

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



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Freedom for Everyone! Freedom for Individuals!

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GORBACHEV'S REFORMS

Unfortunately, it was not US President Ronald Reagan's State of the Union Address which was the center of attention for the entire Free World, but Mr. Gorbachev's three hour speech to a Party Central Committee Meeting in Moscow on January 27. Mikhail Gorbachev even elicited sympathy among the Western media for his frustration with party bureaucracy which has been obstructing his economic reform. He is willing to democratize party elections with secret balloting and multiple candidacies. Non-party officials would be promoted to leading positions, this was emphasized in almost all the articles covering his address. Do they really believe that the Soviet Russian regime can liberalize, can become a democratic one?

A number of changes are envisaged to help overcome deep-seated social and economic ills. Can the Free World forget so quickly that after Lenin's NEP policy the genocidal policy followed — the state installed famine in Ukraine and its border lands which cost Ukraine alone 7 million dead. Stalin's aim was to subdue recalcitrant Ukraine and to carry out Moscow's collectivization programme. The English scholar Robert Conquest, in his book *The Harvest of Sorrow — Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine* describes how between 1929 and 1932 dekulakization was carried through, how millions of peasant families were deported and how in 1932-33, with impossibly high quotas, with the removal of every other source of food and preventing all outside help, even from other parts of the Soviet Union, millions were starved to death. What kind of care this time for workers and Kolkhoz farmers?

Gorbachev blames stagnation and immobility during the Brezhnev era for the present economic crisis. Therefore he looks what kind of incentives can induce slave workers be it in a factory or in a collective farm to produce more. A bit of criticism of the lower levels of the party apparatus. Gorbachev hopes that with the popular criticism against corrupt and inefficient cliques to turn them into obedient and efficient tools of his economic reforms. Are these reforms intended for the benefit of the workers and peasants or for the strengthening of the Russian communist empire? But still it is a risky game. Gorbachev, as all other rulers in the Kremlin, cannot rely on the popular support, but only the democratization of the party destroys the effectiveness of the principal political tool.

The non-Russian subjugated nations already constitute the majority of the population in the Soviet Union. The strength of their national feelings can be measured by the recent riots in the Turkestani republic of Kazakhstan. The Kazakhstan protests remind the world of the fundamental fact that is often overlooked in the West, that the Soviet Union is the largest multi-national and the last great empire. Despite Moscow's assertions that the nationalities problem has long been successfully solved, that a harmonious federation of free and equal peoples has been established, writers of non-Russian nations at their congress in June of 1986 openly expressed their criticism that all important decisions are still made in Moscow and the Russians who constitute the minority of the Soviet Union's population of 280 million, maintain a political and culturally dominant position. Thousands of people are still in jails, concentration camps, psychiatric wards for their political and religious beliefs, for their courage to defend national and human rights.

“The point at issue is not the national principle. Such a program would be a vulgarization of efforts to promote ethnic harmony within the Soviet state,” said Gorbachev. However, he was compelled to admit that the “extreme nationalist tendencies in parts of the Soviet Union exist and they must be stamped out.” Therefore “internationalist” education must be strengthened and in particular, that of the youth. For so many decades Moscow has been trying to melt all non-Russian nations into one Soviet (read Russian) melting pot, but has been unsuccessful.

During the Khrushchov thaw, a Ukrainian writer named Ivan Dziuba wrote a book entitled *Internationalism or Russification?*. Presenting hundreds of facts, he elaborated a thorough analysis of national oppression in the Soviet Union and how Russification, disguised as sovietization, was enforced. A good example of Russification policy is Kazakhstan, where Kazakhs are outnumbered by Russians and others. Latvia is another striking example of Russification where Latvians are in the minority in their own native land.

Gorbachev complained that “negative phenomena and deformations” had arisen in relations between national groups in the country and admitted that ethnic tension had not been confined to Kazakhstan. For him, national patriotic feelings are “manifestations of parochialism, tendencies towards ethnic isolation, sentiments of ethnic arrogance and even incidents similar to those which took place quite recently in Alma Ata”. Gorbachev warned non-Russian politicians that there should be no illusion that they could play on “chauvinistic prejudices” and that principles of “internationalism” should be reasserted.

It is in the name of this “internationalism” that Russian tanks crushed the Hungarian revolution, quenched the spring in Prague and Bratislava and invaded Afghanistan. The riots in Alma Ata should be a signal to the Communist Party that it must “face up to the problems of the further developments of national relations of enhancing internationalist education”. Gorbachev is afraid that nationalism may have a demoralizing effect on the coming generation.

When Lenin rescued the Tsarist Russian empire from the ruins and converted it into the Soviet Union, which is nothing more than a Soviet Russian empire, he paid great attention to the nationalities’ problems, being aware that if not handled carefully, this might be the cause of the end of the Russian empire. Many people were misled by his cunningly elaborated nationalities policy, but through the decades, non-Russian nations have had time enough to realize the profound discrepancy between theory and practice.

When the defenders referred to the Soviet constitution they were often reminded that it is only for export. However, Gorbachev is also aware that “national questions should be tactfully handled”. “One should not disregard the particular delicacy of the national aspects of problems, local traditions in the way of life in the people’s psychology and behavior”, he said.

It is understandable that the Free World would like to see the Soviet colossus a bit democratized, if only to silence its own conscience, because so many millions of people are suffering terrible oppressions, expecting the free nations to help them. The question is, however, can this regime sustain democratization? We are afraid that it will not, because Moscow is aware that democratization may lead to the total collapse of the entire Soviet Russian regime.

THE LIFE SPAN OF AN UNFORGETTABLE LEADER

(On the 75th Anniversary of the late Yaroslav Stetsko's birth)



Throughout the course of many years, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Yaroslav Stetsko, has become one of the most prominent figures of the Ukrainian nation in the 20th century. Particularly in the last decades, Yaroslav Stetsko, the head of the Ukrainian National Government (UNG) of 1941 and President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), became, without a doubt, the most prominent Ukrainian diplomat, political theoretician, publicist and leader. His name is known in many capitals of the free world. From among all Ukrainians, Yaroslav Stetsko was best known to many friends from Western nations. Also, the enemies of Ukrainian statehood and Ukrainian nationalism

have in the past few years regarded him as their number one enemy. In countless articles, brochures and books published by the Russians, the name of Yaroslav Stetsko figures alongside the name of Stepan Bandera, as their main enemy and leader of the OUN.

As we commemorate the 75th anniversary of this great leader's birth (January 19, 1912) let us look back over the life span of Yaroslav Stetsko and contemplate on his most important deeds, which led him to the heights of governing a nation.

Already at the beginning of the 1930s, the leading activists of the OUN noticed the special talents in the ideological thinking and the spreading of nationalism of this 20 year-old student from Ternopil, western Ukraine. Therefore, they made him responsible for ideology and editor of educational and information publications of the OUN. In this capacity, the young nationalist, known under the pseudonym of Zinoviï Karbovyč, in a short period of time distinguished himself as a leading representative of the young generation, which was growing into the fighting force for an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state after the collapse of the national liberation struggle of 1917-20.

This generation was under the influence of the ideology of Dr. Dmytro Dontsov and entered the history of the OUN under the name of "those of the thirties". Stetsko capably defined and applied the synthesis of Dontsov's ideas of voluntarism, his concept of "permanent revolution" and the premise of national Christian conception of the world into a living and real liberation struggle. In the second half of the 1930s, the Chairman of the Leadership of the OUN, Colonel Yevhen Konovalets, called the 26 year-old representative of the young nationalists-revolutionaries to the responsible

position as head of the preparatory committee for the 2nd Supreme Assembly of the OUN, having undergone the ideological and ethical hardened life of struggle against the Polish occupiers.

With great enthusiasm and energy he dedicated himself to the ideological and political directives of the OUN Leadership. Within the spheres of the OUN Leadership, working by the side of Colonel Konovalets, he acquired practice which was of exceptional help to Stetsko in the following years. In 1938, Stetsko's articles appeared in the Leadership's publications, and the preparations for the 2nd Supreme Assembly were progressing quickly. However, in May, 1938, Col. Yevhen Konovalets was killed by a Russian terrorist bomb and the preparations for the Supreme Assembly were temporarily halted.

After one and a half years, the Leadership of the OUN was renewed under the chairmanship of Stepan Bandera. Yaroslav Stetsko immediately became active in this "revolutionary Leadership". He was given the position of 1st vice-chairman of the Leadership, which showed that the leading members considered Stetsko-Karbovysh as second in rank to Stepan Bandera who was worthy of heading the whole of the OUN at the beginning of the 1940s. During the following one and a half years, that is until the breakout of the German-Russian war in June 1941, Stetsko greatly contributed to the political, ideological and practical leadership of the revolutionary liberation struggle. He particularly contributed to the appearance in December 1940 of the extremely significant Manifesto of the OUN. This Manifesto outlined the ideological preparation and organization of the "two-front" war of the OUN, that is, not only against the Russian occupiers, but also against the future German occupiers of Ukraine, who were already exercising a hostile policy on Ukraine's western borders, towards the struggle of the OUN for an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state. The Manifesto is significant in its categoric declaration that only the Ukrainian people can be the sovereign masters of Ukraine.

More precisely, the OUN, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, defined its concept of liberation and revolution in the Resolutions of the 2nd Supreme Assembly of the OUN in the spring of 1941, in which, among others, Yaroslav Stetsko's influence is strongly evident. The third section of the "Programme Resolutions" is notable: ***"Only through revolutionary struggle against the occupiers can the Ukrainian people achieve their statehood."*** This resolution became Yaroslav Stetsko's dogma for the rest of his life in the sense of being able to adapt it at any time to practical politics. The second resolution, significant in the future political activity of Stetsko-Karbovysh, was section 2 of the "Political Resolution": "The way to achieve our aim is by a Ukrainian revolution within the Russian empire — the USSR, ***alongside a war of liberation of nations subjugated by Moscow under the motto: Freedom for nations, freedom for the individual.***" This outlined international liberation policy of the OUN eventually became known as the concept of the ABN.

When at the end of June, 1941, the Ukrainian people had the opportunity to restore their statehood, without hesitating Yaroslav Stetsko initiated the "Act of June 30th", which encouraged millions of Ukrainians to continue with their struggle for their own state sovereignty. With this Act, the OUN verified its uncompromising moral and revolutionary stance in creating an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state. Simultaneously, the Head of the Ukrainian state distinguished himself with these qualities. By forming the Ukrainian National Government (UNG), he immediately

adopted the principle of pluralism, calling on leading activists from among all recent Ukrainian political groups who took the stand for Ukrainian statehood, to work with him in the restored Ukrainian state.

Not only Bandera's and Stetsko's political principles, but also their personal deeds of 1941, left no room for any kind of opportunistic collaboration with Nazi Germany, which was out to create its colonial empire in Eastern Europe. Therefore, a clash between the Ukrainian nationalists-banderites and Nazi Germany was inevitable. The struggle for liberation was uncompromising. Only before their actual defeat, the Nazi war criminals implied assertion that they were prepared to recognize the struggle for an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state, but this was only an attempt to persuade the OUN-UNG-UPA-UHVR (Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) to collaborate with them. However, Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko, Roman Shukhevych, Volodymyr Horbovyj and other leading nationalists decisively rejected Berlin's insidious approaches.

Finding himself on the territory of the Western Allies in 1945, the Head of the Ukrainian National Government immersed himself in foreign diplomatic affairs, most notably by forming on behalf of the OUN, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. In a short space of time, he achieved lasting influence for the Ukrainian Nationalist movement in certain spheres in Western Free states, in accordance with the resolutions set out by the 2nd Supreme Assembly of the OUN and confirmed by the 3rd Extraordinary Supreme Assembly (1943). Yaroslav Stetsko placed Ukraine on a wide international forum. Today, Ukraine's national liberation struggle is known throughout various continents, where Stetsko managed to gain friends and sympathisers for the Ukrainian cause and for that of the subjugated nations. He will certainly enter the history books as one of the most exceptional Ukrainian diplomats and international politicians. At the same time, Yaroslav Stetsko advocated the liberational concept of destroying the Russian empire without a nuclear war, for which Stepan Bandera also strove until he was murdered by a Russian agent in 1959. This concept exceptionally reinforces the vision of fulfillment and victory of the Ukrainian liberation struggle for an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state, resolved in the ideological and organizational principles of the OUN.

In the 1950s and 1960s Yaroslav Stetsko paid much attention to the establishment of an ideological synthesis of revolutionary nationalism and the heroics of Christianity. The accomplishments of these efforts were seen in the 4th Supreme Assembly of the OUN (1968), the resolutions of which documented that the ideology of the OUN is closely tied to the one thousand year-old Ukrainian conception and practice of Christianity. The Ukrainian Church, (even if it is more than one institution) and the Ukrainian State are two indispensable structures required for a full development of the Ukrainian nation, which, although separate, mutually complement one another. One cannot function normally without the other. The struggle for the restoration of an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state and the struggle for the Ukrainian Church must proceed similarly and simultaneously in Ukraine. From the 1960s, Yaroslav Stetsko emphatically raises the question of the absolute necessity of achieving a Patriarchate for the Ukrainian Church, which was eventually realized by the Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — His Beatitude Yosyf Slipyj.

The processes which have taken place in Ukraine over the last 2-3 decades completely verify and confirm the attitude and principles of Yaroslav Stetsko. A tight cooperation has come to exist between the Ukrainian Catacomb Church and the nationalist liberation underground movement. The Russian occupiers of Ukraine also regard both these movements — the political and the religious — as manifestations of the independence struggle of the Ukrainian nation. That is why they repress the manifestations of both the Ukrainian religion and Church and the political revolution and regard both as their greatest enemies.

After the murder of Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko to a great extent took over the responsibility of enlarging the nationalist movement in Ukraine, which in the 1950s underwent serious onslaught by the Russian occupiers. Under his idealistic and political organizational leadership, the OUN was able to renew the liberational forces in Ukraine and most important of all to gain for itself the confidence of the leading activists of this movement in Ukraine. In the last few years, the Head of the OUN Leadership was regarded in Ukraine as an authority on international, ideological and political affairs, as well as on the policy of liberation.

Looking back on the late Yaroslav Stetsko's life, we can most certainly say that over half a century he completely dedicated himself to his work in the OUN and on behalf of the OUN. He was a revolutionary fighter, an organizational activist, ideologue, statesman, politician and publicist. He drew up the principle "*Without ethical nationalism, nationalism, with only a conception of the world alone, is a dead belief without deeds.*" The late Head of the OUN-UNG-ABN kept to this principle steadfastly himself. The everyday realization of nationalism with a conception of the world is the consistent realization of the ideology and political principles of a nationalist organization. The best way for all of us to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the birth of this noble son of Ukraine would be to consistently walk along the path he walked, applying his teachings and practices to today's reality.



Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko at the WACL Conference in Washington, 1974 with Slava Stetsko, Sen. Fethi Tevetoglu on his right and Anatol Radygin on his left

ANATOLIY MARCHENKO DIES IN PRISON

On December 8, 1986, Anatoliy Marchenko, engineer by profession and long-term prisoner, died in the Chistopol prison at the age of 48.

He was born on December 23, 1938 in eastern Siberia into the family of a railroad worker. After secondary school, he worked on the construction of a hydroelectric plant in Novosibirsk, and afterwards, in other far eastern places. Anatoliy was first imprisoned in Karaganda during a fight between members of his work brigade with another brigade. He escaped from the concentration camp to Ashkabat with the intention of crossing the border into Iran. He was arrested by the KGB on October 29, 1960 and following a five month trial, on March 2-3, 1960 was sentenced to 6 years imprisonment under the charge of illegal crossing of borders and for treason to the homeland.

Having been released from imprisonment in November of 1966, Marchenko wrote a documentary-memoir entitled *My Testimony* in which he described the horrors of Russian concentration camps, mentioning many political prisoners, the majority of them Ukrainian (Mykola Koroliv, Oleh Danylkiv, Andrij Novozhyckyj, Tkacz, Mykola Senyk and his fiance Luba, the American pilot Graham Powers and others). In this work he described the cruelty of the KGB, in particular, Major Shved, who massively executed Ukrainian political prisoners, members of the OUN-UPA.

On July 29, 1968 Marchenko was once again arrested by the KGB and sentenced to three years' imprisonment for writing the aforementioned book. He was arrested for the third time in February 1975 and later 1981. During the trial in March of 1981, he was sentenced to 10 years in a concentration camp and 5 years in exile. While in the prisons and camps, he became ill, conducted hunger strikes, protested, was brutalized by KGB functionaries and criminals, and finally, deprived of desperately needed medical attention, he died. Marchenko left for his fellow countrymen and for the conscience of the world, a long road of torment and suffering "in the leading country of the world" with whom certain Western circles want to peacefully live in common, trade and conduct cultural exchanges.

In a letter to the delegates to the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Marchenko wrote the following: "In December 1983, I was pummeled by guards, who handcuffed me and banged my head on a cement floor until I blacked out. I suffered a concussion that has impaired the functioning of my brain. To this day, I feel the effects of that beating — constant pains in the back of the head, dizziness, stomach sickness and persistent ringing in my ears. To keep this incident quiet, the authorities transferred me from a labor camp to a prison where I am being kept in even more inhumane conditions. For two and a half years I have been deprived of visits from my family. All this amounts to an assembly line leading to annihilation."

Rendering our last service to the memory of the late Anatoliy Marchenko, we must pay careful attention to one extremely important fact. In the concentration camp where Marchenko died, five prominent Ukrainian political prisoners have already died. It is in this camp that Levko Lukianenko and Oleh Kandyba are serving their heavy sentences and who are threatened with the same as those who have already died, who were in fact killed by Moscow's Bolshevik criminals. Therefore, we must act and effectively impede Moscow's criminal intention. We must all undertake this endeavor, collectively and individually.

TORONTO HOSTS CAMPAIGN FREEDOM

November 20-22, 1986, Toronto's Downtown Holiday Inn was the site for the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations' (ABN) "Campaign Freedom Conference". The theme of this year's conference was "National Liberation as an Alternative to Nuclear War."

The program of the conference was divided into sessions in which the aspects of varying themes were discussed and analyzed by guest speakers. Over 250 delegates and 100 observers participated, along with guests and representatives of the media.

The first session was devoted to reports of ABN activities from various ABN chapters. Reports were delivered by community representatives on: Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Turkestan. Reports were also presented on the freedom struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The Ukrainian report highlighted the Chornobyl disaster, the Russification of Ukraine, the struggle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine and the Ukrainian resistance movement.

The afternoon session focused on a report by newly elected ABN President, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, who outlined the global activities of the organization. Other topics of discussion included "The Nationalities Problem in the Soviet Armed Forces", "Prospects for National Liberation of the Nations in the Soviet Empire", and reports from organizations cooperating with ABN: The Canadian Coalition for Peace Through Strength and the American-based Conservative Action Foundation.

Thursday evening, the official opening ceremonies of the conference were conducted by ABN-Canada Chairman, Orest Steciw. Aside from officially opening the conference, Steciw led the proceedings with a tribute to the late Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, former ABN President. The delegates and guests honoured the memory of Stetsko, former Prime Minister of the Independent Ukrainian State proclaimed in 1941, with a moment of silence.



Mr. Orest Steciw, Chairman ABN-Canada speaking at the banquet.

The overall theme of discussion for Friday was “National Uprisings in Occupied Europe and Central Asia; The Resistance Movements in Ukraine, the Baltic States, Caucasus, Turkestan, the satellite states, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos”. The resistance movements were described in contemporary, as well as historical contexts.



Mr. Habib Mayar (Afghanistan), Mr. Mario Calero (Nicaragua), Mr. Truong Quang Si (Vietnam) and Mr. Raymond Tralla (Estonia).

A luncheon address was delivered by Metro School Trustee, Alex Chumak, who spoke of the problems faced in the unopposed leftist indoctrination of school children in Metro Toronto. Chumak stressed that the Metro community must take an interest in these affairs, and put pressure on school boards to ensure that a fair balance is maintained in the education of our youth. The remainder of the afternoon was devoted to presentations on anti-communist resistance movements in Africa and Latin America. Resistance movements in Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, Cuba and Nicaragua were described by members of the respective movements. A presentation by Dolf M. Droge, a consultant on international affairs in the USA, outlined, with the aid of large maps and visual aids, the growing threat of Central America being transformed into a Soviet satellite.

That same evening, the delegates attended a reception at the Ontario Legislature hosted by Conservative MPP, Yuri Shymko. As the delegates were leaving the hotel, they were met outside by a group of protestors from the Trotskyist League. The demonstration was held in protest of the participation in the Conference by Nicaraguan Contra leader, Mario Calero. The protestors hurled shouts of “Fascists”



Mr. Dolf Droge, freelance lecturer and consultant on national and international affairs delivering his address on "Communist Subversion in Central America."

and "Murderers" at the conference delegates, but the delegates boarded the buses without major incident.

Despite the demonstration, the reception at the Legislature went smoothly, even though some of the demonstrators followed the delegates to the Legislature. Inside, the delegates had the opportunity to speak informally with Mr. Shymko, with David Crombie, the Secretary of State for Multiculturalism, and other local, provincial and



Mrs. Slava Stetsko speaking at the reception at the Ontario Legislature hosted by Conservative MPP Yuriy Shymko

federal politicians and figures. In a speech to the delegates, Crombie applauded the efforts of ABN, Mrs. Slava Stetsko and those of her late husband.

Both Thursday and Friday evenings, films were shown at the Holiday Inn depicting Soviet Russian occupation policies and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples under communist domination.

The final sessions of the conference on Saturday concentrated on Soviet activities in the West, under the theme of "Frontiers in Defense and Liberation". Presentations included the topics of: "Terrorism in the Free World and the Soviet Connection"; "Soviet Political Warfare"; "The Role of Communist Parties in the West"; "Soviet Manipulation of the Western Peace Movements"; "NATO and the Captive Nations"; and "The Aftermath of the Chornobyl Nuclear Disaster".



Mr. Lee Bellinger (Conservative Action Foundation) with representative of Miskito Indians (Nicaragua).

Speaking at these sessions were internationally renowned figures, such as: Col. Brian MacDonald (Director of the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies); Eric Margolis (Toronto Sun columnist and specialist on international relations); Bertil Haggman (Director of the European Freedom Council's Institute for Psychological Warfare Against the USSR); John Kolasky (Canadian Sovietologist and specialist on international communist movements); Herbert Romerstein (United States Information Agency expert on psychological warfare); Maurice Tugwell (former Director of the Canadian Centre for Conflict Studies); and Bohdan Fedorak (AF ABN Council of Nationalities President).

The climax of the conference was the banquet attended by over 800 guests. Hosting the banquet was Ted Woloshyn (CFNY FM Radio). Speaking at the banquet were Orest Steciw, Bertil Haggman, Habib Mayar (Representative of the Mujahideen

Afghan Freedom Fighters and leader of the Afghan Community in America), Yonas Deressa (Ethiopia) and General Nguyen Van Chuc of the Freedom Force of the Coalition of Vietnamese National Parties. Greetings from various politicians and international figures were read, including those of Canadian Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney and US President Ronald Reagan.



During the Campaign Freedom Banquet, from left to right: Mrs. Anna Steciw, Mrs. Nadia Woloshyn, Mrs. Stefa Shymko, Alexander Kyndiy, M.P., Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Andrew Witer, M.P.P., Ms. Lesia Shymko, Patrick Boyer, M.P., Mrs. Corina Boyer, Rev. Semen Izyk and Ms. Natalie Shymko.

The guests at the banquet paid their respects to the late Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko who was posthumously awarded the ABN Gold Medal of Freedom. The award was accepted by Mrs. Slava Stetsko. Yuri Shymko, US Congressman Jack Kemp and Bertil Haggman were presented with ABN Silver Medals for their dedication and outstanding work in promoting the ideals and goals of ABN.

The banquet continued with the performance of soloist Oksana Makohon-Rohatyn and concert pianist Tiina Mit-Krim. The conference was closed by ABN Canada Chairman, Orest Steciw, who noted that the conference marked a new stage in ABN growth and development.

The "Campaign Freedom Conference" was supported by representatives of 23 subjugated nations. The proceedings of the conference were covered by the Toronto media in print, radio and television.

Although the conference lasted only three days, it succeeded in renewing the enthusiasm of ABN all over the world, and its participants have recognized the need to increase global efforts to achieve the goals of ABN. More importantly, the conference has brought to the forefront the issue of the subjugated nations, and has opened up new doors for support in the struggle of these nations for independence.

U.S. PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN AND CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER BRIAN MULRONEY GREET THE ABN CAMPAIGN FREEDOM CONFERENCE

I am delighted to send warm greetings to those gathered for the 1986 International Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

We are all aware of the many nations that are the victims of totalitarian ideologies, ruthless regimes, and occupying armies. These are the nations held captive by forces hostile to freedom, independence, and national self-determination. For those who seek freedom, security, and peace, we are the custodians of their dream.

Our nation will continue to speak out for the freedom of those denied the benefits of liberty. So long as brave people suffer persecution because of their national origin, religious beliefs, and desire for liberty and democracy, the United States will demand the signatories of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Accords to live up to their obligations under international law.

I applaud your efforts on behalf of those under totalitarianism and I assure you that the American people share your dream of international liberty and justice. Nancy joins me in sending you best wishes for continued success. God bless you.

*Washington, D.C.
November 17, 1986*

Ronald Reagan

I am delighted to extend my warmest greetings and sincere best wishes to all those attending the 1986 International Campaign Freedom Conference.

I am sure you will agree with me that human rights and fundamental freedoms are the foundations of any civilized and caring society. It remains the belief of this Government that adherence to internationally accepted human rights is an important factor in the development of better understanding and in the creation of confidence in our bilateral relations.

I can assure you that the members of the international community are under no illusions as to the seriousness with which my Government regards respect for human and civil rights. We will continue to monitor with grave concern treatment of those who are continually being denied their political, cultural and religious freedoms.

On behalf of the Government of Canada, may I wish you all the very best for productive discussions.

Ottawa, 1986

Brian Mulroney

CONFERENCE OPENING CEREMONIES ADDRESS

ABN meets today in Toronto, in May of last year we met in New York and in November we met in London, Great Britain. And every year younger and younger people are involved in the activities of ABN. Our arch-enemy Moscow and its communist satellite centers were expecting that ABN would die out together with those who started it in 1943 on the battlefield against the two tyrannies - Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. We are dying, but not dying out. Today the best sons and daughters of our nations are dying on the battlefields in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Laos, Mozambique, Angola and Vietnam for the ideas of ABN — Freedom for nations and freedom for the individual as they died on the battlefields in Ukraine and Lithuania during and many years after World War II. Thousands of Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Moldavians, Turkestanis and Jews died on the barricades during the strikes in the concentration camps throughout the Soviet Russian empire and Cuba. However, our enemy was unable to silence the quest of our peoples for freedom and national sovereignty. This is corroborated by the uprisings in East Germany, Hungary and Poland, mass demonstrations in Nowocherkask (Ukraine), on the streets of Tibilisi (Georgia), in Prague and Bratislava, open protests and strikes in Croatia, Albania, Bulgaria and Turkestan. It is further corroborated by the underground movements, underground churches, underground publications, Helsinki Monitoring Groups and finally, death sentences and long terms of imprisonment in spite of the Helsinki Accords and Conferences on Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Madrid, Beograd, Ottawa, Bern and now in Vienna. We should be proud that we are advocates of such noble ideals for which people are ready to sacrifice not only their talents and wealth, but also their lives.

ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko wrote the following in 1985: “It is now vital to strengthen the ripening of the revolutionary situation among the subjugated nations and to coordinate the activities of the underground movements. This ripening takes place also with the help of the smallest acts and slogans in all spheres of life of the subjugated nations, directed against the occupants and for the strengthening of national feelings, national pride, patriotism and readiness to sacrifice one’s life for the benefit of the nation!”

It was Mr. Stetsko’s opinion that after the Chornobyl disaster, the ripening of the revolutionary situation is taking place in Ukraine and the surrounding countries. It is our duty to bring to the attention of the Free World the situation behind the Iron Curtain and the plight of our nations, the violations of all national and human rights. The Free World realizes more and more that Moscow is on a constant drive for world domination, directly or through its proxies. It is our duty to help the Free World realize that the more difficulty Moscow has in quashing the resistance of the subjugated nations, the longer the final conquest of the world is postponed. The struggle of the subjugated nations for the dissolution of the Russian empire also gives Western nations the chance to avoid a nuclear war and guarantees peace for many years to come. It is our duty to make the Free World understand this and to enlist its support in our struggle. We hope that this conference will greatly contribute to this end.

TRIBUTE TO YAROSLAV STETSKO

The following tribute to Yaroslav Stetsko was delivered by Orest Steciw, Chairman of ABN-Canada at the the ABN Campaign Freedom Conference held in Toronto in November, 1986.

The subjugated nations have lost a great leader. The Honourable Yaroslav Stetsko was an outstanding ideologue of liberation nationalism and a foremost strategist of the national liberation struggle of these nations.

His selfless love of liberty and his courageous struggle for the national independence of Ukraine against the twin tyrannies of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia during World War II illustrates, above all, that the freedom of all peoples is indivisible and that the human spirit is indeed unbreakable.

Yaroslav Stetsko was a patriot for all seasons. He, more than anyone else, exemplified the immortal words of Thomas Jefferson: "Patriotism is not an outburst of emotion, but a lifetime of continuous dedication."

His dedication to liberty will serve as a continuing source of inspiration to all those who are striving for liberty, national independence, civil and human rights throughout the world.



Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko with Admiral Penna Botto and Dr. Prietto Lawrence — representatives of the Latin American Confereration, and Prof. Ferdinand Durchansky (ABN), 1958.

SOVIET RUSSIAN POLITICAL WARFARE AGAINST THE WEST



The subject of my talk is a very broad one. Political warfare is in its widest sense the threat to employ or the actual use of overt and covert political, economic and military techniques to influence politics and events in foreign countries. The Soviet Russian use of political warfare has to a large extent been ignored in literature on Soviet Russian foreign policy. At last, in the past few years, two important aspects of this type of warfare have been the subject of a heated debate — active measures as a wider concept and disinformation as a more special technique. The latter is a non-attributed or falsely attributed communication, written or oral, containing intentionally false, incomplete, or misleading information, which seeks to deceive, misinform and/or

mislead the target. I have decided, in view of my limited time, to choose two case studies from two small West European countries in recent years, in an attempt to give you some hard facts on the ongoing aggression of Moscow against the West. These two small countries are both members of NATO and of course not of such great importance as targets, the main target of course being the United States.

Before I present the two cases I would however shortly like to bring up two tragedies that have struck Ukraine and the Ukrainians this year. First the Chernobyl accident struck Ukraine creating a nuclear wasteland in the area north of Kyiv. The Ukrainian capital has also been gravely affected with near panic still existing and the city being more or less deserted. The Ukrainians have the sympathy of the whole world. Then, a few months later, on 5 July, 1986, Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Free Ukraine, passed away. I have had the great honour of knowing Mr. Stetsko since 1964 and I fully understand what a tragic loss to the Ukrainians and world freedom his death was. His name will be remembered always by all freedom loving peoples everywhere.

Let us now return to the two cases mentioned earlier. The first one involves Norway, a small country of four million people on the western edge of the Russian empire and of great strategic importance to Moscow. West of Norway is the North Atlantic and the Norwegian Sea, militarily important because control of them is essential to the United States in bringing reinforcements to Western Europe in the huge complex of military bases on the Kola Peninsula with the mighty Northern Fleet of Soviet Russia and extensive airfields for fighters and long range bombers. Someone has written that Norway is the most valuable strip of land in the world, in strategic terms.

In January 1984, Arne Treholt was arrested by the Norwegian security police. He was then section head of the Information Department of the Foreign Ministry. Recruited in 1975, for almost a decade he had handed over classified documents to the Russians. He had also supplied information on secret briefings and confidential meetings with foreign political leaders such as Lord Carrington, Henry Kissinger, Helmut Schmidt and Pierre Trudeau. Among Treholt's contacts was a KGB general, Genadiy Titov, who had served at the Soviet Russian embassy in the Norwegian capital.

I am not going to talk about Treholt's career as a spy but as an important agent of influence. Such an agent uses his or her influence, position, power and credibility to promote the objectives of a foreign power in ways unattributable to that power. Well, one of the most important Russian objectives in Northern Europe is to create a Nuclear Free Zone. This would be most advantageous to Moscow, because a Scandinavian Nuclear Free Zone would include two or three Scandinavian countries, members of NATO (Denmark, Iceland and Norway). Thus the Soviets could prevent nuclear arms in those countries and practically have a word in the decisions of NATO. Further the Leningrad area, the Kola Peninsula and occupied Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia as well as the Baltic Sea would not be included. Here, Soviet Russia has extensive installations of nuclear missiles and at least six submarines of Moscow in the Baltic carry nuclear missiles. Even the old, diesel powered U137, that in the beginning of the 1980's stranded outside the Swedish naval base of Karlskrona had nuclear mines on board.

A Nuclear Free Zone in northern Europe had been first suggested by the Russians in the 1950's. Enters Arne Treholt. During the 1970's the interest in a zone had been waning in Scandinavia, but suddenly, without prior warning to his fellow ministers in Norway, Jens Evensen, then ambassador, gave a speech to the Conference of the Norwegian Chemistry Worker's Union suggesting the introduction of a Nuclear Free Zone in Scandinavia. He was lauded by *Pravda* and it put the government in Oslo in an awkward position in relation to her NATO allies. Important is the fact that Arne Treholt and Jens Evensen were very close and Treholt had been the state secretary of Evensen when he negotiated with the Russians on the border between Norway and Soviet Russia in the Barents Sea in the Arctic. There is even the very probable possibility that the KGB agent of influence wrote the speech of Evensen. Anyway, it was a successful coup. Soon afterwards the Norwegian socialists, who were in power then (Treholt was a socialist) endorsed the idea of a Nuclear Free Zone. In October of 1980, a book was published defending the idea, *Nuclear Weapons and the Policy of Insecurity*. The co-editor was Arne Treholt. Soon members of parliament, mainly the socialists, in all Scandinavian countries were defending the zone idea referring to Evensen's speech and the book edited by Treholt.

Today, the idea of a Nuclear Free Zone in Scandinavia is supported by all parliaments in Scandinavia. True, recently the non-socialist parties have begun to question it and a zone is far from being created but still the fantastic thing happened: a highly positioned Soviet Russian agent of influence has probably managed to change the views on an important foreign policy issue in Scandinavia. No wonder Soviet defector Oleg Gordievskiy, in 1985 claimed that Arne Treholt was among the ten most important agents of Soviet Russia in the West. If a zone in the north is ever created, the KGB can claim to have played an important role in planting the idea in Scandinavia. To me this is one of the most important examples of political warfare successes of Soviet Rus-

sia in recent years. Unfortunately, it has not been given enough publicity. We must also be aware that today similar agents of influence may be active in other Western governments.

After this short visit to the cold waters of the North Atlantic, let us turn our interest to the warm waters of the eastern Mediterranean. Greece, the cradle of democracy, is a small nation, NATO member and an important link on the Southern Flank. It is strategically located on the crossroads of Eastern and Western Europe and the Middle East. Earlier, Greece had been rather free from Soviet Russian active measures and disinformation. In 1975, however, the Russians decided to publish a Greek version of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia. At the same time they decided to create commercial and industrial ventures to finance the whole publication effort. At that time Yannis Yannikos, a veteran Greek communist was in charge. What started in 1975 has developed into the largest Greek newspaper more or less financed by the KGB, an unprecedented move to influence public opinion in an important NATO country by Moscow. Let me fill you in with a few details.

In June, 1978, Yannikos with several prominent Greek communists and a millionaire with good contacts in Greek financial circles travelled to Moscow. A number of contracts were signed. The Russian negotiator was Vassili Romanovich Sitnikov. Officially he was the Deputy Director of VAAP (the Soviet Copyright Agency) but also a disinformation specialist. Incidentally, the head of VAAP, then Boris Pankin, is now Soviet Russian ambassador to Sweden. After the contracts were signed, the Russians dropped Yannikos, who felt cheated and went to court to get his promised 50% share of the profits. Yannikos also turned over all the material he had to *The New York Times* correspondent in Athens, Paul Anastasi, who has written a book on the whole Russian disinformation venture. 1980-81, the other persons involved had started a newspaper, *Ethnos*. It began publishing in September, 1981, just before the anti-American socialist Andreas Papandreou took power in Greece. In nine months *Ethnos* managed to climb to the highest circulation in Greece, 200,000 copies. It soon received nicknames like "Greek Pravda" or "Fat Muscovite Woman" (because of its tabloid format).

When Paul Anastasi claimed that *Ethnos* was the first newspaper in the West launched in cooperation with Department A of the KGB, he was taken to court and sentenced to one year in prison (later commuted to a fine). Anastasi countersued and two of *Ethnos'* publishers were sentenced to five months imprisonment because they had wiretapped his telephone and published the conversation. The conversation was interpreted by *Ethnos* as planning to murder the staff of *Ethnos*. The conversation was, claimed the communist newspaper, in code and during the conversation (with his lawyer) he was also accused of planning to blow up the premises of the newspaper and destabilizing democracy in Greece and Europe.

A look at the staff of *Ethnos* gives wide proof of the fact that it is a pro-Moscow, communist newspaper. The American commentator is Carl Aldo Marzani, who spent three years in an American jail in the 1940's after having violated his loyalty oath and not revealed that he was a member of the American communist party. The correspondent in London is Stanley Harrison, former sub-editor of the Communist Party newspaper *Morning Star*. The Cypriot correspondent is Akis Fantis, who also edits *Haravgi*, official daily of the pro-Moscow Greek Cypriot Communist Party.

On several occasions *Ethnos* has published forged documents. On 11th February, 1983, it published an article with the claim that it had Nazi German documents from

1943 showing that the conservative presidential candidate had been trained as a Nazi agent during World War II (in fact, he was a pilot in the Royal Air Force). Glafkos Clerides, the candidate, sued *Ethnos* and won the case.

Mr. Anastasi has made a detailed analysis of the articles in *Ethnos* covering 400 issues during 1982 and 1983. The disinformation is of four different types:

1. Crude anti-American propaganda consisting of texts from Russian news agencies.
2. Ignoring negative developments in communist countries.
3. Giving wide publicity to all real or imagined conflicts between Greece and western countries.
4. Rewrites to promote the Soviet Russian line.

Novosti News Agency, *Literaturnaja Gazeta* and Soviet Russian officials provide much of the contents of the newspaper. Very often *Ethnos* does not quote the source. A few examples of the one-sided reporting:

Poland — *Ethnos* is siding with General Jaruzelski and ridicules Solidarnosc.

East Germany — The country is described as an economic miracle. The Berlin wall was built to prevent a West German attack according to *Ethnos*.

Soviet Russia — the Russian empire is described as “a genuine democracy... the first peace bloc in history.”

Bulgaria — *Ethnos* claims that the Bulgarians have the best medical welfare system in the world.

Hungary — According to *Ethnos*, a model everyone should follow.

Afghanistan — The freedom fighters are described as “bandits” and *Ethnos* states that the problem has been created artificially by the USA.

KGB — The Soviet Russian intelligence organisation according to *Ethnos*, and I quote, “concentrates its activities on the collection of technological information by utilizing the Marxist dialectical methods.

Despite all the proof that *Ethnos* is a tool of Soviet political warfare against the West, the newspaper continues to sell well using the western concept of freedom of the press. Mr. Anastasi is continuing his legal battle against Soviet Russian interests in Greece. At one time one of his main witnesses was bribed and he was convicted of libel. *Ethnos* is continuing legal battles against all and everyone calling it by its right name. *Ethnos* has sued *The Economist* in Britain because its newsletter “Foreign Report” charged Soviet Russian involvement in *Ethnos*. *The Economist* has in turn sued *Ethnos* because the newspaper has charged that *The Economist* is a CIA front. In Greece the battle in the courts continues. Mr. Anastasi has filed charges against *Ethnos* executives accusing them of defamation and perjury.

By presenting these two cases I have wanted, by practical example, to highlight an important part of the political warfare Soviet Russia is waging against the West... But there is, of course, much more. The forgeries — numerous documents are produced in Soviet Russia to mislead governments, media and public opinion in the West. Among the false documents produced are bogus US military manuals and fabricated war plans. The international front organizations — Soviet Russia is using a number of international front organizations to attract a membership in the West from a broader political spectrum. The function of the front is to support Soviet goals and oppose policies of western countries.

Soviet Russian campaigns of “active measures” have in recent years included one against NATO modernization of Theater Nuclear Forces in Western Europe (which

failed) and one against Enhanced Radiation Weapons (the Neutron Bomb) which can be said to have been successful as President Jimmy Carter did not go ahead with production and deployment. Presently, large efforts are concentrated on a campaign against SDI, the Strategic Defense Initiative or "Star Wars."

