us. His death brings home the tragedy of the deteriorating human rights situation in the Soviet Union, a situation which all Americans deeply deplore.

17th WACL CONFERENCE HELD

The 17th Annual World Anti-Communist League (WACL) convened during September 3 to 7, 1984 at the Sheraton Harbour Island East Hotel in San Diego, California. The conference theme was "United Strength for Peace with Freedom For All". This year's conference host was the United States Council for World Freedom, which happens to have a large contingent of Ukrainian-American members from Arizona who helped in holding this 17th annual meeting.

Over 92 delegations attended along with a number of observers; a total of over 400 participants. The subjugated nations were represented by: ABN as the regional representation; national member delegations of Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Croatia, Hungary, Poland, Ukraine and Turkestan (ABN); and associate members of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (CLLU) and the Organization for the Defense of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine (ODFFU). Youth representatives were included in almost all of the delegations.

Monday, September 3, was set aside for registration, the Membership Committee Meeting, the Executive Meeting and the Council Meeting, therefore the conference for the rank and file delegates and observers began on Tuesday, September 4. Some selected highlights of the program were as follows:

Tuesday morning started with the formal opening, the entry of colors, addresses by the WACL Chairman, Conference Chairman and Honorary Chairman of WACL, and the presentation of various messages. In the afternoon participants heard reports from each of the 7 WACL regions; Asia, South America, Middle East, North America, Africa, Europe and the ABN. Following these reports was a lecture and panel discussion on Mainland China.

One passionately discussed issue was the future of Hong Kong. The Chinese delegation from Taiwan argued that Hong Kong should either be returned to the Republic of China (Taiwan), or be granted independence. Giving Hong Kong to Red China (which did not negotiate the lease with Britain) would be tantamount to colonizing what is now a de-facto independent and prosperous city-state. The "return" of Hong Kong to Red China would spell its ruin.

The morning of Wednesday, September 5 was given to reports on the current status of various resistance movements. Freedom fighters from Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, Indo-China and Mozambique reported on the status of their struggles. They all desperately need assistance.

Amidst the comfort, plentitude and security of the Sheraton Harbour Island Hotel, one could not help but feel admiration for these men who were going to return in 3 days to the forests, mountains and streets of their countries to continue their active struggle and put their lives on the line.

On Wednesday afternoon, seminar meetings were scheduled for each specific theatre of anti-communist resistance. Then, in the following plenary session, five different experts gave position papers on socialism in Africa, the NATO Alliance, Ostpolitik, subversion in Britain, and Soviet-Russian vulnerabilities.

On the morning of Thursday, September 6 each of the seven WACL regions held separate regional meetings. Each region was to articulate a "plan of action" for the following year and to present that plan to the WACL Secretariat. ABN held its meeting in the Mission Courts North Room and was chaired by Mrs. Slava Stetsko.

Following the regional meetings, Mr. Arie Wudka from Israel addressed the

FREEDOM FOR ALL

Joint Communique of the 17th World Anti-Communist League Conference, September 3-7, 1984, San Diego, California, USA.

The 17th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League, held on September 3-7, 1984, in San Diego on the West Coast of the United States of America, was attended by 291 Freedom Fighters in 98 delegations from 98 countries and 9 international organizations. Discussions were directed toward joint global endeavors for freedom, for national independence with full civil liberties for all mankind and peace and prosperity for the entire world. Unity of purpose was demonstrated throughout the Conference.

The participants agreed, after thorough reviews and discussions throughout the Conference, that the following trends of the world today should be addressed:

1. Continuing expansionism of Communist power on multiple fronts in its undeviating drive to communize the world has put peoples in bondage and misery.

2. Growing public awareness of Communist ideology and aggression.

3. Increasing strength in the ranks of freedom forces in many sectors of the world.

In order to point the way toward freedom and justice, the Conference adopted "UNITED STRENGTH FOR PEACE WITH FREEDOM FOR ALL" as its theme and resolved to strive for the following goals:

plenary session. His topic was the "Colossus on Clay Feet". He spoke in Ukrainian and was simultaneously translated into French, English and Spanish. Thursday's sessions ended with the adoption of the Joint Communique of the WACL Conference, the closing ceremonies, a news conference, and farewell dinner.

Yarema Gregory Kelebay

1. The formation and implementation of a global strategy, with the United States taking the initiative, to meet the common defense needs of all free nations and to aid in the liberation of those now in captivity.

2. a) Support the freedom forces of UNITA in Angola, RENAMO in Mozambique and others in Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia and in Asia and Africa generally.

b) Repeal the Clark Amendment which bans U.S. support to forces battling for democratic societies.

c) Stop supplying political, economic and military support to Mozambique, Angola and other Communist regimes.

d) Negotiate towards the true independence of Southwest Africa (Namibia) but not through UN Resolution 435 which would favor the establishment of a SWAPO Namibia.

e) In their dealing with Communist China, Western Europe, the United States and Japan should recognize that it is a regime rooted in unwavering Marxism-Leninism that is acting in all its endeavors to extend the goal of world Communism, using Leninist tactics of measured alliances to achieve that goal.

f) Annul the Joint-Communique of August 17th, 1982 between the U.S. and Communist China that seriously militates against the vital interest of the Republic of China.

g) There should be a reversal of the Policy of Free Nations of infusing with technological scientific, economic and military assistance to Communist China. Peking is now carrying on insurgency against ASEAN and other nations around the world. Moreover, countless thousands of innocent people are being incarcerated, subjected to torture and executed in total violation of human rights.

h) Because of the geopolitical importance of the Republic of China, the Congressional mandate of the "Taiwan Relations Act" should be actively implemented by selling the necessary arms for the Republic of China's defense.

i) In order to achieve a truly unified Korea which will provide for the freedom of the Korean people, support the proposal of the Republic of Korea for "Peaceful Unification through National Reconciliation and Democratic Process" and denunciation of North Korea's provocative and aggressive actions directed against the Republic of Korea.

j) Realizing the increasing importance of the Asian-Pacific region, support a regional arrangement to secure peace, security and freedom on the continent of Asia, including the sub-continent of India as well as Oceania. That would include Japan, Republic of China, Republic of Korea, ASEAN and ANZUS nations, with the active assistance of the United States.

k) Urge Free Nations to uphold human rights, apply sanctions against Moscow until it ends its aggression in Afghanistan. There should be expanded assistance to anti-Communist Islamic states. Full support should be given to all efforts made by King Fahd and President Reagan to settle what has been called the Palestinian Issue, end the Iran-Iraq War and to prevent all forms of Communist subversion in order to bring peace to the entire region of the Middle East.

l) On captive nations, maintain, promulgate and implement the listing of the captive nations so that the world will clearly have before it an identification of friend and foe in order to guide free nations in their international relationships. Such a listing would be a guide on whether technological, economic and military assistance should be granted, all the while aiding the liberation forces of the peoples so captivated. Such a listing would dispel

the wrong impression that the USSR is a "nation" instead of a Soviet Russian empire of 15 nations, for example Ukraine, the Baltic nations, Georgia, Armenia and others.

m) On Central America, because of the abundant and diverse hardcore international Communist forces there, including Bulgarians, East Germans, North Koreans, Vietnamese and Cubans, now carrying on aggression and subversion against Central America, the attitude of Western nations should be based on the assumption that the Soviet invasion of the Western Hemisphere has already begun. Actually this invasion can be stopped through naval embargoes.

Accordingly, the United States should invoke the Monroe Doctrine, the Rio Treaty and the OAS Charter and begin a campaign to restore freedom and democracy to both Nicaragua and Cuba, current centers of Soviet influence, all the while aiding openly — not covertly — those forces that are struggling to restore freedom where it has been stifled and preserve it where it is threatened as in El Salvador.

n) Peace through strength should be the military goal of all free nations. For strength is the best defense against aggression.