There is no doubt that during the rest of the 1980's and 1990's Soviet Russia will continue and even escalate political warfare operations. Moscow is impressed with the results achieved. The growth in size and scope of active measures campaigns during the 1970's and the first part of the 1980's is an important indicator that these activities are regarded as very useful and successful by Moscow.

Is there anything we can do to counter Soviet Russian political warfare as it is expressed in disinformation and active measures generally? Yes, I think so. Defections are a major weakness of the system. The stories those defectors can tell must be made available to media and the academic world, retold and analysed for public use. Since 1980, the USIA has exposed a large number of deceptions and helped spread knowledge of case studies and techniques. But the private sector also has a responsibility and ABN, EFC and other organizations can do much to publicize the case stories of Soviet Russian active measures. Journalists must be alerted to the tactics used. A successful defence depends to a large extent on a broad and sound knowledge of weapons, tactics and methods of Soviet Russian political warfare. Everyone can help. All you who are listening this morning can, when you are back home, contact your local newspaper, your favorite journalist and persuade them to write about Soviet Russian disinformation. Write letters to the editor bringing up the subject of "active measures". Write to USIA at your local American embassy and express your appreciation of the work it is doing to spread knowledge about disinformation and active measures.

The Russians are constantly working to make their active measures apparatus more effective. In February last this year Boris Ponomarev retired. He has been in charge of active measures for decades even being a staff member of the COMINTERN. The head of the International Information Department of the CPSU, Leonid Zamyatin, has been appointed Russian ambassador in London. Two top Soviet officials, who have recently returned to Soviet Russia from North America, will probably play an important role in the future: Anatoliy Dobrynin, who served as Soviet ambassador in Washington, D.C. for 25 years and Alexander Yakovlev, who was ambassador to Canada for ten years between 1973 and 1983. They have lived in North America for many years. They will, because of their knowledge, be sensitive to weaknesses in Soviet active measures and will attempt to modernize and streamline the apparatus. One important vehicle of active measures, the international front organization, will probably be given a shake up. There are indications that they are going through a period of crisis. All have to a large extent been exposed and it is time that they started operating under new facades. More socially and politically accepted operatives working for the Russians in the West may replace the old party hacks and those too much identified with Moscow.

The Soviet Russian system is founded on fraud and held together by deceit. What the rulers in the Kremlin fear most is that their campaign of deception is revealed and that the searchlight is put on what they are doing. Democracies have always been slow in reacting to totalitarian threat. That was the case when Nazi power was growing in the 1930's. It has been the same with the communist totalitarian threat. Western politicians, with a few exceptions, ignore the fact that Moscow has been fighting World War III for a long time. What would be needed, and that is very soon, is an organization in

as many western countries as possible that would be well funded and charged with countering Soviet Russian political warfare. It should be quick in giving worldwide publicity to cases of disinformation and active measures of different kinds. On a local level media should be monitored for disinformation and when a case is clearly established it should be exposed. Sir James Goldsmith, the publisher of magazines who is most interested in countering Soviet Russian political warfare, has suggested that such organizations should be equipped with computers programmed to analyse the content of communist controlled media to identify trends in Soviet Russian foreign propaganda and active measures operations. Such an organization, be it in Canada or Norway, Greece or Great Britain, should, of course, keep in constant contact with the government and especially with the foreign ministry.

Let me finish this morning by quoting that great scholar, writer, historian and philosopher, James Burnham, whose books have shaped the thinking of world leaders and whose ideas, once more, play an important part in providing the ground for American and thus to a great extent western foreign policy vis-a-vis the Russian empire. To the communists, writes Burnham, "every institution in the camp of the enemy is a battleground; churches as well as armies; business corporations and trade unions alike; art, literature and science; Boy Scout troops along with intelligence agencies; communications media just as much as political parties. The front... is everywhere."

Let us remember that in the future as we all go about our daily work: to the Soviet Russian seekers of world domination "the front is everywhere."



Mr. Bertil Haggman receiving the ABN Silver Medal of Distinction from ABN President, Mrs. Slava Stetsko at the conference banquet.

SUBJUGATED NATIONS: A KEY ISSUE IN WORLD POLITICS

There is a great degree of concern with the tragic and potentially cataclysmic consequences of the western strategy, that is supposedly designed to forestall war and nuclear holocaust, but which is inherently flawed and therefore might ultimately lead to such a war. In its own self-interest, the West should abandon the policy based on continuance of the Russian empire and should work with the liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia. The only viable and realistic alternative to a thermo-nuclear Armageddon is a political and military strategy based on coordinated and synchronized revolutionary uprising on the territories of the subjugated nations. The primary threat of a nuclear war, its *causa sui*, lies in the continued existence of the Russian empire. The threat can be precluded only with the elimination of its cause through dissolution of the empire by national liberation revolutions.

The international map of the world is being transformed on the basis of the national ideal and the disintegration of empires. This is a natural consequence of the struggle of indigenous liberation movements seeking their rightful, sovereign place amongst the free nations of the world. The Western nations can become a progressive force by supporting the national liberation forces, rather than continuing the contradiction of their own noble traditions, thus eliminating the distinction between their goals and those of the Russian empire. By adopting the liberation policy, the West would be the primary progressive force in the world with Russia as its reactionary adversary. Such a development would herald the emergence of a new powerful alliance between two superpowers, the West and the potential of a new, ideologically and revolutionary superpower, the subjugated nations.

For the last three decades and particularly since the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, the Free World policy has been in disarray. The policy failure stemmed from the inability to recognize the basic nature of the Soviet Russian system which has run the gamut of "containment", "assured destruction", "deterrence", "peaceful coexistence", and "detente." The failure to establish a clear policy has led to an unwillingness to confront the Soviet Russians each time evidence of their disregard of international agreements was exposed.

The U.S.S.R. is itself the largest colonial empire in the world in which the Russians, as the dominant nation, are in the minority. Yet, in a curious twist of events, this same reactionary empire presents itself in the world as a promoter of the most progressive national liberation forces. Thus there is an imperative need for a foreign policy based on the principle of national independence not only for those nations outside the direct sphere of Russian domination, but for all nations inside the U.S.S.R. as well.

The present administration policy of the U.S.A., the Reagan policy, is sometimes hard to define. One can almost call it a tug and pull type of policy. On the one hand the President rhetorically stands strongly on the side of the subjugated nations and the right to independence as in his address to guests at the signing of the Captive Nations Proclamation, July, 1983, when the President addressed "The members of Congress and Excellencies present: 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.”

In the second year of his first term in office, President Reagan, in his speech of June 8, 1982 to the British Parliament launched a peaceful political offensive to support the international growth of democracy. In his speech the President announced that the U.S. would take new steps to: “Foster the infrastructure of democracy, which allows a people to choose their own way, to develop their own culture, and to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means.”

“We cannot ignore the fact that even without our encouragement there have been and will continue to be repeated explosions against repression in dictatorships. The Soviet Union itself is not immune to this reality. While we must be cautious about forcing the pace of change, we must not hesitate to declare our ultimate objectives and to make concrete actions.”

Then on June 14, 1984, President Reagan signed a proclamation, Baltic Freedom Day 1984. I would like to quote one sentence: “All of the people of the United States of America share the just aspiration of the Baltic nations for national independence and we uphold their right to determine their own national destiny free of foreign domination.”

May 17, 1985, in his message to the Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in New York, the President once again said: “You add substantially to the efforts to foster self-determination and independence and I applaud your endeavors and assure you that this administration and the American people share your continued dedication.”

August 16, 1985, in a letter to the President of the Captive Nations Committee of Metropolitan Detroit, the President stated the following: “It has been one of the high points of my presidency to be able to speak out and act on behalf of the many captive nations of the world. The shadow of tyranny which continues to hang over the captive nations serve to remind us of the necessity to persevere in the struggle to realize for all the ideals of freedom and human dignity and the most basic yearnings of the human spirit. I wish to express my solidarity with you in your resolve to advance the cause of liberty and self-determination.”

In his proclamation of the Captive Nations Week in 1985, President Reagan stated: “It is a time to reaffirm publicly our conviction that, as long as the struggle from within these nations continues and as long as we remain firm in our support, the light of freedom will not be extinguished. Together with the people of these Captive Nations, we fight against military occupation, political oppression, communist expansion, and totalitarian brutality.”

In his message of July 22, 1986, to Mrs. Slava Stetsko, he stated: “Dear Mrs. Stetsko: I was deeply saddened to learn of the death of your husband, Yaroslav. His life burned brightly with the love of liberty in an age darkened by totalitarian tyranny. Throughout his 74 years, he kept faith with his countrymen in his courageous struggle for human rights and national independence for Ukraine against the twin tyrannies of Nazism and communism. In the ongoing contest with communism for the hearts and minds of men, your husband’s courage and dedication to liberty will serve as a continuing source of inspiration to all those striving for freedom and self-determination

and an abiding reminder of the timeless struggle of mankind to break the chains of tyranny.”

Finally, President Reagan is the most ardent supporter of public law 86-90, Captive Nations Week Resolution, particularly the part which states: “Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and,

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples 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 independence.”

To paraphrase Linas Kojelis, his capable assistant, “The President pulled the Captive Nations Week out of the dustpan and polished it up to have it shine like a beacon of hope as it was meant to be.”

Thus we are faced with an enigma: with this strong commitment and sympathy to the subjugated nations on the one hand, and President Reagan’s inability to implement the change in United States policy which developed for many years vis-a-vis the Soviet Union on the other hand. Permit me to illustrate: subsequent to his speech on “project democracy”, on the initiative of the State Department, several conferences were held in October, 1982. The conference on democratization in communist countries is worthy of special note because it did not include representation from any of the subjugated nations. To the contrary, those present and the papers submitted were from the circles who place their priorities on retention of the Russian empire as a whole. Such as Bukovski, Kuznetzov, and others who formed “Resistance International” and who have become the beneficiaries of that project. We can be assured that decolonization is not one of their concerns.

In our opinion, project democracy, in order to fulfill the President’s expectations and to be viable should include a public commitment by the United States to adopt a great charter of independence for nations subjugated by the Russian empire. A commitment to incorporate a political platform as part of foreign policy in the United States which would include the active material and moral support of the subjugated nations. A commitment to have the Secretary of State and the Ambassador to the United Nations demand the application of the U.N. Declaration on Decolonization of December 14, 1960, to the U.S.S.R. and its satellite dependencies by using all available diplomatic and economic measures. To create the opportunity in a Free World for the representatives of the national liberation movements to operate their own radio stations so that they could more effectively propagate the ideas of national independence and liberation. Reformulate the content of the existing radio broadcasts to the U.S.S.R., such as Radio Liberty, the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, so that the idea of national liberation and national state of the presently subjugated nations in the U.S.S.R. and its satellite countries be included in the programs.

We must demand that the U.S. government remove from office such experts as Mr. Critchlow who advised the government of the following: “It is questionable whether broadcast favoring Ukrainian independence is consistent with the broad foreign policy objectives of the United States.”

Furthermore, the Helsinki Final Act adopted in 1975 dealt a grave blow to the cause of freedom because it has allowed that Soviet Russia continue to dominate the subjugated nations. Although the Act in its Basket Three, Articles 7 and 8, deals with

national and human rights, it has been lost in fragmentation of the entire process, presently referred to as the process on security, disarmament, economic cooperation and human rights as defined in a policy statement in September, 1985, by the State Department. Even the reference to human rights is not being soft pedalled and a whole complex of so-called humanitarian issues is being propagated. The freedom fighters and dissidents have been placed under the common denominator of humanitarian issues. Even President Reagan objected to their terminology by suggesting that respect for human rights is not social work in a the speech before the U.N. General Assembly.

To paraphrase one of the State Department officials at a briefing at the State Department, "The basic goal of our foreign policy has not changed. Continuity in the U.S. foreign policy through the years and under different administrations is its most remarkable characteristic. Furthermore, we consider it important to have good relations with Eastern Europe, but we must recognize that U.S. security interests are only marginally and not widely affected by developments there. We do not choose and over the past 30 years we have not chosen, not in 1956 nor in 1961 nor in 1968, to confront the Soviet Union militarily in this area. The conflict could not be localized. The consequences of nuclear warfare are too great to risk for marginal rather than vital interests."

But there is an alternative, as stated by the late Prime Minister of Free Ukraine, the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, "The danger of nuclear holocaust cannot be negotiated away. Soviet Russia has skillfully exploited Western fears of nuclear war by blackmailing the West into acquiescing to ever increasing conquests. Our strategic alternative is based on the knowledge that the subjugated nations within the Russian empire represent a vast untapped force which, in a common front with the nations of the Free World, provides the strategic *raison d'etre* for defeating the last remaining empire. Synchronized national liberation revolution within the Russian colonial empire is the only answer."



From left to right: Hon. Yuri Shymko, MPP, Habib Mayar (Afghanistan), Hon. David Crombie (Canadian Secretary of State and Minister for Multiculturalism), Ms. Lesia Shymko, Ms. Larysa Figol, Mrs. Stefa Shymko (Ukraine).

THE LONG ROAD TO FREEDOM IN MOZAMBIQUE

It has been 11 years since Mozambique — the country of my birth — was delivered from colonial rule. I played a part in that development and can attest to the hopes and dreams for a truly free Mozambique that motivated tens of thousands of ordinary Mozambicans to struggle on during the long years of the war for independence.

When independence came, however, it also ushered in a leadership that brought disastrous Marxist policies to bear on an already fragile economy and it brought a new scourge of repressive practices to plague the population. A new war for freedom grew with the growing disillusionment of the people — proof that Africans can and will resist an oppressor who springs from their own ranks.

That doesn't surprise me, although it may be a new consideration for those who have accepted the image of the African as patient, enduring, suffering, but essentially passive in the face of oppression. I was raised on the tales of Mozambican resistance to domination, stories of the heroes who resisted colonial rule throughout our history. And it was during my youth that major resistance to colonial rule sprang up. In June of 1962, Mozambicans organized a united front, which came to be known as the *Frente de Libertacao de Mozambique*, or FRELIMO, the Mozambican Liberation Front.

In its early days, the front was marked by a democratic spirit with its members participating in open elections for the movement's leadership. Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, who was educated in the U.S.A. at Northwestern University, and the Rev. Uria Simango, a Presbyterian minister, were elected president and vice-president of FRELIMO respectively. In 1968, they were re-elected at a party congress held inside an area of Niassa Province that had already been liberated by FRELIMO. I witnessed both elections and can remember the joy that was reflected in the faces of people who were able to freely choose their leaders at last.

The joy turned to bitterness when Dr. Mondlane was killed on February 3, 1969 by a bomb that was concealed in a book — an incident that to this day has never been satisfactorily explained. And in 1970, the Rev. Simango was first detained by FRELIMO and then exiled to Cairo at the hands of Marcelino dos Santos and Samora Machel, party members with Marxist beliefs who took over the party leadership by force.

At the time, Samora claimed to advocate a Maoist version of scientific socialism. On the other hand, Dos Santos (a Cape Verdian by birth) had strong Soviet ties and indeed was a holder of the Lenin Medal by that time. Dos Santos was supported by other Portuguese communists who had joined the movement not long after its formation: Jorge Rebelo, Oscar Monteiro, Sergio Vieira, Jacinto Velloso and Fernando Ganhao, names familiar today to those who follow the activities of the Mozambican government. As a lone Maoist, and one without a firm ideological grounding at that, Samora Machel eventually joined the Soviet-oriented members. He reaped the benefits of this "conversion" when the colonial war ended suddenly in 1974 and Dos Santos and his supporters put Samora forward as Mozambique's national leader.

The war ended in the wake of a coup in Portugal, led by young army officers who had seen enough of the war's effects on Portugal and its people, as well as the carnage



Mr. Yonas Deressa, President of the Ethiopian Refugees Education and Relief Foundation and Dr. Artur Vilankulu, Executive Director of the Friends of Mozambique Foundation

in Africa. On April 25th of that year, the world was informed that the old government of Portugal had been overthrown in a nearly bloodless coup. Freedom-loving people throughout the world rejoiced as they anticipated changes after the long years of oppression in Portugal and in its African colonies. In Portugal and in Africa the bitterness of the past was set aside in the optimism that real change would come soon.

Indeed, it was not long before the new coalition government in Portugal announced the release of more than a thousand political prisoners in Mozambique alone, and quickly followed that move with the announcement that it intended to free all its former colonies. In Mozambique, these intentions became a reality on June 25, 1975.

Despite widespread joy at this development, the seeds of greater repression and poverty had already been planted. At the time independence was granted to Mozambique, Portugal was led by a pro-Moscow communist party under the leadership of Alvaro Cunhal. Thus, as its last legacy to Mozambique, Portugal handed the country over to FRELIMO, with which Cunhal had a strong relationship, and made no provision for national elections.

In doing so, Portuguese authorities at the time ignored a plea from the newly formed Mozambican National Coalition Party, which was organized by five political groups inside the country on August 23, 1974, barely four months after the cessation of the war.

This remarkable coalition involved the paramount chiefs of Mozambique's several ethnic groups, church leaders, labor and student groups. It issued the following two fundamental principles:

1. The Mozambican people should be granted national independence through a democratic process in which all the people can express themselves in an atmosphere free of intimidation, and

2. The future of Mozambique should not be compromised by accords reached between Lisbon and any group that is not elected by the majority of Mozambique's 12.5 million people.

The coalition's call was ignored. Portugal's government made the most expedient move for them at the time, handing Mozambique over to FRELIMO and beginning its long plunge into a political and social nightmare. The new Marxist regime of Mozambique was quick to refill the prisons that had just been emptied. Men and women were jailed without trial and in many cases without any sort of charges being filed against them. When the existing jails were filled, the regime began establishing what it called "re-education camps" — in reality nothing else than concentration camps. By 1984, there were 30 such camps holding more than 300,000 prisoners, and that figure does not include the more than 400,000 political prisoners who languish in the jails of Mozambique's major cities, including the notorious Machava prison in the capital, Maputo. And for the first time, public executions took place in the cities, for which crowds were rounded up and forced to watch. Many were executed for crimes such as selling goods on the black market.

In the camps, many religious and political leaders were killed or simply disappeared. Among those killed were the original founders of FRELIMO and members of the coalition party, people such as the Rev. Simango, Paulo Jose Gumane, Basilio Banda, Dr. Arcanjo Kambeu, Narciso Mbule, Manuel Tristao, Dr. Joana Simiao, Padre Mateus Gwenjere, Pedro Mondlane, Samuel Simango, Dr. Joao Unyai, Adelino Gwambe — to mention only a few of the political leaders who fell prey to Samora Machel's regime. Unfamiliar as these names may be outside Mozambique, they represent an entire generation of leaders to the Mozambican people, and Mozambique has been robbed of the talent that could have built a stable and a free country. They have not been easy to replace.

The Marxist regime also mounted a war against intellectuals, particularly those who were educated in the West. Many were executed, died in prisons or simply disappeared.

In the face of these repressive and harsh conditions, the *Resistencia Nacional Mozambicana* (RENAMO) was formed, and has gained a solid base of support among Mozambicans. The resistance was begun by former commanders of FRELIMO and other Mozambicans who had become openly dissatisfied with the practices of the FRELIMO government. Chief among their grievances were the human rights violations, the imposition of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy on every aspect of life, and the complete disregard for the norms of traditional Mozambican society.

RENAMO's military leader is Afonso Dhlakama, who is also president of the movement. Like the coalition party of 1974, RENAMO advocates a democratic, multi-party system with free elections. It also advocates free enterprise, encourages appropriate foreign investments and welcomes alliances with other democratic forces.

As the resistance grew stronger, the government reacted. By 1984, RENAMO was active in all ten of Mozambique's provinces and controlled most of the rural areas. The government had already been receiving military aid from Soviet surrogates, including Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea and countries in Eastern Europe. Then in a

strange twist, it reached a military accord with South Africa in 1984 that included provision for South African assistance in fighting RENAMO. Called the Nkomati Agreement, the arrangement clearly benefitted South Africa. As part of the bargain, Mozambique expelled officials and forces of the African National Congress, the South African liberation front, from its territory. Thus was created the strange spectacle of South Africans and military advisors from Soviet bloc countries rubbing shoulders, much to the dismay of the rest of Africa and indeed to much of the rest of the world. Increasing Mozambique's humiliation in the matter, was the fact that during the Nkomati negotiations, South Africa had dealt chiefly with Mozambique's white Portuguese cabinet members, not with Africans.

It is against this immediate backdrop that we saw the action early in 1985 of the U.S. State Department in regard to Mozambique. The State Department proposed sending "non-lethal military aid" to Samora's regime and training his soldiers for action against RENAMO. The public rationale for this move was that it would provide the U.S. with leverage to pry Samora away from the Soviet Union.

By way of analogy, think what the public outcry in the U.S.A. might be if the State Department decided to send military aid to the Kabul government in order to lessen Afghanistan's dependence on the Soviet Union. The Mozambican case is less well known, but already many people are beginning to question the logic that has led to just such a proposal for Mozambique.

Military aid to Mozambique from whatever source will not remove the conditions that have created RENAMO. Perhaps it is time for the U.S. and the West in general to consider a peacemaker's role in Mozambique rather than that of a supplier of military aid to a corrupt regime. One step in this direction would be for the West to make official contact with RENAMO. It would then be in a better position to be a mediator in this long-standing conflict. I would caution, however, that no solution in Mozambique will stick unless the Mozambican people are a part of it. The freedom to choose their own leaders is a freedom that has eluded them too long.

Ladies and gentlemen, what I have given you is a brief political history of Mozambique. Let us now take a closer look at Soviet and Western approaches to Mozambique in our modern history.

After World War II, the people of the Third World were determined to shake off the yoke of Western colonialism. As resistance to colonialism grew in many places and in many forms, Third World people began to meet among themselves nationally and even regionally in order to strengthen their movement toward independence. Even in those early days of Third World consciousness, there was interest beyond one's own area. Asians attended Pan-African meetings, and Africans travelled to parts of Asia and the Caribbean that were struggling against colonialism. Whenever possible, Third World people spoke with one voice on the issue of colonialism. This was manifested in different international arenas, including the United Nations, where their unity gave them their best tool in the struggle. Today, most countries in the Third World have taken their rightful place as independent nations.

Where did the Soviet Union and its allies stand in this international battle for world opinion? In the struggle against Western colonialism, many nationalists received sympathy and/or material support from the Soviet Union and its allies. It was in the interest of the Soviet Union and its allies to provide support because the war being waged was directed against countries that are regarded as rivals by the Soviet Union.

But perhaps even more importantly, the Soviet Union had embarked on a path of economic imperialism of its own. Behind a screen of anti-imperialist rhetoric, it was putting in place the means to exploit these new and weak nations. Today, however, some countries in the Third World have recognized these ulterior motives and are waging war against Soviet Russian imperialism. It is ironic that in our struggle against Soviet Russian imperialism, we find it difficult if not impossible to receive material and or moral support from the West. In some instances, Western government policy makers are openly pessimistic about the chances of freedom fighters battling communist regimes. They blandly suggest a “wait-and-see” policy toward those who daily risk their lives for freedom. Some go to the extreme of advocating economic support for Marxist regimes in order to wean them away from Marxism, as in the case of my own country, Mozambique. Such a policy actively undermines the resistance forces in Mozambique, which today, are extremely close to victory.

What a contrast to the Soviet Russian approach during the colonial wars! When Third World nations were fighting for their independence, no matter how much of an uphill battle, they could always count on loud encouragement from the Soviet Russian camp. The long, long night is over. The West must wake up and they must realize that their security is in danger as the Soviet imperialists are taking many Third World countries one by one. The Soviet Union is expanding its influence through total control of small groups of elites within these countries. Thus, while the country appears to be independent, the Soviet Union is able to impose a rigid, centrally controlled system that ultimately serves Soviet interests — not the interests of that country.

Friends, when communists fight against any democratic nation, the Soviet Russians and their allies always support them. They do not discourage them or sit back to “wait and see.” The communists in Mozambique intend to stay. If RENAMO and the people of Mozambique were not fighting and putting pressure on Samora Machel, he would not have turned to the West, a turn which earned him the reputation in some Western circles as a “pragmatic man.”

However, let us remember the advice that the former Soviet official, Podgorny, gave to Samora Machel during his visit in Mozambique in April of 1977, the same time that Castro was visiting some African states. In public speeches that were reported by Western journalists, Podgorny said to Samora Machel: “Go to South Africa and the West for economic aid.” This was an early indication that the Soviet Union was quite willing for its client to absorb economic aid from the West, aid which the Soviet Union itself is unwilling to give. By 1983, Samora Machel had indeed turned to the U.S. for economic assistance and the State Department responded promptly with \$16 million in economic and food aid, and in 1984 sponsored Mozambique’s membership in the International Monetary Fund. As a result, Machel quickly received a \$45 million World Bank loan and large amounts of U.S. food aid. U.S. assistance increased to \$55 million in 1985, bringing total U.S. aid to the FRELIMO Marxist regime to \$230.7 million for the ten-year period from 1976 to the present.

This aid is coupled with the fact that Great Britain is now training soldiers in Zimbabwe to aid in the fight against RENAMO. These developments have prompted U.S. policy makers to call Samora a pragmatic man and to applaud his so-called thaw toward the West. In doing so, they are biting the Soviet bait. This aid merely puts Samora in a better position to repay his monumental debt to the Soviet Union for military aid. It puts him in a better position to continue to oppress the people of

Mozambique. How can this be interpreted as a turn to the West when it is done with the full approval of the Soviet Union and in fact benefits the Soviet Union?

In this connection, I want to remind you of what Lenin said many years ago: "When it is time to hang the capitalists, the capitalists will be the first to sell you the rope." In the case of my country, however, the capitalists are handing over the rope to the Marxist regime free of charge.

I believe this is happening because of the peculiar set of circumstances in Southern Africa, particularly because of the relationship of Mozambique with its neighbor, South Africa. U.S. and British policy toward FRELIMO's Marxist regime is the product of the so-called policy of constructive engagement in South Africa, the dominant country in the region. As a footnote to this policy, the U.S. State Department has gone along with and supported South Africa's initiative that led to the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique. Under this agreement, the South African government provided financial and military support to Machel to fight against the Mozambican resistance forces. In return, the Mozambican government was to expel forces of the African National Congress from its soil. Thus was brought about a strange marriage of two evils, the apartheid system of South Africa where the minority rules the majority and FRELIMO's communist regime where a minority of ideologues oppress the majority. The marriage was consummated on March 16, 1984 when the Accord was signed.

Painful indeed to the Mozambican people is the fact that U.S. policy toward Mozambique is governed by its policy toward a racist South Africa. An article written by Mr. James Hackett in *The National Security Record* of June, 1986, put it well. Hackett wrote: "An agreement helpful to South Africa that also helps a Marxist-Leninist regime survive in Africa is not in the global strategic interest of the U.S., nor is it compatible with the Reagan Doctrine concept of self-determination and freedom from totalitarian rule."

Friends, we need your help to turn around the policies of the Reagan Administration and of the Thatcher government that support the Marxist regime in Mozambique. We ask support for RENAMO in the same way that the Reagan Administration, for example, supports freedom fighters in Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia and Nicaragua.

There is a new opportunity before us at this moment. The policy of constructive engagement is under pressure from many quarters. The Nkomati Accord is showing cracks, as it does not have the kind of foundation in reality that can support its weight. The possibility of change gives us energy, and Mozambicans are working for that change. Won't you support us in this critical time?

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THE FEASIBILITY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLES WITHIN THE SOVIET RUSSIAN EMPIRE

I would like to begin my presentation with a few basic statements. First, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics is an empire in which the Russian state conquered, occupied and enslaved several large independent nations. Second, these captive peoples — Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Don-Cossacks, Turkestan, the people of Siberia, the Far East and a few others, are constantly striving to regain their lost independence and freedoms. Third, the Soviet Russian state conducts a colonialist and ethnocidal policy towards these peoples aimed at their complete destruction and assimilation by the Russian nation. Thus, fourth, survival of the said nations is at stake. Therefore, fifth, an uncompromising conflict has the nature of an enduring warfare, which will terminate only after the destruction of this empire and the re-establishment of their own states by all the captive peoples.

In the light of these statements, the Russian elite has two choices: either to maintain their empire at any cost or to dissolve it and permit the enslaved peoples to regain their freedom and independence. If the second course were to be chosen, then any such Russians would have to join and support the national liberation struggle. But so far there are no organized Russian groups willing to support the anti-imperialist side. In other words, all politically active Russians, be they the rulers in Moscow or the opponents of the existing government, support the maintenance of their empire and help to expand it further. As a result, any regime governing in Moscow must *sui generis* keep a totalitarian, despotic and terroristic system of government because, otherwise, the empire would immediately start falling apart.

The present-day Soviet Russian government under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev is attempting to reform the imperial system with the aim of improving it economically, technologically, administratively and socially. In order to achieve these objectives, appropriate conditions are necessary to remove the obstacles to further growth of the empire, and to stimulate initiatives of social and intellectual forces needed for such growth. The enslaved peoples on the other hand have quite different objectives in mind. They wish to regain national freedom, establish sovereign states and introduce a democratic system of government. These are the goals of the Ukrainian people, in particular. There is total contradiction between the goals of the leaders in the Kremlin and of the captive nations. Moscow will resist the liberation struggle even if it has to pay the price of abandoning its reforms.

We predict that the conflict between the forces of the Russian empire and the liberation movements will intensify. The question is of a feasibility of victory by the forces fighting under the slogan: "Freedom to Peoples! Freedom to the Individual!" Replying to the posed question we have to unequivocally state that the Ukrainian national liberation movement, the vanguard of which is the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists led until recently by the late Yaroslav Stetsko, who was also the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, is categorically and in principle against any nuclear war as a means of destroying the Russian empire. We are in favor of removing



Dr. I. Docheff (Bulgaria) and Dr. A. Bedriy answering questions from the floor

and extinguishing all the nuclear weapons in the world. We base our liberation strategy on the premise that the age of colonialism has passed all over the world forever. But there remains the only major empire - the Russian one. We are living in the age of sovereign national states. The ideas and trends of freedom to nations and individuals are inevitably penetrating the Russian empire. The Soviet regime is unable to root out these ideas and trends in spite of a huge terror apparatus of the KGB and the totalitarian Communist Party of the Soviet Union engaged in suppressing the rising tide of freedom fighters. In unison with the freedom movements of the enslaved nations, there is an overall rise of religious worship and faith in God. There are more Ukrainian Orthodox and Eastern Catholics today than there were, say, ten or twenty years ago. The power of Islam is increasing among the tens of millions of Moslems enslaved by Soviet Russia. Similarly, Judaism and Zionism are intensifying among the Jews in the Russian empire, the Catholic Church - among the Lithuanians, and so on.

A political freedom struggle can be witnessed in every captive nation. The opposition to the imperialistic Russian war in Afghanistan is widespread. Thousands of young non-Russian men who were sent to Afghanistan by force and did not go there voluntarily are being killed or wounded. This war serves as a catalyst of anti-imperialistic forces. Then the Chornobyl catastrophe tremendously intensified the opposition among the captive nations towards the entire Soviet totalitarian system, for which Russia is being blamed. All such trends strengthen nationalist emotions of the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, and others. We also learn from the Soviet press about the intensified combat by the colonial regime of the nationalist movements all over the empire, like the executions of nationalists in Ukraine in recent months.

In the Western world we notice a better understanding and appreciation of the power of ideas of national freedom, national independence and democracy as far as the captive nations are concerned. Those ideas and the potential for their activation in the captive nations is the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire. The perception of this phenomenon is particularly discernible in the United States of America as expressed by some high governmental officials. The power of mass information spreading national ideas to the tens of millions of people yearning for them in the Russian empire, is feared more by the leaders in Moscow than the physical power of arms. Especially powerful in that respect can be a network of strong broadcasting stations. The Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe now underway shows a better appreciation by the Western governments of the growing role of information and ideological propaganda vis-a-vis the Soviet Russian empire.

Let us ponder on the nature and potency of various ideas to the enslaved peoples. First of all, the idea of the Nation expresses all the values accumulated by the people throughout ages, which formed each nation and gave to the individual his culture and purpose in life and society. Religion is a very important element in the life of every captive people, expressed through the leadership and martyrs of the national churches. The idea of private ownership and privacy in your own home with your own family and within the community is a very important trait of the Ukrainian culture. The right to be educated in your own national culture is valued highly by each captive people. The idea of free creativity and enjoyment of the spiritual treasures of the national culture is also deeply engraved in the nature of the people. The idea of establishing a national economic system, adapted to the needs and desires of the people, is very much alive; so is the idea of a just social order. And, uppermost, is the idea of a government established by the people and functioning in the interests of the people; in other words, the people enjoying sovereignty over themselves within their own national state.

All these vital ideas, for the achievement of which hundreds of thousands sacrificed their lives, were formulated many decades ago in one slogan: "Freedom to Peoples! Freedom to the Individual!" The second part of this slogan contains the ideas, usually expressed by the concept "human rights" or "civil rights". Individuals of the enslaved nations perceive in this slogan the freedom from any foreign doctrine being forced upon them, as for example the Nazi-socialist doctrine of Hitler's Germany or the Leninist doctrine of Russia, or the old tsarist absolutism. People of the enslaved nations fervently desire to have control over their own lives and destinies through governments of their own representatives whom they can trust. In the ethical aspect, the Ukrainian people, generally speaking, highly cultivate their ancestors, national heroes, national saints and martyrs because of their highly altruistic dispositions. In short, there is a thirst in Ukraine for idealistic concepts of life. There are always patriots and faithful willing to sacrifice themselves for the well-being of the Ukrainians. Such are the nationalists admired by the majority of the people.

It can be stated *a priori* that the absolute majority of the subjugated people wish to destroy the existing Soviet Russian political, economic, social and ideological system. We call such an attitude of confrontation between our own national visions of state, society and the individual and the hostile colonial and totalitarian system — an attitude of the National Revolution: the destruction of the existing system and its replacement by our own national system. Similar national revolutionary attitudes exist

more or less in all the nations in Russian captivity. Thus a common front arises called decades the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Potentially this bloc is tens of millions of people strong. It is very real; no doubt that. But in order to turn into a dynamic force, this potential has to be transformed during a process of increasing revolutionary activities until the stage of a revolutionary situation is reached, when masses of people are ready for direct armed confrontation with the oppressors and colonialists.

The revolutionary liberation process is not spontaneous; spontaneity alone will not overturn the Russian empire. Spontaneous revolts or uprisings can be easily suppressed by the colonial power. The Great Famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine and the Chernobyl catastrophe prove the futility of spontaneous revolts, dissatisfactions, protests and demonstrations. However, they become links in the process of rising revolutionary attitudes. A well organized Ukrainian Nationalist movement in the 1940's and 1950's on the other hand took the Russian invaders a whole decade and a million armed men to crush.

The success of the National Revolutions of the captive peoples in the Russian empire is feasible with a proper strategic preparation and organizational effort. Much has been done in this respect in the past. There are treatises on the National Revolutions within the Soviet empire of international significance, written by such well known authorities as the Ukrainians Stepan Bandera and Yaroslav Stetsko or the Turkestanian Baymirza Hayit. Stepan Bandera concentrated his attention on determining the phases and elements of National Revolutions. Yaroslav Stetsko stressed the importance of coordination and synchronization of revolutionary processes. Baymirza Hayit pointed out the similarities between the liberation movements in the European and the Asian countries, occupied by Russia, as well as the incapability of the Russians to stamp out those national movements even after half a century or more of occupation.

Now we come to the crux of the problem: the conditions and requirements for the success of the National Revolutions today. At this very time we expect an increase in intensity of national liberation movements because of a transitional period in the Russian imperial system as planned by the present regime under Mikhail Gorbachev, requiring some relaxation of the totalitarian grip. This will be exploited immediately by the captive peoples to strengthen their own national forces. While reforms are being instituted, the KGB and the CPSU are watching carefully over the captive peoples, ready to attack the national liberation forces. Of crucial importance to the national liberation forces will be the acquisition and adaptation of new technologies in communication, weaponry, logistics and education, which could radically increase the fighting power of an individual insurgent and of a small group in combating the war machine and the terroristic state organization of a huge empire. If national insurgent movements could be supplied and equipped with relatively inexpensive weapons, good communication equipment and powerful informational media, especially broadcasting facilities, then very soon small nationalist groups could expand their activities to ever wider masses of the population. At the present time we stress the ideological warfare and education of the captive peoples. It would be followed by the expansion of the nationalist network together with an increase of mass social and economic campaigns and national, cultural and educational activities. When the conditions should ripen into a revolutionary situation, then surely nationalist guerilla

warfare will appear, which at a certain moment will develop into national insurgent armies.

Of great importance will be the degree of coordination of liberation activities among various captive peoples by means of modern communication technologies. Powerful mass media could tremendously enhance the education of the masses of people on current liberation policies, requirements and activities. Availability of various modern logistics can decisively help to overcome the mobility of the colonialist forces and to supply the freedom-fighters with the essential tools of warfare. The application of these newest trends in national insurgencies is being observed in Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Angola.

Of course, the Soviet Russian empire has the means to counteract. But, the liberation movements take into account that in the Free World there are people who oppose imperialism, racism and colonialism. If such people would support the national freedom fighters inside the Russian empire, the balance of power would turn sooner in favor of the forces of freedom, which are inherently stronger than the forces of slavery, tyranny and colonialism.

A question might arise whether the intensified liberation struggle might provoke a nuclear war. First of all, we hope that the arsenal of nuclear weapons will diminish in the world in the coming years as the result of nuclear disarmament negotiations and therefore, the threat of nuclear war will decrease. Secondly, the Russians should realize that the age of colonialism and imperialism is over, and the sooner they relinquish their imperialism, the better it will be for their own national interests. This vital historical argument should hold them back from using nuclear weapons as a final resort to maintain their empire. Thirdly, the use of nuclear weapons by the Russians on the territory of the U.S.S.R. would be suicidal because the Russians are interspersed among the captive peoples; the Chornobyl nuclear explosion not only inflicted heavy casualties among the captive peoples but also weakened the empire. Finally, the use of nuclear weapons by the Russians against the Free World as the result of growing national liberation movements would place them at a decisive disadvantage because they would not only have to defend themselves against the Western nuclear counterattacks, but would also have to combat the national insurgencies.

Regardless of whatever support the national movements receive from the Free World, they will continue to mobilize their own peoples for the struggle to achieve national independence and freedom. However, if the Russian empire should be able to overcome its present weaknesses and achieve its planned reforms, it would be ready for further aggressive wars.

It is self-evident that support from powerful friends and an appropriate synchronization with the developments in the international arena would much favor the growth of the liberation forces inside the U.S.S.R.

The decline and decay of this empire is presently in progress. The regime of Mikhail Gorbachev tries feverishly to save it. The forces of the national liberation movements are gaining ground. We will witness in a not too distant future an increase in conflicts and struggles inside the Russian empire, which might lead to even bigger convulsions till the day of final victory of the forces for freedom of peoples and the individual will arrive from the Elbe River in the west to the Bering Sea in the east. Only then will real peace come to the world.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ABN CAMPAIGN FREEDOM CONFERENCE

WHEREAS, the Soviet Union with its satellites is the evil empire of the 20th century where from Cuba to Vietnam, from Hungary to Angola, the sun never sets on the zone of Soviet Russian control and although the era of world imperialism is over—the world is faced with a new, far more dangerous and complex form of imperialism, a mixture of tsarism, Russian messianism and Marxist communism with colonial appendages and overtones; and

WHEREAS, this unprecedented rise to power has been paved by millions of human victims sacrificed to secure the hegemony over once free and independent nations; and

WHEREAS, the blatant disregard by the Soviet Russians of international covenants, declarations and United Nations Charters contributes to the constant tensions and conflicts between East and West and gives little hope that this long-established trend the Russians pursue will change; and

WHEREAS, the intensified russification, ethnocide and repression of the citizens of the various subjugated nations, who lawfully engage in calling the Soviet Russian government to account for violations of national and human rights, rights to free religious exercise as well as rights of family reunification; and

WHEREAS, the recent tragedy of the nuclear holocaust at Chornobyl once again demonstrated Russia's disregard for basic safeguards which created a mega disaster in Ukraine with a huge nuclear fallout to neighboring lands; and

WHEREAS, millions of people around the world who lost their freedom and independence as a direct result of various ill advised or nefarious international agreements where the free governments of the West acquiesced the enslavement of entire nations and thus handed them over to the Soviet Russian totalitarian system; and

WHEREAS, these subjugated nations continue to resist Soviet Russian domination by periodic guerilla wars such as the UPA in Ukraine (1942-55), in Poznan and Budapest in 1956, in Prague in 1968 and in Poland with the Solidarity movement; and

WHEREAS, Public Law 86/90 reaffirms the United States' solidarity with the aspirations of the Captive nations in the USSR and the so-called satellite states by calling upon the free nations to support the rightful claims to sovereignty and independence of those nations suffering under the yoke of Russian domination; and

WHEREAS, it behooves the governments of the free world to boldly reject all those agreements that inadvertently created the untenable situation where these peoples are subjected to the captivity of Soviet Russian despotism through the stroke of a pen at conference tables; and

WHEREAS, the nations united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) call upon the governments of the United States, Canada and other democracies to repudiate the spheres of influence and proclaim the right to national independence within the framework that will guarantee lasting and just peace; and

WHEREAS, the sovereign rights of self-government shall be restored to the Captive Nations in accordance with the solemn pledge of the Atlantic Charter and the primary principles of freedom enunciated in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political

SOONER OR LATER WE WILL SEE THAT OUR WORK WAS NOT IN VAIN

(Address delivered at the ABN Campaign Freedom Dinner in Toronto)

ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko was invited to this conference and he accepted the invitation. I know how dearly you expected him. But God's plans for him were different. This conference in Toronto has been convened for November, almost for the same days as the first conferences of the subjugated nations — November 21-23, 1943. Through all the years of ABN's existence, in particular from 1946, the name of Yaroslav Stetsko as ABN President was inseparable from ABN ideology, strategy, plans, activities, growth, expansion and its rejuvenation. It was under his guidance that ABN travelled the long road from the forests of Zhytomyr (1943) to Washington, the White House and Congress during its 40th anniversary in 1983. Yaroslav Stetsko gave ABN vision, established, deepened and sealed the cooperation of ABN with the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, with the Confederation of Latin America and the United States Council for World Freedom. Jointly with the Danish Foreign Minister Mr. Olie Bjorn Kraft, he initiated the European Freedom Council and with Dr. Ku Cheng-kang of National China and Dr. Prietto Laurence, the mayor of Mexico City, co-founded the World Anti-Communist League. It was he who advocated at all his meetings with representatives of the United States Administrations the necessity of support not only for his beloved Ukraine but also for all the subjugated nations in the USSR and so-called satellite states, but above all, for the heroic Afghan nation against Soviet Russian invaders. He believed that the war in Afghanistan will be the beginning of the end of the Russian empire. He found many followers for his alternative to a nuclear war, namely Western support for the liberation movements of the non-Russian subjugated nations because they will dissolve the last existing and most inhuman



Rights. These rights can be guaranteed only in a free society regulated by open elections within the framework of a constitutional government; and

WHEREAS, a full scale upgrade of the USIA, the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Canada International and Radio Marti is urgently needed. By focusing on the chief vulnerability of our adversary — the Russian empire — one can easily prognosticate that it would lead to the prevention of war rather than provoke it; and

WHEREAS, the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) is the pivotal defense mechanism the free world can count on, we fully support President Reagan in his quest to safeguard this defensive network as a guarantee of a survival strategy.

NOW, THEREFORE, WE, ASSEMBLED here in Toronto at the ABN Conference entitled "Campaign Freedom" appeal to and call upon the people and governments of the free world to use their mandate as free people in an effective call to implement their obligation to secure freedom and sovereignty to the enslaved nations of the world, thereby assuring the survival of civilization. The passion of freedom is on the rise and tapping this new spirit is the noblest and most ambitious task free peoples must embrace.



Mrs. Slava Stetsko at the banquet with Mrs. and Mr. Orest Steciw, and conference coordinators Ms. Lesia Shymko and Ms. Larysa Figol

empire from within. And you, my friends, you all supported him in these activities throughout the world for the benefit of your respective nations.

Today, when we meet at this ABN conference dinner, our thoughts are also with those who gave their lives defending their nation's dignity, history, native language, tradition, religion, their native soil. The words of the Ukrainian poet and political prisoner Vasyl Stus, who was recently murdered in a Russian concentration camp can be applied to Yaroslav Stetsko, to Stus himself and to all of them:

“How good it is that I do not fear death,
and I do not question the burden of my cross,
that I do not bow to you, malicious judges,
in the foreboding of unknown destinations....
My people! I shall return to you,
and in death I will turn to life.
In my suffering and without an unkind face,
I will bow before you like a son,
and deeply look into your honest eyes,
and with my native land will unite as one!”

You, my friends, all contributed to the success of this conference. Sooner or later we will see that our work was not in vain, when our cherished aim, the restoration of national independence and sovereignty to Afghanistan, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Croatia, Cuba, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Laos, Latvia, Lithuania, Mozambique, Nicaragua, North Caucasus, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkestan, Vietnam, and finally, my own homeland, Ukraine, will no longer be only our desire, but concrete reality.

THE IRON GRIP MUST RUST

(The following article appeared in the November 27, 1986 edition of The Toronto Sun)

The mournful roll-call of lost states. One by one, Slava Stetsko, president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) called out the tragic list.

“Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Armenia, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, the Caucasus, Croatia...”

Once-free nations now held in the iron grip of the world’s last remaining imperial system, the Soviet Union.

“Cuba, Estonia, Ethiopia, Hungary, Laos...”

Around me were men and women who had fled their conquered homes with nothing left to them but their pride, defiance and memories. Working people with children in school and elderly relatives to support. No yuppies here.

“Latvia, Lithuania, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Poland...”

Fighting men and women who had battled communists and Nazis. The Laotian general, Vang Pao, who led his Montagnard tribesmen in a 15-year war against the Vietnamese communists before being abandoned by the Americans. Fighters against communism from Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Vietnam. And men from an earlier nightmare time: Ukrainian survivors of Auschwitz, Belsen and Buchenwald.



Dr. Manfred Borges (Cuba) with Mr. Eric Margolis of The Toronto Sun

Being anti-communist is unfashionable. Your media and intellectual trendies would no more dream of being seen at a conclave like last week's ABN conference in Toronto than at a revival meeting. After all, does anyone really believe that a handful of exiles or their children are going to make a dent in the Soviet Empire?

“Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia...”

Not even mentioned, because it was so long ago, the lost Muslim emirates of Tashkent, Bukhara, Khiva and Samarkand — all disappeared into the belly of Russia. Who, twitter our academics, can withstand the high tide of history?

The Afghans are ready. In Afghanistan predicted a fierce-looking *Moujibuddin* spokesman, the Soviet Empire will begin to unravel. Brave words from people fighting to the death. That night, \$2,000 was spontaneously collected for the Afghans. Not a lot, but a lot for working people who don't have much take-home pay left after Ottawa's cut for socialist programs and aid to left-wing regimes.

Tepid greetings from Brian Mulroney met with richly deserved boos. Greetings from Ronald Reagan provoked a standing ovation. Canada's face was at least saved by MPP Yuri Shymko who pleaded for Canada to aid the tortured Afghan people — and who rightly demanded that Moscow free its own hostages, Soviet Jews.

“Turkestan, Ukraine, Vietnam.”

So ended the melancholy list of nations united in a brotherhood of suffering and lost freedom. People sang, many cried. What, I wondered to myself, was the use? How many similar doleful conclaves had I attended over the years, and heard how many windy speeches from exiles who knew deep down that they would never again see their homelands.

So why go on? The Ukrainian Holocaust was half a century ago; Latvia or Lithuania are only faint memories on dusty maps.

Who can ever imagine Poland or Finnish Karelia free of Soviet garrisons?

I can.

All empires, no matter how great and mighty, eventually fall. Those like Rome, held together by culture, respect and economic success, last longest. Empires like Assyria — and Russia — maintained only by brute power, soon collapse.

Remember that many of today's states are the product of a small number of dedicated exiles who dared dream. Modern Greece was created by a handful of expatriate Greeks, the Phanariots. Islamic Iran by an elderly man who broke the power of the shahinshah, the king of kings.

Who would have dared imagine in 1944, as Auschwitz's ovens roared and smoked, that only four years later Jews would sing *Hatikvah* to greet the birth of the new state of Israel.

And who could have dreamed in 1917 that a quiet little man living in Geneva would soon return to Russia and seize control of the world's largest nation. No one. But, of course, this is precisely what Lenin did.

Our trendy media may sneer at the ABN and other exile groups. The Soviet KGB deeply and justly fears them. Moscow may rule the bodies of the captive nations but their souls remain free and safe in North America — waiting to return.

Iryna Ratushynska Freed

Iryna Ratushynska and her husband Ihor Gerashchenko arrived in London, England for medical treatment of a heart condition and other ailments on a three month visa. A medical report issued at the press conference she gave said she was suffering from emaciation and her health was very frail.

Ratushynska was arrested in 1982, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and sentenced to seven years hard labor to be followed by five in exile. After her trial she was transferred to the camp at Mordovia, where she served three years of her sentence prior to being released on October 9, 1986. During her time of imprisonment she was denied paper and pencil most of the time, Ratushynska carved poems into a bar of soap with a matchstick and washed each poem away after she had memorized it. As a poet, Iryna Ratushynska is widely regarded as one of the most promising of her generation.

Iryna and her husband have not announced whether or not they will be returning to the USSR and they have not renounced their citizenship. During the press conference Ratushynska expressed concern about six women imprisoned in Russian concentration camps, one of them being Raisa Rudenko, wife of Mykola Rudenko, the founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.



Iryna Ratushynska and her husband Ihor Gerashchenko during a press conference in London, England



*Mr. Leszek Moczulski and Mrs. Maria Moczulski at a reception
in London, England, in February, 1987*

KPN Leader in England for Medical Treatment

Leszek Moczulski, the chairman of the Confederacy of Independent Poland (KPN) has been in London, England for some weeks now to receive desperately needed medical attention involving emergency heart surgery.

Born in 1930, Mr. Moczulski, who studied history and law, has been involved in the Polish independence movement from his early 20s. He has been a prolific publicist since 1958, having written for many political journals as well as having several books to his credit. It was his underground article entitled "Revolution Without Revolution" which later became the program of the Confederacy of Independent Poland. The KPN was formed in September of 1979, its main goal being an independent, sovereign Poland.

Mr. Moczulski has been repeatedly arrested because of his activities in working towards Poland's independence, the last arrest and sentencing being in April of 1986, at which time, along with four other members of the Political Council of the KPN, Leszek Moczulski was sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

We greet Mr. Moczulski in the West and wish him a speedy and successful recovery, that he may continue his important work towards freedom and independence for his native Poland.

THE 69TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

The 69th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence was observed at a reception held in the Rayburn House Office Building on Capitol Hill on January 21, 1987.

Some 150 guests gathered for the annual reception sponsored by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America along with honorary co-hosts, which included: Senators Bill Bradley, Alfonse D'Amato, Dennis DeConcini, Robert Dole, Jesse Helms, Gordon Humphrey, Paul Sarbanes, and Don Riegle, along with Representatives Frank Annunzio, Richard Armey, William Broomfield, Phil Crane, Robert Dornan, Edward Feighan, Dennis Hertel, Henry Hyde, Jack Kemp, Dan Mica, Robert Michel, Mary Rose Oakar, John Porter, Peter Visclosky and Gus Yatron.

The official program was led by Ukrainian National Information Service Director Myron Wasylyk. Addresses were delivered by several congressmen and senators, including Dennis Hertel, the new co-chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine, Fred Grandy, Curt Weldon, Don Ritter, Peter Visclosky, George Hochbruechner, Ernie Konnyu and Senator Dennis DeConcini.

Congressman Dennis Hertel of Michigan cautioned those attending the event not to be impressed by Soviet public relations gestures of recent days. He said the decision of Soviet authorities to release a few people from prison "doesn't change their terrible system and those things they have done in oppressing so many people before." Hertel said: "We face a supreme challenge as we watch this public relations onslaught."

"Yes, they are more skillful than before," he said. "Yes, Gorbachev dresses better, talks a bit better, sounds a bit better. But the truth is that they haven't changed."

One newly elected member of the U.S. House of Representatives, Peter Visclosky, recalled that the assassinated American civil rights leader Martin Luther King had said: "If one of us is not free, none of us are free." Visclosky said that Americans, as members of a free country "have to remember that as long as there are oppressed peoples in the world, we truly are not free." He recalled that King said that oppression cannot continue forever because "the desire for freedom and justice will eventually prevail."

Congressman Ernest Konnyu, who was born in Hungary and immigrated to the U.S. when he was 12 years old, told the Ukrainian Americans that they can count on his support. Konnyu, who was elected to Congress in November, said he still has relatives and friends living in Hungary "under communist tyranny of Soviet troops." He said: "If there is ever a friend of Ukrainians, I think the Hungarians love you."

At least two congressmen who could not attend the reception made statements for *The Congressional Record* in connection with the anniversary.

Congressman William Broomfield said the pursuit of independence by Ukrainians "is a cause common to many people." "We must not allow the world to forget the millions of Ukrainians ensnared in the Soviet police state," he said.

Broomfield said that "It is the duty of the free and democratic countries of the world to sustain the flame of independence for the Ukrainian people."

Congressman Benjamin Gilman said repression of the Ukrainian people has intensified "as the Soviet Union continues its strict policy of Russification. He said

that over the years, Soviet authorities have attempted to eradicate all forms of Ukrainian culture and tradition, and that religious persecution “continues unmercifully.” But, Gilman said: “Almost miraculously, Ukrainian culture and tradition thrive, despite the very real physical and psychological threats. “One’s cultural tradition cannot be denied,” he said, “and Soviet attempts to erase the Ukrainian people by every means at their disposal have failed.”

In addition to congressional representatives, Ed Derwinski, long-time friend of the Ukrainian American community and now Under Secretary of State (designate), spoke briefly on the need to intensify the American public’s knowledge of Ukrainian related issues.

Linas Kojelis, Special Assistant to the President in the Office of Public Liaison read a greeting from President Reagan (see back cover).

War Memorial Service in Leek, England



Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association of Great Britain marching together with the members of the Derby branch of the European Freedom Council at the War Memorial Service in Leek, Staffordshire, on November 9, 1986. A memorial service was held at St . Edward’s Church in Leek where the flags of Ukraine, along with the Royal Navy, Army and the Royal Air Force were given a place of honour. A wreath laying ceremony was held at the Cenotaph, followed by a reception at the British Legion Club.

Mujahideen Reject Communist Regime's Proposal

On January 17, 1987 more than 100,000 Afghan refugees and Mujahideen gathered in Peshawar, Pakistan to listen to the decision of their leaders. The communist regime of Afghanistan had announced a six month ceasefire and a national reconciliation program. The resistance leaders wanted to inform the public about their answer to these proposals.

The Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan, consisting of leaders of seven Mujahideen groups convened a three day meeting of its high council in which the proposal was thoroughly studied. After deliberations, the Alliance rejected the ceasefire as a ploy by the Soviet Russians to deceive the world public opinion and rejected the so-called reconciliation program of the communist regime. The resolution of the Alliance states that the current regime of Afghanistan does not have the proper credentials to talk about ceasefire and reconciliation. The two opposing sides in the war in Afghanistan are the Soviet Russians and the Mujahideen. The Mujahideen are ready to talk only with the Soviets about withdrawal of their troops.

The Alliance further rejected the idea of a coalition government of the Mujahideen and the existing regime on the grounds that the present regime is made up of criminals who should be tried and not given a chance to decide the destiny of Afghanistan.

The Mujahideen resolved to continue their struggle as long as the Soviet forces are in Afghanistan. They have rejected the empty proposal both in theory and in practice and are continuing in their struggle for freedom throughout Afghanistan.

Prisoners Refuse Plea for Release

On February 12, 1987, The Bukovsky Institute in Amsterdam learned that at least 16 political prisoners refused to sign a plea for clemency and thus obtain their release. Among those who refused were the Jewish activist Iosif Begun, the Ukrainian activist Yuriy Badzio, several Georgian political prisoners, among others Iveladze, Gudava and Khmara and the psychiatrist Dr. Anatoly Koryagin.

Several others agreed to write a plea for clemency, but disagreed with the text as proposed to them. Among those who refused the text proposed to them are the Byelorussian worker Mikhail Kukobaka, Armenian activist Genrikh Altunyan and trade-union activist Valeri Senderov.

Thus far, no political prisoners sentenced under articles 190-1 (slander) or 64 (treason) have been released. The same is also true for political prisoners sentenced on the basis of fabricated charges under criminal articles. Furthermore, no releases have been reported of prisoners confined to psychiatric hospitals.

Raid with the Mujahideen

Ted Abbott is a retired iron worker from Phoenix, Arizona, USA. Last June he took the position of field director for the Washington based Committee for a Free Afghanistan. Since then, he has been to Afghanistan four times helping the freedom fighters in any way possible. During his stay with the Mujahideen they came to call him "the American Afghan". For Mr. Abbott, being so dubbed was the ultimate tribute from a people he admires and cherishes and whom, now, he is actively helping.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE HARVEST OF SORROW: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine

by

Robert Conquest

Genocide is a word often loosely applied, but in its fullest legal sense there are less crimes in this century to justify its use. The worst example, everyone believes, was Hitler's extermination of the Jews (and other races) in the Holocaust. Yet everyone is wrong. Stalin's destruction of the people of Ukraine, as a deliberate policy in the early 1930s, was an even greater crime against humanity. And in caring so very much more about the former, indeed in not even wanting to know the facts about the latter, we ourselves, ordinary people, our political leaders, the press, the church, compound the felony.

The immediate heirs of those who committed these crimes in Ukraine over fifty years ago are the present rulers of the Kremlin. That so little of what they did has entered the consciousness of humanity is a massive triumph of communist propaganda and deforms the view of so many who accept the legitimacy of the Soviet Union as a political system. "Disinformation" (to use the Soviet term) has been endemic ever since Walter Duranty, of the *New York Times*, and others compromised themselves at the time of the events. "The scandal", Robert Conquest writes on p. 321, "is not that they justified the Soviet actions, but that they refused to hear about them, that they were not prepared to face the evidence". Mr. Duranty's successors are with us today, not least among them church leaders in democratic societies.

Mr. Conquest's magisterial volume presents, signs and seals the evidence about the worst crime of the twentieth century, the murder of 14 million people, over twice the number who perished in the Holocaust. He writes superbly and imposes supreme order upon the chaos of subject matter which often upset him so much that he "hardly felt able to proceed."

Harvest of Sorrow answers a question which has long troubled me. Why is it that Ukraine, as a nation, receives either no press or a bad one (though since Chernobyl at least most people know where it is)? The country which, in surface area, is the largest in Europe after Russia, and has a population of 51 million, is simply not seen as an entity. It is just another part of the Soviet Union, its eccentric emigres have funny names and occasionally make ineffectual demonstrations. Robert Conquest's book shames all who think thus (or it would if they read it).

Stalin believed that Ukraine as a nation was the biggest single threat to Soviet power, so he set out to eliminate it. He successfully spread the myth that only the rich peasants ("kulaks") were under attack, but the book proves that the whole nation, its history, its future, its culture, its religion was to perish and only a dehumanized work force left in its place to fuel his enterprises. Systematic famine was the chief, though not the only weapon. Later myths blamed the German invasion of a decade later for Stalin's evils (it is surely time for us to stop accepting Soviet "losses in World War II" as a rationale for all their current international attitudes).

Just as there can be no lasting peace in Europe without a solution to Poland's problem, *a fortiori* the same is true of

Ukraine — for the nation did not die and signs of its resurgence are growing, despite the effective control of the KGB. Robert Conquest's achievement fills one of the largest gaps in the world's agenda of concern.

Michael Bourdeaux

L'ALLEMAGNE NATIONAL-SOCIALISTE ET L'UKRAINE

by

Dr. Wolodymyr Kosyk

A new publication has appeared by the Ukrainian historian Dr. Wolodymyr Kosyk in France entitled *L'Allemagne National-Socialiste et l'Ukraine* (National Socialist Germany and Ukraine).

This invaluable piece of work describes all the misery the Ukrainian people have undergone and the Ukrainian struggle for freedom and independence. The book vividly depicts the events before the Second World War in Ukraine, including Carpatho-Ukraine, Hitler's secret plans and policy towards Ukraine, the atrocities committed during the Nazi German occupation and the deportation of people for slave labour to Germany. Further illustrated in the book are: the struggle of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, military units including "Halychyna" Division, Russian Bolshevik propaganda in Ukraine, the Nazi German policies in the fields of economics, education and religion, and the victims borne by Ukraine.

This 665-page book also contains 185 pages of documentation and 18 pages of illustrations.

Price: 120 French Francs including postage. Orders should be sent to: P.E.E. B.P. 51-06, 75261, Paris Cedex 06, France.

AN INTRODUCTION TO UKRAINIAN HISTORY

3 Volumes

by

Prof. Nicholas L. Fr. -Chirovsky

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Volume I presents Ukrainian history from antiquity, through the Kievan and Galician eras, to the mid-14th century. The Kievan era is frequently claimed by the Russians as their own historical beginning, and Prof. Chirovsky discusses and clarifies this important controversy.

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Volume II presents Ukrainian history from the mid-14th century through the end of the 18th. Once again Ukrainian culture and daily life are discussed and analyzed. The Lithuanian-Rus' era of national development, the period of Polish domination and suppression, and the flowering of the Cossack-Hetman State are among the important political developments of this time. He also discusses in detail the ruthless Russian effort to gain control of the Ukrainian nation.

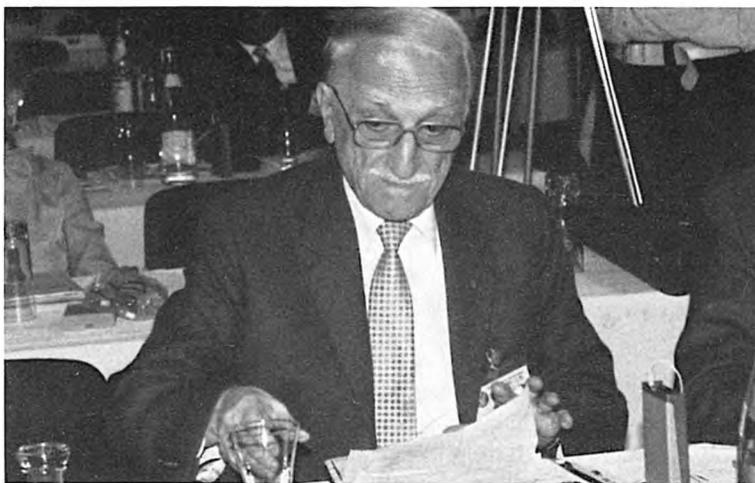
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Volume III: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Ukraine

In the final volume Prof. Chirovsky details the events and trends of the past 200 years, including the continuing Ukrainian effort to gain political and cultural freedom from Soviet Russian domination. As in the first two volumes, he provides a detailed picture of Ukrainian culture, society, and everyday life as they have evolved.

Price: \$30.00. All volumes can be obtained from The Philosophical Library, 200 W. 57 St. NY, NY 10019, USA.

ON THE 75TH BIRTHDAY OF DR. IVAN BANKOVSKI



Dr. Bankovski at the WACL Conference in Luxembourg, September, 1986

On August 16, 1986, Dr. Ivan Bankovski, the Bulgarian member of the Central Committee of the ABN, celebrated his 75th birthday. His whole life has been dedicated to the fight against communism and against the Russian-Bolshevik colonization of Bulgaria, as well as for the preservation of his homeland, divided after lost wars, and later in exile by representing Bulgaria's national cause on the world political forum.

In the past he served as general staff-officer of the former Bulgarian army, which was liquidated shortly after the Russian occupation of Bulgaria, whereupon he was discharged from the army. Dr. Bankovski then joined the United Opposition, which conducted a semi-legal struggle against the Red regime, installed in Sofia by the Russian occupational forces. This opposition, too, was just as quickly liquidated, after which in 1948, Dr. Bankovski was forced to illegally flee to the West and, in fact, only one day before he was to be arrested.

At the time when Greece and Turkey repatriated many Bulgarian political refugees, Dr. Bankovski, accompanied by two befriended officers and with Croatian help, was compelled to escape to the West across Yugoslavia. However, he was arrested on Yugoslavian territory and after 13 months of detainment in Tito's prisons and camps he succeeded for the second time in illegally crossing the border on October 5, 1949 and reaching the free state of Italy. From then on, in exile, he began his actual political activity, while at the same time studying dentistry in Paris and Frankfurt. He became the founder and general-secretary of the Association of Former Bulgarian Combatants in Exile. From 1953 to 1956 he was also the vice-president of the Federation of Former Frontline Fighters of Central and Eastern Europe, who had settled down as refugees in Frankfurt.

He also founded the journal *Bulgariski Woin*, which he edited for 20 years. In addition, he was secretary of the Coordinating Centre for Information and Cooperation of Bulgarian Organizations in Exile. Furthermore, Dr. Bankovski worked closely on several Bulgarian and foreign anti-communist issues. He is the author of five different anti-communist and patriotic works. Last, but not least, Dr. Ivan Bankovski is a member of the Bulgarian delegation in the World Anti-Communist League and constantly participates at various anti-communist conferences, whereby he deservingly represents Bulgarian interests on an international level.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 20, 1987

It gives me great pleasure to extend my warmest greetings to Ukrainian Americans and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America as you gather to commemorate the 69th anniversary of the proclamation of independence in Ukraine.

As you call to mind that joyful day of independence nearly seven decades ago and celebrate the freedoms afforded in a democratic society, we are mindful of those behind the Iron Curtain who continue to be harassed and persecuted for their religious and political convictions. The campaign against defenders of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches proceeds relentlessly. The imprisonment of Yosyp Terelia, the Reverend Vasyl Kobryn and Lev Lukianenko, and the forced internal exile of Yuriy Shukhevych, are tragic examples of the lengthy imprisonment and harsh treatment accorded Ukrainians who espouse freedom and national self-determination. The continued Russification of Ukraine and the increased destruction of historic and cultural institutions underscores the Soviet regime's contemptible policy of neocolonialism.

During this time of testing and trial for your beloved nation, we continue to look to the future with hope and trust that, with God's help, Ukraine will once again know the joy of freedom and independence. *Shchasty Vam Bozhe!*

Ronald Reagan

The above is President Reagan's message to Ukrainians on the occasion of the 69th anniversary of the proclamation of independence in Ukraine on January 22, 1918.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



B. SOROKA

SAINT

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ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

Wieder im Rahmen! Freizug für jedermann!

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GORBACHEV'S NATIONALITIES POLICY

On the Old Imperial Tracks of Russification

In analyzing the nationalities policy of Moscow in the 7-8 issue of the underground publication *Ukrainian Herald* (Spring, 1974), the author of the article called this policy "a general pogrom", a Brezhnev "course of total Russification", whose policies of terror and violence Moscow began to enforce with great escalation in Ukraine and in other republics, exceeding even the Russification records of the times of Stalin.

Are there any changes today in the sphere of nationalities policy after Mikhail Gorbachev, considered to be a carrier of a new liberal course has taken over the leadership of the Russian empire? After the writers' congresses in the various republics and the criticism of Russification by some writers, hopes sprang up that this might be the beginning of certain changes, at least in the areas of language and culture. However, these soft voices demanding the protection of rights of national languages and cultures did not reach Moscow. Quite the contrary, after this, and in particular after the national demonstrations of youth in Kazakhstan, after a brief rest, the Russification course has intensified.

In connection with the national demonstrations in Kazakhstan and afterwards in Latvia, the Russian chauvinists in Moscow have raised an alarm, the evidence of which is the range of articles which have appeared in the central imperial press and the related "endeavors" by organs of the KGB being conducted in Kazakhstan in the fight with "nationalist remnants". Therefore, it can be said that the general Brezhnev line of liquidating any manifestation of national opposition is being enforced today with the same force as in the times of Brezhnev. What is happening today in Kazakhstan, i.e. the persecution of national cadres in the alleged protection of "the international character of the republic", that is, the Russification line, to a great extent resembles that "general pogrom" which swept through Ukraine in the 1970s.

There is no doubt that the current pogrom-like events in Kazakhstan are taking place not only with the awareness of, but on the direct orders of Gorbachev. In his speech to the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Gorbachev clearly declared that the main task of "educating Soviet people of all nationalities" is to strengthen within them "feelings of internationalism and Soviet patriotism". It is not necessary to demonstrate the context behind this well known Russian phraseology being repeated by Gorbachev. In practice, this "education" has as its task to liquidate the national consciousness of the non-Russian nations, to re-shape them into a "Soviet people" with one Russian language and culture.

"Let those" — threatens Gorbachev in his speech to the Central Committee — "who want to win at nationalist or chauvinist prejudice have no illusions and await no relaxation on this point." Indeed, as revealed in the last releases of the Russian press regarding the events in Kazakhstan, and in particular in the article entitled "The Price of Egoism" (*Pravda*, February 11, 1987), the fight with "nationalist prejudices" is being conducted on the entire front. The purging of nationalist elements has taken on massive proportions. The "sins" that *Pravda* lists as committed in Kazakhstan are as follows: manifestations of localism, tendencies to national isolation, feelings of national pride, lack of feelings of "internationalism and Soviet patriotism", national

egoism, indifference to Russian culture and literature, propaganda of national narrowness, connected with the establishment of new Kazakh kindergartens, and the yearning of Kazakhs to rid themselves of the “internationalization” of their republic and to reach national majority. The current events in Kazakhstan are the best evidence of the kind of direction that Gorbachev’s nationalities policy will take. There is no doubt that Gorbachev considers current Soviet attainments in the sphere of “internationalization” satisfactory, a basis for the “friendship of nations”, and that any deviation from this imperial-chauvinist line will come to know the persecution as cruel as that of the times of Stalin and Brezhnev. For Gorbachev, the current “national structure” in the non-Russian republics which came into being as a result of “internationalization”, i.e. colonization by Muscovite elements, are great “achievements” of national politics, international relations in the USSR.

This is certified by his last trip to the Baltic countries with the purpose of popularizing “democratization” and “restructuring” the bankrupt Russian communist political-economic order. From the notices concerning his stay in Latvia and Estonia, it appears that he was “sincerely greeted” only by the massively planted Moscow colonizers, “porters of culture” and their local servants. It is doubtful whether Gorbachev was able to obtain the favor of the Estonians and Latvians who consider the Russian rule in their homelands occupational and yearn for the return of independence. Gorbachev narrated old propaganda tales to the Estonians and Latvians, tales about their and the Russians’ common history, about the great achievements of the Baltic countries after these nations fought for the “re-unification” with the USSR.

Such primitive propaganda slogans declared by Gorbachev could provoke only angry laughter from the Baltic countries: “The Russian warrior-liberator is helping the Baltic farmer and fisherman to defend their native land from mockery and bondage, to protect it from foreign conquerors... For the Baltic countries, the road to socialism was long and hard. Soviet rule existed but for a few short months in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. But the “breath of freedom” strengthened the yearning for socialist justice and national independence. The entire heroic struggle to proclaim, establish and strengthen socialist rule in the Baltic is proof that the revolutionary will of the people cannot be broken...” Gorbachev makes use of the traditional Russian falsification of history, keeps silent about the occupation of the Baltic countries on the basis of the Nazi-Russian pact, keeps silent about the terrible human losses of the Baltic countries after they were “liberated” and massive terror was enforced, keeps silent about the fact that today, in the cities of Latvia and Estonia, 50% of the population is already made up of Russian chauvinist invaders.

Gorbachev’s reflections in Estonia and Latvia on the theme of the “Russian warriors” and “liberation” characterize him, beyond a doubt, as a typical Russian chauvinist. In the first place, after coming to power he proved himself as such in Kyiv, where, in conversation with “the people” he confused Russia with the USSR, “Soviet” people with Russian people, when he talked about the national pride of the Russians. Therefore, his criticisms at the plenum of the Central Committee about the indispensibility of “objective examination of realistic phenomena in the sphere of national relations” can only be viewed as yet another tactical maneuver in the crafty dialectic of Russian “internationalism”. The recent anti-nationalist terrorism in Kazakhstan as well as Gorbachev’s “objective analysis of national relations” are the best proofs that we cannot hope for any fundamental changes in the sphere of Russian imperialist policy.

ABN IN ACTION

*(Speech delivered at the ABN Campaign Freedom Conference
in Toronto, Canada, November 21-22, 1986)*

Today, disinformation in the West is making a human and peace loving man out of Gorbachev. We wish to invite the attention of the Western democratic nations to the worsening plight of the nations occupied by Soviet Russian imperialism in the USSR and the satellite states under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev. In the last three years, Moscow has ruthlessly exterminated every Helsinki Monitoring Group within the nationalities of the Soviet Union. Known prominent national and civil rights leaders were exterminated, psychologically maimed, imprisoned or exiled, to name just a few well known Ukrainians: Dr. V. Horbovyj, Bishop O. Khiva, poet V. Stus, O. Tykhyj, Y. Lytvyn, V. Marchenko, O. Nikitin, all these were recently exterminated. The Byelorussian freedom fighter Kukobaka disappeared. The Latvians Janis Skudra, Janis Rozkalns, Gunars Astra, Gunars Freimanis, Gederts Mengailis, Janis Vevers to name just a few were arrested and received severe sentences. There were also arrests in Turkestan and the Caucasus.

Arrests and imprisonments attest to the strength and extent of the resistance against the communist oppressor. Those imprisoned or potential inmates possess courage and resolve, since they are fully conscious of the fate that awaits them for their activities. After the Chornobyl disaster, mass discontent is growing even among the communists.

While thousands of people, in particular children, are scattered miles away from their homes in the Chornobyl area, including the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv, in camps unprepared for the wet autumns and ice-cold winters, the recent congress of Soviet writers provided an insight into the mood of the subjugated nations after the Chornobyl holocaust. The writers' congress that has passed largely unnoticed in the West shows that non-Russian authors made use of the occasion to speak out about a highly sensitive and virtually taboo subject — the gap between theory and practice in the area of Soviet Russian nationalities policy.

A Ukrainian poet, Borys Oliinyk, set the tone by denouncing Russifiers, who in their zeal to implement "political orthodoxy" in the republics "in the name of the Russian people", act as "great power chauvinists". A Latvian referred to "denationalization" and the worrying demographic situation of the Baltic nations, while an Estonian condemned Moscow's control over what the non-Russians may publish. Georgian authors protested against what they saw as a Russian nationalist slur on their nation, and an Armenian representative complained about stereotyping and caricaturing of non-Russians in Soviet films. In short, the congress witnessed probably the most forthright and comprehensive expression of the grievances and anxieties of the non-Russians voiced at any official forum since the 1920s.

The Wall Street Journal from August 15 writes:

"In fact, the reasons for the persistence of the lion's share of national tensions in the Soviet Union boil down to the fact that the decision making remains concentrated in Moscow and many of the non-Russians still have reason to perceive the Russians

— barely half of the Soviet Union’s population of 280 million — as enjoying a position of Russian dominance.”

The Estonian writer Vladimir Beekman drew attention to the difficulties that non-Russians face because Moscow decides which books the non-Russians may publish, which works they may translate, and which publications they may sell abroad. He challenged the notion “that all questions are always best seen from Moscow”. A similar point was made by the Latvian Janis Peters, who also spoke about the need to guard against “the robotization” of language.

A Kalmyk writer praised Mr. Oliinyk’s speech and lamented that his people “had lost the sense of being masters” on their native land. The Tatar representative warned that “if man is deprived of the feeling of having a native land, he turns into a rolling stone”.

On July 30, the Latvian poet and translator Klavs Elsbergs, writing in the republican Komsomol newspaper *Padomju Jaunatne*, asked why so little was being written about problems in the sphere of national relations.

At the 8th Congress of Azerbaijani writers in Baku on May 22 and 23, 1986, there was open protest against Russian Communist Party functionaries. The young authors preferred to write books on their own Azerbaijani history which, because of their national and traditional roots, are very popular in the country.

While, after six years, the Soviet Russian war machinery cannot break the heroic Afghan nation, the sons of the subjugated nations in the USSR refuse to serve in Afghanistan. The clandestine periodical *Juventus Academica* in Lithuania writes: “It has been five years now that our peers are senselessly perishing in Afghanistan, as they fulfill the so-called ‘international duty’ as members of the ‘limited contingent of Soviet armed forces’, in reality, becoming murderers and punishers, killing innocent people of a sovereign state, burning down its villages and cities.

The same attitude is shared by all non-Russians who are only looking for a chance to desert from the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. It is only a question of whether the West is prepared to accept these deserters. And what about the clashes between the Tadzhiks and the Russians in the Red Army stationed in Afghanistan in the spring of 1986? Doesn’t that say the non-Russian nationalities in the Red Army are creating fear for Gorbachev?

On August 27, 1986, *The International Herald Tribune* published an article on the front page about a spontaneous strike by Estonian military reservists forcibly conscripted to help decontaminate the zone around the Chernobyl nuclear disaster reactor, and which was recounted in unusually candid reports by an Estonian language newspaper *Noorte Haal*.

Resistance exists in all of the subjugated nations in spite of the terror and the communist authorities even attempt to use covert measures to crush the leaders of the resistance. For example, Mrs. Olena Antoniv-Krasivsky, a Ukrainian was killed in a car accident. In November of 1981, Rev. Bronius Laurinavicius, a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group was pushed under a truck by four unknown men in Vilnius and died of his injuries. These are just a few examples of methods used to suppress resistance.

Frequent purges, even of the Communist Party ranks, witness the fact that dissatisfaction is even growing among Communist Party members. During 1985, for instance, 184 Communist Party functionaries were expelled from the party in Kazakh-

stan (a Turkestani republic) for their incompleteness of the 5-year plan. Unfortunately, the West is rescuing the Russian communist empire from downfall by rendering technological and economic aid.

The economy of the USSR as well as of the satellite countries is in a very poor state. Therefore, in Hungary, Kadar is trying so-called de-centralization, which, in effect, means the re-introduction of private ownership. In Yugoslavia, dissatisfaction is growing, particularly among the Croats and the Slovenians. During the 13th Communist Party Congress in Belgrade, hundreds of proposals were discussed, the majority of which supported private ownership as a possible solution to the economic crisis in Yugoslavia. In Rumania, the economic situation is unbearable.

ABN ACTIVITIES IN THE FREE WORLD

Since the reports of the national delegates are covering the activities of their organizations, our report will only mention some of the most striking events and will concentrate on the work performed by the ABN headquarters.

This year, the Ukrainian organizations in the free world commemorated the 45th anniversary of the restoration of Ukraine's independence, which was proclaimed on June 30, 1941, against the will of the invading Nazi German forces. This actually started a two-front war against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia and manifested the will of the Ukrainian nation to independent life.

Unfortunately, the commemoration of this glorious event was overshadowed by two tragic events: the Chornobyl nuclear disaster and the loss, on July 5, 1986, of the greatest leader in contemporary Ukrainian history, the Prime Minister of Free Ukraine and ABN President, Yaroslav Stetsko. The last tribute to him was paid at his funeral in Munich on July 12, 1986, by about 1,200 people who came from as far away as Australia, Latin America, the United States, Canada and from all the European countries. We received hundreds of telegrams and letters of condolences.

In his special recognition of Yaroslav Stetsko, President Ronald Reagan stated in his letter of condolences that Yaroslav Stetsko's "life burned brightly with the love of liberty in an age darkened by totalitarian tyranny. Throughout his 74 years, he kept faith with his countrymen in his courageous struggle for human rights and national independence for Ukraine against the twin tyrannies of Nazism and communism. His courage and dedication to freedom will serve as a continuing source of inspiration to all those striving for freedom and self-determination and an abiding reminder of the timeless struggle of mankind to break the chains of tyranny."

The entire Ukrainian diaspora in the free world organized mass demonstrations protesting Russian installations of nuclear reactors so close to the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, and the terrible negligence and lack of information for the population after the disaster. Telegrams to President Reagan and the governments of the Western countries were sent by ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko and Ukrainian organizations, urging them to force Moscow to disclose the real state of affairs and to allow help to be given to the suffering population in Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic states which were exposed to the highest levels of radiation.

When the Ukrainian sailor, Myroslav Medvid tried to escape from the Soviet grain vessel, Marshal Konev, near New Orleans, in October of 1985, seeking political asylum, Ukrainians throughout the whole of the United States organized mass actions to prevent Medvid from being sent back to the Soviet Union. The American organiza-

tion, Save the Oppressed People (STOP) was fully engaged in actions to rescue Myroslav Medvid and even hired a boat to try to stop the Marshal Konev from leaving US waters. STOP also helped organize press coverage and helped in mobilizing senators and congressmen in Washington. At present, a special Congressional Committee is investigating the Medvid case.

Baltic and Ukrainian delegations participated unofficially at the Review Conference of the Helsinki Final Act in Ottawa in 1985, submitting materials on the deterioration of national and individual freedoms. In 1985, the Baltic Tribunal in Copenhagen, Denmark, followed by the Baltic Peace and Freedom Cruise in the Baltic Sea aroused the interest of the entire European press.

This year, special attention was devoted to the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe in Bern, where our representative handed over a memorandum prepared by ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko to all the delegations of Western governments participating at the conference.

In our memorandum, we called attention to the plight of imprisoned freedom fighters in Ukraine, above all Yuriy Shukhevych and Yosyf Terelya, the Byelorussian Mikhail Kukobaka, the trial of Polish members of KPN, Leszek Moczulski and others, their poor state of health, the plight of Yuli Edelstein, a religious teacher of Hebrew, the religious persecution and the imprisonment of Catholics in Lithuania and Ukraine, the persecution of the Muslim population in Turkestan and Azerbaijan. After the Chornobyl disaster, we requested that this modern holocaust also be included on the agenda at the Bern conference.