While the elimination of all nuclear weapons should be the goal of mankind, this should not be undertaken by the United States and the West in a unilateral fashion and any agreement to reduce nuclear weapons should be subject to realistic verifiable procedures such as on-site inspection and effective mutuality. As of now international agreements are being violated against Asian peoples through poison gas and toxin attacks on civilians especially in Afghanistan and Laos.

Emphasis should be laid on defense against nuclear weapons rather than on

reliance on the threat of ineffective retaliation.

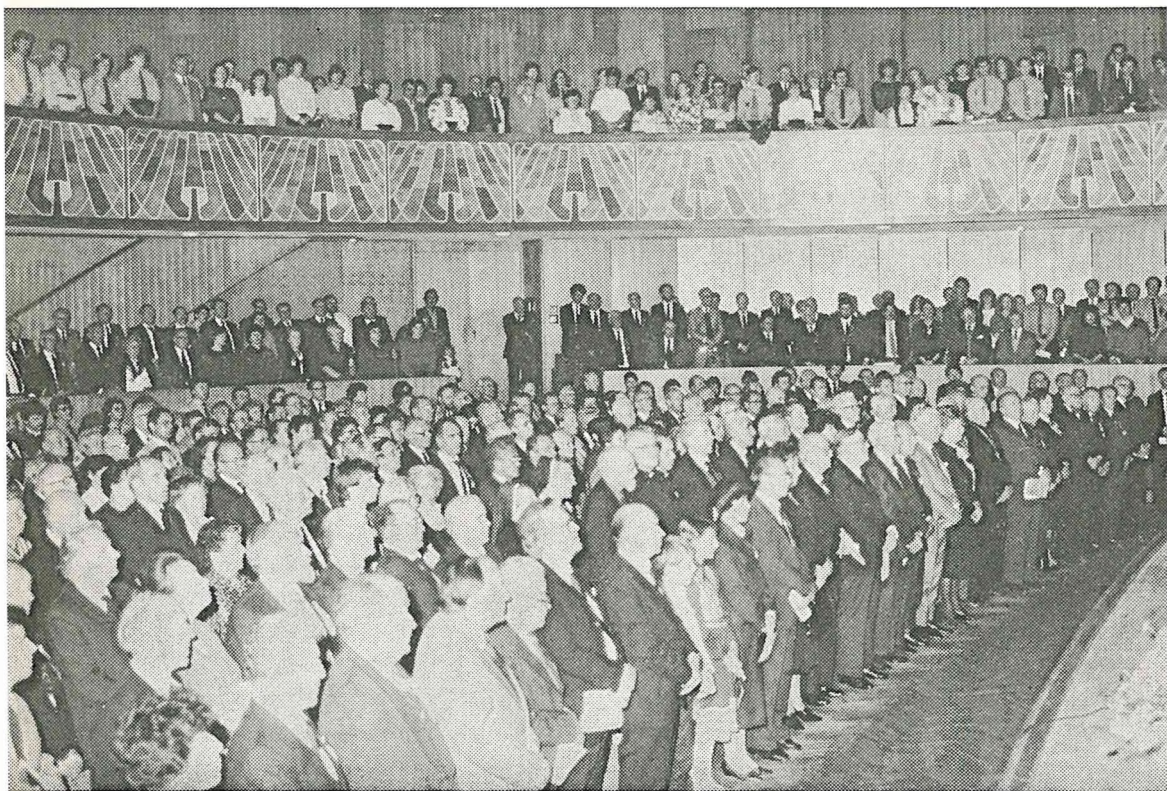
o) On the issue of the future of Hong Kong's 5.3 million people, any settlement of its status should respect the wishes of the people there in the pursuit of their freedom and democracy.

In order to effectively achieve the goals set forth above, there should be an improvement in the agencies disseminating news releases, video tapes and other public relation instruments that would demonstrate the effectiveness and viability of resistance to Communists in Nicaragua, An-

gola, Mozambique, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and elsewhere.

Finally, the participants express their gratitude to United States President Ronald Reagan, President Chiang Chingkuo of the Republic of China, President Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay and President Luis Alberto Monge of Costa Rica for their forthright statements of support for the goals and purposes of this Conference and to the U.S. Council for World Freedom, our American Chapter, for the excellent arrangements, warm hospitality, effective leadership and other great contribution to the cause of freedom.

25TH ANNIVERSARY OF STEPAN BANDERA'S DEATH COMMEMORATED



Participants standing during the opening prayer at the commemorative concert.

ABN ACTIVITIES

ABN Report for the 17th WACL Conference, September 3-7, 1984, San Diego, California.

ABN 40th Anniversary

The year under review, 1983, was marked in particular by *the commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations*. The most significant commemoration was held in *the United States capital* in conjunction with the 25th Observance of Captive Nations Week. President Ronald Reagan spoke on this occasion in the White House and Vice-President George Bush spoke at the dinner dedicated to this anniversary. In the Congress two events were held, firstly a commemorative luncheon at which the main speech was given by Hon. Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. Representative to the United Nations, and ABN President Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, Mr. Richard Allen, Congressman Philip Crane and Congressman Gerald Solomon delivered addresses (published in previous editions of ABN Correspondence). In the afternoon there was an International Conference held at which the speakers were Major Gen. John K. Singlaub — Chairman, US Council for World Freedom, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang — Hon. Chairman, WACL, Hon. J. William Middendorf III — US Ambassador to the Organization of American States, Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. — Vice-Chairman, Conservative Party Defense Committee UK, Mr. Bohdan Fedorak — AF ABN, Mr. Wahid Kharim — Former Afghan Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Jeremiah Chitunda — Secretary of Foreign Affairs, National Union for Total Independence of Angola, Mr. Le Thi Anh — Coalition of Free Vietnamese and Dr. Douglas Darby — author, former M.P. in Australia.

On November 5, the Central Committee of ABN held a *commemorative con-*

ference in Munich together with the EFC headed by the Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. The main speakers were ABN President Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko and Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. — President of the EFC. Representatives of the national groups — Dipl. Ing. P. Mehra, Dr. I. M. Bankowski, Dr. M. Ausala, Mr. A. Jakovljevic, Mr. H. Kassajep, Mr. M. Pstrag-Bielenski, Dr. A. Suga, Mr. V. Berko and Mr. D. Kosmowicz — delivered greetings. The national groups of Bulgaria, Latvia, North Caucasus and Ukraine participated in the cultural part of the programme. A statement on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of ABN was issued by the Central Committee of ABN and a similar statement was accepted in Great Britain, the United States and Canada.

The Munich celebrations were covered several times by Radio Liberty in broadcasts on the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Baltic, Turkestani and Caucasian services.

On the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the ABN an International Committee was formed.

In Great Britain two commemorative conferences were organised *on November 19 in London* and *November 20 in Bradford* by ABN groups in Bradford. On November 19 in London an anti-communist demonstration was staged in front of the Russian Embassy from 10 a.m. till 4 p.m. At the celebration in London the main speakers were ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko and Chairman of the EFC John Wilkinson, M.P.. The celebrations were opened by Mr. Glinski. Mr. S. Terlezkyj was another speaker from the British Parliament and Mrs. S. Stetsko spoke on behalf of the Central Committee of ABN. Greetings were delivered by the

national representatives from Lithuania, Byelorussia, Estonia, Slovakia, Latvia and Croatia, and cultural ensembles of Latvia, Estonia and Ukraine entertained the huge audience. The next day, in the Bradford Cathedral a plaque dedicated to the Captive Nations and ABN was unveiled with an appropriate ceremony by ABN President Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko. On the cover of the Order of Service *in the Bradford Cathedral* we read: Order of Service at the Dedication of a *Commemorative Stone to mark the 40th Anniversary of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations and the 20th Anniversary of the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford*. Sunday 20th November, 1983 at 3.30 p.m. The text of the plaque is: "Freedom for Nations — Freedom for Individuals. This plaque was unveiled by Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and dedicated by the Very Rev. Brandon Jackson, Provost of Bradford, and the East European Clergy on 20th Nov. 1983, to mark the 40th Anniversary of the ABN and the 20th Anniversary of the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford, whose countries are denied their freedom." The whole prayer and predict of the Rev. Brandon Jackson, Provost of Bradford was very deep in context and full of sympathy for the Captive Nations. He was assisted by the clergy of the subjugated nations. At the celebrations similar to those in London the speakers were Hon. John Wilkinson, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko with greetings from the national groups as well as cultural ensembles, choirs and ballets of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Hungary and Ukraine.