Several demonstrations were organized in the United States and in Europe in support of the Afghan Mujahideen and parcels of clothing were sent to their refugees from ABN New York.

Since November 4, 1986, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has been taking place in Vienna. Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians staged a very successful demonstration. There was also a Slovakian demonstration. Ukrainians, Rumanians, Hungarians as well as Baltic representatives held several press conferences. Memorandums from the ABN Central Committee and from national groups were presented to the Western delegations.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

Captive Nations Week was organized this year with great emphasis particularly in the United States and several places in Great Britain. The commemorations culminated this year in Bradford, England, New York City and Washington, D.C.

The Captive Nations Committee in England, headed by Gunars Tamsons and representing Byelorussia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine, has been actively promoting the struggle for freedom of these nations and all subjugated nations for 17 years since its founding in 1963. This year's commemoration included a service at the Bradford Cathedral, a wreath laying ceremony and a special meeting and concert.

A unanimously adopted resolution was sent to the United States Mission to the United Nations, to the Prime Minister of England, Margaret Thatcher, the City of Bradford Metropolitan Council and British members of Parliament. John Wilkinson, M.P., president of the European Freedom Council was the main speaker. Participating in the commemoration were members of Parliament and the press. All responded

favorably, voicing their support for the independence struggle of the subjugated nations.

In the United States, Captive Nations Week was commemorated by a demonstration in front of the United Nations. New York Gov. Mario Cuomo and Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, although unable to participate, sent letters of support which were read at the demonstration, along with a Captive Nations Resolution issued by the State of New York.

The Captive Nations observance in Washington, D.C. remembered the late Yaroslav Stetsko as a man who devoted his life to the struggle for independence of all the subjugated nations. Representatives of the Captive Nations, as well as representatives of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America attended a special luncheon on Capitol Hill hosted by several US congressmen. President Reagan signed the 1986 Captive Nations Week Proclamation in which he underscored the renewal of America's resolve "to support the struggle for freedom throughout the world by observing Captive Nations Week."

ABN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

The National Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was convened on May 18-19, 1985, in New York on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the AF ABN. Two hundred forty-three delegates from 18 nationalities participated in the Congress, including 14 AF ABN branches in the U.S.A., representatives of ABN from Canada as well as about 500 invited guests.

The main theme of the Congress was "The West's Strongest Allies" — the nations subjugated in the USSR and its satellites. The program included speeches on the following: "The tragic consequences of Yalta" — Mrs. Slava Stetsko, "Aid to the Captive Peoples" — Mr. Robert Morris (executive member of the U.S. Council for World Freedom), "Unchanged Russian drive for world domination" — Dr. Jack Stukas (Professor at Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J.) and "The ABN and Political-Psychological Warfare" — Mr. Svyatoslav Karavanskyj (inmate of Soviet Russian concentration camps for 31 years).

Three panels were also held during the two days of the Congress: a youth panel entitled "The ideas by which the young generation is inspired in the Free World and behind the Iron Curtain", a panel on "National liberation processes behind the Iron Curtain", and "Armed struggle of the subjugated nations for their survival".

In the evening of Saturday, May 18, 1985, a banquet was held which opened with the reading of greetings from President Ronald Reagan and Vice-President George Bush. The main address was delivered by the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko — former Prime Minister of Free Ukraine and ABN President. Guest speakers were United States Congressman Mario Biaggi and Mr. Wayne Merry, United States representative to the United Nations and advisor on political and security affairs.

The ABN held an international conference jointly with the European Freedom Council on November 21-24, 1985 in London, Great Britain, with 287 delegates and observers from 30 countries participating. The conference was addressed by ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko, the Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P., the Hon. Stefan Terlezki, M.P. and Sir Frederic Bennett, M.P. Included in the conference were reports from branches throughout the world, panels, including a youth panel. Addresses were delivered by the following guests of honor: General John K. Singlaub, Mr. Arie Vudka

from Israel, Dr. Jimmy D. Morgan from Texas, Dr. William P. Murphy of Radio Free Europe and Dr. Russell Bonner Cohen of the Young Conservative Foundation.

The conference culminated in a demonstration held outside the Soviet Russian embassy, where more than 1,200 people participated. Later a banquet was held at the Hilton International Hotel. After the conference, much time was spent evaluating it, by publishing materials from the conference in *ABN Correspondence* and the national press and sending copies of the speeches behind the Iron Curtain.

In the first half of the year, ABN was intensively engaged in the preparations for the European Freedom Council meeting which was scheduled to be held in Munich on May 31 and June 1, 1986.

The Central Committee of ABN publishes a regular bi-monthly bulletin called *ABN Correspondence*. Translated literature from behind the Iron Curtain is published in the form of books and pamphlets. ABN publishes materials from its conferences, such as the book *The West's Strongest Allies* and *How to Defeat Russia* as well as pamphlets of genocide, Russification, concentration camps, the Helsinki monitoring groups and other topics. Small pamphlets for distribution behind the Iron Curtain as well as leaflets to the Soviet Army in Afghanistan are also published, along with leaflets prepared for demonstrations.

Special attention was paid by the Central Committee to radio broadcasts at Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Several position papers were forwarded to the various members of the U.S. Administration, Senate and Congress. This will remain our constant matter of interest and concern, as such radio broadcasts are a very important source of information for the subjugated nations.

In Europe, the ABN belongs to the European Freedom Council, which it co-founded in 1968. The Hon. John Wilkinson, a British member of Parliament is the chairman of the EFC. The general conference in London in 1985 elected the following honorary presidium: President: Otto von Habsburg, M.E.P.; Sir Neil Cameron (Great Britain), Marshal of the Royal Air Force; Yaroslav Stetsko (Ukraine), former Prime Minister of Ukraine; Manuel Fraga Iribarne, M.P. "Allianza Popular"; Senator Cihad Fethi Tevetoglu (Turkey), and Sir Frederic Bennett, M.P. (Great Britain). The Executive Board was elected as follows: President — John Wilkinson, M.P. Great Britain; vice-presidents: Guillermo Kirkpatrick, M.P. Spain; Slava Stetsko, ABN; members: Ursula Appuhn-Krone, M.P. Germany, Prof. Leo Magnino, Italy, president of the Italian Archeological Academy; Bertil Haggman and Mr. Haggard, M.P. both of Sweden.

ABN is a member of the World Anti-Communist League. The President of ABN belongs to the WACL Executive Board, takes an active part in its meetings which are convened twice a year in different parts of the free world. During the annual WACL conferences not only the ABN Central Committee participates but national delegations of Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania and Ukraine as well.

Last year the WACL conference was held in Dallas, and this year, the executive board meeting was held in Phoenix, Ariz. and the conference was held in Luxembourg, Europe. Yaroslav Stetsko, who was the greatest advocate and promoter of the world anti-communist center was given a special tribute at the WACL conference in Luxembourg. In October of this year, Dr. Baymirza Hayit, a member of the ABN Central Committee visited the Middle East and addressed the Moslem conference in

Ankara, Turkey. In recent weeks, the ABN President has visited and addressed ABN branches in New York, Detroit, Chicago and Toronto and met with representatives of the United States Council for World Freedom headquarters in Phoenix, Ariz. On October 16, 1986, the president of ABN, the president of AF-ABN, and two AF-ABN leaders from the New York area participated in a State Department conference for non-governmental leaders in Washington, D.C.

And now we are participating at the international "Campaign Freedom" conference organized by ABN-Canada. We are sure it will run smoothly. We were witness to the dedication of the members of the Preparatory Committee headed by Mr. Orest Steciw. We also congratulate ABN-Canada for their organization of a very successful lecture tour for Mr. Bertil Haggman, a Swedish specialist on Soviet Russian and communist political warfare against the West in May and June of last year. He spoke in Toronto at the Canadian Forces Staff School, at a youth seminar in Windsor, he visited Ottawa, Montreal, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Windsor, Detroit, Chicago, Washington and New York. He spoke at gatherings, met with governmental officials, took part in the question period in the House of Commons and gave media interviews.

We hope that the ABN conference in Toronto will help to draw the attention to the undiminished efforts of the subjugated nations on their road to freedom and national sovereignty and will mobilize more support for the liberation movements, which by coordinated and synchronized revolutions with moral, political and material support will be able to dissolve the Russian communist empire from within.



General Nguyen Van Chuc of the Freedom Force of the Coalition of Vietnamese National Parties delivering his address on the topic of "The National Insurgency in Vietnam" during the Campaign Freedom ABN Conference.

NATIONAL REPORTS

Presented at the "Campaign Freedom" ABN Conference
Toronto, Canada, November 20-22, 1986

"COMMUNIST AGGRESSION MUST BE STOPPED" (Bulgarian report)

As it is known, on September 5, 1944, the Soviet Union, without any explanation and disregarding the diplomatic relations Bulgaria had with the Soviet Union throughout World War II, declared war against Bulgaria. The Soviet Red Army, one million strong, under the command of Marshal Tolbuhin, invaded Bulgaria, occupied the country, and on September 9, 1944, Moscow appointed a communist government in Sofia.

Before September 9, 1944, the communists in Bulgaria did not have the support of even 1% of the population. Communism was rejected by the Bulgarian people. The appointed communist government was put in the position of facing overwhelming opposition. To retain power, the communists used bloody terror. Tens of thousands of citizens opposing communism were executed and hundreds of thousands were sent to concentration camps and prisons.

The number of the murdered and executed by the communists in Bulgaria after September 9, 1944, is estimated to be over 100,000, among which were the Regent Prince Kiril, brother of King Boris, Professor Philov and General Mihov, members of the government and the Parliament, and citizens of all classes and professions including workers and peasants. In the United States, in the files of the Bulgarian National Front, Inc., to date, we have completed a list of names with the places and dates where the murders or executions took place of over 10,000 Bulgarians opposing the communist regime.

The truth that there were concentration camps and prisons filled with political prisoners in Bulgaria was established by the United States Congressional Committee appointed to investigate the situation in Bulgaria under the communist regime. This committee submitted Special Report No. 7, House of Representatives, Second Session, 1954. In this report the names of existing concentration camps in Bulgaria are given: Rosiza, Dobrudja (called little Siberia), General Toshevo, Rasgrad, Terter, Belene, Bela Voda, Vratza, Plovdiv, Bobov Dol, Komariza, Dimitrov Grad, Barimirzi, Pernik, Pirin, Moshina, Burgas, Plakalniza, Tvurdiza, Koprinka, Stalin by Sofia, Bely Isker, Zlatna Panega, Shumen, Kazilnik, Damadan, Tutrakan, Malko Tirnovo, Troyan, Lovech, and many others with half a million inmates. Besides these camps, the report stated that in Bulgaria prisons also existed in Sofia, Varna, Sliven, Plovdiv, Kustendil, Stara Zagora, Kurjaly, Gorna Kjumaya, Silistra, Haskovo, Dobrich, Vraza, Lidin, Bugas, Ruse, Lom, Shumen, Tirnovo, Pleven, Svishtov, Lovech and many others with over 50,000 political prisoners.

After they took over the government, the communists started the communization of the country with no delay. They expropriated, without compensation, all private property, all private enterprises and the land of the peasants. The workers became only a number in the government production machine, deprived of all rights. The peasants were bound to the government's *kolkhoses* to work as slaves.



Bulgarian delegation at the Campaign Freedom ABN Conference.

A strong campaign was undertaken against the Church. Over 2,000 churches were closed. Many clergymen were sent to prison, among them, the majority of the bishops of the Holy Synod. Great numbers of the clergy were murdered or executed, among them Bishop Boris of Nevrokop, Archimandrite Palady of Vidin, Bishop Bosilkoff, head of the Protestant Church and others. Religion is still suppressed and the people who attend church services are terrorized. Despite this, church services continue to attract great numbers of worshippers and the churches have become the place for silent resistance against communism.

The communists forcefully converted the free economy to a government enterprise and completely destroyed the country's economic stability. Before the communist takeover, Bulgaria produced two to three times more fruit and other agricultural products that it needed for domestic use, and exported grain, vegetables and fruit to Western Europe. Today, there is not enough to cover the domestic needs and the people, after forty years of communist rule, must stand in long lines to buy meat, vegetables, fruit, etc., and in many cases, after long hours of waiting, go home empty-handed.

The destruction of the economy produced great inflation. Today the Bulgarian communist currency is not accepted anywhere out of the country and its value is not even worth the paper on which it is printed.

Today, under the communist regime in Bulgaria, neither human nor civil rights exist. There is no free press, no freedom of expression of opinion nor free elections. The Bulgarian communist government sends its representatives to all the international conferences on human rights and citizens' freedom. They have signed all agreements but nothing is changed in Bulgaria. Not one of the agreements is fulfilled. Bulgarian Premier Shivkov was personally in Helsinki and signed the agreement there, but this does not mean anything to the communists. The tragic situation in Bulgaria has not changed. To fully describe the situation in Bulgaria under the communist regime, we would need thousands and thousands of pages, and still not all would be said.

From the first day when the communists took over the government in Bulgaria, the resistance against the regime started and the great majority of the Bulgarian people were involved. One after another underground movements for overthrowing the regime were organized. The first such underground movement against the regime was organized by the members of the dissolved Bulgarian National Legion, known as first and second Legionnaires Centers in 1944. The Legionnaires were declared "enemy number one" of the regime and a great number of the leaders of the organization were executed, among them Hristo Nedeff of Varna, Emanuel Kasheff of Gabrovo, Ivan Iotoff of Pazardjik, and many others.

There were underground movements which involved former members of the military, legionnaires, people who were members of former political parties, etc. Some of the most popular of the resistance were called "Zar Krum" under the leadership of Colonel Krusteff; the resistance of Asenovgrad, Kurdjaly, Sliven and many others. The communist government was not able to control the situation and asked for help from the "big brother", the Soviet Union. Moscow sent no less that 200,000 "helpers" to Bulgaria. The communist government granted them Bulgarian citizenship and they took control of the police, called *Milizia* by the communists, they took high positions in all branches of the government, and took command of the army, establishing their full control over the country. Cruel terror was imposed, especially against participants of the resistance movements. Thousands were imprisoned or executed, but still the opposition against the communist regime continues and will never cease.

Bulgaria was converted into a Soviet Russian colony and remains such. The communist government in Sofia unconditionally follows the instructions from Moscow and fulfills every order of the Kremlin. Bulgaria is now used by the Soviet Union to supply the communist countries in Africa and South America with weapons. Bulgaria is used as a place for training international terrorists. The Bulgarian Army was sent to help the Soviet Army put down the resistance in Czecho-Slovakia. Bulgarian Army units are in Cuba, they were in Grenada, they are in Libya, and now they are in Nicaragua. Bulgarian officials are directly involved in international terrorism, as well as in the bloody terror against the Bulgarian Muslims in the last two years. Bulgaria is a tool in the hands of Moscow and could be used to provoke the start of war anywhere the Soviet Union may decree. Today's Red Bulgaria is a danger to world peace.

The communist government in Sofia converted Bulgaria into a huge prison in which all citizens are prisoners. The borders of the country were and are sealed. Nobody can leave the country without special permission from the *Milizia*. Only communists can get such permission. Anyone who tries to cross the borders illegally could be shot to death or if captured, be sent for long years to concentration camps, from which most people never come back. Regardless of the risks, because the situation in the country was and continues to be so bad, many people risk their lives and try to cross the border to freedom. Many have been killed on the border line. This was the way the Bulgarian anti-communist emigration started. Not many were able to come to the West, those who succeeded were determined to fight communism.

The first Bulgarian anti-communists who succeeded in escaping to Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia, formed guerilla groups and began going illegally into Bulgaria, with weapons to fight the communists. They helped others to escape, they punished communist officials who terrorized the people and they performed sabotage actions.

The communist government was very disturbed by the activities of the guerillas and used military units to fight them. There were many confrontations and many of these guerillas were killed. Among their most prominent leaders who were killed inside Bulgaria in confrontation with the communist forces were Vassil Yancheff and Vangel Aglikin.

Right after World War II ended, the Bulgarian anti-communist immigrants in Western Europe began to publish the first Bulgarian immigrants' anti-communist magazine (1945) under the name *Bulgaria*, in Salzburg, Austria. In 1947 they founded the first Bulgarian immigrants' anti-communist organization — the Bulgarian National Front, Inc. The founders' meeting took place in the village of Obermenzing near Munich, West Germany. The organization began publishing the newspaper *National Bulgaria*. Soon other Bulgarian immigrants' anti-communist organizations were founded: the Organization of the Bulgarian Former Military who published their magazine *Bulgarian Warrior* in Frankfurt, West Germany; the Bulgarian Agrarian Liberation Movement who published the magazine *Future*; the Bulgarian Writers in Exile who published the magazine *Beam* in Los Angeles, USA; the Bulgarian League for Human Rights in Rome, Italy; The Bulgarian Cultural Association who published *Peter Beron* in Munich, West Germany; the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party in Exile who published the newspaper *Free People* in Vienna, Austria, and others.

When later Bulgarian exiles emigrated overseas in large numbers, mostly to the United States and Canada, the Bulgarian National Front, Inc. transferred its headquarters to New York in the United States and began publishing the magazine *Struggle*. The Bulgarian National Front, Inc. became the most active Bulgarian anti-communist immigrants' organization with chapters all over the Free World and its magazine *Struggle* became the only Bulgarian immigrants' magazine which has existed for over 35 years.

The Bulgarian National Front, Inc. takes an active part in the activities of ABN in the United States and Canada, as well as in other international anti-communist organizations, such as WACL.

Many Bulgarian Orthodox churches exist throughout the United States, Canada and Australia, built by the Bulgarian immigrants who came to the West after the First World War, particularly those immigrants from Macedonia. The new Bulgarian anti-communist immigrants joined these churches and also built new ones, the most prominent of which is the Church of St. John of Rila in Niagara Falls, Canada. The churches became the meeting places of the Bulgarian immigrants opposing communism. The communist government of Bulgaria took drastic steps to gain control of the immigrants' churches. Bishop Andrey of New York was forcefully removed to Bulgaria with the help of the staff of the Bulgarian Communist Council in New York. The Bishop never returned from Bulgaria. The communist Bishop Joseph was sent from Bulgaria and he took over the church in New York. Bulgaria also sent a "Bishop" Parteny whose mission was to take over the Church of St. Kiril and Methody in Toronto, Canada. The pastor of the church, Father Iliev fought the organized group led by "Bishop" Parteny. He suffered a heart attack and died on the steps of the church. The communists took possession of the church.

Despite all their pressures, the communists did not succeed in taking over all the churches. Many remain independent and the church in Niagara Falls in particular continues to be a "castle" for the anti-communist resistance of the immigrants. In the

corner lot adjacent to the church, with the help of the church members, the Bulgarian National Front, Inc. erected a monument in honor of the Bulgarians who gave their lives in the struggle against communism and for the freedom of Bulgaria. The monument was unveiled in 1982.

Under the demand of the Soviet Union, in 1973-74 the communist government in Bulgaria began preparations to incorporate Bulgaria into the Soviet Union as the 17th Soviet republic. Regardless of their ideological differences, Bulgarian immigrants of all the Bulgarian anti-communist organizations united their forces. A special conference of the representatives of these organizations took place in 1974 in Frankfurt, West Germany. A unanimous decision was made, the Immigrants Coordination Center was built and world-wide action was undertaken to stop the communist attempt to make Bulgaria a Soviet republic. Many Western governments responded favorably to the appeal for help, some took diplomatic actions, and the communist project was abandoned for the time being. This Center continues to exist and closely watches the moves of the communist government in Bulgaria.

During the Helsinki conference, as well as later at the conferences in Belgrade, Madrid, Stockholm, representatives of the Bulgarian anti-communist immigration have always been there with their memorandums and requests for the inclusion of a resolution for solving the problem of securing human rights for all people.

The problem of the liberation of Bulgaria is not an isolated Bulgarian problem. There is no way in which any country under communist oppression can separate itself and jump over the Iron Curtain to freedom. The problem of communism is global. At the end of World War II there were not more than ten countries under a communist regime. Today there are thirty. The latest victim of communist aggression is Afghanistan. Who is next? Communist aggression must be stopped. We need a united front which includes all the people of the Free World. We are fortunate that today the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan is a great supporter of the cause of freedom and human rights for all people, but he needs support from the leaders of all the other free countries, and we could be of help in achieving that.

In the history of humanity there is no known tyranny to survive forever. Communism will collapse sooner or later. It depends on us to make it happen sooner.

Dr. Ivan Docheff

Honorary President

Bulgarian National Front, Inc.

*On behalf of the entire ABN editorial staff
we extend our sincerest wishes
to all our readers and their families
for a Happy Easter
and a joyful holiday season.*

CROATIA'S RIGHT TO BE FREE

This year the Croatian Liberation Movement celebrates the 30th anniversary of our activities in our enslaved homeland Croatia and throughout the Free World. Throughout these thirty years our world-wide organization has used all available methods to inform responsible political factors of the right of the Croatian nation to an independent state. The Croats had their own state for over a thousand years, as in the modern time after the fall of the Versailles establishment in Europe. The Croatian nation regained its freedom and defended the Independent State of Croatia with all its might. During the turmoil of World War II the Croatian nation fought against communist invasion conducted by Moscow's agent and disciple, the secretary of the Yugoslav Communist Party — Josip Broz Tito.

The circumstances of war, extensive Soviet Russian help, the lack of understanding and help on the part of the political representatives of the democratic world, all these contributed to the communist occupation of Croatia and the consequent re-establishment of multi-national Yugoslavia, against the will of the Croatian people.

With the communist victory, the genocide of the Croatian nation began, the greatest in our history. Over half a million Croatian soldiers and civilians were massacred after the end of World War II.

In Europe, North and South America, Australia, the Croatian Liberation Movement organized Croats to stand against communist Yugoslavia and to claim their right to be free and constitute a democratic state of Croatia. In this struggle the Croats sought and found friends and allies with other enslaved nations which, as Croatia, at the end of World War II remained or were handed over to Soviet Russian or Yugoslav communist imperialism. From its establishment, the Croatian Liberation Movement has been a member of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Our representatives have participated in all manifestations and conferences of the ABN. In this position we will remain faithful to the democratic principles and culture of our forefathers. Communism prefers the multinational state where one nation can be used against the other. Therefore, in communist occupied Europe, the best weapon against communist occupation is national feelings and identities.

It is in the interest of the democratic world to recognize and support the national liberation movements of the enslaved nations in the struggle for their freedom and national independence, which is the only possible way to achieve prosperity and peace!

Today, Croatia is suffering under double domination: one is depriving us of our history and our identity, and the other is forcing communism on us. But the Croatian nation will not and shall not surrender. Aware of our extremely difficult situation, caused by international intrigues and agreements, we are willing to defend our rights together with all other enslaved nations. Every single nation in the world has the right to freedom and independence and I am confident that Croats will obtain in the near future our independent state of Croatia. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, following their principles in their fight against communism and any other oppressor, will be victorious.

Dr. Srećko Pšeničnik
President of the Croatian Liberation Movement

THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF ESTONIA CONTINUES

Estonia borders in the north on the Gulf of Finland and in the west by the Baltic Sea. Her eastern and southern neighbours are Russia and Latvia respectively. The territory of this independent republic is 47,549 km². The Estonians are of Finno-Ugric origin and linguistically are closely related to the Finns. They have no ethno-linguistic common origins with Russians, Germans or Latvians and Lithuanians, who are of Slavic, Germanic and Baltic origin respectively.

Archeological findings show that Estonians have been living on the Baltic shores approximately since 6,000 B.C. More specific historical evidence indicates that by 1,000 B.C. the Estonians had formed a loose confederation consisting of eight territories, each ruled by an "elder". Though not ruled by a central government, these territories often united in the interests of common defense.

In 1193, the Pope declared that crusades against the heathens would be conducted in northern Europe as well as in the Holy Lands. Despite a fierce struggle, which lasted late into the 13th century, the Teutonic Order of Knights managed to subdue Estonia and reduce the population to serfs. This is in line with the feudal order predominant in the rest of Europe. The Estonians, mostly farmers, had little chance against the well armoured crusaders.

For the next 700 years, Estonia waged a running battle with successive invaders, including the Danes, Germans, Poles, Russians and Swedes. But the defiant Estonians refused to let go of their culture and their language. There were numerous revolts (especially during the 14th century) which were brutally crushed by the successive invaders.

In 1710, Estonia was colonized by imperial Russia and remained so until 1918. However, during the 19th century, there was an awakening and a new stirring of nationalism in Estonia. *Kalevipoeg*, an epic consisting of Estonian folk tales and songs was published and the first Estonian song festival was held. These events among others, spurred the Estonians to re-establish their independence.

The opportunity for re-establishing Estonian independence occurred during 1917-18. In the turmoil of WWI and the Russian revolution, Estonian armies drove both the Russians and Germans out from within her borders. The Estonian War of Liberation ended in 1918 with the declaration of Estonian independence. Shortly thereafter, the country was admitted into the League of Nations (1921) and beginning with the United States in 1922, was recognized by the western powers as an independent nation.

The years of independence were productive and prosperous. There was a phenomenal expansion of industry and economy. The country had awakened and despite internal difficulties (as could be expected with any country regaining its independence after hundreds of years of oppression) strove to establish itself in the mainstream of modern Europe. By the end of the 1930s, Estonia had achieved this goal.

However, the Soviet Union had different plans for the independent nation of Estonia. Disregarding the peace and non-aggression treaty it had signed with Estonia in 1920, the Soviet Union signed a friendship pact (the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) with Nazi Germany in 1939. This pact divided Europe between Stalin and Hitler. With this pact as his safeguard, Hitler moved his armies into Poland, thus beginning WWII. Soon thereafter, Stalin moved into Estonia and the Baltic states in accordance with the agreement he had made with Hitler.

For the Baltic states, WWII was a period of indescribable terror and horror. Deportations and mass executions began as soon as the Soviets invaded, culminating in the mass deportation and execution of hundreds of thousands of Balts in 1941 and later in 1949.

The illegal occupation of Estonia and the Baltic states continues to this day. Independent thought is coldly crushed. Nationalism is outlawed. Russification of the country continues at an alarming rate. The natural resources of Estonia are being exploited and exported to the Soviet Union, leaving many areas of Estonia in economic shambles while at the same time destroying and polluting the environment.

Nevertheless, Estonians continue to fight and will continue to do so until Estonia regains its independence and its rightful place among the free and democratic nations of the world.

Russification and Sovietization

In direct contravention of principles VII and VIII of the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords, which specifically guarantee civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and the right to self-determination, the Soviet Union, in its continued illegal occupation of Estonia, has embarked on a program to assimilate Estonia into Russian culture and to outright destroy the nationalism of Estonians. It is, in fact, a part of the Soviet constitution to impose “social homogeneity” as a goal of the Soviet state. This “social homogeneity” means that the local Communist Party leaders, on orders from the Central Committee in Moscow, seek to blend the smaller occupied nations into a “great” Russian nation. This is particularly evidenced by the vigorous imposition of the Russian language on non-Russian republics.

The official first language in Estonia is still supposed to be Estonian, but in reality, it is impossible to live everyday life without the knowledge of Russian. Most plants and businesses use Russian as their official business language. There is little effort towards even bilingualism. Most Russians living in Estonia do not learn the native language and neither are they encouraged to do so. Karl Vaino, First Secretary of the Estonian Communist Party, has stated that Russian was the *lingua franca* within the Estonian republic, and that it was the key to world culture.

The purposeful Russification of Estonia is demonstrated by the so-called “Tashkent” resolution of 1979. Implemented through a series of top secret decrees from the Central Party Committee in Moscow and meant strictly for internal circulation among party functionaries, these decrees were smuggled out of the Baltic States and published in Finnish and Swedish newspapers. These decrees demand that the teaching of Russian to non-Russians begin in kindergarten. Even in nursery schools, Russian was to be spoken for half the day. Furthermore, every effort was to be made to intensify the teaching of Russian at all levels of schooling. If additional Russian classes overloaded the curriculum, then Russian classes were to be instituted at the expense of other classes — namely, classes in the native language.

Article 45 of the Soviet constitution states that “citizens of the USSR have the right to an education” and that this right is ensured “by the opportunity to attend a school where teaching is in the native language”. The Tashkent resolution is a clear move to make Russian the only official language and thus is a violation of not only the Helsinki Agreements but of the Soviet constitution itself. Moreover, it is well known that parents who request an education in the native language for their children are

persecuted and denied privileges. Furthermore, without a knowledge of Russian it is impossible to gain entry into higher institutions of learning.

The attempted Russification of Estonia also occurs at other levels, population being one of the most critical. 1979 census figures show that only 64% of the population of Estonia is Estonian, a staggering change from 92% in 1940. The rest of the population is almost entirely Russian. To make matters worse, of the present 64%, 70% are over 70 years of age.

Displacement of population is most evident in industrial centres, where Russians are imported and given preference for jobs. Young Estonian workers on the other hand, are sent east, away from their homeland. (By doing so, the Soviet authorities also hope to see an increase in mixed marriages.) In Tallin, the capital city 51% of the population is Estonian, 48% Russian. In Narva there are 73,000 Russians, only 3,500 Estonians. (This fact has resulted in the recent closing of the last remaining Estonian high school in Narva.) In Paldiski, the figures are 7,300 Russians, 233 Estonians. In Sillamae, 16,000 Russians, 689 Estonians.

Mobilization into the military is also used as a tool to disperse the population and further Russify the nation. Drafted Estonian soldiers are sent to places such as Afghanistan, while Russian drafters are sent into Estonia. In Tallin alone, for example, there are 5,000 military personnel plus their families.

Russification is also furthered by: the continued teaching of a falsified history of Estonia; by phasing out the teaching of the history of non-Russian republics and replacing it instead with courses on the general history of the USSR; by publishing fewer and fewer books in Estonian; and by discouraging any films or printed material which deal with anything but Russian culture, native culture being a "remnant of local nationalism".

Nationalism

The question of nationalism is closely related to the systematic Russification and Sovietization of Estonia. Since nationalism poses an ideological barrier to the creation of the "people's state" with one language and culture (namely Russian), it is incumbent upon the Soviet Russians to eliminate it. This, despite the fact, that such action is again in direct contravention of human rights provisions in the Helsinki Agreement. It is important to point out, that the right to self-determination is indivisible from other human rights as stated in the Helsinki Agreement. It is a fundamental right of peoples to be able to freely choose the government under which they wish to live. This right has been denied to the Estonians, Balts and Eastern European nations, and is thus again a direct violation of the Helsinki Agreement and a violation of the most basic of human rights.

Since 1980, there have been several decrees, many of them classified as secret, issued in Estonia, specifically referring to the maintenance and teaching of the "correct" ideology. The most recent public Kremlin decree was issued August 1, 1984. The decree, which appeared on the front pages of most major dailies, called on Estonian officials to step up the fight against nationalism and Western subversion. It said one of their main tasks should be to "show clearly that the historical fate of the Estonian people is inseparably tied to the development and strength of the Soviet state. The decree further called on Party officials to "convincingly propagandise the superiority of the socialist way of life."

It is highly unlikely that with the recent change in leaders there will be any change in the crackdown on nationalism and dissent. Mikhail Gorbachev, in statements made shortly after assuming power, has promised “resolute measures” to purge “moral degenerates” and other “alien phenomena” from Soviet society.

Dissent

Despite ruthless persecution and oppression, the dissident movement in Estonia has managed to survive. These people, who have been willing and are willing to sacrifice their jobs, well-being and ultimately, their lives, are merely standing up and speaking out against the denial of human rights by the Soviet Russian government. As the following case histories show, the signing of a petition to demand that the Baltic States be made a nuclear-free zone, attempting to form a Helsinki Monitoring Committee, asking for free elections, appealing to the United Nations for the decolonization of the Baltic States, attempting to practice one's religion, or even attempting to leave the country — in the Soviet occupied country of Estonia can mean the harshest punishments.

The signing of the Helsinki Final Act provided the guidelines for promoting peace, prosperity and security in Europe. The Final Act recognized that respect for human rights is an essential factor for the justice and well-being necessary to insure the development of friendly relations and cooperation among individuals as well as among states.

The Soviet Union has flagrantly violated these principles over and over again by jailing, sending to psychiatric prisons and physically abusing human and national rights activists. Reminiscent of the Stalin era, at an ever-increasing rate homes are being searched, people are being indiscriminately called in for questioning, forced out of jobs, expelled from schools and so forth.

Of the many such cases, the most critical is that of Mart Niklus. Due to his stubborn resistance to his Soviet Russian jailers, he has received the severest of treatments, including isolation cells, beatings, reduction of his already meagre food ration and nearly all loss of communication with the outside world. He has held several hunger strikes in protest. He is in extremely poor health and in danger of dying.

Abuse of Psychiatry

One of the most hideous transgressions against human rights is the Soviet Union's abuse of psychiatry. Those who attempt to escape to freedom and those who openly profess their religious beliefs are singled out for psychiatric torture and imprisonment in psychiatric prisons.

It is inconceivable that the Soviet Union could participate in the CSCE process with any good conscience while psychiatric abuse, condoned by the highest offices in the land, continues to take place within the Soviet Union and within the borders of its occupied states. It must be demanded that all individuals presently incarcerated in psychiatric prisons for their religious beliefs, for their human rights activities or for attempting to leave the Soviet Union be immediately released.

The most serious case in Estonia is that of Jaanus Pihelgas. Pihelgas was born in 1956 in the province of Parnu. He is single and was a practicing Lutheran. In September of 1981 he was arrested in the northern part of the Soviet Union and placed in the Murmansk prison for investigation. In connection with this arrest, a large

number of individuals were interrogated, including the pastor of the Lutheran congregation in Pihelgas' hometown of Killingi-Nomme, doctor of theology Elmar Salumaa. The Estonian investigator in the case, was a captain Paasukene posted to the KGB in Tallinn. After being charged with "illegally attempting to leave the Soviet Union", Pihelgas was sent to the Serbski Mental Institute in Moscow for investigation whereupon he was declared insane because of his religious beliefs. In the spring of 1982, Pihelgas was sent to the Leningrad psychiatric prison on Arsenal Avenue. The following summer he was incarcerated in the Mogilev psychiatric hospital near Minsk.

Indefinite Imprisonment

On September 18, 1983, the Supreme Council of the USSR added a new paragraph to the Soviet criminal code. The new paragraph is titled "Malicious refusal to submit to the requirements of the rehabilitative camp authorities". Under this paragraph, prisoners who in the eyes of the prison authorities "disrupt camp regime" or otherwise "refuse to submit to the rehabilitative process", can be given an extra three years to their original sentences. For "especially dangerous criminals" another five years can be added.

Thus, the present regime of the USSR has returned to the tactics of the Stalin era whereby prisoners were automatically given an additional ten years in prison for the same "crime" because their "release back into society would be undesirable". The decisions to add the ten years were made behind closed doors and without due judicial process. In fact, the prisoner himself was never present when these decisions were made. He was only given a written notice that he was to spend another ten years in prison. Alexander Solzhenitsyn has written about this in his book *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denysovitch*.

Prisoners in forced labour camps and prisons can now be terrorized under this new paragraph. Any type of protest, hunger strike or "disruption of routine" can now be punished by giving the prisoner an additional three more years of internment. And this decision is not handed out by the courts, but by the prison authorities themselves. Most political prisoners are considered to be "especially dangerous criminals". This means that they all face the maximum five year additional sentence.

Estonian dissident Mart Niklus is presently in Chistopol prison. Because of a hunger strike in March of 1984, it is expected that an additional five years will be added to his sentence. It is believed that the intention of the USSR is to hold Mart Niklus in prison until he dies. This was the same fate of world renowned Estonian physicist Dr. Juri Kukk who died in 1981 due to inhuman conditions of the Soviet prison.

Restriction of Contacts

Not only is the Soviet Union not honouring its pledge for freer contacts between peoples, it is in fact increasing its efforts to stifle contact between east and west. The following are only a few examples of the bizarre laws that have been recently passed in the Baltic States to restrict contact with the outside world.

In May of 1984, a law was enacted in Estonia which provides for a 100 ruble fine for any unauthorized contact with visitors from the west. In other words, a visitor stopping someone on the street for directions may result in the citizen who was stopped being fined. Other examples:

— The quota of tourists allowed in from Helsinki has recently been cut in half;

- If a visitor wishes to stay with relatives and not in one of the ‘official’ hotels, the visitor and the relatives must both pay a 50 ruble surcharge;
- It is illegal to give a visitor a ride in one’s car unless it is authorized;
- It is illegal to bring in or take out any form of printed material.

Emigration and Family Reunification

Emigration from Estonia and family reunification is nearly non-existent. For example, according to the External Affairs Department in Canada, in the past three years, 35 people from Eastern Europe have been able to emigrate to Canada. Not one is from Estonia or from the other Baltic States.

The *Baltic News* of June 1983 reports: “It is extremely difficult to emigrate from the Soviet Union, especially if the applicant is a non-Jew. From 1971 to 1983, around a quarter of a million people left the USSR, but the majority of these successful migrants held Israeli visas. The peak was reached in 1979 when 51,330 persons left on Israeli visas — compared to 9,447 in 1981 and 2,692 in 1982. On the other hand, increasing numbers of would-be migrants are receiving ‘rejections’ of their applications from Soviet Russian authorities, with no right to re-apply. There are now forty three known cases of such ‘final rejections’. The Estonian Mart Niklus has unsuccessfully tried to migrate to Australia or Sweden; he is now serving a ten years’ sentence...”

The grossest and most shameful display of the Soviet Union’s refusal to abide by and callous disregard for the principles in the Final Act concerning human rights and family reunification is the case of little Kaisa Randpere. In many respects, she may be considered to be the world’s youngest political prisoner.

Kaisa Randpere was born on July 1, 1983. She lives in Tallin, the capital of Soviet occupied Estonia, with her maternal grandmother Hilja Uuskula. Kaisa is the child of Valdo Randpere and Leila Miller, who slipped away from an Estonian tourist group on a trip to Helsinki. The couple secretly secured passage aboard a Swedish ship bound for Stockholm on August 6, 1984, and requested asylum from Swedish officials upon arrival. Unfortunately, due to the Soviet ban on entire families travelling abroad together (in effect, holding members of the families hostage) the Randperes had to leave their one-year daughter, Kaisa, behind in Estonia. Valdo Randpere, 26, was a senior aide to the Estonian Minister of Justice and a member of the Komsomol Central Committee; Leila Miller-Randpere, 23, was one of Estonia’s most popular singers.

Since leaving Estonia, the Randperes have heard that Kaisa’s grandmother has been interrogated repeatedly and is being terrorized continually by Soviet Russian authorities with threats of taking the child away and placing her in an orphanage where she would possibly be reared and educated in Russian. When a Swedish newspaper printed a series of articles about little Kaisa, the grandmother was fired from her job and threatened with imprisonment in a psychiatric institute. Letters and packages of support sent by the Randperes to their daughter are confiscated by the KGB, thus leaving the family in Estonia destitute. Repeated applications to the Soviet Russian authorities by the Randperes for the release of their daughter have been rejected. In mid-September, 1985, they were told by Soviet Russian consulate officials in Sweden, “You will never see her again!”

The Soviet Union has shown the utmost disregard for any sort of human compassion by holding little Kaisa in apparent punishment for the defection of her parents. When Valdo and Leila defected, they, apparently naively, believed that no

regime would be so inhuman as to hold their daughter. They fully expected to be reunited with their daughter within a few months. They have not seen their daughter now for two years.

Of any and all cases of family reunification under discussion at the Vienna conference, we believe that the case of Kaisa Randpere takes utmost precedence. Negotiations on security, scientific exchange or any of the other principles of the Final Act become moot while the Soviet Union holds Kaisa Randpere prisoner.

Estonians and Chornobyl

A series of articles in *Noorte Haal*, which is the voice of the Estonian Komsomol, appeared on August 12-16 and 19. They chronicled the activities of Estonians sent to decontaminate the Chornobyl site. The articles admitted that Estonians were forcibly sent to the site, which confirms reports of recent visitors to Estonia and the Baltic States. Many were taken in the middle of the night and packed off on trains to the site of the tragedy. The article also reports that men over the age of 45, those with more than three children living legally under the same roof along with those sick from the cold, the heat and radioactivity are being sent back home. Clearly, this indicates the dangers those forcibly sent to clean up Chornobyl face.

The articles also bluntly state that a mutiny involving Estonians at Chornobyl had taken place. The mutiny, caused by the deplorable conditions under which the men were forced to work was put down with some measure of violence, although details remain unclear.

Official Soviet newspapers have reported that the clean-up work is being carried out by "reservists". In the Soviet Union this term has a different meaning than in the West. In the Soviet Union all males over the age of 14 must register with the "War Commissariat". This body is responsible for managing all military manpower. These men need not ever have served or been eligible for military service. Thus, middle-aged men with families, older and unhealthy men were conscripted into the clean-up force.