The magazine "The Spectator" of December 3rd, covered the event in London with a long article by Auberon Waugh. The events in Bradford were covered by several newspapers such as the "Yorkshire Post", the "Telegraph and Argus" — twice, the "Bradford Star".

On a larger scale, the commemoration *organised by Detroit ABN* under the leadership of Mr. Bohdan Fedorak, President Council of Nationalities of ABN. AF ABN groups from Colorado, Cleveland, Chicago, Buffalo and other cities participated in the Detroit commemorations. The main speakers were Congressman Philip M. Crane and ABN President Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko. The Governor of the State of Michigan James J. Blanchard and the Mayors Coleman A. Young — City of Detroit, James R. Randlett — City of Warren, John B. O'Reilly — City of Dearborn, Edward H. McNamara — City of Livonia, Robert Kozaren — City of Hamtrack, Donald F. Fracassi — City of Southfield and Louis D. Belcher — City of Ann Arbor issued Proclamations designating the 22nd and 23rd of November as ABN Days.

A very effective commemoration was organised by *AF ABN branch in Chicago* under Dr. M. Charkewycz — Chairman of the AF ABN Chapter Chicago on December 3. The main speakers were Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Executive Chairman of the Central Committee ABN and Rev. Paul d. Lindstrom — National Director of Liberty Legion. Speeches were also given by representatives of the Vietnamese, Cuban and Nicaraguan groups. The entertainment was provided among others by the dancing ensemble "Ukraina".

AF ABN Conference in New York

On June 2, 1984, the AF ABN Conference was hosted in New York. The conference was held under the heading of "The Real Alternatives To The World-Wide Nuclear Threat". Speakers from the subjugated nations were from Ukraine, Turkestan, Afghanistan, Hungary, Lithuania, as well as prominent American activists. Mrs. Roxolana Bukshowany Potter, President of the New York, Metropolitan Chapter, gave introductory

remarks, followed by Mr. Peter Wytenus, National President, who gave welcoming remarks. The first speaker was Dr. Victor Tsuan, Professor at Fairleigh Dickenson University. His topic was entitled, "Communism as the Contemporary International Aggressor". He was followed by the Hon. Robert R. Morris, Retired Judge. Judge Morris spoke on "Towards a Better Understanding of the Soviet Russian Threat to the West".

Mr. Habibullan Mayar, nationally known activist, spoke on "Afghanistan", in relation to the Soviet Russian invasion and subsequent actions of that country's freedom fighters. He was followed by Mr. M. Sotirhos, Chairman for the Ethnic Vote, Reagan/Bush Re-Election Campaign, who addressed "Real Alternatives to Unilateral Disarmament". Mr. John Nikas, Advisor to the Governor Mario Cuomo, State of New York, completed the morning roster by speaking on "Captive Nations: The Un-recognized Allies". During the lunch break for the participants, officers of AF ABN held a news conference whereby the proceedings of the Conference were shared with various international representatives of the press.

The afternoon session began with a speech by Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Member of the Central Committee, ABN — Europe. She spoke on, "The Liberation Struggle and Counteraction against Soviet Russian Subversion". She was followed by a panel discussion entitled, "Strengthening the Ties between Free Nations Fighting the Russian Oppression". An introduction was made by Dr. M. Szaz from Hungary, and others. Dr. C. Andrianski served as moderator.

Dr. M. Chyrowski, Professor from Seton Hall University completed the afternoon topics. His talk, "Economics as a Weapon to deal with the Soviet Union", served as a guideline in dealing with Moscow's desire for world economic domination.

The Conference day was completed by the presentations of the Resolutions which were generated from the body and work of the participants during the morning and afternoon work sessions.

Dr. M. Bych, President, Ukrainian Division AF ABN, charged those present with continuing the work started today at offering alternatives to the Soviet Russian threat of nuclear war. He reflected the sentiments of all present that this type of convocation must not end, and the networking of the various groups represented would need to continue.

AF ABN Meeting in Chicago

There are AF ABN Branches in New York, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Rochester, Miami and other cities in the USA.

On May 8, 1984, a large meeting of AF ABN was held in Chicago, which was attended by more than thirty representatives of different nationalities, namely from Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cuba, Lithuania, Rumania, Ukraine, as well as invited guests from the Polish-American Council. The main speaker of the meeting was Mrs. Slava Stetsko. The Chairman of the meeting was Dr. Myroslaw Charkewycz.

Demonstration in New York, July 8, 1984

A friend of the subjugated nations, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, organized a demonstration in front of the U.N. building in New York for having been refused an entry visa into the USSR. AF ABN actively participated during this demonstration with flags and banners. After Senator D'Amato's condemnation of the violation of national, human and religious rights in Ukraine and other countries dominated by Soviet Russia, he demanded a U.N. investigation of Soviet Russian rights abuses and state-sponsored international terrorism. Following Sen. D'Amato's

speech, Mrs. Slava Stetsko spoke on behalf of all the subjugated nations. This demonstration was covered by the radio, which gave reports every hour.

Captive Nations Week in New York, 1984

A "Freedom March", organized by the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF ABN) in cooperation with representatives of many civic and national organizations, was held on Saturday, July 21, 1984. This mass demonstration was organized to commemorate the closing of the 26th Observance of Captive Nations Week.

The march began at the Grand Army Plaza and proceeded to the Soviet Russian UN Mission in New York. Approximately 400 representatives of the subjugated nations with their banners and flags participated in the march.

The demonstration was opened by Roksolana Bukshovana-Potter, chairman of AF ABN New York Chapter. After a pledge of allegiance to America, recited by Charles Andreanszky, the Secretary General of AF ABN, Peter Wytenuus, AF ABN Chairman, proceeded to give his opening remarks.

During the demonstration, Senator Martin J. Knorr read President Reagan's Proclamation of Captive Nations Week 1984, and John E. Nikas, advisor for Ethnic Affairs to Governor Mario Cuomo, read the Governor's Proclamation on Captive Nations Week in the State of New York. Other speakers at the demonstration were: Mary Mochary, New Jersey candidate for the US Senate; Congressman Bill Green of New York; Michael Spontak, President of United Ukrainian American Organizations Committee of New York; Charles Andreanszky — Hungarian American Federation; Frank Milewski — Polish American Congress; Abdullah Habib Mayar, President, Afghan Community in America; Ivanka Malec —

Croatian American Community; Ray Rimeyka, President of "Young Americans for Freedom" (New York); Amar Ge Sing, representative of Sikhs in America, and others.

Congressman Bill Green expressed his strong belief that the Russian colonial empire will soon disintegrate and in its place free and independent states would rise of those nations at present subjugated by Russia.

This demonstration was reported throughout the whole day on the radio and several of the speakers were cited. UPI held an interview with Peter Wytenuus and TV Channels 2 and 4 showed pictures of the demonstration and also an interview with Roksolana Potter. This successful 'day of action' was also reported in the "Daily News".