The articles also confirm that: a. there was forced, late night conscription with little explanation given as to where these men were going or what they were being sent to do; b. some fathers and ill and older men were returned home; c. that where their original tour of duty had been set at two months, it was suddenly extended to six months which also was one of the causes of the short lived mutiny.

Working conditions are deplorable. The men wake up at 6:00 A.M., eat and are driven to the clean-up site from where they return at 8:00 P.M. The work itself consists of decontaminating the Chornobyl area, washing houses and trees in the area, stripping the topsoil, loading it into trucks and replacing it with topsoil from elsewhere. They work in numbered zones. Zone number one is the most dangerous, the area most exposed to radioactive contamination. After only one shift in this area, the men receive such a high dose of radiation that they are shortly sent home thereafter.

The conditions in the camp are primitive at best. The men work in searing heat during the day and sleep in tents at night, exposed to the cold and damp. Those that do not become ill from the radiation, often become ill from the conditions in the camp. The forcible conscription of men from their occupied states and the deplorable conditions they are subjected to at the clean-up of Chornobyl can only be described as the use of slave labour to cover up the terrible tragedy of Chornobyl which was spawned by the incompetence of the central authorities in Moscow.

LATVIAN ACTIVITIES IN CANADA 1980-1985

As can be deduced from the events taking place in Latvia during the last few years, the spark of freedom is still very much alive there. For this reason, those of us living in free western societies must help them. We must appeal to the world conscience on behalf of those who cannot speak for themselves and strive to bring them relief from subjugation, as is being done in other parts of the world (South Africa could be mentioned here.)

The impetus for renewed activity in the West was provided by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the subsequent signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. To achieve its goal, namely to obtain an agreement on the inviolability of post WWII borders in Europe, the Soviet Union placed itself in an unforeseen predicament. Apparently, the government of the USSR assumed that it can handle a rather vague and practically untried entity, called human rights, with relative safety. It turned out differently. For those who have or continue to experience life under the Soviet Russian rule, that hairline fissure was sufficient to cause a sudden surge in activity on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Memoranda were prepared pointing out the illegality of the Soviet Russian occupation of the Baltic States — Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. These memoranda were presented to all Western governments in each successive review conference of the Helsinki Accords. Representatives of the World Federation of Free Latvians (WFFL) were already on hand in Helsinki in 1975, with a prepared report on violations of human rights in Soviet occupied Latvia. At the insistence of the Soviet Union, Finnish police were forced to arrest Latvian representatives presenting this report. (However, the Finns were sympathetic to the cause and during their stay in jail they were well treated and soon released.)

In Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in 1977, two more memoranda, one from the WFFL and another from the Latvian National Federation in Canada were submitted to the delegates of the signatory states. These memoranda included individual cases on violations of family contacts, denial of religious freedom and restrictions placed on travel between Latvia and the Western countries. Repressions were again carried out against the petitioners. They were expelled from Yugoslavia, but, at the insistence of the American delegation, they were later re-admitted.

At the Madrid review of the Helsinki agreement conference in 1980, three more submissions from two Latvian organizations abroad were placed on the desks of the conference delegates: two were from WFFL and a third from the Canadian Committee for Human Rights in Latvia (CCHRL). By this time, better contacts with Latvians living in Latvia had provided more information about the manner in which the Soviet Union treats subjugated peoples under its control. The full extent of the efforts to annihilate Latvians as a nation, by the so-called voluntary transfers of young Latvians to outside Latvia and the Russification measures forced on the remaining population became more widely known. This information was included in the submissions along with the names of persons jailed for resistance to these genocidal policies. In addition to the memoranda, Latvian press conferences and several well directed demonstrations enjoyed wide publicity in the world press.

Separate review conferences of the Helsinki Final Act dealing with individual parts of the Act such as security, human rights, culture and human contacts were later held in Stockholm, Sweden (1984); Ottawa, Canada (1985); Budapest, Hungary (1985); and Bern, Switzerland (1986).

WFFL submitted information on the extensive militarization of the Baltic countries by Soviet Russia to the Stockholm conference. The area is being transformed into an eventual war zone. Maps on troop concentrations, military airfields, rocket and naval bases were included in the report. (This explains the wide range travel restrictions that are placed within Latvia on local inhabitants as well as on travellers from abroad.) Also the letter signed by 38 Balts (from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) asking for a nuclear free Baltic zone was added.

The Ottawa conference was intended to review the improvements (if any) on the implementation of human rights by the signatory states. As the two submissions (WFFL and CCHRL) noted, the Soviet Union's lack of compliance with the principle of human rights has been deplorable. Instead of improvement, new amendments to the existing laws were passed during the time period under consideration, that further restrict individual freedoms. Cases of state terrorism were presented showing that beatings, tortures by drugs and even murders have taken place. Latvians, with the help of Estonians and Lithuanians, also organized six successful demonstrations during the Ottawa conference. Several meetings with Canadian government representatives took place.

It appears that the activities carried out by exile Latvians at times bear some fruit. A small measure of success was noted when WFFL obtained observer status at the Budapest meeting of CSCE Cultural Forum in 1985. At this forum Latvians stressed the heavy handed Russification program that kills Latvian culture and makes Latvians second class citizens in their own land. The plight of those artists and writers who cannot tolerate the air "where life rots" and dare to express resistance was listed in the submission: they either become silent or are silenced by the authorities, they become alcoholics or commit suicide, or they suffer imprisonment in labour camps or psychiatric institutions.

The CSCE review conference in Bern, Switzerland, dealt with the ease of travel and human contacts within and between the signatory states. Two submissions handed in by WFFL and CCHRL contained information on the amendments passed by the Soviet Union in 1984, by which travel of a foreign tourist (and by the same implication also a Latvian who would like to visit his home town or relatives) is allowed only on designated roads and the shortest possible routes needed to reach a proscribed hotel. Any digression (it was pointed) of this rule would evoke consequences, such as monetary fine or even arrest. Submissions also listed individual cases when entry and exit visas have been denied or postal regulations transgressed by the Soviet Union. Excerpts from testimonies of the 1985 Copenhagen Tribunal were also included. During the Bern conference, Latvians held press conferences and organized successful demonstrations. The same is planned for the forthcoming conference in Vienna in the fall of 1986.

Prior to most of the above mentioned conferences, representatives of the Latvian community in Canada met with Canadian government officials to discuss the matters of concern. Some success has been noted, at least the Latvian problem has become known to the government. However, the impression was left, that the Canadian



Latvian representative delivering the national report.

government does not afford the same treatment to the Baltic question as it does to similar political situations elsewhere in the world or to similar situations of other cultural groups in Canada.

Over the period of the last five years, various other petitions have been sent to Western governments, including Canada and the U.N. asking them to condemn the physical and cultural genocide taking place in the Baltic States. To avoid the “sin” of abiding by double standards, the Canadian government has been urged to insist that the Soviet Union’s government honour its international commitments.

Campaigns to inform the world and to rectify injustices have been carried out mainly for two reasons: first — it is well known that the Soviet Union does not allow refugees from the subjugated countries to live in peace in their newly found homelands, and secondly — disinformation spread by the Soviet Union must be corrected. The list of these activities will follow with a short explanation added to each:

1. A new citizenship law was passed by the Soviet Union on July 1, 1979, by which every person who was born in Latvia (and other Soviet occupied countries) before the occupation and the children and grandchildren (even if born elsewhere) of such persons are regarded as Soviet citizens by the Soviet Union. Latvian organizations and private individuals sent many letters to the Canadian government asking it to intercede on their behalf and defend them from this violation of their personal choice. Approximately three million Canadians were affected by this law, yet the Canadian government promised “to study it” (the law) (Nicole Senecan of External Affairs) and to “monitor the situation” (Flora MacDonald, July 27, 1979). The press at least helped to publicize the predicament.

2. Early in the 1980s it became known that the Soviet Union's government has established a method by which funds from estates of deceased former East European refugees can be expedited to the Soviet Union. The sums involved are very significant and constitute a respectable income for the Soviet Treasury. It has been estimated that the Soviet Union's government collects about 30 million dollars annually from this scheme. Usually a fictitious relative is found in the Soviet Union on whose behalf the Soviet authorities challenge the will left by the deceased person. Even in cases where there is in fact a resident relative in Soviet occupied Latvia, the authorities, after a successful challenge, keep the "lion's share." As far as is known, only the Ontario government has passed Bill 29 in May, 1983, which states that a surrogate court order would be required before property can be distributed to certain designated countries.

3. Surprisingly, a new language map was issued by the Canadian Commissioner of the Official Languages in 1979, where Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian languages were annihilated from this world. It is difficult to comprehend the reasons behind such action, by which the Canadian government itself carried out an active Russification program on the subjugated nations in the Soviet Union. Ukrainians fought this disinformation for a couple of years without success. Then the Latvians joined in and finally the Canadian government was forced to recall the old map and issue a new one. Latvians maintained that in view of the non-recognition by the Canadian government of the Soviet annexation of the Baltic States, the former cannot force a foreign language (Russian) on the three Baltic nations.

4. On the basis of the Petition of 45 Balts from the occupied countries asking for the annulment of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the European Parliament passed a resolution on January 13, 1983, suggesting to the foreign ministers of European governments to investigate what steps should be taken to address the Baltic question in the United Nations. On the basis of this resolution thousands of individual Balts as well as organizations, wrote letters to the United Nations asking for the inclusion of the Baltic States into the list of colonies. Needless to say, the campaign up to now has been unsuccessful but the matter is not yet laid to rest. A new resolution has been introduced into the European Parliament.

5. The Latvian Church in Exile and two other Latvian organizations in Canada, the Canadian Committee for Human Rights in Latvia (CCHRL) and the Baltic Women's Council in Canada, handed three submissions in July, 1983, to the 6th Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Vancouver. They explained, with detailed documents, the suppression of church life in Soviet occupied Latvia. The results were more than disappointing. A reply to the submissions was received only by special request. It contained instructions that any complaint to WCC concerning the Soviet Union should be forwarded through the authorities of the Soviet Union.

6. A more recent action was "successfully" completed when an attempt to smear the Baltic nations as neo-Nazis was made by the NBC television network. It intended to show a film "The Torch" in a television series "Highway to Heaven" (CTV) on March 12, 1986, where the main perpetrator of Nazi crimes was named Jan Baltic. In response to the objections that there is no such surname in the whole world, and this name is used only in geographical sense of the region adjacent to the Baltic Sea, it was replied that no malice was intended. As to the intention, three facts contradict it: there is no such surname as Baltic, the name Jan (Janis) is the most common Latvian name for men and May, (Maija), his wife, is one of the most common Latvian names for

women. Despite the objections, the film was shown. A formal complaint was made to the Canadian Radio Television and Telecommunications Commission which registered the complaint and found the names unacceptable. "Success" is noted by the name change from "Baltic" to "Baldt."

Four other campaigns are being carried out at this time. The results of these campaigns will remain unevaluated until some future time. They are:

a) Re-introduction of Latvian and Estonian consuls into the Canadian diplomatic register.

b) Assistance given to Estonians for the release of Kaisa Randpere, the three year old daughter of two Estonian defectors, Leila and Valdo Randpere.

c) A world-wide campaign to obtain hundreds of thousands of signatures for a petition to give Baltic people representation as observers at the United Nations.

d) Black Ribbon Day Campaign.

Several books and brochures have been either published or distributed by Latvian organizations in Canada.

Latvia and Latvians published by "Daugavas Vanagi" gives general historical background on the country and its people.

A Case Against the Soviet Union published by the Latvian National Federation in Canada describes genocidal practices carried out by the Soviet Russians against the Latvian nations.

Hollow Glory published by LNF (Latvian National Foundation) writes about contributions Latvian athletes are forced to give to the flag of the Soviet Union.

Baltic States published by LNF, examines the question whether the political situation in the Baltic is purely a domestic issue or an international problem.

From the Baltic States to Afghanistan published by the Baltic Committee in Scandinavia, is a chronicle of Soviet Russian aggression.

Press Perspectives: Latvia compiled by the Canadian Committee for Human Rights in Latvia (CCHRL) presents the view of Latvia as presented by the Canadian and American press.

Lada published by CCHRL, includes testimonies showing that Lada parts are made by slave labour.

Constitution of the Republic of Latvia published by LNF is a reprint of the constitution of Independent Latvia in four languages: Latvian, English, German and Russian.

Genocide? Destruction? Annihilation? published by CCHRL describes the urgency of saving the Latvian nation from the ruinous effects of Soviet Russification policies.

Latvian Dissent published by the World Federation of Free Latvians, gives case histories of the 1983 Soviet Russian campaign to silence political dissent in Latvia.

Baltic Sea — Peace or Death published by the Sixth World Latvian Youth Congress, deals with nuclear hazards in the Baltic region.

Communism: The Unpunished Crime published by Prelude Publications, has compiled photos of massacres carried out by communists in the Baltic States, the Soviet satellite countries, Ukraine, China and Vietnam.

Dear God, I Wanted to Live published by "Gramatu Draugs", a diary of a Latvian girl, Ruta, whose life ended prematurely due to the inhumanity of the Soviet system.

These Names Accuse published by LNF, 700 pages of one line reports on persons who were either deported or killed by the Soviets, mostly during the first year of Soviet Russian occupation (1940-1941).

These Ruins Accuse published by LNF, describes religious suppression in Latvia and shows the ruined Latvian churches.

We Accuse published by LNF, describes the Latvian tragedy.

The Dead Accuse published by JAJM Fund, a collection of letters from a farm woman in Latvia to her son in Australia showing what an ordinary person has to experience under "normal" living conditions in Soviet occupied Latvia. The letters were published after her death.

One of the most risky and adventurous undertakings was carried out in the summer of 1985 when the Baltic World Conference organized the Baltic Tribunal in Copenhagen, Denmark, followed by the Baltic Peace and Freedom Cruise in the Baltic Sea close to territorial waters of the three occupied countries. Internationally known human rights experts from several Western countries acted as judges in the tribunal and listened to the testimonies of seventeen witnesses, former communist officials and party members and dissidents. At the end of a two day hearing, the Copenhagen Manifesto was issued. It pointed out the uniqueness of the Baltic situation by which the former free and democratic states had been reduced to a colonial status. It was later sent to all Western governments, including Canada. The Soviet Union has used several threatening moves to sabotage these events: bomb threats were received, attempts were made to buy off the shipping line and the cruise ship was menaced by the Soviet navy (among other pursuits). This tribunal and the cruise attracted world wide attention and sympathy (Finns cried during the demonstration in Helsinki). Approximately 150 press representatives took part and over a thousand articles appeared about these events in the press as far away as Saudi Arabia and Hong Kong. It should be added that these undertakings were financed entirely by the relatively small group of Baltic exiles.

Latvian organizations and private individuals have made their views on topics of particular interest to the Latvian community known over the years to the Canadian government as well as to individual members of parliament. Letters received from Latvian underground organizations in Latvia, news about dissidents, news about military build-up in the Baltic area, about military instruction given to school children (at times with fatal results) and other similar information has been forwarded to the Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Annual Baltic Evening on Parliament Hill, Ottawa, took place for the fourteenth time in April, 1986. This evening provides an opportunity for the members of the Baltic communities to exchange views on various topics of interest with representatives of the Canadian government and members of diplomatic corps in an informal dinner atmosphere. The books: *Dear God, I Wanted to Live* and *These Names Accuse* have been presented to most of the senators and members of parliament.

In the last three federal elections Latvians have arranged meetings with candidates in private homes or in other small gatherings. The discussions focused on domestic matters, issues related to foreign affairs such as trade vs. human rights, Olympic boycotts, the Soviet Union's expansionism and so on. Such meetings give the candidate an opportunity to become aware of the voters' concerns and also acquaint the voters with their prospective representative in the government.

Press releases have been sent to the media at frequent intervals with varying success. A good relationship has been established with two provincial newspapers, *The Spectator* of Hamilton and *The St. Catharines Standard*, St. Catharines, Ontario. *The Toronto Sun* has always accepted our releases about jailed Latvian dissidents for its column "Lifeline Letters". Improved response has also been noted in the case of the other two national Toronto newspapers *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star*. Radio and television stations have been informed when demonstrations are held or a particularly urgent case has to be brought to the public attention.

Over the years the media have been provided with news by Latvian organizations on resistance movements in Latvia and on the imprisonment of Latvian dissidents. Press releases have been sent out telling about the fate of such persons as Zanis Skudra, Janis Rozkalns, Gunars Astra, Gunars Freimanis, Gederts Melngailis, Janis Vevers, Maignonis Ravins, Lidija Doronina, Janis Barkans and many others. Information about the reasons for their arrest, the length of the sentence imposed and the treatment received in jail were included. In addition, when the case of the Polish priest, Fr. Popieluszko became known, Latvians attempted to use this opportunity to let Canadians know about cases in which "undesirable" Latvians were murdered under similar circumstances (Fr. Turlajs, Fr. Zilvinskis, Pereris Samtins and others). Whenever petitions (such as asking for a nuclear free Baltic zone or the petition of 45 Balts asking for the annulment of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) have reached the West, they were forwarded to the media for information. When action to collect signatures on behalf of Dr. Velmere (to get her sons out of Latvia) was undertaken, copies of the petition were sent to the press. Newspapers have been informed about the laws passed by the Soviet Union in the last couple of years restricting contacts between Latvians living in Latvia and their relatives abroad. Finally, two cases of seemingly unimportant facts that nevertheless portray the nature of the communist system should be mentioned here. One is a document showing that an infant in Latvia needs a prescription from a doctor to obtain his daily ration of milk. The other is an article in a newspaper in occupied Latvia giving disinformation on the Canadian cancer victim, Terry Fox, who, according to the article, had to run across Canada to earn funds for his medical expenses. The latter item had broad press coverage, while most of the others, mentioned above, were given rather minimal attention.

It can be concluded with some satisfaction that the information delivered did appear in print, and some of the material has also been used occasionally in television and radio programs dealing with related subjects. Latvians have been successful in obtaining broadcast time for interviews on radio and television about dissidents and changes effected by the Soviet Russian regime in Latvia. As far as is known, such broadcasts have taken place on several occasions in St. Catharines, Halifax, Windsor, Hamilton, Sudbury and the city of Toronto. The holocaust wreaked on the Latvian nation during WWII (by which it lost 15% of its inhabitants) is always remembered on June 14, the date of the first mass deportations of Latvians by the Soviet Russians. Every year on this date, various radio stations broadcast a program related to this event.

Demonstrations that do not require extensive participation (due to the relatively small number of Latvians in Canada) have been organized on pertinent occasions. June 14 is one such day, November 18, the Latvian Independence Day is another. Last year, in connection with the Helsinki Accords review conference in Canada, six

demonstrations took place on Confederation Square in Ottawa. Latvians also have initiated the observation of the U.N. Human Rights Day on December 10 every year. It is conceived as an annual event with more communities of the subjugated nations taking part in an increasing number of cities. Vigils have been held on behalf of individual jailed Latvians (Zanis Skudra, Janis Miedra). One or two persons can successfully present their case by these vigils quite effectively. Latvians have also taken part and supported demonstrations of Ukrainians and Polish communities. More precise earlier information about these demonstrations is needed to elicit a greater response. Leaflets have been printed and distributed on such topics as Lada imports, Latvian athletes who are not Russians, the nuclear free zone in northern Europe, jailed Latvian dissidents, observation of June 14 and so forth.

Presentations and information about Latvia have been given to schools, at Amnesty International meetings and at multicultural centres. Churches have been asked to intercede on behalf of dissidents, and copies of earlier submissions to the World Council of Churches have been sent for their information. Postcards asking for the release of dissidents have been sent to the Soviet authorities in Moscow and Riga and to the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa.

Materials and data needed for dissemination is collected from any possible source. They are stored and used as the occasion arises. The activities of private individuals have been valuable. Thousands of letters have been written on all urgent topics to MPs and the press, thus adding a significant contribution to the work done by organizations. In general, it is difficult to separate work done by each Latvian organization. After initiation of a project by one organization, others join in and give support or carry it further. Some activities would result in complete failure, if some assistance was not supplied by other Latvian organizations situated in or even outside Canada.

On the whole, a great deal of voluntary work has been done by individual Latvians and Latvian organizations in Canada to convey the message about the true face of Soviet communism. Unfortunately, these efforts only occasionally have met with a sympathetic response. It makes one wonder, what do the Canadian media and certain government officials really stand for?

LIFE IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA

The situation in communist Romania, viewed from every perspective, is a state of continuous and menacing deterioration with serious consequences for the Romanian population, the great percentage of which has remained completely opposed to the forced implementation of the Red System on their country.

Through foreign affairs, the government has exerted tremendous efforts to present itself as autonomous and uncontrolled by the Soviet Union. However, no action, not even a propagandistic one, has been taken which would support this claim. Furthermore, the renewal of the Warsaw Pact was fully endorsed by N. Ceausescu, despite its ill omen and deplorable implications of total enslavement by the Eastern Soviet Russian Colossus. Tragic indeed are the internal affairs of Romania. The ruling Communist Party has continued to apply, in no restrictive measure, its Stalinist policy.

In the domain of religion and faith, Christianity is viewed as the fundamental obstacle toward the development of the atheistic consciousness, an absolute necessity of the Marxist doctrine.



*Rev. Father Richard Grabowski
delivering the Romanian national report at the Conference.*

The Romanian Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite, also called the Uniate Church is the main denomination fighting materialism. This Church was arbitrarily suppressed by the order of Moscow on December 1, 1948. The martyr Church extremely influential in Transylvania, has contributed immensely towards the resurrection of a national soul throughout the past three centuries. It is now outlawed and the believers and clergy alike must worship God in secrecy, illegally, thereby risking arrest for belonging to “an outlawed cult”.

The Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, continues its spiritual activity but with reduced numbers of priests and bishops (many of whom are of very advanced age), and with an insufficient number of churches. All Catholic convents, cloisters, schools, hospitals, etc. remain in the hands of the state.

Then there is the Orthodox Church which enjoys a few favors. It is utterly enslaved by the regime and possesses a highly politically trained magisterium. Candidates for ordination are rigorously screened by the communists and not the ecclesiastical authorities. Religious books and periodicals, particularly the Catholic ones, are practically non-existent. There is a great necessity for the building of new churches, however, this is strictly forbidden because of an alleged “scarcity of building materials”. Monasteries have been mostly transformed into museums. In Bucharest as well as in other large cities, historical churches are currently being demolished. In their place, in accordance with the megalomaniacal plans of the communist leader, huge political administrative centers are being constructed.

In the public education sphere, high schools (of the general arts) are being transformed into “industrial” units, strictly specialized in producing simple robots for

industry and agriculture. Learning is saturated with Marxist-Leninist ideology and devoid of any form of humanistic instruction. To this end, humanities classes have been almost entirely eliminated. The study of Latin, formerly a great tradition in Romania, as well as other modern languages such as English, French and German, has been reduced to a lesson once or twice per week. Concomitantly, the education system has seen an increase of Marxist Leninist classes such as history of the Communist Party, political economy, history of socialism, scientific socialism and so forth.

All students from elementary school through university levels are required to work in industrial or agricultural jobs during summer holidays as well as during certain periods of the scholastic year. Almost every Sunday morning some form of political activity is planned, in order to deter attendance in church.

The chances for an ordinary student to enroll in a university are minute. One in a hundred can fulfill this dream. Access to certain ideological disciplines such as philosophy or history is attained only through special approval obtained from the Communist Party, albeit it is compulsory that all students enroll in the U.T.C. (The Union of Communist Youth).

Now let us look at the press and news media in general. The availability of newspapers is steadily decreasing, due to the so-called "paper shortage". At the present only two papers are in circulation: *Scanteia* and *Romania Libera*. They are published six days per week and consist of a mere four to six pages. All news is strictly censored, therefore, more often than not, only two categories of news items appear: the "successes" of socialism at home or the crimes and decadence in the West. Radio and television are about the same. Television broadcasts are severely limited to conserve energy. Literary periodicals are generally not read, with the exception of a handful of people, because they are saturated with praise for Nicolae Ceausescu and the Communist Party.

Publishing houses print fewer and fewer significant books, since any volume presenting a critical aspect of life in Red Romania is rejected. At the same time, a proliferation of books by obscure authors are in circulation, depicting the vices and corruption in the capitalist world. Every manuscript submitted to a publisher is scrutinized with the utmost care and any positive reference to God or the Church is deleted. An occasional translation of a universally acclaimed classic (which are in great demand), rapidly becomes out of print and unattainable. Additional printing of new editions is not permitted. These books are mostly sent abroad, in the form of "deluxe editions" for representation and sale at international book fairs. On the other hand, bookstore windows are not lacking in dozens of volumes dedicated to Nicolae Ceausescu, the Communist Party Chief.

The economic situation in Romania has reached catastrophic proportions as a direct consequence of promoting heavy industry. This industry is devoid of any productivity and many of its units are not functioning at all. Think only about the fact that they have built a lot of huge siderurgical plants, supplied by iron ore imported from Brasil, Indonesia, and of course, the Soviet Union. Consequently, the siderurgical combines of Huniedoara, Reshitza and Galatzi are working much under their normal capacity and that of Calarasi is continuously out of work. The gas resources, having been exploited in a superintensive way, are almost exhausted and the recent petroleum crisis has stopped many units of the corresponding industry. All kinds of sophisticated tools and machines imported from Western countries remain unused

and quickly become inoperative because there is a lack of qualified persons able to manipulate them. The result of this and of the fashioned "energy crisis" is that many industrial enterprises are working on a reduced program and only during the day, when electrical power is not needed for illumination. Otherwise, all electricity has been rationed. In private homes, a bulb of no more than 40 watts is allowed and the streets are dark. Heating in homes and hospitals must not be more than 12 degrees Celsius.

The situation in agriculture, which has been grossly neglected on ideological grounds, is even worse. The harvest must be helped with by prisoners, students, soldiers, since the inhabitants of the village, where life is miserable, have moved to the towns. Thus, devoid of a sufficient labor force, extensive surfaces of fertile soil remain unsown and the others, badly looked after or lacking proper irrigation, produce poor crops. Now, they even sent retired old people into the country.

If possible, millions of Romanians would leave their native country and many take the risk of being shot at the border when trying to flee. Those who try to obtain passports expose themselves to extremely repressive security harassment, arrests or firing from their jobs. After waiting an average of five years to obtain a passport, most likely they will be refused. Such refusals come at regular and irregular intervals, until many people, on the verge of desperation, give up.

Moreover, the same political game is played out each year. The Romanian government, very criticized in the West for these and other human rights abuses, has allowed a number of citizens (about one thousand) to emigrate to the United States. This is a desperate image building effort to save U.S. trading rights (worth \$300 million this year, according to the U.S. State Department). They also freed a few political or



*Members of the Romanian Liberation Movement
visiting the AF-ABN offices in New York City*

religious prisoners at the same time. More often than not, the passports are not given to the right person. This year, the communist regime of Bucharest has cleared 1,100 citizens for immigration to the U.S.A., however, they represent only about 65% of the names on the list that Secretary of State George Shultz gave the Romanians during a brief stopover in Bucharest last December.

In general, we can conclude that the situation in Romania is characterized by the following:

An ever increasing dependence on the Soviet Union and its natural resources, due to the Romanian economic crisis and the great international debt which is to be paid in hard currency.

The increasing gap between the members of the Communist Party and the rest of the population as a result of the repeated failures of the agricultural and industrial sectors. This gap is also generated by the brutal manner in which the Security (secret police) is suppressing the legitimate aspirations and the spiritual desires of the population. Everyone feels the destitution in which they live today, and on the other hand, they see the prosperity of the high communist officials, enjoying everything that progress offers.

The accentuation of the oppressive policy directed against the non-communist population, manifested by an increased number of arrests is a logical outgrowth of the widespread opposition to the inner Communist Party. The tremendous desire to emigrate, even shared by some Communist Party members, present in all social strata, may be considered as a sign of the times.

Professor John Halmaghi

VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE SLOVAKIAN NATION

The Canadian Slovak League (CSL) was established in December of 1932 in Winnipeg (Manitoba, Canada) as a fraternal benefit society with the aim of carrying on its benefits and insurance work solely for the protection of its members, their families and beneficiaries and not for profit. The CSL organized 29 adult and 15 youth branches in Canada with close to 3500 members on the basis of Christian and democratic principles. The Society is governed by the Conventions which are held every three years and elect the Head Office Board and other bodies of the League. To maintain and propagate the cultural and political education program, the Society sponsors the publication of its own weekly newspaper *Kanadsky Slovak*, yearly almanacs and other occasional publications. The organization was incorporated by the Act of the Legislatures in 1954.

Since our homeland, Slovakia, is suffering under double — Soviet Russian and Communist Czech occupation, one of the goals of the CSL — as stated in the bylaws, section F is: “to support the struggle of the Slovak nation for freedom and independence”. The great part of the Slovak immigration is of a political nature, due to the first occupation of Slovakia in 1945 as well as the second one in 1968.

It is my honour, by this presentation to join the common fight of the enslaved nations in Northern, Central and Eastern Europe and to give any possible support to achieve our common goal which is a free, democratic Europe in the harmony and understanding of a great mosaic of free European nations.

In Slovakia, the violation of human rights has continued in various degrees since 1945, when the communists and their collaborators assumed political power in Slovakia. The only relaxation came during the short period of Alexander Dubcek in 1968. I must stress that Dubcek was a Slovak politician and not a Czech, as stated by Western media and his era is called "Slovak Spring" and not "Prague Spring". Since then, little by little, the rights of citizens of the Slovak Socialist Republic have been systematically curtailed or completely abolished. This is especially true in the areas of religion, education, rights of political assembly, freedom of speech, expression and press and the freedom of unrestricted travel and emigration. The applicants for visitors' visas are subjected to inhuman intimidations and financial burdens, both in Slovakia and abroad.

The Church had already felt the disfavour of the government from the year 1945. At the beginning, the cutting edge of the people's democratic and communist regime was directed mainly against church properties, church schools, church societies, the press and residences. Since the Catholic Church (and we obviously include the Greek Catholic Church) has been the most important in Slovakia (80% of the population), the regime applied its various persecution and discriminatory actions mainly against the Catholics.

Currently, the various oppressive acts can be enumerated as follows: hundreds of priests are not permitted to conduct their religious duties and serve the faithful. The bishops as well as the priests are under strict control of the political commissars of the Communist Party and the State's secret police. Threats are used against the faithful on a wide scale in every village and every town. For example, parents are called by their superiors at their work place and are approached as follows: "You want your children to achieve higher education, don't you? If you do, and we know you do, then don't send them to attend religious instruction." Or: "You do like your job, don't you? We know you do and you are a very good worker. But you won't have your job (or get promoted) if you continue to send your children to church, or if you attend church yourself."

Bishops and priests are physically attacked and harmed: Rev. Alojz Takac, Rev. Anton Srholec, Rev. Anton Michaled, Msgr. Viktor Trstensky, Most Rev. Bishop Dr. Julius Gabris — to name just a few. Rev. Jaroslav Rusnak was murdered in his parish home in Trnava, western Slovakia. Bishop Jan Korec, S.J. of Bratislava, who recently received an honorary doctor's degree from Notre Dame was not permitted to exercise his priestly and bishop's duties. After spending 12 years in labour camps, he works as a warehouse labourer in a Bratislava factory.

Religious literature is not permitted to be printed, distributed, or ordered from Rome and other European cities. The homes of priests as well as of the faithful are searched without any warrants and all religious literature is confiscated even from the seminarians.

Teachers and other educators are not permitted to attend church services. Any violation of the rule of the Communist Party is punished by dismissal from employment. Teachers are forced to teach only the communist dogma. Those who organize themselves into small groups of underground activity, especially those of the young generation, are under permanent persecution with frequent night visits by members of the secret police, their property is confiscated and they are interrogated on the activity of the "secret church".

Most of the intellectuals, writers, publishers, philosophers who were active during the short Dubcek period are banished from public life: Milan Ferko, Michal Gafrik, Milan Hamada, Jozef Jablonicky, Lubomir Liptak, Hana Ponicka, Pavol Stefcek and others.

By admission of the Prague authorities, there are approximately 500,000 Slovaks, who by various political and economic manipulations are forced to live in the Czech Socialist Republic, which is against the fundamental freedoms and in strong contradiction to the Helsinki Agreements. The Prague government continues to pursue the same policy of assimilation of Slovaks which it began after the restoration of Czecho-Slovakia in 1945.

The half a million Slovaks in the Czech Socialist Republic are not permitted to have their own schools or to be taught in the Slovak language. They are not permitted to have their own churches. There are no books, newspapers or any other literature printed for their education or enjoyment in their Slovak language.

Plainly and simply, this is genocide.

*Stephen Kovacic, P. Eng., M.E.Sc.
President of the Canadian Slovak League*

RECENT EVENTS AND PRESENT SITUATION IN SLOVENIA

Introduction

Slovenia is one of the constituent republics of Yugoslavia with a total population of 1,800,00 (8.5% of Yugoslavia), occupying 26,000km² of territory and bordering on Italy, Austria, Hungary, and the Republic of Croatia. All neighbouring states contain Slovenian populations, thus making the Slovenian national and cultural territory larger than that of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia (SRS). Before World War I, Slovenia belonged in its entirety to the Austrian part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Thus, Slovenians always considered themselves to be part of Central Europe, not only in respect to their geographical position, but also through culture and religion. Traditional cultural ties, combined with the distinctiveness of the Slovenian language, set Slovenians apart from the other nations of Yugoslavia. While in the past Slovenians never reached independent statehood, nevertheless, they retained their cultural uniqueness and developed in their internal political affairs a democratic approach reflected in the existence of strong political parties covering the entire ideological spectrum from right to left. The economic resources of Slovenia are significant in their variety and almost amount to self-sufficiency, not only in agricultural products but also in minerals and energy. Slovenia is the most industrialized republic of Yugoslavia. It produces 22% of the gross national product, shares 26% of total Yugoslav exports and contributes 32% of convertible currencies.

Illiteracy was eliminated by the beginning of this century and educational standards have been at par with those of Western Europe. It is significant that highly educated Slovenians prefer to emigrate to Central and Western Europe than to the other republics of Yugoslavia. Furthermore, they are conspicuously absent in some professions, such as the military and foreign affairs, while their presence is disproportionately high in medicine, banking, etc. These characteristics are mentioned for a better understanding of the present situation in Slovenia and the problems facing Slovenians.

Short Outline of the Post-War Period

The Communist Party of Slovenia (CPS) was the most faithful follower of the policies formulated by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPJ), which in turn under Tito, until June 1948, obsequiously adhered to directives from Moscow. When the CPJ was expelled from the Cominform — not for ideological disagreements but for economic insubordination — it first had to fight off the Stalinists. Then to legitimize the retention of power, to justify itself ideologically, it came out with another interpretation of Marx: self-management, an idea ascribed to Tito, but in fact developed by Kardelj. Subsequently, a rapprochement with the Soviets occurred during the Khrushchev era. Since then the relationship has fluctuated with political opportunism. Even though the old-guard party members remain Stalinists at heart, as far as basic ideology is concerned, they nevertheless keep a healthy distance in respect to other relations with the Soviet Union. They realize that too close and overt collaboration might gradually produce among its cadre and subgroups (for instance, the military) an increased empathy for the Soviets, which in an appropriate moment might subvert the faction presently in power. Moreover, an open collaboration with the Soviet Union could also jeopardize economic and financial arrangements with the West and harm technological transfers, which give Yugoslavia an advantage compared to other communist countries and their alleged independence would be tarnished in the Non-Aligned Movement. The majority of Yugoslav communists realise that their interest in retaining power lies in balancing reasonable good relations with the East and the West. Naturally such a position enables them to blackmail both, particularly the West, which fears the Soviet Union getting a direct access to the Adriatic and the Mediterranean.

In the late sixties and the first half of the seventies Yugoslavia received generous loans from financial institutions in the West, with the most support from the USA. To a great extent this borrowed capital was invested, for political reasons, in underdeveloped areas, which however had no qualified labour force nor pertinent raw materials. These political enterprises, which temporarily provided some local income, eventually turned out to be unprofitable and became a burden on the economic system as well as on society. While the relative prosperity lasted, internal propaganda ascribed it to the viability and superiority of the unique socialist economic and political system. Moreover, as long as the economic climate was favourable, the Party could afford to relax somewhat the traditional communist harsh treatment of its opponents. This gesture was also designed to promote, on the international level, the image of the Yugoslav system as “communism with a human face”.

Early in this decade — and not without coincidence, soon after Tito’s death — the moment of truth arrived. Yugoslavia, which by then had accumulated more than \$30 billion of debt, found itself in dire financial straits, from which it could be saved only by understanding foreign creditors. Ironically enough, nobody knew the exact amount of the total debt. To disentangle the accounting, a New York firm was engaged by the creditors and imposed upon the debtor, who was also forced to introduce economic measures which, under slightly different circumstances would be considered as “imperialistic interference”.

The economic consequence of the financial constraints were politically traumatic. Ensuing hyperinflation and concomitant unemployment created an atmosphere

which enabled the population to start asking publicly the governments, central as well as republic, questions which would have been unthinkable only a few years earlier.

It should be noted that the Yugoslav constitution, passed while Tito was still alive, created substantial decentralization. It recognized national and historic territories, thus allowing, — under the all-embracing and exclusive tutelage of the Communist Party of course — a significant differentiation in regional economic development, cultural and educational affairs, as well as in relation to religion.

In the post-war period Slovenia underwent several waves of strict application of Marxist theories. Immediately after the war, under Kidric and Kardelj, Slovenia had been transformed into a Soviet type society and economy with greater harshness and speed than the other republics. The pressure relented in the sixties when closer ties were established with the West and when Yugoslavia developed its own interpretation of Marxism. People in the western part of Yugoslavia were, through their traditional ties and through the communication media, able to observe the working of democracies in Italy and Austria. The communists of Slovenia and Croatia welcomed the loosening of the reins from Belgrade, allowing a more open type of government. When, in Tito's view, this relaxation went too far, he purged the two parties in 1972 to the extent that, particularly in Croatia, they have not recovered to this day.

Problems Facing Slovenia Today

The economic problems of Yugoslavia are felt more deeply in Slovenia than in the other republics. This is for two reasons. Firstly, Slovenia enjoyed the highest standard of living — its per capita income is three times that of Macedonia — and was therefore more disposed to a decline; secondly, the measures imposed by the IMF and foreign exchange regulations particularly harmed the complex, high technology industries of Slovenia, with their greater dependency on foreign material. Moreover, centralized handling of foreign exchange settlements and of import permits, with all its bureaucratic delays and political interferences, depressed Slovenian industries which were earning a disproportionately large portion of the total foreign exchange revenues.

It appears that the current economic decline in living standards in Slovenia will continue to contribute to a bad feeling about the other republics, not only among the population at large, but also among a sizeable number of Party members who are divided into centralists and nationalists. In this situation, there are very few definite statements forthcoming from anybody in a responsible position. It is interesting to note that Slovenian newspapers abound with articles dealing with current economic affairs, some with a depth to be admired, particularly when they discuss the alternative solutions at their disposal. In order to achieve efficiency in the system, the experts suggest changes which imply the introduction of free enterprise and of personal freedom.

Reduction and repayment of external debt depend presently on a positive international balance of payments. The state has neither foreign reserves nor is it prepared politically to allow a further deterioration of the standard of living, should domestic expenditures be diverted to pay for external debts. To alleviate partially this unpalatable situation, trade with eastern block countries, particularly the Soviet Union has been increased, though it is based mainly on the barter system. There is some apprehension about this switch in trade, as it could lead to or force closer political ties.

The recent Congress of the CPJ at the end of August, 1986, a quadrennial event which this year coincided with a substantial reshuffling in the governments at all levels, was dominated by economic discussions. Divergent views have always been under the surface but nobody has risked forcing a show-down. Consequently, specific or new decisions were avoided and replaced by verbose exhortations for increased productivity through a more thorough application of self-management. Three months after the Congress, the party newspapers admit that nobody follows directions and that inflation continues unabated at 85 per cent.

Education and Culture

The Party continues to have complete control over education, which is based entirely on Marxist ideology. All primary and secondary school teachers have to be party members. Consequently, the majority of younger people have no broad knowledge of the social sciences or philosophy. For instance, in history the emphasis is on the post-war years and on extolling the “gains of the national liberation struggle”.

Two years ago the CPJ prepared a draft proposal for a complete revision and standardisation of pre-university education to be applied over the whole territory of Yugoslavia. The plan was prepared secretly in Belgrade and was inadvertently leaked to the public. The impact of the proposed plan would be particularly devastating for Slovenia, since it proposed reducing the teaching of those subjects which constitute the formational basis of national consciousness: language, literature, national history and geography, etc. The proposals, not very different from the oppressive educational measures Slovenians endured under the German, Italian and Hungarian expansionists, struck the national nerve with its underlying objective to gradually abolish existing nationalities and fuse them into a new “Yugoslav nation”. For practical purposes, this would amount to a cultural and political hegemony by the southern part of Yugoslavia, and cultural suicide for Slovenians. This plan reflects one of the tenets of Marxism: abolition of nationalities. Reaction to the plan in Slovenia was swift and decisive, particularly since Slovenians have become aware recently of the insidious demographic and cultural infiltration from the South. Protests and discussions raised other related issues which have irritated Slovenians more than the other nationalities (centralized censorship of Slovenian publications printed abroad, deposits for travelling abroad, delays in publishing books that touch on official taboos, etc.).