ABN Activities in Canada

In Canada several important events marked the past year. Firstly, an International Affairs Seminar, sponsored by the ABN was held on June 25, 1983 in the Ontarian Parliament where the main speaker was Col. Albert T. Koen (USA). The seminar was hosted and opened by Mr. Yuri Shymko, Member of Provincial Parliament and other guest speakers were: Mr. Michael Wilson, M.P., Mr. Jay A. Parker, President of the Lincoln Institute for Research and Education and Mr. John Gamble, M.P. The programme was concluded with a summation by Orest Steciw, Chairman of ABN Canada.

The commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of ABN in Montreal was held on October 22-23, 1983. On the 22nd of October, 1983, the General Meeting was held at which the new Executive composed of representatives from Ukraine, Rumania, Vietnam and Croatia was elected. The representatives of ABN Canada, Mr. O. Steciw and Dr. S. Paduchak from Toronto informed everyone present about ABN activities in Canada and submitted the

future plans. On the morning of October 23, 1983, a Holy Mass was celebrated and in the afternoon there was a jubilee where Mr. O. Steciw delivered the main speech and greetings were expressed by representatives of various nationalities. Ukrainian and Rumanian groups participated in the concert.

On April 28, 1984, ABN Canada organized a seminar with Gen. Daniel O'Graham from the United States who spoke on "High Frontier and New Strategy for the West".

On June 18, 1984, a large meeting of ABN Canada was held in Toronto. There was a strong delegation from Bulgaria, Ukraine and Vietnam. Besides a discussion on ABN activities throughout the world, the emphasis was put on immediate actions, in particular, the establishing of good contacts of ABN with the delegations which will participate in the Helsinki Accords Conference in 1985.

Free Olympiad held in Toronto

ABN Canada organized a Free Olympiad which was held from 5-7th July, 1984 in Toronto, Canada. The event drew over 3,000 sports fans who cheered on athletes representing Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The flag-raising ceremony was followed by the lighting of the Free Olympiad flame which, with the closing of the games, was transported to Los Angeles, California, the site of the XXIII International Olympic Games, where it remained for their duration. The most popular events of the Olympiad were the volley-ball, basketball and ice-hockey competitions, the latter being one of the newly added sports this year, along with swimming, tennis and rifle and trap shooting.

A crowd of several hundred people enjoyed the Free Olympiad Cultural Festival held on July 2 in the Molson Summer Garden at Ontario Place.



Demonstration demanding the release of political prisoners organised by the Ukrainian Women's Association earlier this year outside the Soviet Russian embassy in London.

The Free Olympiad was covered in the Canadian press, in particular, in the "Toronto Star" and "The Sunday Sun".

ABN Activities During The Olympic Games in Los Angeles

During the XXIII International Olympic Games in Los Angeles, California, ABN sent a group of people who, together with local representatives, organized large informative actions among the visitors of the Games. Thousands upon thousands of leaflets were printed and distributed in the English and Spanish languages. ABN representatives also gave interviews to the press and TV.

A press conference was organized by the organizers of the Free Olympiad in Toronto. The Ukrainian Youth Association held its international jamboree during the Olympic Games in Los Angeles and through various activities, attracted the attention of the general public.

The President of the United States Olympic Committee, William E. Simon, wrote the following to the ABN President:

"I admire your bravery and commitment in taking the position you have, and I do wish you all the best in realizing your efforts to keep the Olympics free of politics in the future".

Youth Conference held in Washington

The Washington Horizons Youth Conference sponsored by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) and the Joint Baltic-American National Committee (JBANC), held June 8-10, 1984 at Georgetown University, provided three days of informative events for the participants. A White House briefing was given from the Office of Public Liaison, and also from the National Security Council and State Department, the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

The lectures covered several topics re-

lating to political awareness and activism. Subjects included press relations, political activism, conducting demonstrations and practical workshops. Ronald McNamara, legislative assistant to Sen. Alfonse D'Amato spoke on the Soviet Union and the importance of education and knowledge in helping the West to counteract the Soviet Russians.

Demonstrations Against Russian Cultural Exchanges

Several Russian cultural exchanges were met with our demonstrations in various Western countries. A particularly well-organized demonstration, which received very good press coverage, was held in Great Britain during performances by the Russian Ballet in Wolverhampton in May-June 1984. This demonstration was organized by the Ukrainian community and thousands of leaflets condemning the Soviet Russians for their policy of annihilating national cultures in the USSR were handed out during each performance.

In Support of Ronald Reagan's Re-Election

In connection with President Reagan's re-election campaign, ABN issued a statement in support of President Reagan's and Vice President George Bush's re-election in the impending US Elections. It states that:

"President Reagan personifies the best elements of the freedom-loving American nation and its tradition of an anti-colonial war of liberation which brought this country independence under George Washington. Friends and sympathizers of ABN in the US will fully support the re-election of President Reagan and Vice-President George Bush to enable them to conduct future American policies in the same spirit and in accordance with the Resolution passed by the US Congress in 1959 on Captive Nations".

Lectures by Afghan Freedom Fighters

ABN was instrumental in organizing several lectures for Afghan freedom fighters in Germany, Great Britain and the United States.

On November 10th, 1983, the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine invited guests, staff members and the international radios to hear Qudrattullah Mojadedi of the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen address the topic of the resistance movement in Afghanistan and particularly the possibilities of encouraging defection of non-Russian soldiers fighting in the Soviet army. One of the chief leaders of the Afghan resistance movement, Mojadedi, was in the United States to speak with the Administration,

Congress, press and organizations about the ongoing struggle against the Soviet Russian occupation of Afghanistan and request aid. He was being escorted around by the Federation for American Afghan Action.

We are constantly trying, with the aid of leaflets, tapes, records and other means, to disintegrate the Soviet army in Afghanistan. In August 1984, our representatives with leaflets to be distributed among the Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan, asking them not to fight against the Afghan people, and several pieces of technical equipment and tapes for radio transmissions, visited Afghan Mujahideen groups.

(to be continued)

INTERNATIONAL FRANKFURT BOOK FAIR



The Ukrainian publishers' stand at the International Frankfurt Book Fair, October 3-8, 1984, West Germany.

Patriarch Slipyj's Death Echoed in the World Press

JOSYF SLIPYJ, UKRAINIAN CARDINAL, 92, DIES IN ROME

Vatican City — Cardinal Josyf Slipyj of Ukraine, 92, one of the last surviving leaders of religious resistance in the Soviet bloc during the era of Stalin, died Friday without fulfilling his dream of becoming Ukrainian Catholic patriarch.

Cardinal Slipyj came to Rome in 1963 under a Vatican-Moscow accord after spending 18 years in labor camps and under house arrest in the Soviet Union. It was understood that the Vatican had agreed to keep Cardinal Slipyj out of sight for the rest of his life.

In the postwar period, Cardinal Slipyj became a symbol of religious resistance in the Communist bloc, along with Cardinals Stefan Wyszynski of Poland, Josef Mindszenty of Hungary and Josef Beran of Czecho-Slovakia.

After Pope John XXIII won him his surprise release from the Soviet Union, Cardinal Slipyj lived quietly in the Vatican. But he proved to be an awkward guest.

In occasional sermons outside the Vatican he spoke his mind. More than once he referred to his release as "so-called freedom" and yearned for the day that he would be able to return to Ukraine.

In 1945 Cardinal Slipyj, appointed archbishop of Lviv the previous year, was arrested along with 10 other Ukrainian bishops on charges of having cooperated with the German occupiers.

After the war the Soviet authorities suppressed the Ukrainian Catholic Church, an Eastern Rite that had returned to unity with Rome in 1595, and forcibly incorporated it into the Russian Orthodox Church.

Cardinal Slipyj was sent to labor camps in Siberia and other areas of the Soviet

Union, and later spent two years under house arrest near Moscow. His release followed direct contact between the Vatican and Moscow after church officials had discussed his freedom with observers from the Russian Orthodox Church at the start of the Second Vatican Council in 1962.

In 1964, the newly elected Pope Paul VI appointed him to the Vatican's Congregation for Eastern Churches and elevated him to be a cardinal in 1965.

As part of Pope Paul's policy of trying to improve the lot of Communist bloc Catholics through quiet diplomacy, the Vatican felt it imperative that Cardinal Slipyj keep a low profile.

But the Cardinal saw this as a betrayal of the persecuted faithful and in 1972 he accused the Vatican of failing to defend Ukrainian Catholics.

The previous year, Pope Paul had turned down a request by the Ukrainian Catholic bishops outside the Soviet Union to appoint Cardinal Slipyj as their patriarch, while Cardinal Slipyj had defied the Vatican by holding a synod of the Ukrainian Church in exile.

At a special Vatican-approved synod of Ukrainian bishops in 1980, Pope John Paul II told Cardinal Slipyj he had no intention of making him patriarch.

Cardinal Slipyj was born in the Ukrainian town of Zazdrist. He studied for the priesthood in Ukraine and Austria and was ordained in September 1917.

He taught theology at the seminary in Lviv and became its rector in 1925. He was made bishop in 1939 and in 1944 was named Archbishop of Lviv.

(International Herald Tribune, Saturday-Sunday, September 8-9, 1984)

SPIRITUAL LEADER OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS

Cardinal Josyf Slipyj, spiritual head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and a focal point for the loyalties of many Ukrainians in exile round the world, died in Rome yesterday at the age of 92.

Appointed Archbishop of Lviv in 1944, Slipyj was arrested by the Soviet authorities the following year on charges of having cooperated with the German occupation army. He spent the next 18 years either in labour camps or under house arrest, but was released in 1963 as a result of contacts between the Vatican and Moscow.

He spent the rest of his life in Rome, where he presented a political problem to successive Popes. He himself, and many of the more vociferous members in exile of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, insisted that he should be granted the title of Patriarch. But this would have created difficulties for the Vatican, not least because it would have affronted Moscow, and it was consistently refused.

Slipyj was born in the Ukrainian town of Zazdrist on February 17, 1892. He studied for the priesthood in Ukraine and Austria, and was ordained 1917. He taught theology at the seminary in Lviv, and in 1925 became its rector. He was made a bishop in 1939 and in 1944 was appointed Archbishop of Lviv.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church is a Uniat church, of the Byzantine rite but in communion with Rome. As such, it was found offensive by both the Russian church and state long before the formation of the Soviet Union, and much was done in Tsarist days to wipe it out in areas where the writ of Moscow ran.

It survived, however, in western Ukraine, and when that was finally annexed by the Soviet Union after the Second World War, forcible steps were taken to bring it into line. Slipyj was arrested and imprisoned in 1945 along with 10 other bishops, and in 1946 a synod of

its clergy, subjected to fierce intimidation, dissolved the church. Its parishes were absorbed into the Russian Orthodox Church.

Since then the Ukrainian Catholic Church has maintained a secret existence within the Soviet Union, as well as an open presence among communities of Ukrainians in exile, in Britain and elsewhere. It was because of this continued existence in the Soviet Union that Slipyj claimed the title of Patriarch, which would have implied territorial jurisdiction, and for the same reason that the Vatican found it judicious to refuse it.

In 1964 Pope Paul made Slipyj a "Major Archbishop" of the Ukrainian Catholics, and the following year created him a Cardinal. He appointed him to the Vatican's Congregation for Eastern Churches. But the assumption was that Moscow had been given an assurance that Slipyj would keep a low profile, and the title of Patriarch was refused him to the end.

Slipyj, however, chafed visibly under the restraints of this policy, and defied it openly on several occasions. In 1971 he summoned a synod of bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Rome, in spite of not having the authority to do so; and he was publicly critical of the Vatican on the issue, accusing it of failing to defend Ukrainian Catholics.

He assumed the title of Patriarch in some of his pastoral letters, and in 1975 was publicly admonished for it by Pope Paul. The issue spilt over into Britain, where there were demonstrations in a church in London in 1976 by members of the Ukrainian community supporting Slipyj's claim to the title.

Slipyj himself, a tall, bearded man, lived a quiet life in Rome. But he spoke his mind in occasional sermons, and complained more than once of the "so-called freedom" he enjoyed.

The Times, London, 8. 9. 1984.

Prison-Camp Cardinal Dies Disillusioned

A Ukrainian cardinal who spent 18 years in Soviet labour camps and under house arrest before the Russians let him go to Rome in 1963 has died there, a bitter man, at the age of 92.

"The Holy See has abandoned the Ukrainians," Cardinal Slipyj, Archbishop of Lviv in the western Ukraine, said to me less than a year ago. "My fellow countrymen have been left to fend for themselves."

His suffering in the Soviet Union, where he was a pillar of religious resistance in the Stalin era, included several years in Siberian concentration camps.

It was ended by an understanding reached between the late Pope John and the late Nikita Khrushchev. Moves are expected soon to have the cardinal beatified — the first step on the path to sainthood.

Monsignor Josyf Slipyj was created a cardinal in 1965, two years after his release. Successive Popes refused his persistent wish to be appointed Patriarch of the Ukrainians.

He was revered by believers in Ukraine and by 2,000,000 or so Ukrainian Catholics in exile. But his wish caused some controversy, involving in 1977 the suspension of two priests sent by him to set up a parish in Halifax, Yorkshire.

Such was his charisma, however, that at one stage he was even being tipped as a possible Pope. He died of pneumonia in the St. Sophia Ukrainian University in Rome, and a Vatican official said last night: "He will be sadly missed."

Cardinal Slipyj was persecuted both by the German invaders of the Soviet Union and by the returning Communists later. Sentence followed sentence under the Communists.

His death brings membership of the College of Cardinals down to 126. Of these only 97 would be entitled to take part in a conclave to elect a new Pope.

The 29 others are excluded because they have passed the 80-year age limit.

*Leslie Childe in Rome
The Daily Telegraph, London,
Saturday, Sept. 8, 1984.*

Communist Bloc Cardinal Dies

Vatican City: Cardinal Josyf Slipyj of Ukraine, who died yesterday aged 92, was the last survivor of the four East European Roman Catholic leaders imprisoned by the Communist authorities after the Second World War.

He spent 18 years in Soviet labour camps or under house arrest, but despite his sufferings the Vatican always denied him the reward he most desired — to be named as patriarch of Ukrainian Catholics.

In the postwar period Cardinal Slipyj became a symbol of religious resistance in the Communist bloc, along with Cardinals Stefan Wyszynski of Poland, Jozef Mindszenty of Hungary and Josef Beran of Czecho-Slovakia.

After Pope John XXIII won him his surprise release from the Soviet Union in 1963, Cardinal Slipyj lived quietly in the Vatican.

But in occasional sermons outside the Vatican he spoke his mind about the refusal of two Popes — Paul VI and John Paul II — to appoint him patriarch of Ukrainian Catholics.

The tall, bearded Cardinal Slipyj more than once referred to the years after his release as "so-called freedom" and yearned for the day he would be able to return to Ukraine.

The Pope said yesterday that Cardinal Slipyj "gave a singular and glowing testimony to the faith of Christ even in the midst of difficulties and sufferings borne with exemplary dignity and evangelical force..."

In 1945 Cardinal Slipyj, appointed Archbishop of Lviv the previous year, was arrested along with 10 other Ukrainian bishops on charges of having cooper-

ated with the German Occupation Army. He was sent to labour camps in Siberia.

His release followed direct contact between the Vatican and Moscow after church officials had discussed his freedom with observers from the Russian Orthodox Church at the start of the Second Vatican Council in 1962 — Reuter.