Though discussed at the June party congress, where Slovenian delegates argued that individual republics have exclusive constitutional jurisdiction in matters of education, the issue of a “core programme for education” remains unresolved. Even if Slovenians win this battle, the tension with the rest of Yugoslavia will persist. Slovenians will be depicted as separatists, since in this matter they even lack the support of those southern groups which otherwise advocate the fight for freedom.

Political Issues

At a two day symposium of Slovenians in January 1985, over twenty speakers directly or indirectly criticised practically all tenets of Marxism, particularly those affecting individual freedom. Past examples used to illustrate the deception and falsity of the Party and its brutal treatment of the opposition were numerous. These included: the deception perpetrated during the war on some political parties to accept the

“leading role” of the communists and the ruthless elimination of these parties after the war; the secret massacre of 12,000 anti-communist opponents immediately after the war (never officially or publicly admitted, this report was covered in Nikolai Tolstoy’s recently published *The Minister and the Massacres*); the perversion of the judicial system by the 1948 execution of eleven party members for alleged collaboration with the Gestapo while inmates in the Dachau concentration camp, and inaction to rehabilitate them when the contrivance was exposed; the brutalities committed in the concentration camp of Goli Otok on those party members who did not immediately switch loyalties from Stalin to Tito when the latter was expelled from the Cominform in 1948; censorship of publications which directly or indirectly reveal taboos established by the Party and the unavailability of documents relating to important war-time and post-war historical events of which heretofore only the official interpretation has been available.

All these demands put the Party on the defensive and provoked the news media in the other republics to criticise Slovenians. The debate was noticed and followed by leading Western newspapers. Such international attention is always more irritating to the Party than provocations in the domestic press. International coverage of Yugoslavia was extensively manipulated by the Party during the war. However, in recent times honest investigative journalists have uncovered much hidden misconduct in public office, connivances and criminalities. The present international attention to Kosovo and Slovenia is an embarrassment to the Party, especially in view of past claims that Tito had solved the problem of several nationalities living in one state.

Another incident which recently increased suspicion in other republics about the orthodoxy of Slovenians, were proposals put forward by the youth section of the CPS suggesting that the Yugoslav armed forces be abolished or that at the least military service be substituted by other work, and that celebration of Tito’s birthday be done away with. Of course, these proposals were defeated.

Some observers see in these proposals and events an analogy with the situation in Poland in the early 1980s. While it is true that in both cases the economic situation triggered a questioning of the system and that the national existence is at stake, it can be said that Slovenian opposition to the regime does not show any structured or permanent organizational form. In Slovenia, the main thrust for openness in government and freedom for the individual comes from intellectuals, though Slovenian workers have started to demand that the right to strike be legalized. Moreover, Slovenians are deeply concerned about the cultural and political sovereignty of their co-nationals in the neighbouring states; this is evidenced by frequent mentioning of the “Slovenian Cultural Territory”. The orientation of Slovenians toward Europe is something that very much disturbs republics which traditionally played significant roles in the Balkans. While Slovenians are afraid of “Jaruzelski’s solution”, i.e. a military coup, others in Yugoslavia might relish the idea.

At present, it appears that the CPJ and the CPS are willing to suffer a substantial amount of criticism so long as it does not threaten their power by coalescing into an organized opposition party.

Relation to Emigrants

Up to the mid 1950s, Slovenian post-war emigration had an ideological and political background. In recent decades Slovenians have left their country for economic

reasons. Immediately after the war the regime established under the auspices of the Socialist Union of Working People of Slovenia, an auxiliary CPS mass organization, a special institute to concern itself with Slovenian emigrants — *Slovenska Izseljenska Matica* (SIM), the Slovenian Emigrant Association. This organization which purports to be dedicated to cultural exchanges, is in fact an extended arm of the Party. Actively engaged in spying on emigrants, it reports to the Yugoslav Secret Police (UDV) all, even trivial activities. The thoroughness of their surveillance is evidenced by accounts of returning visitors who are surprised at the detailed knowledge the Secret Police has about every Slovenian individual in Canada and the USA. Some of the agency's recruits have been given financial support to start legitimate businesses, which then serve as covers for their activities and as revenue gathering sources.

SIM and its agents is presently trying to infiltrate existing ethnic organizations, church committees, financial institutions and sport clubs. It is also engaged in collecting money for ostensibly charitable purposes (in 1985 this involved a fundraiser to provide Ultrasound equipment for the Oncological Institute in Ljubljana) and in presenting itself as the representative of all Slovenians at government departments, e.g. Secretary of State and even the Prime Minister's Office. SIM's prime aim of consolidating all organizations under communist control is facilitated by the fact that many people are aware of these clandestine operations, they are afraid of receiving a black mark in the UDV's or consulate's records. Particularly vulnerable are those who visit their homeland. Surveillance by Yugoslav agents is more pervasive than the Canadian or US authorities realize.

Two years ago the Yugoslav regime introduced two new bureaucratic provisions for better controlling emigrants. Anyone born on the territory of present day Yugoslavia can obtain an entry visa only at the Yugoslav consulate in their country of residence. Evidently it is the consulate or embassy which keeps up-to-date information on each emigrant. The purpose of this regulation is to assist in deciding whether a visa should or should not be granted and to alert the UDV in Yugoslavia. Secondly, visas are issued only for two entries. Visas for more entries can be obtained only at the local office of the Interior Ministry, where the applicant is invariably submitted to quite extensive questioning. This procedure usually ends with the suggestion that, as one is still considered a Yugoslav citizen, one should avail oneself of a Yugoslav passport. Reporting the presence or a visitor is a mandatory responsibility of the person giving shelter.

The Yugoslav regime also employs SIM's emissaries and agents for technological espionage, not only to benefit its own industrial enterprises but also to pass this information on to other East European countries, including the Soviet Union. It appears that the Canadian and US authorities are not overly concerned with these activities since they are not of a terrorist nature.

Attitude of Canada and the USA vis-a-vis the Above Issues

On the surface, it appears that Canada and the USA are not overly concerned with events in Slovenia and Yugoslavia. This is perhaps appropriate at this stage of development. However, given the diplomatic and economic clout the two countries have with the relatively fragile regime, they should seek better protection for their citizens of Yugoslav origin against the chicaneries of the Yugoslav authorities.

In conclusion, one cannot help but mention the existence of common fallacies based on ignorance of the following factors, by those who should know better: 1) a general awareness that “Yugoslavia” is a recent creation (1928); that it consists of several nations with distinct languages, cultures and economies; that it was formed in haste following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire by a collection of small nations fearing the aspirations of neighbouring states for their territories. The latter is not the case today. Equating a state with a nation is a root cause of many wars; 2) in order to keep the Soviet Union from the Adriatic, it is necessary to maintain the indivisibility of Yugoslavia, as is being done presently with generous loans. The opposite is in fact true, as internal division invites intervention and subjugation; 3) “Belgrade Myopia” suffered by foreign representatives continually subjected to a unitaristic bias in interpreting events and to refined brainwashing by trained party propagandists; 4) the myth that the prime objective of Tito and the communists was to fight the occupier and that they were really “our gallant allies”.

In the long run, Canada, the USA and all Western democracies should follow keenly the developments in Yugoslavia and be up-to-date even on regional peculiarities. Only in this way will wrong decisions and accompanying tragic consequences be prevented. The enormous tragedy resulting from ignorance, naivete and lack of basic foresight with which the Western powers approached the Yalta Conference should serve as a lesson on how not to intervene when the life and death of other nations is involved.

Marta Yamnik

“TURKESTANI CONSCIOUSNESS REMAINS POWERFUL”

First of all, I would like to affirm the deep hostility which Turkestanis feel toward Moscow. The resistance of an oppressed people can be seen in every sphere of life, and today, I would like to briefly outline signs of resistance to Soviet Russian totalitarianism and Soviet social engineering in Turkestan. The Communist Party continues to find it impossible to gain the cooperation of the Turkestanis people in the fields of economics, ideology and culture.

Consider the economic performance of Turkestan. Moscow has tried to unite Turkestan to Soviet Russia by eliminating all local production which once made Turkestan self-sufficient and independent. Gosplan outlines productivity targets which resemble the demands of colonial administrators; deliver cotton, silk, oil and various natural resources. But the Turkestanis are always resistant, negligent, and ultimately unfaithful because their union with the Russian communist empire was consummated by brute force alone. Since Gorbachev’s ascent to power, more than 10,000 local officials in Uzbekistan have been purged.

In the realm of ideology, Moscow’s aim to de-Islamicize Turkestan, while appearing to uphold and respect the religion in its dealings with the Islamic world at large, leaves the Kremlin pursuing irreconcilable policies and unachievable objectives. Basically, the compulsion of communism, to destroy any alternative world view faces a Herculean task in destroying Islam in Turkestan.

This stems from the fact that Islam not only has a long and glorious history in Turkestan, but national identity and Islam are fused in the minds of the Turkestanis. It cannot be overemphasized that a Turkestanis loses his identity, ethnicity, and culture when he dispenses with his religion. Therefore, a Turkestanis does not easily, if ever

forsake his religion. The Communist Party has worked constantly to extinguish Turkestanian national and religious identity by separating the two. Bolshevik tactics involved the division of Turkestan into tribal sub-units and the systematic discrediting of Islam as a so-called “counterrevolutionary force”. But despite these assaults, I am proud to say, Turkestanian Muslim consciousness remains powerful. In short, the national and religious identity of Turkestanians remains intact and largely uncompromised by Sovietization.

Madrassas or schools which provide an Islamic education are being constantly discovered to irritate the Russian authorities. Despite arrests and imprisonment, independent Mullahs continue to teach in Turkestan. Secret Sufi orders, militantly devoted to the establishment of a Turkestanian Muslim state on the ashes of Russia’s colonial administration are strong and growing. In light of these facts, it comes as no surprise that the Soviet Russian government’s publication of anti-Islamic literature is on the rise or that the activities of atheist propagandists have been intensified.

Communism and Islam cannot be reconciled. Remember that the Muslims of Turkestan, the Caucasus and Volga regions consist of 50 million people, and they are reproducing very rapidly. This fact represents a permanent crisis for the Soviet Nationalities Policy. The Kremlin faces two irreconcilable policy directives: Muslims must be assimilated into the upper levels of the Soviet Russian system to avoid a worsening of colonial appearances, by the same token, these same Muslims are too sceptical and nationalistic to be drawn into the system.

Culturally, Sovietization and Russification have made little headway in Turkestan. The repeated alphabet changes and demands to “internationalize” Turkestanian culture have brought about only cosmetic changes. The elementary fact is that Turkestanian culture is extremely self-contained.

Nevertheless, the cutting edge of Russian dominance in the empire’s cultural policy can be felt in the linguistic sphere. Pressure to speak Russian and to neglect local languages is intense. But Turkestanian intellectuals, and even local party members are today fighting the cutbacks in local language instruction and literary study. Consider the renowned author Chingiz Aytmatov’s recent statements to *Literaturnaya Gazeta* in which he said: “The immortality of a people lies in its language. Every language is great for its own people. Each of us has the filial duty to the people which have given birth and presented us with our greatest wealth — our own language. A duty to preserve its purity and to multiply its riches.” Aytmatov’s statement is the self-respecting, proud voice of nationalism and sense of defiant self-assertion.

The Afghan problem is still unsolved. Since September 1979 the Red Army in Afghanistan has killed more than a million innocent men, women and children, destroyed 60% of all villages, 4 million refugees escaped from torture to Pakistan and Iran, leaving behind their beloved homeland. Today, 39% of the world’s surface has been occupied by communism and 42% of the world population is communist or controlled by force. You are all well aware of communist infiltration in Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Central America, for example Nicaragua, right on the doorstep of the United States. To keep the germ of communism out of the American hemisphere, we should give aid to the Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters.

We Turkestanians strongly condemn the Soviet Russian government’s handling of the Chornobyl nuclear catastrophe in Ukraine, by keeping it secret for many days from their own citizens. This is one of their usual methods.

Peace in the West means to live in harmony, justice and equality. But peace in communist terms means more occupation, more human blood and more genocide. By talking and sending their peace missionaries to the West, the communists are deceiving the West. If they really mean peace, they should get out of Afghanistan and all the other subjugated nations and practice communist ideology on their own territory.

The time has come for a united front to stand up, in one unison against the enemy of God, Freedom and Liberty. I pray to God to give us strength and courage to speak out for those innocent people who are living behind the Iron Curtain and hoping to see the fall of the Russian empire.

Abdullah Kwaja
President of the Turkestani American Association

THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE TODAY

In 1986, news from Ukraine was dominated by the catastrophe at the Chornobyl nuclear power plant. The negligence of the Soviet authorities both before and after the incident are only too well known.

It isn't known exactly how much radiation was let out into the atmosphere as a result of the catastrophe because the true figures have still not officially been released by the Kremlin. One can, without any doubt, assume that immediately after the explosion, the radiation levels in the surrounding areas of the Chornobyl power plant (including the nearby town of Prypiat) were astronomical.

Contradictory statements made by Moscow, be they those printed in their press publications, or those actually uttered by officials, only add to the uncertainty and confusion which already surrounds the disaster.

The implacable secrecy of Moscow caused too little news to come through too late. The state controlled media persistently digressed towards describing how dangerous and irresponsible the methods used in Britain and in the United States were for the disposal of nuclear waste. It detailed the Three Mile Island accident and then described how safe the Soviet Russian approach was — this whilst 'their own people' were being irradiated and not receiving any news on how to cope with the situation.

News of the Chornobyl disaster came to Ukraine via Western radio broadcasts and also, apparently, via the satellite countries. It is reported, for example, by unofficial sources, that tourists from Ukraine and other Soviet Union republics who were visiting Yugoslavia at the time of the incident, saw what had happened at Chornobyl on Yugoslav television. Yet Kyiv, with a population of almost three million, which is located 80 miles away from the plant, was under a serious threat from the radiation —and wasn't being told of it.

The official information/instructions circulated by Moscow, which appeared only after the rest of the world had already revealed the catastrophic proportions of the disaster were of no great use to the people in the affected areas, who by then no longer knew what or whom to believe.

According to one source who recently visited Kyiv, it is known that the Ukrainian capital city has now turned into a "death city". There are no children, the hotels are empty. Transport is at a standstill and no tickets are available. Radio broadcasts instruct the inhabitants of Kyiv to drink mineral water only.

The greatest tragedy seems to have befallen the youth aged between 15 and 17 who were evacuated from the Chernobyl area. They are now becoming increasingly ill as a consequence of being irradiated. In despair, they have taken to heavy drinking — their will to live has disappeared.

Further reports have clearly stated that children from the affected areas of Ukraine were sent away to the Baltic States and other areas where they have been housed in youth camps. These camps have all been sealed off. No one is allowed in or out, and no contact with the local population is permitted. The children, who are already suffering and dying from the radiation, are kept in complete isolation from the local residents. Had Ukrainian parents seen their children dying off in Ukraine, there would have been uproar, moreover, even riots. To prevent this, the children were removed from Ukraine to suffer and die out of sight and knowledge of their parents.

In Ukraine today, the sadistic clandestine murders of uncompromising Ukrainian patriots and religious believers by KGB agents continue. The West, however, continues to ignore this preferring to believe in the Russian disinformation — the psychological-propagandist “peace campaign” which misleads people of the West by portraying a nuclear holocaust in such a way that the only alternative to escape the destruction of mankind would be a total nuclear arms freeze (which would ensure a Soviet military superiority).

However, it is difficult for Moscow to totally black out everything that goes on in the Soviet Union before the West. The ever growing national liberation processes among the subjugated nations in association with the extensive rebirth and expansion of religion, poses the major problem for the Russian authorities. Moscow, in an attempt to rid itself of this ‘problem’ enforces mass repressions which are primarily directed against the freedom fighters of the subjugated nations. Further, by trying to increase the tempo of artificial intermingling of the “Soviet” population and inducing Russification into all aspects of national life, Moscow drives to weaken, and subsequently, destroy the individuality of the subjugated nations, one of which, Ukraine, increasingly suffers the burden of this Soviet Russian plan in particular.

The officially imposed Russification encompasses all aspects of national-government life, especially in education, educational methodology and culture. For example, in the larger cities of Ukraine such as Donetsk, Voroshilovgrad, Horlivka, Sevastopol and Simferopol, there are no Ukrainian schools. Those who protest this situation are released from work under various pretexts and then tried for so-called “parasitism” or “corruption”.

An especially intensive attack is being waged on the very basis of the Ukrainian national life — the family. The Soviets consider the family as the primary source and means of transfer of national consciousness and religious belief, which is passed on from generation to generation. The Russian policy of taking Ukrainian youth away from their family influence as soon as possible and placing them in child care centres, has now become commonplace. In these child care centres the children are exposed to specially constructed educational programmes to re-educate them. This process is continued in the Pioneer Youth organisations. Later, in the Komsomol and in the secondary schools this process is intensified by specially trained teachers and instructors, who attempt to brainwash the youth into having a materialistic, atheistic viewpoint, Russify them and incorporate them into the system of Russian colonial imperialism.

The Ukrainian Church and its faithful are also under strong pressure, especially the priests. The desecration and destruction of churches continues unabated. The Ukrainian Catholic Church was incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church by an unsanctioned synod in 1946. Virtually the entire hierarchy and clergy of the Church were arrested and subsequently killed by the Soviet Russians. The Church, with an estimated 5 million adherents, functions underground today, with bishops and priests consecrated clandestinely. With great care, secret Masses are held for the faithful. The punishment for participating in these, if caught, is harsh long-term imprisonment.

Recently ten issues of a new Ukrainian *samvydav* document, entitled *Chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church*, have been smuggled out of the USSR into the West. *The Chronicle* is published by the unofficial Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine. The group was formed in September, 1982 by Yosyp Terelya. In a three point appeal, the group asked the communist authorities to curtail what it called 'anti-Catholic propaganda', to allow for the registration of the Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, emphasizing that there is no basis for the claim that the Ukrainian Catholic Church 'willingly' joined the Russian Orthodox Church in 1946. The appearance of *The Chronicle* offers disquieting proof to Moscow that even after four decades of vigorous persecution coupled with the efforts of an elaborate atheist propaganda apparatus, the Soviet Russian regime has failed to quash the Church or dampen the faith of its followers.

From *The Chronicle* it can be clearly established that in the second half of 1984 a new crackdown on the Ukrainian Catholic Church began, for example, uniate priest Vasyl Kobryn was arrested on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" on November 12, 1984. His colleague, Yosyp Terelya was arrested on the 20th of August, 1985 and sentenced to seven years imprisonment, five years exile and a period of time in a psychiatric hospital. Up till that time, Terelya had already spent 17 years in Soviet Russian prisons, psychiatric hospitals and labour camps.

The journal itself consists primarily of reports documenting repression against Ukrainian Catholic activists in Western Ukraine, publicising the plight of its members. The monthly issues have also provided details of the persecution of Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals, and other Protestant denominations, as well as reports on activities of the KGB incidents of armed resistance and sabotage, the number of men killed in Afghanistan, and the arrest of several Ukrainian Red Army officers for allegedly plotting to assassinate the late Soviet Defence Minister, Dmitri Ustinov.

The most poignant accounts are those describing individual cases of persecution and suffering. There is the case of a man in the village of Dovhe who was arrested in January, 1984, severely beaten, and sentenced to two years in a labour camp for taking part in a traditional Christmas play. In another incident, young carol singers in the small village of Lysychevo were attacked and beaten by militiamen.

One labour camp, VL 315/30 in Lviv, is reportedly located on the site of a former Nazi concentration camp where 70,000 Jews and 42,000 Ukrainians, Russians, Frenchmen, Belgians and Gypsies were murdered. Today, the camp houses 300 Catholics, 29 Baptists, 2 Pentecostals, 15 Jehovah's Witnesses, five Seventh Day Adventists and 39 Orthodox believers, according to *The Chronicle*.

The Chronicle also reports that some 900 Ukrainian Catholics either burned or surrendered their internal passports to protest the persecution of Christianity by the Soviet Russian government. Mr. Terelya is quoted as saying that he expected some

3,000 to follow suit. In another action, 59 men from Transcarpathia, 18 of them Jehovah's Witnesses, were convicted for refusing, on religious grounds, to serve in the military.

Despite a concerted effort by Soviet Russian authorities to eradicate the Uniates, *The Chronicle* provides evidence of continued vitality. It notes that, from early 1981 to the beginning of last year, some 81 priests were secretly ordained in the Transcarpathian region alone, and that young children in the area receive a Christian education at an underground monastery.

The Chronicle appears at a time when the human rights movement that gained momentum in the 1970s has been all but muted by arrests, deportations, and the exiling of dissidents to the far reaches of the country. The apparent revitalization of the Uniate Church in Western Ukraine, historically a region of strong Ukrainian nationalism and deep-rooted anti-Soviet Russian sentiment, must be disconcerting to Moscow, because of the area's proximity to Poland. *The Chronicle* contains a letter from Terelya to Lech Walesa, leader of the banned Polish trade union Solidarity, in which he says that the struggle of the Polish nation for freedom "is the hope which gives us strength for resistance". The Ukrainian Catholic Church is legal in Poland, where there is a large Ukrainian minority. Any links between Ukrainian activists and their counterparts in Poland would surely make the Kremlin uneasy. Further to the imprisonment of Christians, the internments of political prisoners of conscience into psychiatric prisons or into the concentration/labour camps are not on the decline. Today, in the 20th century, thousands of patriots of the Ukrainian nation, as indeed of all other subjugated nations, languish in these Soviet Russian prisons and camps.

Families of political prisoners are also under a reign of terror. They are under constant surveillance and harrasment. This is especially true of the wives of the political prisoners, whom the KGB constantly attempts to convince to denounce their husbands by means of making false statements. The Ukrainian wives remain faithful to their imprisoned husbands. They are therefore forced to leave their employment and their children are discriminated against and are not allowed to further their education.

Arrests and imprisonments attest to the strength and extent of the resistance against the communist oppressor. The individuals possess courage and resolve, since they are fully conscious of the fate that awaits them for their activities.

The incarcerations have immeasurable affect upon the health of each imprisoned individual — death is not uncommon. Recently, four prominent Ukrainian activists died as a result of their long imprisonments in the strict regime: Oleksa Tykhyj, Yuriy Lytvyn, Valerij Marchenko and Vasyl Stus, all were killed by the same method of the KGB. In addition, the Soviet Russian regime has clamped down on former members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists — all are being put on trial and subsequently sentenced to death by firing squads. The crimes of these activists is that they fought against the Nazis during the WWII and then actively opposed the re-imposition of Soviet Russian rule.

The thousands upon thousands of religious and nationalist prisoners (many of whom are anonymous) represent the continuing circumstances facing the Russian regime — that despite all persecutions, despite all oppressions, despite all attempts to Russify, despite all the physical and moral brutality, Moscow has failed, and will never succeed in destroying the identity of Ukraine and its strivings for freedom.

LONG LIVE A FREE UKRAINE!

STATE DEPARTMENT AFFIRMS “NO INSTITUTION HAS SUFFERED MORE THAN THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH”

The United States State Department has made public its special report on the plight and struggle of Ukrainian Catholics in the Western and Transcarpathian regions of Ukraine. Titled, “Soviet Repression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church,” the Department of State has assessed, based on historical data and current repressive efforts by Soviet Union authorities, that “no institution has suffered more than the Ukrainian Catholic Church.”

Setting forth a detailed historical account of the Ukrainian Catholic Church since the Soviet Russian occupation of Western Ukraine in 1939, the paper offers a graphic analysis of the losses suffered by the Church in its forced union with Russian Orthodoxy, which was proclaimed in Lviv on March 8-10, 1946, without the presence of Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy.

The report mentions KGB propaganda efforts geared at discrediting and defaming Church leaders in an effort to intimidate believers. Acknowledgement is made that the great Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyj has been a target of such propaganda efforts and further verifies that the Metropolitan, who has “led his church for four and one half decades (1900-1944) and has saved “the lives of thousands of Jews during World War II,” is still maligned by the KGB to this day.

Detailing the contemporary catacomb church, the report claims that the underground movement embraces hundreds of priests which are headed by a number of secret bishops all working under the authority of Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky in Rome. More than 1,000 religious women in orders are said to be serving throughout Ukraine along with many former Catholic and non-Orthodox priests who have taken up civilian professions and continue to celebrate the sacraments in private.

Special attention is paid to the *samizdat Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine* which first appeared at the beginning of 1984. Commenting on the renaissance of Ukraine’s religious movement, the State Department writes that it was “years of abortive demands by believers that authorities legalize the activities of the Catholic Church in western Ukraine that brought about the emergence of an organized human rights movement among believers.” The organized rights movement, united under the auspices of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics, is headed by Yosyp Terelya, who is reported to have been released from Soviet prison camp No. 36 near Kuchino on February 8, 1987.

The long report concludes with an analysis of the current interest in religion which is supposedly widespread among Ukrainians. Indeed, nearly half of the officially permitted religious congregations in the Soviet Union are located in Western Ukraine. Furthermore, the report stresses that the proximity of the Polish Solidarity Movement and the election of a Slavic Pope are important factors in the growth of religious interest.

Special report No. 159 on Soviet Repression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was prepared by the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs at the Department of State. Copies are available by writing the State Department Bureau of Public Affairs, 2201 C St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20520.

Ukrainian National Information Service

State of New York Legislative Resolution

Senate No. 169

BY: Senator Masiello



EXPRESSING sincerest sorrow in the passing of Yaroslav Stetsko, Ternopil region, Western Ukraine, valiant freedom fighter elected head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists - Revolutionaries and former Prime Minister of Ukraine

WHEREAS, Attendant to the recent passing of Ukrainian leader and Anti-Communist patriot, Yaroslav Stetsko, it is the sense of this Legislative Body to express sincerest sorrow; and

WHEREAS, The death of Yaroslav Stetsko occurred on Saturday, July fifth, nineteen hundred eighty-six; and

WHEREAS, Yaroslav Stetsko is survived by his beloved wife, Slava Stetsko; and

WHEREAS, The career of Yaroslav Stetsko encompassed a chronology of compelling dimension; it records the patrimony of unparalleled adherence to the highest standards of National leadership and patriotism, standards in accord with world history; and

WHEREAS, It is for his perception of freedom and human rights for all suppressed countries and his concern for pursuing independence that this Legislative Body commemorates the inspiring career of Yaroslav Stetsko; and

WHEREAS, Through his ongoing commitment to battling first Nazism and later Communism for the freedom of all people Stetsko did so above and beyond the call of duty; and

WHEREAS, With commensurate commitment to those treasured ideals of liberty, freedom, justice and concern for all, Yaroslav Stetsko did so singularly contribute in the fight for freedom in Ukraine as well as uniting the world in a fight for liberation. Stetsko exemplified as a patriot of freedom which is our American Heritage; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Legislative Body pause in its deliberations to express condolences to Yaroslav Stetsko's family upon the occasion of his passing; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution, suitably engrossed, be transmitted to Mrs. Slava Stetsko.

ADOPTED IN SENATE ON
February 3, 1987

By order of the Senate,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Stephen F. Sloan".

Stephen F. Sloan, Secretary



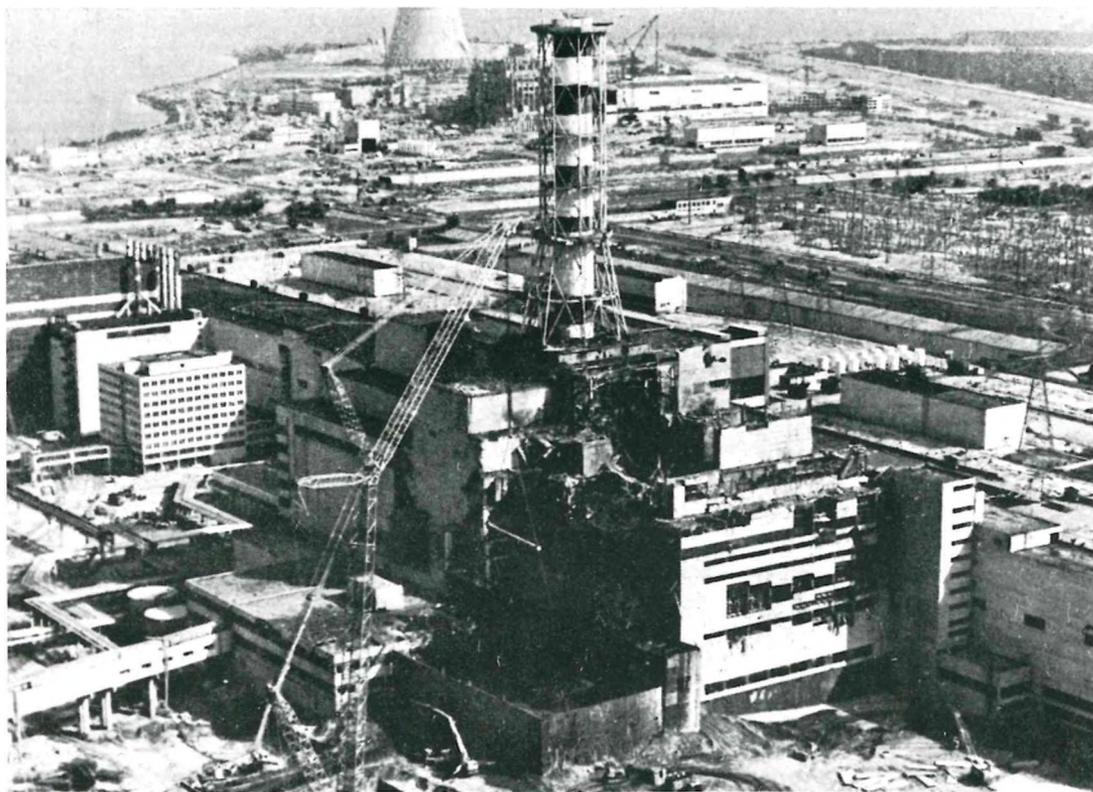


Estonians, Latvians, Poles, Ukrainians along with members of the National Citizens' Coalition, the Canadian Committee for Soviet Jewry and the North American Jewish Student Network demonstrate against the Soviet Russian Red Army shows appearing at Massey Hall, Toronto, Canada.

ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



The Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station; in the foreground construction proceeds on the entombment of destroyed reactor unit No. 4

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CHORNOBYL REVISITED

Nuclear Disaster in Ukraine: The First Year
(April 1986 — April 1987)

A year ago the world witnessed the terrible explosion at the Chornobyl nuclear power plant in Ukraine — a consequence of gross negligence and mismanagement of the Soviet Union's nuclear industry coupled with technological incompetence. But today, a year later, we still don't know the full extent of the damage to the population and the environment. Soviet authorities have not, to date, released a credible situation report stating the actual death toll and the true number of casualties.

According to Ihor Herashchenko, dissident Soviet Ukrainian physicist and husband of the recently released Soviet poet Iryna Ratushynska, who stayed in Kyiv during last year's explosion, 15,000 people died in the 5 months after the blast (*The Daily Telegraph*, Wednesday, April 1, 1987). Letters from various parts of Ukraine received in the West confirm the fact that many people, particularly children, have already died as a consequence of the disaster, and many continue to die. However, Soviet television still claims 31 official deaths.

The Ukrainian Central Information Service received an important document from Ukraine concerning the nuclear disaster in Chornobyl. According to the document, entitled *Wind from Ukraine*, the authorities had failed to inform the population. Only when the whole world began to speak of the disclosure of the powerful source of radiation, and it was no longer possible to conceal the fact that a nuclear accident had occurred in Ukraine, did the Soviet leadership admit that something was in fact not quite right at the Chornobyl plant. We learnt that there was a fire, but, basically, that nothing serious had happened, and that people were managing to deal with the disaster by themselves without the help of foreign specialists.

People were not warned in time of the terrible health hazards and threat to human lives. On the contrary, in order to keep the world convinced for as long as possible that the accident was trivial, the 1st of May parade, in which children participated, was held in Chornobyl. In the meantime Party officials, who had been informed of the actual extent of the damage, quietly and quickly evacuated their families from Kyiv to distant regions of Ukraine and other republics. In Kyiv one scientist measured radiation levels 2 to 3 times higher than official figures released on Soviet TV.

In the two months after the Chornobyl catastrophe, the population of Kyiv had to make use of drinking water from the Dnipro River (radiation level: 10^{-7} curies), not having any other safe water supply. Later the Ukrainian capital switched to water from the nearby Desna River (10^{-11} curies).

Some people brought drinking water from distant springs outside Kyiv. Much effort was needed to acquire fresh vegetables, which are delivered to fruit and vegetable stores from far-off regions of Ukraine, and usually in insufficient amounts.

People living in Kyiv are still worried about their children, and parents hope purely for the survival of their family, kin and the nation.

All children of pre-school age, for whom the higher levels of radiation are particularly harmful, are deprived of any centrally organised help. Due to financial reasons, most parents are unable to accomodate their children outside Kyiv for a long period of time, since accomodation, food and care are extremely expensive. Doctors were ordered to write on the medical cards of children who stayed in the zone with the highest

radiation levels, that they are suffering from fictitious diseases. What of the children not yet born, asks the author of the document? No one can answer this. Doctors are advising young married couples to postpone family plans for a few years.

At the Congress of the Writers' Union of Ukraine (June 1986) Ukrainian writers spoke out not only against the threat to the Ukrainian language from the incessant Russification of language and culture, but also of the ecological damage and the threat to the continued existence of the Ukrainian nation. During the Congress Ivan Drach, prominent Soviet Ukrainian writer, stated that the nuclear lightning had struck the genetic root of the Ukrainian nation.

Accidents can happen anywhere, but nuclear plants require special additional safety systems, employing the latest developments in the field of nuclear science. In Chornobyl the concrete dome used as a secondary containment measure was built only *after* the explosion, and there were deficiencies in the automatic working controls of the reactor. The power plant had been constructed under the typical conditions of Soviet planned production. Production norms had to be met regardless of cost and safety, and we know for a fact that the fourth reactor block where the accident occurred, was put to work prematurely (*Literaturna Ukraina* No. 13 (Kyiv), March 27, 1986). The fact that foreign specialists were not allowed to participate in the clearing up of the reactor leads one to assume that the reactor was probably overburdened with additional tasks, such as the production of materials for military means, or academic research for military needs. Presently, suitable explanations are being found for the cause of the accident (without any indication of the high accident potential of this type of reactor). Scapegoats are being found. The first on the list are all the personnel employed at Chornobyl, perhaps even a few directors on various levels. It has already been established that the personnel have admitted to 6 serious mistakes, and that they had conducted a series of experiments for which they had no permission from the central nuclear authorities in Moscow.

But what of the mistakes of the highest Party chiefs, not only those specifically concerned with nuclear matters, but also those who play a decisive role in all matters? The greatest mistake was the location of the Chornobyl nuclear power plant — right in the heart of Ukraine, an extremely densely populated region.

Recent Information from Ukraine based on letters

■ (15.9.1986): In Ukraine there is presently great discontent over the handling of the Chornobyl disaster, particularly over the fact that the authorities failed to give out sufficient information and advice. People are openly laying the blame on the Russians, saying that Moscow had arranged the accident because Ukrainians demand independence. Quarrels have arisen between Russian and Ukrainian Party members as a consequence of the disaster.

The first and second year of high schools in the Ternopil region have been taken away to work on the construction of Novyi Ternopil, a new settlement near Kyiv to replace the towns of Prypiat and Chornobyl.

■ (19.11.1986) Kremenchuk: Many people here are dying, particularly those who returned from Chornobyl. Many of those who came back from the site of the accident are suffering from various illnesses and from nervous tension. They have lost their will to go on living.

■(3.2.1987): In the rivers the radiation has to some extent flown away with the water. In lakes, however, it will remain for many years. The radiation from Chornobyl covered large tracts of land. Byelorussia suffered particularly badly.

The number of casualties increases day by day as the people, who were recruited by the *voenkomats* (local conscription offices) to clear the Chornobyl power plant and the surrounding area, and to put out the fire die off. The people mobilised for these jobs worked inside the contaminated zone without any special protective clothing. Today, they have begun to die. Those who remain alive for the time being, are suffering from leukemia and other illnesses. Part of these people (the 30 year olds) have been pensioned off. Because the *voenkomats* mobilised people aged between 18 and 30 years old, covering 12 age groups, there will be a dramatic drop in the natural growth rate of the population in the near future. The Russians will fill this gap with an artificial increase in the population — an influx of foreigners, primarily Russians.

■ (20.2.1987) Ivano-Frankivsk region: Through official channels people knew nothing of the explosion until April 28th. They officially learned of the disaster through foreign broadcasts. On April 28th, Gorbachev appeared on TV with a brief announcement. This was followed by limited advice: it was forbidden to let cattle out for grazing, cattle had to be fed dried cereals, people should remain outside for limited periods only, clothes should be changed, floors should be washed down with water, etc.

An instruction was sent out to all collective farms that each collective farm should build one house at its own cost. The larger collectives should build two 3-room houses; the smaller ones — only one.

Carpenters made windows and doors and delivered them along with wood and bricks to the new settlement near Kyiv. People from the collectives went there to build the houses. They had no protective clothing. There were several cases of radiation found on the clothing of people who returned home from the construction site. In the autumn it was forbidden to burn leaves. They were to be left lying on the ground over winter. They would rot and the radiation would go into the ground and not up into the air with the smoke from burning leaves.

■ (10.3.1987): Radiation levels in the area near the reactor reached several hundred milliroentgens an hour. In Kyiv, at the start, there was real panic. The airports and stations were packed with people. Tens of thousands of people were trying to leave the capital.



ABN President Slava Stetsko with M. Hess and D. Somerville of the Black Ribbon Day Committee at the ABN offices in Munich

CHORNOBYL AND ITS EFFECTS

The catastrophe in Chornobyl still continues to appear on the pages of the Western and Soviet press. The only difference being that in the West, one openly talks about the extent of the catastrophe at the Chornobyl nuclear power plant, the contaminated air and earth's surface are accurately measured for high levels of radiation, as well as the consequences of this radioactive contamination for mankind. Meanwhile, in the USSR, despite the proclaimed *glasnost*, the population is still kept in the dark regarding the extent of the radiation as well as the possible effects on health in the coming decades, particularly in Ukraine and Byelorussia.

All this has led to rumors being spread among the population, which in turn lead to an increased fear of radiation. This can be gathered not only from letters from Ukraine, which have escaped censorship, but even from the Soviet press. Recently, for example, the Russian-language newspaper *Sovetskaya Belorussya* wrote about "evil tongues" which are spreading all sorts of rumors in the republic about the danger of the radiation. The newspaper publishes readers' letters regarding this, in which people ask whether it is true that a second reactor has exploded at Chornobyl, or that the evacuation has extended from 30 kilometers to 120 km, or whether farm products are being checked for radiation or whether drinking milk has been prohibited in some parts of Byelorussia.

Pravda Ukrainy recently wrote that the health authorities in Kyiv and Zhytomyr constantly receive telephone inquiries about whether it is possible to have children now, whether one should eat the center of a loaf of bread, leaving the crust, which they say, has been contaminated by radiation, and so on.

However, instead of giving detailed information to the population about the extent of the radiation in northern Ukraine and Byelorussia, about the food products contaminated by radioactivity, as well as the air and earth's surface, the Soviet press and radio keep all these matters quiet or provide false or limited facts. An example of this is the recent interview with Professor Illya Lichtyarov, of the Leningrad Scientific Research Institute on radioactive hygiene, which was published in *Literaturna Ukraina* on November 13, 1986 and which has one single aim: to convince the population of Ukraine that the radioactive danger in Ukraine, in particular in Kyiv, is insignificant.

Lichtyarov uses generalizations, he states that the radioactivity in Ukraine is "insignificant" but does not present precise facts in this matter. Such methods are used in almost all the reports about the current state of radiation in Ukraine and Byelorussia and about the resulting health hazards. It is true that in his interview Lichtyarov speaks about the presence of radioactive isotopic iodine in the Ukrainian biosphere and simultaneously adds that the radioactive caesium is present both in the air and in the land, however, "its quantity is ten times less than that of iodine." With this he failed to state exactly how much iodine is normally present in the biosphere and having failed to assert that, he "subtracts" the caesium. At the same time he keeps silent about the fallout period of just one radioactive isotope, which lasts approximately 30 years. Aside from this, he completely neglected to mention two extremely poisonous elements — strontium and plutonium.