*The Guardian, London
Saturday, September 8, 1984.*

Ukrainian Cardinal Slipyj Buried in Rome

Rome, Sept. 13 (CND/UPI/Reuter) — Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj, who died in Rome on Friday at the age of 92, was buried today in the crypt of a Ukrainian Catholic Church after a funeral service.

More than 1,000 Ukrainian exiles, many of them from the United States, attended the funeral at the Northern Rome Church of St. Sophia, a small scale copy of the St. Sophia Church in Kyiv.

Cardinal Slipyj, then Archbishop of Lviv, spent 18 years in Soviet prisons and labor camps after the Soviets banned

the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1945 and arrested all of its bishops.

In 1963 he was freed and allowed to leave for Rome, where he lived in exile from then on. He frequently criticized the Vatican for what he considered appeasement of the Communist Governments in Eastern Europe.

Successive Popes denied Cardinal Slipyj his wish of becoming Ukrainian Catholic Patriarch, although Pope Paul made him a Cardinal in 1965.

In a homily, Archbishop Myroslav Lubachivsky, Slipyj's successor as Major Archbishop of Ukrainian Catholics, called him a rock of faith who never stopped defending Catholics in the Soviet Union.

Thirteen Vatican Cardinals, led by Cardinal Carlo Confalonieri, 91-year-old Dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals, were among the large number of church dignitaries at the funeral.

Cardinal Confalonieri represented Pope John Paul, currently on a visit to Canada. Saturday the Pope prayed before Slipyj's coffin.

Slipyj was buried in the crypt of the St. Sophia Church to the accompaniment of ancient chants.

CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER TO THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY

I was most saddened to hear of the recent death of Archbishop Major Cardinal Josyf Slipyj.

It is always a solemn occasion when one of the world's spiritual leaders is taken from us. With the passing of Archbishop Slipyj, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has lost one of its great ecclesiastics and teachers. In a world wracked with conflict and dissent, we look to such men of faith and piety to give us strength and to remind us that some truths are indeed eternal.

I wish to extend my sincere condolences to the clergy and members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as you mourn Archbishop Slipyj. Although his voice is stilled, we can take some solace in knowing that the world is a better place for his having been in it.

With deepest regrets, Yours sincerely,

M. B. Mulroney

News and Views

Reagan Reaffirms Opposition to Rights Violations in Ukraine

Ronald Reagan met with a group of Ukrainian-American leaders Sept. 17 and reaffirmed his continued opposition to Soviet Human Rights violations in Ukraine.

President Reagan told a dozen leaders of Ukrainian organizations in the United States in a brief meeting at the White House that he would continue to support the Ukrainian-American community in its efforts to halt these violations.

He reiterated his condolences to the community on the death last week in Rome of the Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj, and emphasized his feeling about the millions of people who died from famine in Ukraine during the period of the forced collectivization of agriculture in the early 1930's.

Ignatius Bilinsky, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, said after the meeting that the group told President Reagan the Ukrainian-

Americans "are fighting against an evil empire just as he is doing".

Mr. Bilinsky said the group reaffirmed to President Reagan the support of the Ukrainian-American community for his policies concerning the Soviet Union, and discussed the mass march and rally in Washington on Sunday protesting the repression of the national Ukrainian heritage by the Soviet Union.

The demonstration drew thousands of people — mostly Americans of Ukrainian descent — comprising about 30 Ukrainian-American organizations.

Before meeting President Reagan, the group was given a briefing on U.S. policy at the State Department. A member of the group said the State Department briefer indicated that what the Ukrainian-Americans are doing is in "the best interests of the United States because it reinforces the Reagan administration's perception of what it is they are struggling with to keep the world free".

U.S. Senate Committee Condemns Human Rights Violations

Washington, Sept. 12 (Special/Abbey) — The U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee today approved four resolutions condemning Human Rights violations, and one to commemorate the victims of the 1932-1933 famine in Ukraine.

The Resolution on the Famine states that more than seven million Ukrainians died of starvation during the famine, and that the Government of the Soviet Union failed to take relief measures to check the famine's effects. It says the Soviet Government used the famine to reduce the population and national identity of Ukraine.

One resolution on Human Rights condemns infringement of religious freedom, persecution of religious believers and discrimination on religious grounds by Warsaw Pact Nations. The resolution specifically says infringement of religious rights is taking place in the Soviet Union, East Germany, Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

The resolution states that those nations have failed to fulfill commitments on religious freedom called for in the Helsinki Final Act.

The other three resolutions deplore the

Blaze the light

Liberals never tire of insisting that the communist countries are really very much like us. What separates East from West, they claim, are only mutual misunderstanding and fear.

Recently, three grim reports of political prisoners have come to me, providing shockingly clear proof — if any more was necessary — of the stark difference between the two systems.

1. Yuriy Shukhevych — His crime: "Anti-Soviet activities." His true offence: Being the son of the Ukrainian nationalist leader, Roman Shukhevych, who was killed by Soviet troops in 1950 while fighting for Ukrainian independence.

The younger Shukhevych was first jailed at the age of 14. Ten years later he was freed after the Soviet government admitted his imprisonment to have been illegal. But when Shukhevych refused to publicly denounce his father, he was thrown back into the gulag for another 10 years. Upon release he was exiled for four years. Shukhevych still refused to speak against his father and was consequently jailed for a new term of 12 years of hard labor.

Today, Shukhevych, who has spent 31 of his 51 years of life in Russian prisons, is seriously ill and nearly blind. The Soviets, who are using this wretched man as a symbol of their determination to eradi-

use of torture, call on Syria to let the 4,500 persecuted Syrian Jews emigrate, and express abhorrence at the genocide of 1.5 million Armenians by the Turkish Ottoman Government from 1915 to 1923.

The resolutions now go to the full Senate for approval. If passed they will express the sense of the Senate, but will NOT carry the force of law.

cate Ukrainian nationalism, refuse to free him — the son is to pay for the deeds of the father.

Shukhevych's adamant refusal to denounce his father evidently infuriates the KGB: In Russia, children are still encouraged to report "anti-state" activities of their parents to the secret police. Deep in the gulag, Shukhevych reminds them — and us — that the spirit of Ukrainian nationalism, and of basic human decency, remains alive.

2. The 17 Albanians — Yugoslavia likes to project to the outside world an image of democratic, human socialism. Behind this facade and the glitter of the Sarajevo Olympics is a darker face.

Seventeen Albanian political prisoners, and many hundreds more, have been jailed for daring to ask the Yugoslav government that their home province of Kosovo be transformed from an exploited appendage of Serbia into an Albanian ethnic republic within the Yugoslav federal state. Kosovo, 71% Albanian in population, is being governed by Belgrade like an occupied enemy territory.

Their story is harrowing: Incessant beatings, ice-water torture, humiliation and sadistic abuse by Serbian guards. Nearly all of these Albanians, many of whom were educators or journalists, have suffered permanent injury or maiming. Most are seriously ill and are denied even rudimentary medical attention. Though thousands of other Albanian and Croatian political prisoners in Yugoslavia are reported to suffer from similar abuse, their plight has been largely ignored in the West.

Deported to Siberia

3. Mustafa Dzhemilev — During World War II, Stalin, suspecting the loyalty of

the Muslim Crimean Tartars, had them deported en masse to Siberia. Though exonerated after the war, the Tartars were denied permission to return to their ancestral home.

The 39-year-old Dzhemilev has spent most of his adult life in Russian prisons. His crime: Urging Moscow to allow the return of his people to the Crimea. After his most recent five-year term, Dzhemilev was released. He sent a birthday-greeting telegram to a Tartar nationalist exile in New York. For this act, he was charged anew with "anti-Soviet agitation," tried in secret, and given a sixth term in prison.