It is only with insinuations that Lichtyarov speaks about “the effects of small doses of radioactive elements” — that throughout the course of time, genetic changes will take place, as well as malignant mutations. In this careless fashion Lichtyarov forgot to mention the various types of cancer which over the course of the coming years, will claim many victims in Ukraine and Byelorussia as well as in other parts of Europe which the radioactive cloud from Chornobyl reached.

Professor Robert Gale, the American bone marrow transplant specialist, who treated Chornobyl casualties in the USSR provides more accurate information about the effects of Chornobyl.

Dr. Gale's prognosis is that over the next 50 years, as a direct result of the Chornobyl catastrophe, 10,000 to 150,000 persons will develop cancer and 5,000 to 75,000 persons will die from it. But this is not the only threat as a result of Chornobyl. Dr. Gale believes that genetic mutations present an even greater danger, i.e. chromosomic changes in the human organism which will cause hereditary defects which can continue for many generations. Dr. Gale further asserts that the higher level of radiation in the atmosphere in certain parts of the USSR and central Europe will continue to linger over the next 300 years. Other Western experts, such as John Hoffman, professor of medical physics at the University of California at Berkeley, believes that as a result of the Chornobyl catastrophe, approximately 475,000 people will die of cancer.

However, these problems which are extensively written about in the West in specialized medical journals, are not even mentioned in the USSR. In the interview with Lichtyarov, *Literaturna Gazeta* claims that all this information is provided by “incompetent people which distort the actual situation in Ukraine.”

Until recently, the Soviet press considered the West's information about Chornobyl “malicious anti-Soviet propaganda” and remained silent about the disaster before the population. The situation has changed in that now much is written in the USSR about the catastrophe but only with the aim of spreading optimism, hiding the real situation before the population, in particular, that which is reported in the West.

The real situation concerning radioactivity in Ukraine can be learned from the recent report prepared by the Dutch government on the effects of the Chornobyl catastrophe. The report first mentions damages that the radioactivity from Chornobyl caused in Holland, as well as consequent future long-term cancer diseases, genetic defects which are all directly related to the catastrophe in Chornobyl. The report goes on to state that Holland was only slightly touched by the radioactivity from Chornobyl. However, in May of this year the radioactivity in Holland was three times the normal level — 120-500 rems (generally it is considered that there is no health danger up to 500 rems). According to the report by the government of Holland, in May of 1986, in Kyiv and its vicinity, the radioactivity reached a level of 10,000 to 15,000 rems.

But these matters are not mentioned in the Soviet press. On the contrary, the Soviet press, along with the health institutions of Ukraine “authoritatively” reassure everyone that the radiation in Ukraine today is almost “normal” and poses no danger. However, the population is wary of this “authoritative information”, people do not believe that the products being sold “are thoroughly checked and safe for use” (*Truth of Ukraine*). According to Kyivan press, people travel hundreds of kilometers out of Kyiv to obtain vegetables and meat, do not drink milk and so forth, because no one knows the status of the radioactivity in Ukraine. That remains a “state secret” and the regime asserts that the radioactivity has reached a “normal level.”

WIND FROM UKRAINE

The Ukrainian Central Information Service (UCIS) recently received an important document from Ukraine concerning the nuclear disaster in Chornobyl, which were are printing below under the original title.

Four months have just gone by since the day the whole world learnt of the catastrophe in Chornobyl, near Kyiv. Wind from Ukraine blew a poisonous radioactive cloud over the whole of Europe. Yet the sun shone as before and the people in Ukraine, even those in the most endangered zone, were still the ones least of all informed about what had happened, except that there was a normal fire, nor were they aware of the invisible perfidious enemy threatening them.

In the 1930s Pavlo Tychyna (Ukrainian poet), in his poem "Wind from Ukraine" wrote about a "demonic wind, damned ravenous wind, like a wild gust of a rebellious spirit for freedom, a breath of rebellion and insubmission, a revolutionary wind." Today, this breath of wind from Kyiv is bringing us something else — the sorrow and grief of a nation, which even in peace time has to struggle not only for its spiritual, but even for its physical existence. Once again the nation's dignity has been abused — a crime has been committed by not informing the people about the deadly poison which, from the very beginning of the disaster was emitted from the damaged reactor. When the whole world spoke of the disclosure by special instruments of the powerful source emitting the harmful radiation in Ukraine, only then did the Soviet leaders in a burst of generosity admit that in fact something was not quite right at the nuclear power plant, that there was a fire, but basically nothing serious had happened and people were managing to deal with the disaster without even the help of foreign specialists. Once again the "wise and infallible" Party leadership was attempting to dispose of the effects of the damage by the hands of its patient and courageous people, who to a great extent were directly put to blame. In the recent past the nations of the Soviet Union paid for the insanity of the Stalin leadership with millions of lives, especially at the beginning of the war against Hitler's Germany, which having been lulled by a peaceful agreement, managed to completely take the opponent by surprise.

Now the authorities did not warn the people in time of the terrible health hazards and threat to human lives. On the contrary, in order to keep the world convinced for as long as possible that the accident was trivial and unimportant, with diabolical cynicism the 1st of May manifestation was organized in Chornobyl, at which children participated! Let the world know, so to speak... Meanwhile Party officials having been informed of the actual extent of the damage, quietly and with great speed, transported their families from Kyiv to safe distant regions of Ukraine and other republics. "Glory to the CPSU for all this, eternal glory! The people will never forget the Party for this!

Compared to other disasters which have occurred at nuclear power plants in other countries, this one was a real cataclysm, an ecological catastrophe. Moreover, after four months of intensive work aimed at the complete isolation of reactor block no. IV, where the accident occurred, there has been no success in fully closing off the reactor in a concrete tomb, nor halting the emittance of the harmful radiation on the outside.

The reactor, as the people of Kyiv state, continues to "spew out" fumes under the power of periodically increasing force of boiling water and steam. Even in the next official report from Moscow, one could until recently hear that the accident "was cha-

racterized by a whole series of explosions.” This is how the authorities provide information about the catastrophe in doses, reporting only on the facts which they could no longer keep secret.

A friend of mine, a nuclear physicist, talked of how the level of radioactivity is measured in Kyiv, a fact which Soviet news reports require to inform the world. The place where the measurement is to be taken, namely, where the doseometer will be placed, is first of all thoroughly washed and only then is the instrument installed. The above scientist goes out onto the balcony with his own doseometer and registers the showings as 2 or 3 times higher than those just given in the television journal. Life itself has therefore created a new anecdotic definition of a milliroentgen — a roentgen which has undergone an adaptation in the well-known Russian TV programme “Vremya”.

The extent of the damage which occurred in Ukraine cannot be measured by the numbers of victims who perished and by those gravely ill, presently hospitalised. Doctors are doing their utmost to save or at least prolong their lives. Several thousand people will require constant medical examinations in the course of the next few years. The doctors already know even more — in the very near future the death rate among children will begin to rise, of those staying in the zone of the highest radiation level. The doctors have been ordered to write on the medical cards of these children, that they are suffering so to speak from apparent, but actually other fictitious diseases. It is appalling that against all medical efforts one has to work for the good appearance of Soviet statistics. The leadership which, as it says, carries with it humaneness and complete compassion in the world, which, so to speak, employs all of its efforts on safeguarding the well-being of every person — in fact treats a person totally instrumentally, as a means and an object.

Throughout the course of two months after the Chornobyl catastrophe, the population of Kyiv had to make use of drinking water from the Dnipro River (radiation levels of 10^{-7} curies), not having any other safe water reserve. Only later was the capital of Ukraine switched onto the waters of the Desna River (10^{-11} curies).

Some people even bring drinking water from distant springs outside Kyiv. Much effort is needed to acquire fresh vegetables, which are delivered to fruit and vegetable storehouses from far-off regions of the country (usually in insufficient amounts). The best gifts from friends, for example in Lviv, can be a few sprigs of parsley or dill. Sleepless nights for the people of Kyiv are caused mostly by worry — about their children, the parents’ only hope, the future of the family, kin and nation. This year the state secured longer summer holidays for schoolchildren in regions of Ukraine far from Kyiv. All children of pre-school age, for whom we must add, the higher radiation levels are even more harmful, are deprived of any kind of centrally organized help. Due to financial reasons, most of the parents are unable themselves to accomodate their children in some long-term stay outside Kyiv, since the accomodation, food and care are extremely expensive. And what about those children yet to be born? No one can answer this. Doctors are advising young married couples to postpone their family plans for a few years.

At the Writers’ Union Congress, Ukrainian writers spoke out about not only what is threatening their native language, but also about a not less impending threat of future existence of generations. Just as I. Drach rightly and without exaggeration stated —the nuclear lightning struck the genetic root of a nation.

Accidents can happen anywhere, but we all know that nuclear power plants require special additional safety systems, employing the newest achievements of world technology in this field. In Chornobyl, the protecting concrete dome was built only after the explosion and, as experts say, there were deficiencies in the automatic working controls of the reactor. The nuclear power plant had been constructed under the typical conditions of Soviet planned production and in its typical buffoonery way of showing off, with uninterrupted prematurity at all costs. We know for a fact that the fourth reactor block, where the accident occurred, was put to work prematurely. The fact that foreign specialists were not allowed to participate at the liquidation of the accident's effects, leads us to assume that the reactor was probably overburdened with additional tasks — the production of materials for military means or academic research for military needs. Now, obviously, suitable explanations will be found for us will be found for the cause of the accident (of course without indicating the high accident potential of a reactor of this type). Sacrificial scape-goats will be found — first of all the working personnel, maybe even a few directors on various rungs. It has already been established that “the personnel has admitted to six serious mistakes” and that it conducted experiments for which it had no permission from the central nuclear authorities in Moscow.

What about when we also hear about undeniable mistakes (conscious or unconscious mistakes) caused by the highest Party chiefs, not only by those concerned with nuclear matters, but also those playing a decisive role in all other matters, in this case, including the mistakes while deciding on the location of constructing the nuclear power plant — right in the heart of Ukraine, an extremely densely populated region?

Chornobyl and Ukraine remain in the scope of vision and diligent attention of the whole world, since matters concerning global threat to nature and human beings themselves have started to decide upon our to be or not to be. This brings nations closer together, since today perhaps more than ever before in history there is no misfortune of only another people.

The Ukrainian nation has suffered great misfortune along its glorious and at the same time martyred path. Healing a deep wound and consequences from the Chornobyl ecological bomb, the Ukrainian nation can count on the staunch support of other nations.

The nuclear lightning, which hit out at its genetic core, can simultaneously speed up the time of an all-national enlightenment.

SOCIETY SELLS POSTCARDS

The Croatian Philatelic Society is offering five different color postcards especially issued by the Ethnic Service Company of Los Angeles. The photography is by Croatian artist Vladimir Novak.

The cards are 3.5 x 5.5 inches, with an English and Croatian text. Two show the Croatian flag, paired with that of Canada and Australia. The other two depict the Croatian coat of arms and a Croatian Easter card. The fifth card shows a painting which portrays the arrival of Croatian people on the Adriatic Sea.

Requests should be sent to the Croatian Philatelic Society, 1512 Lancelot, Borger, Texas 79007-6341, with 60 cents per card in the United States, Canadian or Australian funds, or United States mint postage, or \$3.00 for the set of five.

THE NATIONALITY PROBLEM IN THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES

Introduction

Since the emergence of the Soviet Union on the world political arena after the Second World War, and particularly after Soviet attainment of superpower status, many books and articles dealing with the most important aspects of Soviet military doctrine and capabilities have been published. Indeed, Western scholars and students of military affairs have researched and analysed almost every dimension of Soviet operational art, tactical and strategic doctrine, weapons systems capabilities, and organisational principles. And yet, some of the most important aspects of Soviet Russian military power, most of which have a significant effect on overall Soviet force effectiveness and performance, have hardly even been touched and remain largely unexplained. Perhaps the major reason why, to date, an in-depth study of these important factors has not appeared in print, is that they tend to be generally subjective in nature and information of these issues is not readily available, thus making it difficult to measure or quantify them. After all, the task of assessing the performance of one's own forces is difficult enough, let alone those of a foreign power, or potential adversary, whose wartime levels cannot be easily deduced from the peacetime status.

One of these central issues is the nationality problem in the Soviet armed forces. In view of the ongoing demographic shift, which threatens to reduce the Soviet Union's Russian population to a sizeable minority by the end of this century, with important implications for the Soviet military, it is time that the nationality factor received the consideration and attention it deserves, from military analysts and Sovietologists in the West. With this in mind, it is the aim of my paper to determine the nationality problem in the Soviet armed forces, to define the nature and characteristics of this problem, and to analyse the findings in the light of Soviet Russian operation principles and manpower requirements, drawing certain conclusions regarding the potential effects of the nationality question on Soviet combat effectiveness and performance. However, before I proceed to tackle the problem of the nationality question, I think it worthwhile to give a brief summary of Soviet Russian nationality policies and practices.

Soviet Russian Nationality Policy

Soviet society is by no means a homogeneous Slavic, let alone Russian mass. The Soviet Union comprises some 102 different nations and nationalities (according to the 1970 census), 21 of which, including the Russians have populations of over a million. The Ukrainians, for instance, are the largest of the non-Russian nations. According to the census of 1979 there are nearly 42.5 million Ukrainians living in the USSR, comprising some 16.2% of the total Soviet population. Together, the peoples of the Soviet Union reflect a wide cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, comprising, among others, Eastern Orthodox, Eastern Catholics (Uniates), Catholics, Lutherans, Sunnite and Shi'ite Muslims, Jews, Ismailis (Nazarit), Armenian Gregorians, Buddhists, Buddhist Lamaites, Nestorian Christians, and animists. It logically follows, therefore,

that the same wide diversity will be reflected in the cohort of draft-age manpower available to the Soviet armed forces, and thus in the armed forces themselves. Because of the imperial nature of the state with all its implications, ethnic considerations govern all things military — all planning, decision-making, recruitment policies, training, force composition, and the stationing of units.

In Soviet theory and practice, Russians are considered to be the “leading nation.” This forms the basic tenet of Soviet Russian nationality policy, designed to assimilate the non-Russian peoples of the USSR and integrate them into a unitary Russian-speaking, Russian orientated “Soviet nation”, imbued with the spirit of “Soviet patriotism” undivided loyalties to the Soviet Union and the party, and the ideas of “proletarian internationalism” at home and abroad, in short, a policy of Russification.

In the same way, Soviet military authorities are trying to weld together ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse individuals into an effective and cohesive, to all intents and purposes Russian, military force. In practice, therefore, the Soviet armed forces constitute one of the most important instruments of national integration (and hence of Russian nationality policy) in the multi-national Soviet society.

The model on which Soviet soldiers are assimilated is that of the Russian soldier. Thus, the predominant Russian character of the armed forces reflects the present demographic realities, the military traditions of the Tsarist army, on which the present-day Soviet armed forces are largely based, and the qualitative hegemony enjoyed by the Russians in Soviet society and political life. The problem of the impact of military service on the national integration of soldiers does not arise in the case of ethnic Russians, who form the backbone of the armed forces. It is, after all, their army in tradition, in organization, and in the overall esprit de corps. As far as the ethnic Russians are concerned, the thrust of political indoctrination on the theme of the “friendship of peoples” is designed to develop their acceptance of non-Russians as comrades-in-arms, and to imbue them with a sense of responsibility for helping non-Russian conscripts become good Soviet soldiers, i.e. to assist in the process of Russification — one of the most significant aims of the armed forces. For Russian servicemen the notion of Soviet patriotism presents no special problems. They merely equate it with the old concept of Russian patriotism and loyalty to the Russian motherland.

The assimilation and integration of conscripts is achieved through the mechanism of the induction system, through stationing practices, through the composition of the armed forces, including the rank structure of the officer corps and non-commissioned officers (NCOs), and through the creation of an environment conducive to integration, reinforced by an extensive all-pervading system of political indoctrination to which both enlisted personnel and officers are exposed.

Recruitment

The Soviet induction system is designed to ensure a proper ethnic balance in different services, branches and units of the armed forces. It consists of three stages:

a) A central military authority, probably the General Staff, estimates the number of recruits needed by individual services and branches.

b) On the basis of the information from local conscript offices (*voenkomats*), the authority determines the number, profile and national origin of the conscripts available from each *voenkomat*.

c) It then directs buyers (*pokupateli*) from military districts or units to particular *voenkomats* in order to match demand and supply. By sending buyers from the same formation to different parts of the Soviet Union, the military authorities can control the nationality mix.

Stationing

The national factor plays a critical role in, and has a decisive influence on, Soviet Russian stationing practices. The basic and most prominent principle related to stationing practices is extra-territoriality. This means that, after induction, recruits are sent to geographically distant and ethnically different regions.

In addition to the empire's defence and the need to maintain an effective deterrent, the Soviet army has the equally important task of maintaining internal security and state control. Therefore, the principle of extra-territoriality is derived from the very real possibility that the army may one day be required to put down internal unrest, anti-regime demonstrations, and other disturbances (as happened on more than one occasion), for which a reliable force must be maintained. If non-Russian servicemen are stationed in their native regions, they may be inclined to side with their ethnic kin in a crisis, assisting them with weapons if the need were ever to arise. Thus, keeping non-Russians away from their home areas would make the task of maintaining control in a crisis easier. Furthermore, the further from home troops are stationed, the more difficult it is for them to run away. It is not uncommon, therefore, to find Russians serving in Kazakhstan, Kazakhs serving in Ukraine, Ukrainians in Georgia, and Georgians in the Baltic. In this way, Soviet soldiers have no ties with the local populace of the regions where they are serving.

The only exception are the troops engaged in non-military tasks, such as the construction battalions (*stroibats*). Thus many Central Asians, conscripted into support units, often serve in their own republics. However, these units are not armed and seldom, if at all, receive adequate military training.

On the basis of these factors, the Soviet induction system and stationing practices are a clear indication that the political and military leadership of the USSR is fully aware that a serious, and potentially dangerous, ethnic problem exists within the structure of the Soviet armed forces.

Composition of the Armed Forces

Official adherence to the principle of universal conscription in a multi-national society implies the notion that the diverse nationalities which form the Soviet Union should be proportionately represented in the composition of Soviet recruits. In practice, however, certain major planned differentials of the ethnic mix occur in the different services and branches of the armed forces. For instance, there is a marked difference between combat and non-combat units. Non-Russians, particularly dark-skinned Muslims, are not allowed to serve in combat units in numbers proportionate to their share of the general population. Thus, combat units are manned by 80% or more Slavs, whereas units which do not serve in a combat capacity, such as construction battalions and other support troops, are comprised of 70%-90% non-Russian nations, particularly Central Asians and Caucasians.

Such huge disparities in the ethnic composition of the Soviet forces exist because of perceived disloyalty, technical incompetence, insufficient education, and poor

knowledge of the Russian language on the part of the Muslim-Turkic peoples. For this reason, the smallest percentage of non-Slavs is to be found in the most modern and highly technological services — the Strategic Rocket Forces (SRF), the Air Force and the Navy. Only some 10% of the SRF are composed of non-Slavs, and the Air Force and Navy are almost exclusively (close to 100%) Slavic, with a large Russian majority. To the extent that non-Russians, particularly dark-skinned non-Europeans, serve in the SRF and combat units, they do so in non-combat capacities, such as construction work, manual labour, and other menial tasks. Non-Slavs can be found in greater numbers (over 20% in smaller units and 20% in regimental-size units) in the more traditional branches of the army: armour, artillery and infantry.

The ethnic composition of the NCOs and officers is even more disproportionate. Most career NCOs in combat units are Slavs, with a large number of Eastern Ukrainians serving in this capacity. Among those NCOs serving only their minimal 2 or 3 year conscription period, some sergeants of non-Slavic origin can be found. However, these conscript NCOs wield very little power and are relatively unimportant. On the other hand, non-Slavic NCOs can be found in larger numbers in non-combat support units, where non-Slavs, especially Muslim-Turkic recruits, heavily outnumber the Slavs.

The officer corps is mainly Slavic, with an overwhelming Russian majority, and members of non-Slavic nations are dramatically underrepresented. Thus, the officer corps comprises some 80% Russians and 10-15% Ukrainians, Byelorussians and others. In addition, the officer education system houses certain built-in prejudices against the admission of non-Russians:

- 1) a compulsory entrance examination in the Russian language and Russian literature;
- 2) involuntary recruitment of graduates in military-related subjects;
- 3) non-Slavs are discouraged from participation in officer training programmes by discriminatory practices once in the service, such as no opportunity for promotion and professional advancement. Thus, the Russian superiority is most clearly demonstrated in the officer corps.

Russian-Orientated Environment

On commencement of military service, young non-Russians are immediately exposed, perhaps for the first time in their lives, to an environment which revolves around the Russian language, Russian customs and traditions, and a general Russian way of life. Such an environment is conducive to assimilation and national integration, and the two most important factors encountered by the recruits are the enforcement of the Russian language and intense political indoctrination. Russian is the command language. All written materials, training manuals and so on, are in Russian, and all commands and orders are given in Russian. Recruits are compelled to use Russian at all times, although, in practice, the “Russian only” rule can only be effectively applied in formation. When not engaged in military activities, non-Russian soldiers tend to use their own language, and it is extremely difficult to enforce the use of Russian in off-duty hours.

Although the knowledge of the Russian language of many recruits is largely rudimentary, after a year they are able to function in so-called “kitchen Russian”, i.e. they are able to respond to basic, uncomplicated commands. There is no formal language training. The authorities rely solely on the concentrated Russian-based

environment, to which the conscripts are subjected, in order to bring them to an acceptable level of working Russian.

Throughout his service in the armed forces, the Soviet conscript is subjected to intense political indoctrination on the issues of "proletarian internationalism", which emphasises unity based on a common working class consciousness of the "Soviet peoples" under the leadership of the CPSU; "Soviet patriotism" which inculcates loyalty to the "Soviet" motherland; and the "friendship of the peoples" which describes the alleged process by which Soviet nations are growing "ever closer together."

This diet of political education has received particularly strong emphasis since the 1970s, reflecting the CPSU's perception of the growing problem of "ethnic nationalism" in Soviet society as a whole. Both the party and the higher military leadership are convinced that political indoctrination will stimulate the morale and patriotism of the Soviet fighting man as an individual, and mould the Soviet armed forces into a cohesive effective fighting force.

The Nationality Problem

Having looked at Soviet nationality policy, I would now like to turn to the central theme of my paper, namely the nationality problem in the Soviet armed forces.

To begin with, I would like to point out that, as far as "functional integration" is concerned, one can safely say that Soviet nationality policy is relatively effective and successful, inasmuch as military service eventually does enhance the ability of the non-Russian conscript to function in an integrated environment with a basic command of Russian (however rudimentary his knowledge of the language may be). On completion of his military service, the ethnic soldier has the ability to become socially and geographically mobile. However, as far as "attitudinal integration" (national assimilation) goes, it is almost impossible for the military authorities to overcome the national conditioning to which non-Russian conscripts, particularly those who originate from areas with a long tradition of national consciousness and a strong sense of separate national identity, such as Ukraine, Georgia and the Baltic States, have been subjected since childhood, in a matter of a mere two or three years. As such, in most cases, Soviet authorities fail to bring about the homogenisation of interest and the levelling of cultures and national consciousness of Soviet servicemen. On the contrary, in many cases, probably the majority, national distinctions appear to become enhanced by the experience of military service.

On this basis, Soviet Russian nationality policy is ineffective and counter-productive, and is, therefore, far from conducive to the creation of a new *Homo Sovieticus*, whose nationality defences have been stripped away, and whose underlying motivations are not "national narrow-mindedness", but "Soviet patriotism." Instead, because of the ineffectiveness of Soviet Russian nationality policy and the failure of its specified aims, Soviet military leadership has to face the continued resurgence of national consciousness and the whole series of related problems which together form the overall nationality problem of the Soviet armed forces.

The Problem of National Consciousness

This century has witnessed a rise of national consciousness throughout the world, coupled with the emancipation of subjugated peoples from under the rule of their

colonial oppressors. Already during the First World War, the countries of Eastern Europe and Central Asia declared their independence and set up their own national governments on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian and Tsarist Russian Empires. However, many of these nations once again found themselves under foreign occupation, this time under Communist Russia, after several years of fighting to preserve their independence. Since then, the rising nationalism of the subjugated peoples continued to grow in the 1920s and 1930s, as a result of which, during the Second World War, many of these nations restored their independence and set out to defend it against all foreign invaders. Ukraine, which fought a war of national independence against Nazi Germany and then Soviet Russia until well after the end of WWII, is a prime example. With the termination of armed resistance in the 1950s, the struggle continued, this time in the form of the political, cultural and religious opposition of the 1960s and 1970s. Today, the struggle is still going on, and the national and religious consciousness of the subjugated nations of the USSR continues to grow.

The Soviet Union is not a state in the normal sense of the word. It is a huge colonial empire, which has survived all its rivals throughout the world. With the exception of the Russians, the nations which form the USSR were incorporated into the Union not through their own voluntary decision (i.e. by referendum or other means), but purely by force of arms, and are held together by an all-pervading system of oppression and terror, which penetrates every level of daily life.

Today, about 50% of Soviet conscripts come from one of these subjugated nations, and, as such, are well aware of their national, religious and cultural differences, and the colonial status of their peoples. Thus, for the non-Russian soldier, service in the Soviet armed forces is no more than enforced conscription into the colonial armies of the power that has oppressed and exploited his people for many years. With such strong inbred national feelings, the non-Russian soldier has no desire to lay his life on the line for the interests of the country which subjugates his nation, or for the preservation of the empire in which his people have been forcefully incorporated, and the prevailing communist system. In short, therefore, he has no real reason to fight. As a result, he is demoralized and lacks the will, incentive and motivation to risk his life for the ambitions and imperial designs of his oppressor. In consequence, the loyalty and reliability of the non-Russian soldier, and hence of 50% of the armed forces, in any future conflict involving the Soviet Union, is very much open to question. Of course, Soviet soldiers will be compelled to do battle with Russian guns at their back, but they will not be prepared to give their maximum potential, and will seek the first opportunity they can to defect.

To have some idea of the effects this may have on Soviet force effectiveness and military performance in any future conflict, it is important to recall the problems, stemming from the central nationality issue, experienced by the Soviet army during the Second World War and, more recently, during the present-day Afghan war.

In the first weeks of the German-Soviet Russian war (June 1941), as the German armies pushed deeper into the heart of the Soviet Union, overrunning the Baltic States in the north, encircling Bialystok and Minsk in the centre, and penetrating the deep defences of the Stalin line and besieging the Ukrainian port of Odessa in the south, entire regiments of the Red Army surrendered without even firing a shot. Soviet soldiers, particularly Ukrainians, defected in hundreds of thousands, expecting to take

part in the liberation of their country. Before the Germans reached the Dnipro (Dnieper), they had already captured whole Soviet divisions and army corps. In the battle of Kyiv alone (September 1941), they took 675,000 prisoners. On the battlefield, they found the corpse of Colonel General Kryvonos and 17 of his General Staff officers, who were shot by the NKVD as suspected Ukrainian nationalists prepared to surrender the entire army group to the Germans.

This unusual phenomenon could only be explained by the strong anti-communist and anti-Russian feelings prevailing among the subjugated nations of the USSR. Undoubtedly, at that time, the military situation of the Soviet Union was extremely critical, but it would be a mistake to think that the initial German successes were due solely to the superior strategy and tactics of their commanders, and the preponderance of their armed forces. These successes would not have been possible without the mass-scale surrender and defections of Soviet soldiers who hoped that Hitler would re-arm them and turn them against the Russians. Had the Germans been willing to cooperate with the subjugated peoples and not interfere in their internal affairs, they could have found wide-scale cooperation and support from Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Ukraine alone could have raised an army of 3-4 million men and mobilised vast resources for the fight against Soviet Russia. However, the Germans came not as liberators, but as conquerors, and it was the Fuhrer's Eastern policy that saved Stalin from debacle.

A similar situation materialised at the beginning of the war in Afghanistan. Once the troops in the units brought in from Soviet Central Asia realised that they were deployed against their own brothers in blood and in religion, whom they were expected to kill, they refused to fight and had to be withdrawn after many had already defected to the side of the Mujahideen along with their weapons.

The Afghan army of the Soviet puppet regime in Kabul faced similar problems. By the time of the Russian invasion in 1979, the demoralised army had shrunk, through desertions and defections, from its original strength of roughly 100,000 to less than half the number. Afghan soldiers, many of them secret members of various Mujahid parties, often defected with a month or so of call-up, going over to the resistance movement with their weapons. As the insurgency spread, the army proved increasingly less reliable, and soldiers defected readily, often killing their officers and Soviet advisers in the process. The defectors, both from the Soviet forces and the Afghan army, proved a major source of weapons for the Mujahideen.

The consequences of the two major wars fought by the Soviet Union in the last 40 or so years, one in the 1940's, the other in the 1980's, have proved to be the same - serious problems in the armed forces, revolving around the nationality question. On this basis, I think it a reasonably safe assumption that the same can only be expected in any future war fought by the USSR.

Non-Russian servicemen have several things in common which unite them. Firstly, they are aware that they are all subjugated by the same enemy; and secondly, they realise full well that they are united in a common struggle to free their peoples from Moscow's yoke, and in their common hatred for the Russian overlord. This situation is potentially explosive. Thus, in any future conflict, the nationality problem will play a key role. If properly exploited and correctly managed, it has the potential for delivering a crippling blow to the Soviet Union by bringing about the internal disintegration of the USSR and its mighty arsenal. This favourable situation is there to

be exploited. To make use of it would give NATO and Western powers an immense strategic advantage. To ignore it any further would be strategic folly.

Language-Related Problems

Tied closely to the problems of rising national and religious consciousness among Soviet conscripts, and among the Soviet population in general, are the language-related problems. These stem from the fact that people of different national, cultural and religious backgrounds are forcefully integrated and compelled to function effectively as a single unitary fighting force. To the soldiers from the subjugated nations, Russians are strangers, disliked for their dominance over the other nationalities, and, more often than not, despised and hated as foreign occupants, or even, in some cases, as infidels, in whose army the non-Russians are compelled to serve. It is understandable, therefore, that those conscripts have very few friends among the Russians. They seek to create their own environment, isolated from the Russian soldiers, so that they can live in their own world where they can speak their own language, live their own lives, and protect one another. Contact with Russians is minimal and there is a great reluctance on the part of non-Russian conscripts to speak Russian. They do so only when absolutely necessary — when communicating with soldiers of different nationality, or when on duty. Thus, more often than not, the language barrier leads to the isolation of different language groups from the Russians, and hence to the breakdown of the Kremlin's attempts to bring about national integration and assimilation on the Russian model.

Language differences increase the natural inclination of distinct national groups to isolate themselves from Russian soldiers. Such attitudes cause widespread dissimulation (i.e. pretending not to understand Russian, which the non-Russian conscripts hate, and also to avoid various duties); give rise to difficulties in carrying out military tasks by soldiers whose ability to understand and communicate in Russian is minimal; and lead to conflict with Russian servicemen, brought about by a breakdown in communication. Thus, language failure is an important catalyst for feelings of hatred and animosity towards the Russians, who form the dominant national group.

Conclusion

Such is the nationality problem facing the Kremlin and Soviet military leadership — a problem which, in view of present developments and circumstances, will not subside in time, but will increase in scale and become more serious in the years ahead. Before bringing this brief survey to a close, I would like to draw several conclusions regarding future Soviet force effectiveness and military performance, in light of the ever-growing nationality problem.

First of all, I think it most important to analyse the demographic trends affecting Soviet society since the 1950s, and their implications for the armed forces of the Soviet Union. The most important demographic development is the dramatic slowdown of the growth of the Russian population, a process which began in 1959 and continues to the present day. This is coupled with the considerably higher growth rate of the non-Slavic population, particularly the Muslim-Turkic peoples of Central Asia and Caucasus. Between 1959 and 1979, the major Slavic groups grew by 19% (from 159 million to 189 million), and the non-Slavic peoples by 47%. In the same period, the

main Turkic and Iranian peoples of Central Asia (Uzbeks, Tadjiks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Turkmen) had a growth rate of close to 100%. Thus, the Russian share of the total Soviet population fell from 54.6% in 1959 to 52.4% in 1979, whereas that of the Muslim-Turkic peoples rose from 12.6% to 17.4%. Moreover, the Muslim-Turkic group is becoming “younger”, that is, an increasingly larger share of its population is between 17 and 25 years old, while Slavic populations are rapidly becoming “older”. Presently, therefore, ethnic Russians comprise less than half of the draft-age male cohort available to the armed forces, and by 1995, 40% of the total.

These immense demographic changes bear a number of important implications for the future. Firstly, the Turkic-Muslim group of peoples is the only one which will increase its share of the Soviet population from the 1980s to the mid to late 1990s. During the same time span, the Turkic-Muslim peoples will be the only group in which the percentages of Soviet draft-age males will increase (from 23% in 1980 to 28.7% in 1995).

If the problem for the Russians appears serious now, it will only become progressively worse as time goes by, due to the momentum of the present demographic shift. Thus, by the year 2000, the Russians, who have traditionally drawn most heavily from the available Russian manpower to man position of authority, technical sophistication, and political sensitivity in the armed forces, will be faced with the spectre of an army composed mainly of non-Russians. By the end of the 20th century more than half of the conscripts recruited into the armed forces will be of non-Russian origin, and a third or quarter of the entire force will be Muslims. In consequence, the authorities will find it increasingly difficult to maintain Russian dominance and control. In order to cope with these far-reaching developments, the Soviet leadership will have to introduce dramatic changes into its nationality policy — a policy with roots that go back to the armies of the tsars. However, neither the current patterns of the treatment of non-Russians in the armed forces, which reflects historical experience and regime objectives, nor the attitudes of non-Russian conscripts towards the dominant Russians, are likely to witness dramatic changes in the near future. Their roots are dug in far too deeply.

So, how will all this affect Soviet force effectiveness and military performance? With the increased numbers of Turkic-Muslim conscripts, whose Russian is not good and whose education is poor in comparison with Slavic recruits, the Soviet military command will be faced with serious constraints to the ability to field a modern, technologically advanced, cohesive and effective fighting force. As the number of Russians decreases, the Soviet Russian leadership will have to meet the formidable challenge of integrating a greater number of non-Russian personnel than before into positions of combat and technological responsibility. In the short run, this may result in certain shortcomings in basic training, among some sections of the ground forces; a reduced capability and potential unreliability of the support troops, a vital element of any armed force, crucial to its smooth running, and to the attainment of success on the battlefield; as well as serious training deficiencies among a sizeable proportion of the reservists.

In addition to these short-term deficiencies, the Soviet forces may suffer a number of equally serious problems in the long-run, such as unit training weaknesses; limitations on the introduction and mastering of modern technology and weapons systems; potential limitations on force size, in view of the large contingent of non-Slavs

available for conscription in a decade or so; and the possibility of heightened internal security dilemmas.

Under certain circumstances, the Soviet forces may also face significant combat-related shortcomings, which will particularly come to light in a protracted conflict, the most important being the possibility of disproportionate losses of Slavs on the ground; possible mass-scale defections, as happened in the Second World War and the war in Afghanistan; and also the likely possibility of "second battle" weakness, on account of the accumulated effects of the short and long-term problems. National uprisings, mutiny, and conflict with local populations hostile to the Russians, cannot be ruled out either. Therefore, in any major conflict of the future, the Soviet Russian leadership will have to contend with some very severe problems, reflecting a range of internal weaknesses which are potentially crippling to the combat effort of the Soviet armed forces. These problems stem from the nationality question.

Finally, then, despite the many serious problems which it has to contend with, the Soviet army "remains a most formidable opponent with its main advantages lying in large numbers of men, awesome amounts of military equipment, and the strategic and tactical advantages arising from its present deployment" (Gabriel: *The New Red Legions*, p. 234). However, NATO does have one very important card up its sleeve — the nationality problem in the armed forces of its main adversary.

The White House
Washington, D.C.

March 23, 1987

Warmest greetings to all those gathered to celebrate the 69th anniversary of Byelorussian Independence Day.

Today is a day of solemn pride for Byelorussians the world over. Nearly seven decades ago, the people of Byelorussia proclaimed the Byelorussian Republic an independent state. Their exhilaration following independence was short-lived, because Soviet tyranny soon quashed the bright hopes of freedom and self-determination. But this truth remains: the spirit of the Byelorussian people is not conquered, despite years of oppression.

I wish on this occasion to reaffirm my solidarity with the Byelorussian people in their present difficult circumstances and to join with them in their undiminished hope for the future. Let us pray that one day soon, with God's help, the heavy burden of Soviet oppression will be lifted from them, and that they too will be able to join you in celebration.

God bless you.

Ronald Reagan

THE POETRY OF MYKOLA RUDENKO



Mykola Rudenko is the head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. He is a philologist, writer and poet. Collections of his writings were published in the Ukrainian SSR, however, by the early 1970s his works were no longer published due to his involvement in the national and human rights movement. Rudenko's continued writings were then circulated in *samvydav*. Those works that succeeded in reaching the West were published in two collections: *Prozrinnya* (Enlightenment) published by the Smoloskyp Publishers in 1978 and *Za Gratamy* (Behind Bars), published by Suchasnist in 1980. The following poems, translated by Irena Eva Mostovych are taken from those two collections.

■
I do not want to play the first nor the last roles
In dreams, nor in reality.
I closed myself behind my ribs, as if behind bars,
And so I thus now live.

Imprisoned poet, do not ponder,
What goes on today around you.
I am cultivating a field within myself,
But will I gather a harvest?

I rock away the high sky in my soul,
The morning blue of the distant Dnipro.
Let the foreign land live alone for itself,
And not for my pen.

The years of bondage are like slippery chimeras,
The treacherous waves of a dead ocean.
Will I reach the opposite shore
And what is there to find?

Stolen nights' humid muddiness
Like an evil echo cuts my pained soul.
Do not forget about me, native land.
And my beloved, forget me not.

CONDITIONS IN PERM CAMP WORSEN

A *samvydav* document has reached the West and was released by Nadia Svitlychna, member of the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, at a press conference during the CSCE Review Meeting underway in Vienna. This document is addressed to the participants of the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It describes conditions in Camp VS—389/36 with an appeal for immediate help to save the lives of those political prisoners who are currently serving sentences in that labor camp.

Camp 36-1 is divided into two zones of confinement of political prisoners — the larger, a strict regime zone, and the smaller, a special regime zone. Situated near the town of Kuchino, the zone, which is known for its cruel conditions and high mortality rate, has been called the “Death Camp” by Amnesty International.

This has been confirmed by the *samvydav* document received. A section of it reads as follows: “Prisoners in this facility live under the constant threat of physical extermination. Since the meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan, conditions have increased in severity, and continue to worsen. The political prisoners are being terrorized. The ShIZO (punitive isolators) and PKTs (special cells) are never empty. The sick and elderly are subjected to them. For all intents and purposes, there is no medical supervision.”

The authors of the *samvydav* document issued an appeal that these conditions be widely publicized and that efforts to save those who have been condemned to serve in this camp be intensified. The document gives a general description of Camp 36, and does not mention the division into zones. Authors of the *samvydav* material attest to the fact that in the last 30 months, 10 men have died there: V. Stus, V. Marchenko, Mamchan, Mkrtchian, Sagdeev, Yu. Lytvyn, O. Tykhy, Furasov, Kurka, and Kruglov. Those subject to special persecution include: R. Yevdokumov, A. Svarinkas, L. Tymofeev, B. Chernykh, G. Godbaidze, A. Smirnov, M. Kukobaka, K. Semeniuk, and S. Khmara. In July of this year, Furasov died through lack of medical attention. On July 22, Khmara and Tarelkin refused to go to work detail, demanding a visit from the prosecutor. On July 26, 15 men joined their action.

The above mentioned Stepan Khmara is a doctor-stomatologist from Chervonohrad, Lviv region. He was arrested in March of 1980 along with Oleksander and Vitalii Shevchenko, both from Kyiv, for complicity in publishing the underground journal *Ukrainskyi Visnyk* (Ukrainian Herald). He was sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment in a special regime camp and 5 years' exile, and had at first served his term in Camp 35 of the Perm complex. The prominent human rights activist Anatoly Marchenko, who was also imprisoned in this camp at that time, mentioned Khmara in his statement to the USSR Procurator General, as a man subjected to particularly repressive measures by camp authorities. Marchenko protested that Khmara, a man with a heart condition, was being forced to perform strenuous tasks and then punished for not reaching quotas. This treatment has been continued by the administration of the Perm 36 camp. The *samvydav* document also lists those active in persecuting political prisoners: the KGB operatives Afanosov, Bortnikov, Bakulyshyn, Lukashev; the MVS members Dolmatov, Sniadovsky, Maksin, Gatin, Rak, Khorkov, Grushienko (a doctor), and Kondratev (a feldsher).