All of these men are being used by the Russians or Yugoslavs to terrorize and silence the oppressed peoples: Ukrainians, Albanians, Croats and Muslims. Soviet efforts to expunge nationalist sentiments within its empire, where Great Russians will soon be in the minority, are best described by Tory MPP Yuri Shymko as "ethnocide".

During the 1930s and 1940s, the world watched in silence as millions of Ukrainians and Jews were exterminated by Stalin and Hitler. At first, individuals were taken away; then groups; then villages; and finally, entire peoples. Had the free world taken action in the early stages to protect individuals, the ensuing tide of death might possibly have been averted.

Today, Canada and the United States — the home in exile of Eastern Europe's lost freedom — can still take effective action. The first thing we can do is to blaze the

light of public outrage into the dark recesses behind the Iron Curtain. The Soviets and Yugoslavs, who are extremely sensitive to their international image, have released political prisoners when subjected to persistent foreign protests.

The next step is to bring pressure on our own political leaders by demanding that, in dealings with the East bloc, release of prisoners of conscience be their first priority. In Canada, where almost 1.5 million voters are of East European origin, the oppression of their peoples should take precedence over selling wheat or importing Lada cars.

In its efforts to promote trade and appear an international Good Samaritan, Canada has gone to unseemly lengths to please the East bloc — including even the refusal to arrest Russian spies. Here is an excellent opportunity for Brian Mulroney to demonstrate that he and Canada stand for something more than our record of tired platitudes and efforts to be nice to everybody.

The great Roman orator, Cato, ended every senate speech by saying, "Carthage must be destroyed." Each time our diplomats meet with Soviet or Yugoslav officials they should emulate Cato by the demand, "Free Shukhevych and Dzhemilev, free the 17 Albanians."

(Eric Margolis is a member of the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies)

*(The Toronto Sun,
Monday, April 2, 1984)*

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Falling for it hook, line and hammer and sickle . . .

Department D of the KGB, the disinformation factory set up by the late, unlamented Yuri Andropov with the expert assistance of the traitor Kim Philby, is working at full blast, churning out lies and half-truths to be planted in co-operative or gullible newspapers and then re-played around the world as fact.

These "active measures" have become one of the most important aspects of the work of the KGB which now tends to leave the vulgar business of spying for information to the military intelligence organisation GRU. The KGB prefers to bend the minds of people rather than pick their pockets and, according to CIA estimates, is spending at least three billion dollars a year in its numerous campaigns.

Its early attempts at forgery were crude and the mistakes were easily exposed. But lately the KGB "cobblers" have become expert, moving from the field of forged documents and letters designed to embarrass the West, into the creation on tape of forged conversations with words and phrases lifted from public speeches by Western leaders and spliced together to form a fictitious but damning dialogue.

*

One such tape surfaced recently in Holland. It is purported to be a conversation between Mrs Thatcher and President Reagan in which the real voice of Mr Reagan can be heard telling Mrs Thatcher that "If there is a conflict we shall fire missiles at our allies to see to it that the Soviet Union stays within its borders." The conversation continues with Mrs Thatcher admitting that she ordered the sinking of the *Belgrano* to forestall any agreement with Argentina. Reagan replies: "Oh God!"

American experts dissected the tape and have proved that every word had indeed been spoken by the President but that they had been extracted from his Presidential address on nuclear strategy and when he said "Oh God!" it had been taken from that part of his speech in which he was quoting from the hymn: "O God of love, O King of peace." Mrs Thatcher's words were similarly extracted — from a broadcast of the proceedings of the House of Commons.

The West's leaders are not the only targets. The Disinformation Department spreads a wide net and one of the latest casts was directed at America's black Olympic athletes. It was in the form of a threat from the Ku Klux Klan in which the athletes were described as "black monkeys." At first sight it looked authentic, but closer examination revealed the use of phrases and words which were Slavic rather than American.

Other recent examples have been the publication in a Peruvian newspaper of "proof" that America is supplying Chile with cruise missiles.

In Asia the West has been accused by forgery of supplying chemical warfare material to the Afghans — a grotesque reversal of the truth — and of inciting Sikhs to revolt in India. Then, in Africa a whole crop of forged documents has been planted in attempts to demonstrate that the West is guilty of complicity in an abortive coup in Ghana, the economic destabilisation of Nigeria and in giving military assistance to South Africa.

These are stories which are easily believable in the overheated atmosphere of these countries. But that is only the initial step in these "Active Measures." The next

step is to have the stories fed to "responsible" newspapers and radio and television stations in Europe and America where, with the cachet of having already been printed, they are retold as the truth and a whole house of propaganda cards built round them.

It does not matter if the house is subsequently knocked down. Enough of the accusations linger.

A typical example of the technique is the way in which Department D is trying to prove that there was no Bulgarian connection in the attempted assassination of the Pope by the Turkish terrorist Mehmed Ali Agca. Now, it is possible that the Bulgarians are innocent for nothing has yet been proved, but the KGB believes in pre-empting the judicial process.

In a major article on Sept. 21 last year, the Morning Star accused Mr. Maxwell Rabb, United States Ambassador to Italy, of reporting to Washington that: "As was to be expected, our operations on Bulgaria's connection with the attempt on the Pope's life has led to a complete success. European mass media have enthusiastically developed the preliminary worked-out theses."

The Morning Star gave no source for this report and provided no evidence of its authenticity. In fact it was taken from a poor translation of a forged telegram and was first printed in the Rome Left-wing news-weekly, "Pace E Guerra" in its July 1983 edition. It was immediately denounced as a forgery — it contained revealing errors when compared with the standard form of telegram used by American Embassies. But the Morning Star neglected to include this denunciation in its story.

Department D's main thrust today is aimed at attempting to foist the blame on to the United States for the shooting down by Soviet fighters of the Korean

Jumbo with the loss of 269 people last September.

It was all part of a great espionage plot according to the Russians, involving the use of spy planes and satellites and it was the Americans who sent the Korean airliner and its passengers to their deaths.

In this case they have not even had to resort to forgery. As Adrian Berry reported in his Science column in yesterday's Daily Telegraph, once the accusation was made in Moscow the story was eagerly picked up in this country by a writer in Defence Attache, a magazine which circulates in London diplomatic circles.

Writing under the pseudonym P. Q. Mann, he advanced a theory that the Russians were indeed correct in their accusations, and went even further by suggesting that the Space Shuttle was also involved in the American espionage caper. His theory was then picked up and made into a programme by "TV Eye" which advanced the same hypothesis.

*

It was all very entertaining. The trouble was that there was not a single fact in either the story or the TV show which provided one iota of proof that the United States was using the Korean plane on an intelligence mission. We would not for one moment suggest that he was wittingly, working for the Russians but, judged by his own standards of assumptive evidence, his use of the phrase "interrupting the fight" instead of "shooting down the airliner" reeks of disinformation jargon. Could it be that someone fed him this story and he swallowed it hook, line and hammer and sickle?

Whatever its origins, the damage has been done. Department D is now playing back the story as established fact. Tass, for example, quotes the French Communist newspaper Humanite: "Commenting on the report in the Defence Attache

(Humanite) points out that 'it confirms the reports that the South Korean aircraft was carrying out an espionage mission'."

Moscow Radio joined in with an attack on the American Secretary of Defence, Caspar Weinberger, who had "tried to refute the report to the British journal Defence Attache that the incident had been the result of a largescale anti-Soviet

action planned by the American special services".

And so it rolls on, with the men from Department D working like ants to transfer the blame grain by grain from the Soviet Union to the United States. How they must love Mr P. Q. Mann.

*(The Daily Telegraph,
Tuesday, August 7, 1984)*

Ukrainians Demonstrate Outside Soviet Embassy

Washington, Sept. 16 (UPI) — Thousands of Ukrainian Americans marched to the Soviet Embassy on Sunday, chanting anti-Soviet slogans and protesting the repression of their national heritage.

City police estimated some 8,000 people, many carrying signs and wearing native Ukrainian dress, were gathered outside the Embassy for the demonstration, organized by the National Committee to Protest Russification of Ukraine.

"They (the Soviets) are obliterating the general culture. They can't allow any idea that Ukraine is a separate state," said group spokesman Eugene Stakhiv.

Ukraine, one of the 15 republics that makes up the Soviet Union, is located in the southwest and bordered by the Black Sea, Romania, Hungary, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia.

The protesters, mostly Americans of Ukrainian descent, came to the demonstration from as far away as Pittsburgh, Chicago and Atlanta. They marched to the embassy from a statute of the Ukrain-

ian poet Taras Shevchenko several blocks away.

Stakhiv said the Soviet Union allows "no books or literature by a Ukrainian. It's very insidious. They're trying to eliminate all traces of national heritage that they have. They have their hands in everything".

The marchers chanted "Freedom for Ukraine" and "Russian butchers go to hell" as they jammed into an intersection near the embassy at midday, forcing police to stop traffic in both directions.

Abdul Mutakwakil, Commander of 15,000 Afghan guerrillas, addressed the crowd and demonstrators then burned a Soviet flag and sang the Ukrainian national anthem.

Another small group of demonstrators tried to break through a line of police who had cordoned off an area 500 feet from the embassy.

The group smashed a huge sign over police cruisers, but officers easily repulsed the protestors without injuries or arrests.

THE NORILSK UPRISING

Short Memoirs

by Yevhen Hrycyak

foreword by Prof. Leo Magnino

Youth Apathy Causes Alarm in Kremlin

The Soviet Communist party's alarm at the apathy of its children was given new emphasis by a Kremlin decree at the weekend.

The ideological alienation of Soviet youth, whether expressed by a fascination with Western fashions, an attraction toward religion or membership of a teenage gang, has the authorities deeply worried.

This concern has been repeatedly stated in public notably by President Chernenko, and the weekend decree in Pravda ordered the Communist youth organisation, the Komsomol, to do something.

The Komsomol has 42 million members of almost everyone between 14 and 23. It is an essential stepping-stone to success but many members remain bored by Communist teachers.

Komsomol should tighten control over the ideological training of members to eliminate "passivity, individualism, indiscipline and other negative manifestations," the party's ruling said.

Need for hatred

Young people had to be given a deeper knowledge of Communist theory, stronger feelings of "love for the motherland and hatred for her enemies" and a greater resistance to "the influence of bourgeois mass culture."

Komsomol organisers should personally supervise young people's spare time more closely to prevent "apoliticism, immorality or blind imitation of Western fashions."

They should particularly strengthen young people's "military patriotic education,"

stressing respect for the national anthem and flag. They should more strictly teach atheism and try to substitute Communist rituals for traditional religious customs.

The decree reflects not only official concern about youth's political disaffection but also the warnings of military chiefs that conscripts are too often physically unfit and inclined to pacifism.

President Chernenko spelt out the problems in a speech last year. Young people thought they could get by with "expensive things bought with their parents' money."

They had not seen the grim face of war and so needed "hardening".

Teachers' complaints

The Teachers' Gazette recently quoted complaints that young people "tend not to accept things on trust" but "try to work out their own personal answer on every issue."

This, where the only-permitted party claims a scientific basis for its ideology, is plainly frowned upon.

One trend receiving special attention is elitism and materialism among "rich" children, the offspring of Soviet officialdom.

Russians have coined the slang word "highlifeists" for these gilded youths who set themselves above their peers by their access to imported clothes and other goods.

They are not many but their existence is openly discussed as a distressing aberration.

The Daily Telegraph
Monday, July 9, 1984

President Reagan's Proclamation on the Great Ukrainian Famine

The Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933 was a tragic chapter in the history of Ukraine, all the more so because it was not the result of disasters of nature, but was artificially induced as a deliberate policy.

The leaders of the Soviet Union, although fully aware of the Famine in Ukraine and having complete control of food supplies within its borders, nevertheless failed to take relief measures to check the famine or to alleviate the catastrophic conditions resulting from it. In complete disregard of international opinion, they ignored the appeals of international organizations and other nations.

More than seven million Ukrainians, and millions of others, died as the consequence of this callous act, which was part of a deliberate policy aimed at crushing the political, cultural, and human rights of the Ukrainian and other peoples by whatever means possible. The devastation of these years continues to leave its mark on the Ukrainian people and has retarded their economic, social, and political development to an enormous extent.

In making this a special day to honor those who were victims of this famine, we Americans are afforded as well another opportunity to honor our own system of government and the freedoms we enjoy and our commitment to the right to self-determination and liberty for all the peoples of the world. In so doing, let us also reaffirm our faith in the spirit and resilience of the Ukrainian people and condemn the system that has caused them so much suffering over the years.

The Congress, by House Concurrent Resolution 111, has urged the President to issue a Proclamation in Mournful Commemoration of the Great Famine in Ukraine during 1933.

Now, therefore, I Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Sunday, November 4, 1984, as a Day of Commemoration of the Great Famine in Ukraine in 1933.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirtieth day of October, in the Year of our Lord Nineteen Hundred and Eighty-Four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the Two Hundred and Ninth.

Ronald Reagan



Captive Nations Week, 1984

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Once each year, all Americans are asked to pause and to remember that their liberties and freedoms, often taken for granted, are forbidden to many nations around the world. America continues to be dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. If we are to sustain our commitment to this principle, we must recognize that the peoples of the Captive Nations are endowed by the Creator with the same rights to give their consent as to who shall govern them as those of us who are privileged to live in freedom. For those captive and oppressed peoples, the United States of America stands as a symbol of hope and inspiration. This leadership requires faithfulness towards our own democratic principles as well as a commitment to speak out in defense of mankind's natural rights.

Though twenty-five years have passed since the original designation of Captive Nations Week, its significance has not diminished. Rather, it has undeniably increased—especially as other nations have fallen under Communist domination. During Captive Nations Week we must take time to remember both the countless victims and the lonely heroes; both the targets of carpet bombing in Afghanistan, and individuals such as imprisoned Ukrainian patriot Yuriy Shukhevych. We must draw strength from the actions of the millions of freedom fighters in Communist-occupied countries, such as the signers of petitions for religious rights in Lithuania, or the members of Solidarity, whose public protests require personal risk and sacrifice that is almost incomprehensible to the average citizen in the Free World. It is in their struggle for freedom that we can find the true path to genuine and lasting peace.

For those denied the benefits of liberty we shall continue to speak out for their freedom. On behalf of the unjustly persecuted and falsely imprisoned, we shall continue to call for their speedy release and offer our prayers during their suffering. On behalf of the brave men and women who suffer persecution because of national origin, religious beliefs, and their desire for liberty, it is the duty and the privilege of the United States of America to demand that the signatories of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Accords live up to their pledges and obligations and respect the principles and spirit of those international agreements and understandings.

During Captive Nations Week, we renew our efforts to encourage freedom, independence, and national self-determination for those countries struggling to free themselves from Communist ideology and totalitarian oppression, and to support those countries which today are standing face-to-face against Soviet expansionism. One cannot call for freedom and human rights for the people of Asia and Eastern Europe while ignoring the struggles of our own neighbors in this hemisphere. There is no difference between the weapons used to oppress the people of Laos and Czechoslovakia, and those sent to Nicaragua to terrorize its own people and threaten the peace and prosperity of its neighbors.

The Congress, by joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), has authorized and requested the President to designate the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning July 15, 1984, as Captive Nations Week. I invite the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities to reaffirm their dedication to the international principles of justice and freedom, which unite us and inspire others.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 16th day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and ninth.

Ronald Reagan