THE "FORGOTTEN PRISONERS"

U.S.S.R. 618263, Permskaya oblast, Chusovskoy raion, poselok Kuchino, uchr. VS-389-36-1. This is the address of VS-389, an extensive chain of prisons in the Urals, in the Perm area. The vast stretches of the Perm district are closed to foreigners.

36-1: these three numbers are familiar to every person in the U.S.S.R. who has dared to speak out against the regime. The numbers designate the "special regimen", a prison-within-a-prison, where those political prisoners who have not been broken by previous imprisonment are sent to be destroyed mentally and physically. The men in 36-1 come from all over the Soviet Union. They all share one quality, their belief in the truth is stronger than the prisons which hold them. They are all prisoners of conscience who could not be broken.

The Soviet Russian regime will not discuss their release. Under the recent decrees freeing political prisoners, not one prisoner in 36-1 has been released. In the last few years, ten prisoners escaped by dying in 36-1.

Their "crime" is called "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." They are imprisoned for what they said, thought, and wrote about the freedoms in which they passionately believe. Balys Gajauskas, a Lithuanian has been imprisoned for 35 years for writing essays and translating freedom writings into Lithuanian. Petro Ruban, a Ukrainian, was jailed because he carved a sculpture in honor of the American Bicentennial. Some of the others are: Azat Arshakyan, Gunars Astra, Leonid Borodin, Mykola Horbal, Mykhaylo Horyn, Vitaly Kalynychenko, Ivan Kandyba, Lev Lukianenko, Vasyl Mazurak, Ashot Navasardyan, Mart-Olav Niklus, Vyacheslav Ostroglyad, Vasyl Ovsienko, Viktoras Petkus, Grigory Prikhodko, Semyon Skalich, Enn Tarto, Fyodor Trufanov.

In a recent article in *The New York Times*, A.M. Rosenthal called upon people to write to the prisoners in 36-1. If enough people do so, somehow, the word will get through and they will not feel forgotten.

The communist regime which sentenced these people has now embarked upon a self-proclaimed new road of *glasnost* politics. However, *glasnost* is rendered only onto those things which benefit the regime, not the people. The prisoners in 36-1 remain the most suffering, the victims of a callous, totalitarian, indifferent regime.

►

From another *samvydav* document, we have learned that Vasyl Kurylo, now a political prisoner in the special regime zone, was a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group before his arrest. Until recently, it was known that Kurylo, a doctor from the Lviv province, born in 1920, had been arrested in 1980 for having written "nationalistic" poems, and sentenced to 10 years of special regime and 5 years of exile. This news of Kurylo's membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group attests to the fact that the Helsinki movement in Ukraine has not been destroyed, despite the particularly severe repressive measures taken against it.

MY SECOND ENCOUNTER WITH THE MUJAHIDEEN

My first stop in the war zone was the Mujahideen camp at Al Fatah wund near the summit of the mountains which constitute the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Six years before there had been no buildings there but a sorrowful, seemingly endless stream of refugees pathetically carrying all that remained of their worldly belongings on donkeys, camels or their own backs. This was the vanguard of a six million-strong tide of refugees who have fled their country and now live in bleak refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran.

At Al Fatah wund there is now an impressive complex of buildings housing men, weapons and stores, and including bomb shelters for safety during the frequent communist air attacks and even petrol-driven electric generators which power machinery and provide light during the long, bitterly cold nights.

But more impressive than the buildings and the organisation was the discipline and spirit of the men. I did not find evidence of demoralisation, instead there was a determination and an unwavering conviction that the Mujahideen would win. There was much more emphasis on the importance of Islam than I had found six years ago. Not only did the men strictly adhere to the daily routine of prayer, but I felt that they had really been imbued with a devotion that would carry them through the most horrific rigours. There is now an awareness that the struggle for the freedom of Afghanistan is not just a national battle but one that is critical to the entire Muslim world. I felt that the struggle had now really been lifted to the status of a Jihad — a holy war.

With a group of Mujahideen from Hezb-i-Islami I revisited some of the areas in Paktia and Logar provinces where I had first gone in 1980. Despite Hekmatyar's optimism, it was obvious that the Mujahideen were operating under vastly more difficult circumstances than of six years before. The most pressing problems are those of food and medicine.

The countryside is without a doubt mainly controlled by the Mujahideen but the communist forces have succeeded in almost entirely eradicating agricultural activity.

Where I remembered neat, terraced fields of man-high wheat there were now scrubby lunar wastelands pockmarked by bomb craters and blackened by napalm. Villages which had still clung to a semblance of normality in the first year of the war had been levelled by bombing and their populations either killed or fled to Pakistan or Iran.

The Russians are trying to create a *cordon sanitaire* about 40 miles deep from the Pakistan border into Afghanistan to prevent the guerillas being supplied with locally-grown food and to create a sort of free-fire zone where anyone moving around is regarded by the communists as hostile and is liable to attack. Food was scarce with Afghan bread and rice the main commodities provided by other Mujahideen enclaves based in deserted and ruined villages. The occasional potatoe — being encouraged as a crop that the Mujahideen should grow because it is less easy to destroy by bombing or napalming than wheat — was a luxury. A French doctor who had spent six months in the country said that malnutrition among the population has reached epidemic proportions with thousands of children dying. Many of the Mujahideen I met had bleeding gums, a sign of vitamin deficiency.

The Mujahideen are frequently forced to carry weeks and weeks of food supplies with them on long expeditions. Any extra weight to be carried in the gruelling mountainous terrain that the guerillas operate over is an unwelcome burden but the Mujahideen shoulder the supplies with the same stoicism that they resign themselves to the other hardships that accompany being a fighter who relies just as much on faith as modern equipment for waging his struggle.

But discipline and organisation have undeniably improved and several of the Mujahideen groups as well as Hezb-i-Islami, the largest of groups, have permanent bases protected by anti-aircraft batteries near the Afghan-Pakistan border.

Although food was scarce the guerillas seemed satisfied with their weapons. The ubiquitous AK47 Kalishnikov automatic rifle is the standard tool of both sides in the conflict and most groups have RPG 7 rocket propelled grenade launchers, designed for use against armoured vehicles. Both the weapons are of Soviet origin but have also been manufactured for many years by the USSR's satellite states and China. Arab countries once armed by the Russians and China have contributed much of the Mujahideen's war material and the oil-rich Gulf countries swayed by the Afghan's argument that they are fighting a Holy War in defence of the entire Muslim world, have been generous with funds. America has begun providing some of the Mujahideen groups with Stinger heat-seeking surface to air missiles for use against the helicopters which remain the scourge of the resistance fighters.

But some of the Mujahideen groups, including Hezbi-i-Islami were arguing that to accept the heat-seeking missiles would be a mistake because the communists could use the fact as a propaganda weapon to accuse them of being western stooges. However,



Afghan families leaving their homeland.

while I was in the country another of the groups, Hezbi-i-Islami (khalis), a splinter faction of the main Hekmatyar group, took delivery of Stingers and reportedly used them with good effect against helicopters.

Those villages which are still inhabited are controlled by the Mujahideen with the wholehearted support of their populations. Detractors would say that those opposed to the Mujahideen had been destroyed but there is little evidence to sustain that argument. The Mujahideen try to provide a structure for as near a normal life as possible within the "liberated areas" with a locally elected political commander in overall charge. He not only supervises the military operations through his fighting commanders but all other aspects of life, establishing medical and education facilities for villagers and organising life on strictly Islamic lines.

Morale among the Mujahideen seemed genuinely high and the leader of our group, Gulab Gul, said: "After seven years the Russians still cannot control the countryside, they can only destroy it. They control only parts of the cities and when their convoys come out we destroy them."

To prove his point, Gulab Gul took us to the area of Hassan Khel in the north west of the province where his group had attacked a joint Afghan-Soviet convoy three weeks before. A snake-like column of 35 tanks, armoured personnel carriers and lorries, many brand-new, had been destroyed by mines and rockets as they attempted to cross a river. Gulab Gul said three hundred soldiers had died in the attack. Nearby, a Soviet MI-8 gunship helicopter had been downed by an RPG 7 rocket fired from a hill. Gulab Gul said proudly: "We do not need Stingers, we are very inventive and we now have experts who can use the RPG 7s to shoot down helicopters. The Russians will never win because if there is only one Afghan left, he will be fighting them."

Later as we rested in a bombed and deserted village, a flight of eight helicopters flew low overhead. The Mujahideen aimed an RPG 7, fired and missed. The helicopters sped away, spewing out flares to misguide any heat-seeking missiles that might be fired at them. About an hour after we left the village, the helicopters returned and bombed the ruins.

The Afghans, "inventive" but not always accurate, seem capable, despite the Soviet claim of breakthroughs, of maintaining indefinitely the present level of attrition. The Mujahideen cannot win but neither are the Russians nearer to crushing them. The idea of Islam and a Jihad has consolidated its hold on the national consciousness and seems to make up in spiritual strength what the Mujahideen lack elsewhere.

"WAS IT REALLY RUSSIA THAT WAS CHRISTIANISED IN 988?"

by

His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky

Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

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FROM AN EXTREMIST'S NOTEBOOK

In December 1983 — the first year of my stay in Germany — I travelled to West Berlin for a meeting with writers from this republic. The main attraction for me was meeting face to face with the leading representatives of contemporary German literature and at the same time advocates of anti-Americanism and pacificism, namely: Hans-Christoph Buch, Günter Grass, Ingeborg Drewitz, Johano Strasser and others, whose names I have forgotten, in any case with coryphaei from among the ranks of “progressive intellectuals”.

It was very interesting, even if the monotony made it rather tiring, to listen to the attacks on Reagan and NATO, the extolling of Nicaragua, in one word: to the intellectual left, direct adherents of totalitarianism, posing as progressive pacifists. Once is enough... From then I no longer attended such events, and whether I longed for contact with progressive West German intellectuals, all I had to do was to switch on the television set or pick up any issue of *Spiegel* magazine. The subject matter always remained the same.

However, I flew to Berlin once again, this time having been invited to a symposium entitled “Human Rights Movement as an Alternative to a Dictatorship”. There was no crème de la crème of progressive West German intellectuals, but Lew Kopelev instead, who was supposed to talk about the USSR. Someone else was to talk on the CSSR. I found out who this person was — a signatory of “Charter 77”, Vendelin Komeda, and then there was Reiner Hildebrandt, director of the museum “House at Checkpoint Charlie” in Berlin.

Since human rights lie just as close to my heart as the transition from the “traditional” dissident movement (which has until now manifested itself in demanding that the rulers respect the legal obligations they signed) to the model of widespread social opposition against the communist system (which is today the most urgent problem of the opposition in Poland), I therefore decided to fly there and speak.

I was well aware of the danger, that I would not be understood, even if only regarding the West Germans’ insufficient knowledge of current events in Poland.

Then why not just go there and say that Walesa and Primate Glemp are not the only ones in Poland, but that there are also discussions, criticism and conflicts, and that these very events in Poland are a means of searching for perspectives of opposition on the part of a society, which is rejecting the communist system, without of course, disregarding the “general” international conditions. Why not declare that the same appeal to observe human rights, or the constitution, has since the existence of the 10 million member strong “Solidarity” been insufficient? One should talk about everything which is neither discussed nor written about, and is therefore unknown here. That is exactly why — I thought— one should be there. Moreover, the programme included a meeting in the “House at Checkpoint Charlie”; this unique museum, where one can truly grasp the meaning of straightforward, human, quite unintellectual and completely unprogressive need of freedom.

And everything began in the “House at Checkpoint Charlie”. Komeda and I modestly sat in the back row. On the other hand, at the front sat Mr. Kopelev, an authority in Germany on Soviet affairs (sometimes even seen on television) — he will

answer questions from the floor. The first speaker to volunteer talked about Sacharov; this was at the time of growing unrest and controversial news regarding his fate. Lev Kopelev replied that a friend of Sacharov's had just arrived in the West, who recently received a card from the Sacharovs, from which it appeared that they were living together and everything was fine. This friend was Irina Kristi, who did actually receive a card and who did emigrate to the West. At the time Kopelev reported on this, it had already been known for five days that the "card" from Sacharov had been written by the KGB. It was clear to me from the very beginning that Mrs. Kristi had been released from the USSR in order to make the West believe that the card was authentic and that the Sacharovs were in the best of health. Well fine, I thought, perhaps Kopelev does not know what Sacharov's son-in-law, Yankelevitz, who lives in the West, said about the origin of the card. He probably did not have any time to find out, lack of time is normal, I know this well myself. However, Kopelev foresees a swift improvement in Sacharov's situation thanks to the intervention of Willy Brandt who has just flown to Moscow and assured everyone that he will raise the question of this exiled man. For reasons not known, Brandt's trip did nothing to change Sacharov's situation, but after all not even Kopelev is clairvoyant. In any case, I began to doubt where this belief in the noble mission of Willy Brandt in Moscow came from — Brandt, who cooperated in forming the West's greatest cynical policy, robbed of values and morals towards the Soviet Bloc, the policy of detente.

The Christian Democrat Heinrich Aigner had good reason to write the following about this visit after it was over: "No German politician until now has ever placed himself so clearly and so unceremoniously on the side of the Kremlin". However, we must take care about being too rash and biased: in any case, Kopelev did not have to know what Brandt was doing in Moscow. But he did know what Ronald Reagan was doing and if he chose him as a target for his criticism, then all my doubts began to disappear about making room for unpleasant memories from my first stay in Berlin Square.

"Anti-communism is the greatest madness of the 20th century", said Kopelev, quoting Thomas Mann (I wanted to ask, what in this case then should actual communism be considered as. However, I never got to ask this question). And in the end, one talks of there being a new government now — meaning the new "Gensek" Gorbachev — and one must wait and see what changes he will bring. Well fine, let's wait.

This was the first act. The second act was a televised garden-party, the main actors being Mr. and Mrs. Kopelev. The highlight of the next day was a conference on the human rights movement, this time without television cameras, but with members of the press and a lady from the Berlin Senate. Hildebrandt and Komeda said what they had to say, and I followed according to plan. However, I was not destined to hear the public's reaction (was there applause or booing?), because I had hardly finished when Lev Kopelev shot up and roared at me in his deep baritone: "What do you want? To throw bombs?!" (No, not at all, where am I to get them from?). Kopelev then said that I was an extremist. (I was not aware of this, but ever since the progressive intellectual Günter Grass called me a Stalinist, nothing ever surprised me any more). Kopelev said that we all still admired Lech Walesa (this is completely different, if we look at the Polish press; I will admit that I no longer admire him since his interview for the German press of December 12, 1985, when the almost legendary workers' leader

stated that he could not dispute the fact that Jaruzelski was a patriot. (*Die Welt*, 12.12.85). Actually, the interview was made for the newspaper *Vorwärts*). Kopelev further stated that human rights should be upheld everywhere, here to the West of the Berlin Wall just as well as there, to the East of the wall. An outburst of loud applause. Now, I would have soundlessly sunk (mea culpa, I had not condemned the violation of human rights in West Germany), moreover that my vocal capacity and my beard in contrast to Kopelev do not allow me to withdraw quietly, had it not been for a Polish listener who volunteered to speak. He confirmed that in Poland discussions are taking place, various concepts and ideas exist on a "long march" and "free society", which is the process of creation... Meanwhile, I came to myself once again and with difficulty I managed to put my plea across that one should be more careful with abusive terms, such as "extremist" and the like, especially aimed at those who were able to correctly foresee Jaruzelski's intentions. I did not include myself among these people, but those spheres in Poland about whose views I was reporting on.

Thus ended the official part and several people approached me with encouraging words. I would have gladly declined from this unofficial part, but the organizer of the event grabbed me energetically by the elbows and led me, with the words "you cannot leave things as they are", to Lev Kopelev. (What had I got myself in for?...). Kopelev, in a gentle voice, began to persuade me from my mistaken anti-communist ideas, saying that they are really no good, and that there are higher judgements to confirm this. Unfortunately, I did not manage to express my completely opposing observations on Poland and the USSR on how anyone is punished there who allows himself quite timidly and even in a non anti-communist way to remember the Helsinki Accords, as Kopelev was suddenly surrounded by the Berlin press. Flashes, microphones, notes. The next day, one of these journalists wrote in *Tagesspiegel*: "Kopelev reports on Sacharov". The postcard from "Gorki" and the best of health of an imaginary sender.

I left Berlin once again in a miserable mood, but this is probably tied to the town.

If this were a matter of private political-intellectual adventures, then it would be a waste of paper to write about them. However, the problem is of greater importance. This concerns the influence of Western public opinion, its political direction and attitude towards communism. In West Germany, Lev Kopelev, is engaged in anti-communist propaganda. The field is suitable for this: especially progressive writers, those who appear on television and have a high circulation of books, cannot stand Reagan, Springer, the Western political system and, to use Kopelev's term, "radical emigrants from the USSR". Meanwhile, the ideologically restricted paralysis of the healthy human mind has become known among members of the writers' union, who passionately dedicate themselves to the matter of how to destroy the "imperialism of the USA" and how to disband NATO. The political consequences of this will be disastrous, but what can one do, "one cannot halt the course of history", as some marxists say. However, whenever emigrants from the Soviet camp join this unison, as in Kopelev's case, then there is nothing left to do except sound the alarm or write articles about this. I have just finished reading a collective work by Heinrich Böll, Lev Kopelev and Heinrich Vormwegs, entitled: "Anti-communism in the East and in the West". What hasn't been written there! It goes on about American colonialism, places Strauß on an equal level with Hitler, describes Jaruzelski's policy (in contrast to what is happening "behind the scenes in the USA") as humane.

According to Kopelev, anti-communism is a “special kind of illness”, and the political system in the Soviet Bloc has nothing at all to do with communism or with socialism. Kopelev longs for “better examples of true communism”.

Thus, one cannot rid oneself of the impression in the West that the ability to recognise and name the enemies of freedom is lacking, and yet any type of anti-communism is attacked by Soviet propaganda, Western intellectuals and part of the emigrants from the East. Then why else should a political emigrant be summoned, if not to stand up for the rights of freedom of those who have been left behind in a totalitarian system and at the same time warn those, who are endangered by this system.

Twenty-five years ago, the Polish author Jozef Mackiewicz wrote about emigrants who came from under Soviet rule: “Of course, we do not live in isolation from the general developments in the world. We cannot hold responsible for the ‘status quo’ only the surroundings, namely, the Western powers as a whole, especially the USA.

The favourite method of (exile) publicism is to hold the Western powers responsible for the mistakes committed, and accuse them of “short-sightedness and stupidity”. Meanwhile, one forgets that the policy of these powers towards the USSR, which we normally regard as short-sighted is also the result of our attitude and that of other emigrants of the subjugated nations.

Meanwhile, all criticism of our attitude towards the Soviet Union and communism is unpopular — it is either avoided or forbidden. The phenomena which are subjected to certain taboo are those which could bear witness that the political attitude of some circles creates a false opinion of the actual danger of international communism and is co-responsible for the disinformation of Western political public opinion.

MAY DAY, BUT NOT FOR SOLIDARITY

It would seem only fitting that on May Day, the holiday celebrating work, the outlawed Solidarity trade union in Poland would make some type of organized appearance.

And so they did. Throughout Poland, they demonstrated, only to be attacked, beaten, and detained by the police. The action by the police was the strongest repression by the regime since it began a policy of liberalization and freed political prisoners in an amnesty in September of 1986.

The day before May Day, more than a dozen opposition leaders were rounded up and detained for 48 hours in Warsaw and other cities. The main Solidarity event in Warsaw was planned around a Mass at St. Stanislaw Church. Police lined the streets and intersections throughout the neighborhood of the church. More than 2,000 people managed to gather in and about the church, however, thousands more were turned away by the police. After Mass, Solidarity supporters attempted to march through the streets, carrying banners. Witnesses reported that plainclothes policemen attacked the marchers, beating them with their banner poles.

CHRONICLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN UKRAINE

Part VIII

Committee of R. Wallenberg,
P.O. Box 16076
10322 Stockholm, Sweden

Friends!

Through God's providence, fate had watched over the path on which I have had to walk for 20 long years in a huge Soviet concentration camp.

I was first released in 1976 and, after that, I heard for the first time that the case of Raul Wallenberg had been brought out of the darkness of oblivion. In the camps I did not hear much about R. Wallenberg. One day, this was in Mordovia, a prisoner by the name of Vorobey, a Polish citizen, who had been a Soviet agent in the past, arrived at the central hospital from the international zone (of the Soviet Russian concentration camp system). He used to guide Soviet agents into Poland but, after a series of failures, the bosses recalled their agent back to the USSR, where in 1934 he was sentenced to 10 years of camps. This Vorobey said that, in 1947, he had met R. Wallenberg's chauffeur. Where this was, I can now no longer remember and at that time, I did not think that this story would one day be connected with my searching in the future. In 1973, in Sichevtsi, I met Bogdanas, a Lithuanian patriot and a citizen of Germany, in a special concentration camp for the mentally ill, where political prisoners were also imprisoned. During the war, Bogdanas had been an officer in the *Wehrmacht* and in 1945 he was arrested by Soviet counter-intelligence and confined in a camp where only foreigners were imprisoned. This was in the Norilsk zones. There Bogdanas met Wallenberg and fate brought them together for many long years to come. After the "Norilsk Uprising" in 1953, all the foreigners who

were still alive were transported to the small sixth zone. Out of the original 7,000 only 420 people remained alive. In 1953, R. Wallenberg together with Bogdanas were transported to a special prison in the town of Kazan. There they (the prison medical staff) began to cure Wallenberg from himself. Their diagnosis of him was as follows: "A mania for greatness — he regards himself a Swedish diplomat"... In 1962, Bogdanas was taken away from Kazan, and since then no one has heard anything more about Wallenberg. Everything that has been said recently does not correspond to the facts because nobody has described R. Wallenberg correctly.

One could end here, but an accidental occurrence caused me to set up, in 1976, a Ukrainian committee to deal with the case of R. Wallenberg. It began with the arrival of my relatives, Gobiya Siklo-Kalman from Hungary in 1975. At that time, I was still in concentration camp and she asked me to find out whether R. Wallenberg was still alive somewhere in the political zones. However, this information did not reach me.

My sister was looking for photographs of Wallenberg, which should have been at the place of my aunt, Anna Mayorenko, who used to be called Anna Siklo. The fact is that my aunt, the sister of my mother, married Diula Siklo, who worked at the Hungarian National Bank in Budapest. He was a shareholder at the time. The Siklo family is an old aristocratic family, who, just like the family of my grandfather, Fales Ivan, were (Habsburg) legitimists. In Budapest, after the German occupation, the monarchists met semi-legally in various private apartments. It was known that the Gestapo had issued orders that lists of wealthy

Jews were to be prepared. They even met in my relatives' place, where Raul Wallenberg became acquainted with my aunt and her husband. Diulo Siklo and his brother Istvan, had business with other countries and often visited my relatives in Karlovy Vary and Košice, and went to Novi Sad, and this probably gave them the opportunity, during meetings with Wallenberg, in some way to help the Jews, who received papers to emigrate. I know little about these matters and they do not have a primary meaning for our issue.

It is interesting that my aunt, a Greek-Catholic, was waiting for Raul Wallenberg to arrive on the 14th of January, the feast of the New Year. On the 9th he had telephoned to say that he would be coming. Budapest was destroyed and hunger was felt in the city. The Soviet troops occupied themselves with a general pillage. To get a piece of horse meat, one had to be lucky... However, Raul did not arrive on the 14th...

At that time, it was thought that he had been killed, and even when a monument had been erected for Wallenberg, nobody knew he was alive.

We knew the approximate date when he was "killed" and began a search, which went on for 8 long years, and had it not been for an unforeseen incident, we would have discovered nothing at all. In 1981, in the town of Pécs in Hungary, my sister met a man who was a witness of Raul Wallenberg's arrest! From that moment on our search turned in a completely different direction.

In 1982, another witness was found—a Soviet officer who participated in the arrest of Wallenberg. In time, this man became a deeply believing person and repented before his confessor. And so, it was concretely stated that Raul Wallenberg had been arrested without the knowledge of the headquarters. He was ar-

rested on the direct orders of Brezhnev. A captain of Brezhnev's bodyguard robbed Wallenberg. His diplomatic car was taken away. Wallenberg demanded his, and only his, car back, but Brezhnev had already passed it on higher up... Realising that Wallenberg would turn directly to Marshal Malinovsky, Brezhnev decided to arrest the Swedish diplomat. Wallenberg and his chauffeur were arrested as German spies, who were without "papers". They were sent to Uzhhorod prison and from there to Norilsk, where the Soviets had brought together the flower of Europe and tried to persuade them to work for Soviet intelligence...

There are two witnesses who are still alive, and who will give evidence, should this become necessary, at any international commission dealing with the case of Wallenberg. However, patriots are expecting "silent diplomacy". Pointing to the events described above, the government of Sweden can come to an agreement with the government of the USSR about the handing over of R. Wallenberg if he is still alive... We think that he is dead, but his chauffeur is still alive. In this way, the marauders have disposed of a person who was incomparably great, modest and courageous and, at the same time, very unlucky...

It is not difficult to guess what is waiting for me... Two of my daughters were born in my absence — my daughter Mariyana in 1977, and my daughter Kalyana-Teresa in 1983. Now it is likely that the Russians will arrest me once again. I am awaiting my arrest and am prepared for the worst... And thus, my third child, which should be born in two months time, will not see me. They know how to take vengeance.

This letter is my cry before death. I can feel it. They did not threaten me. No, they warned me: "Don't occupy yourself with Wallenberg. Don't climb onto someone

else's sleigh, which is not yours. Nobody is bothering you, so be silent!" What will happen to me, to my children and my wife is difficult to say, but the challenge has been made. God is with us!

295212, Transcarpathian
region

Irshava district,
Village of Dovhe,
First of May Street, 9
*Terelya, Yosyp
Mykhaylovych*
9.7.84

To Mr. Vatchenko,
Chairman of the Presidium of the
Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR

STATEMENT

In my time I have raised the question of the expediency of putting out a literary-ethnographic newspaper in Transcarpathian Ukraine. Until the unification of eastern Transcarpathia with mother-Ukraine we had more than 15 different newspapers, and today, we do not even have one. I think that this state of Ukrainian Carpathian literature is not very gratifying.

I am not going to go into an explanation about who is to blame for this, but the publishing of a newspaper would provide an opportunity for the normal development of literature in Transcarpathia. In 40 years of Soviet rule, there has not been one communist with the daring to ask the leadership of the Ukrainian SSR to publish a newspaper in Transcarpathia. In view of the sea of statements that I have made in my time, written to the various institutions of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR, this one will not do me any harm. The very fact that in Transcarpathia there is no official organ of the Ukrainian Writers' Union speaks for itself. And the issue is not that I, as a nation-

alist, will never be published (in such a newspaper); the issue is that we should have our own newspaper. And it is interesting for me to hear the answers of the government of the Ukrainian SSR as to why we, Transcarpathians, have no right to print and distribute Ukrainian newspapers at a time when your average Muscovite (Russian) (and I hate them from childhood, a right guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR — to be or not be together) has an ocean of Russian-language newspapers all over Ukraine which outnumber Ukrainian language ones. I could write a much more strident statement and then you would not answer it, but I want to hear a well-founded argument as to why, we, the pariahs, are barred from having our own newspaper in our own land.

Yosyp Terelya
Village of Dovhe,
Irshava District
Transcarpathian region

AN OPEN LETTER TO FRIENDS OF UKRAINE IN CHINA AND ALSO TO THE NEWSPAPER *SHENMIN SHIBAO*

My friends!

Lately, Moscow agitators have been conducting propaganda activity among the population about an alleged Chinese aggression toward the USSR. The authorities claim that China is preparing for a war with the USSR; implying that China has made a secret agreement with the United States, and so on.

Events have reached the stage when the Russians have begun to "recruit" future volunteers (for the army) from the prisoners around the prisons and camps. In doing this, the army of Rokosovsky, consisting of penal battalions is being praised, obviously misleading gullible people. In the first place, Marshal Rokosovsky

was himself imprisoned, and secondly, such an army never existed. There was one division, No. 93 and individual penal battalions. Moscow was afraid of concentrating a larger number of prisoners in one place.

Ukraine is a colony of Moscow; we are deprived of everything that free nations have. For 60 years already, the Ukrainian national forces have been conducting an uncompromised struggle against the fiercest occupier — Muscovite social-imperialism. After crushing the last armed resistance, under the leadership of the Supreme Liberation Council of Ukraine, we have been persecuted with particular cruelty and hate; and now, the Russians, evidently forgetting the recent events, disperse propaganda among Ukrainians against the People's Republic of China. What is it: forgetfulness or thoughtless impertinence and reckoning, that we have forgotten the fate of those, near and dear to us, who fought and died in the ranks of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), outnumbered by the Muscovite invader.

Ukraine does not border on China and China never posed a threat to Ukraine. The Ukrainian writer, the blind Vasyl Yaroshenko, was also a specialist on Chinese literature. He was murdered in a Stalinist concentration camp and his literary works were confiscated and burned. During my stay in Kyiv, we kept ties with Chinese students that were studying there, for which we were persecuted by the regime, and this was in 1962... Ukrainians will never raise arms against China and its people, who have never wronged Ukrainians. Having destroyed the old imperialist machine, Moscow communists allegedly renounced the imperialist politics of tsarist Russia. But then why has Moscow not returned historic Chinese territory back to the People's Republic of China? Why has it not established —

through deeds — brotherhood and solidarity with the imprisoned nations?

Today the Ukrainian national movement, under the direction of the Ukrainian National Front, is conducting great work in establishing an independent Ukrainian state; this is essentially a movement among the Catholics. We remember that in China there are also brothers in faith. That is why no disinformation could hinder our friendly relations with the People's Republic of China. The Moscow occupant uses every means available to stir up trouble in Ukrainian sympathies towards the People's Republic of China; in a series of talks with me and other leaders of the Catholic movement (the Catholic Church is underground), the authorities notified us that in China all Catholics are in prison and camps, the essential mass has been shot, and that if the Chinese come here, to Ukraine, then a fate similar to that of the Chinese Catholics awaits us all...

These and similar statements sow disinformation among the population, frighten people with non-existent danger, but the most frightening danger is the danger which threatens the destruction of our nation by Moscow, and not by distant China.

In the programme of the Ukrainian National Front, there stands a clear and unambiguous position: "All foreign territories which are forcibly occupied by Moscow will be returned to their rightful owners; all the nations that populate the great empire should be free!"

It was to our great regret, that the Holy Father in Rome was not allowed into the People's Republic of China. This is handy for Moscow which used all dissension for its own purposes. For me it would be most beneficial to have the means to visit the People's Republic of China, to meet with Chinese Catholics, to pray together for both our nations and for the

eternal friendship between Ukraine and great China.

Yosyp Terelya
Chairman of the Central
Committee of Ukrainian
Catholics,
Ukraine, Transcarpathian
region, Irshava district,
village of Dovhe,
First of May Street, 9.

THIRTY YEARS

On August 28, 1983, 30 years had passed since the sad news spread throughout Transcarpathia that in the village of Zarichchia, in the Irshava district, at around 3 a.m., the Rev. Petro Oros, one of the finest sons of our small country, was murdered.

Holy people, truly holy people, are few, but the Rev. Petro was truly holy in the full sense of the word. All who knew him well were amazed by his gentle and considered behavior. There was no end to his zeal for the glory of God. Wherever he went, he captivated everyone with his joyful and gentle smile. He silently radiated the joyous meaning of the gospel, and his love for people was so passionate and personal that everyone looked at him as a personal friend, and having met him once, could never forget him. For him, grief, sickness and suffering did not exist. Like a child, he was always happy and filled with trust. He had no sense for political affairs, and nothing interested him except for the affairs of God. Before others finished talking about all kinds of news, he was already preparing in his mind some kind of pleasant story from the gospel and tied it to current trends.

When the persecution of the Greek Catholic faith began, he carried on as if nothing had happened and that the next day or the day after that, everything would return to normal, everything

would be explained, all hatred would cease and people would be allowed to profess their faith without hindrance. He could not imagine abandoning his faith, even under pressure. He would explain to believers that they must love and practice their faith and remain faithful under all circumstances of life and respect all people who live in accordance with their convictions.

In 1949 after the closing of the Greek Catholic Church in Bilky, where he was the pastor after his service in Velyki Komiaty, he began visiting the monastery church in Imstychov. He came in the early morning and prayed on his knees for hours before the divine liturgy began. Nobody knew about this and he did not tell anybody that at the time he had no place to live because he had no family and had been thrown out of the house where he lived. One day, gunshots were heard in the field near the river. It appears that even then they were after and wanted to catch him. So began the Rev. Petro's four years of living underground.

It was then that many homes were opened to him, where he was greeted happily and where residents prayed with him all night. He was joined by others who shared his fate, and the most heroic part of his life began. He did not forget about anybody and handed out small leaflets in which he exhorted perseverance of faith and patience.

At the beginning of 1953, agents of the MGB discovered the place where he most often lived in Bilky, and that is where they captured him. He spent several weeks in an investigative prison in Uzhhorod. According to what he said, he was treated with restraint and friendliness. It was suggested that he get appropriate documents and take any kind of job. After he was released, he was fervently welcomed, especially by the children, who met him with flowers, and this certainly could have

alerted some that the “illegal” faith would again be reborn. As the process to get the proper documents dragged on and on, he did not know what to do — whether to remain free or continue his work. And he again began to hold all-night prayer sessions with the people.

On the evening before the Feast of the Ascension (1953), he offered liturgy at Velyki Komiaty, where, almost certainly, among those present were those who were following him. When, at midnight, he and a woman were going from Komiaty to Siltsia, they noticed that someone had passed them on the road.

When, at the station in Siltsia, the Rev. Petro went to pray in a solitary freight car, a militiaman entered the waiting area and asked where he might find Oros, and also looked through their suitcase. The woman answered that she did not know (where he was). A signalman named Kapich came up and told the militiaman where the Rev. Petro was praying. The militiaman, who was named Povshyk and was from Boharevytsia, told the Rev. Petro and the woman to accompany him to the village of Zarichchia. In Zarichchia, not far from a large stone cross, the Rev. Petro turned to the militiaman and said: “Kindly let us go”. At this, the militiaman fired a pistol shot at the feet of the Rev. Petro. The pistol spat fire. The second shot was aimed right at the Rev. Petro’s chin, and he fell to the street in convulsions. The woman ran to the first house by the road and said to the owner, who had been awakened by the shot: “Please come with me; a militiaman has just murdered a priest”. The man ran to get the head of the village council, but when he arrived with the others the Rev. Petro was dead. Then, Povshyk himself drove up in a truck from the collective farm and asked that somebody put the body on the truck. The head of the council said to him: “Pig, look what you’ve

done”. He answered: “Shut up, or I’ll do the same to you”.

The naked body lay in the morgue for about two days, because the regional hospital refused to accept it for an autopsy. In the meantime, people began arriving in Irshava from all over the district and region. Extra militia units were dispatched. When the residents of Bilky asked that the funeral be held in the place where he served, they were told: “You want to bury him your way so that you could kneel at his grave as if he were a saint. A dog’s death for a dog. We’ll bury him our way”.

And, in fact, they took him away by night and buried him in a ravine among some bushes near Boharevytsia. The grave was found by some shepherds and some of the faithful were preparing to bury him in a cemetery when again his body was taken away and buried, this time in a more secret place.

A friend of Povshyk wanted to find out from him who was behind this whole affair and asked: “A priest is a priest, but won’t you get into trouble for this?” The other answered: “What kind of trouble? I even got 500 *karbovantsi*”.

Others must have been disgusted by Povshyk for he was transferred from the (regional) centre to the remotest village, where he did not stay long because he was plagued with fear. He left for the eastern regions and disappeared. The same thing happened to the head of the regional security force Podlesnyi.

Although this incident happened after Stalin’s death, when there was hope everywhere for more humanitarian relations among people, nevertheless hatred was still something concrete and it always attacked the most innocent and defenceless people. After the murder, one of the commanders said to the workers of the militia: “Comrades, you know what happened. In future, we must deal with all of them in this way so they know what power is.”

Thirty years is not a short span of time... In that time, a lot could have been learned. One thing is sure, the Rev. Petro will never be forgotten, and from generation to generation kind words will be passed about his faith, love, goodness; nor will anyone brag about the shameful act, making up all kinds of false explanations, like, for instance, the statement that Poklesnyi wanted the woman — the only eyewitness — to sign: “the militiaman killed (the priest) in self-defence”.

Ukrainians!

In connection with the confiscation of materials and photographs, as well as two printing presses, the publication of the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church* will temporarily cease.

This is already the third pogrom against the editors of the *Chronicle*. It is most difficult to keep the collected mate-

rials to the extent that there is no time even to correct them.

Those faithful who give various information should specify the place of the event and the names of the people involved. If, however, this could prove to be harmful, then only the time and place (of the incident) should be accurately stated. The names could be left out.

We often find that the name of the (particular) official has been left out but the victim is named. The names of officials are to be mentioned at all times.

“Secret groups” of KGB-men posing as activists of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, are roaming around the towns and villages. All unknown persons should not be brought to priests for confession or to religious services. Be careful!

Member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church
Y.T.

CHRISTIANS APPEAL TO MARGARET THATCHER

An unofficial Christian ecumenical group in the Soviet Union has appealed to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to intercede with the Soviet Russian authorities on behalf of three Catholic prisoners of conscience. Having no means of approaching Mrs. Thatcher personally, they dictated their appeal over the telephone to a friend in the West. This news was released by Keston College, a London-based organisation monitoring religious affairs in Eastern Europe.

The appeal, dated March 30, 1987, describes the fates of Christian ecumenists Alexander Riga, Sofia Belyak and Catholic priest Yosif Swidnicki. All three were arrested and charged with membership in the Christian Ecumenists' Group and anti-Soviet propaganda.

Riga, who was arrested on February 8, 1984, has so far served his sentence in the Butyrskaya prison in Moscow, then was forcibly incarcerated in the Blagoveshchensk special psychiatric hospital and in March 1987 he was transferred to the Republican Psychiatric Hospital in the Latvian capital, Riga, for further enforced psychiatric treatment. Riga suffers from congenital heart disease and the drugs forced on him have already brought him close to death on several occasions.

Sofia Belyak, was arrested on September 19, 1983 in the town of Zhytomyr and sentenced to five years' imprisonment and five years' internal exile. To this day she is doing forced labour on agricultural sites at Dniprodzerzhinsk in the Dnipropetrovsk region, Ukraine.

50 year-old Father Yosif Swidnicki was tried in 1985 and sentenced to three years' imprisonment for his active missionary work.

MEMORANDUM TO PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER

submitted by the ABN Delegation in Great Britain

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MRS. MARGARET H. THATCHER, MP, FRS
Her Majesty's Prime Minister and
First Lord of the Treasury
10 Downing Street
London

Dear Prime Minister,

In connection with your forthcoming visit to Moscow please allow us to point out the following:

No cosmetic public relations operations, such as the freeing of 140 prisoners, will abolish the Soviet Gulag. That prison of millions is also a jail of whole nations, both inside the Soviet Union itself and in its empire of satellites. All this is held together solely by brute force. An evil empire indeed, even if it is not always considered "diplomatic" to say so aloud.

The penal code to be modified? What for? Thousands upon thousands of the Gulag inhabitants have been deported and jailed without any trial or reference to the penal code. After all, the Soviet Constitution itself guarantees all the freedoms: of religion, conscience, movement, thought and its expression, etc. But in practice all these freedoms and equalities are "guaranteed" by the KGB. Messers Graham Greene and Peter Ustinov are not the first leftist intellectuals desiring to be taken in by this fraud. That scenario goes back to the late Romain Rolland, André Gide and a few others.

An attempt to make the system more palatable without changing its substance, to give it a "human face" or, more correctly, a facade, will be tolerated by the "Nomenclatura" only to a very limited extent. The essence of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and the "leading role of the Party" must be touched or altered. We have seen that, for instance, in the cases of Khrushchev and Czecho-Slovakia. The idea of "making communism more attractive", of giving it a "human face" is itself fraudulent. We give something a different face merely in order to hide what is really inside, to make it seem less repulsive, to disguise its real substance, to hide even its real face. The same applies to the proposal to introduce so-called "democracy" in the organisation of the Party itself.

Fraud reigns not only on the internal front, in matters of human and national rights. Deceit predominates in all external affairs as well, whether we consider the satellite empire, the Third World, Afghanistan, Cuba, Ethiopia, Vietnam, the Middle East, Yemen, Mozambique, Angola, Grenada, Nicaragua or the Soviet Union's relations with the Western World. And it also predominates in matters of defence. For instance, it is simply not true that the men in the Kremlin fear an attack from the West and therefore have to maintain huge armies in East-Central Europe and enormous nuclear arsenals. They know perfectly well that no one from the West is going to attack them. And who could have attacked them in Afghanistan?

Deceit is the order of the day also in arms control and arms limitation negotiations, agreements and practice. This is borne out — among many other instances — by the

duplicity of the new proposal about Euro-missiles, the calculating cynicism of its timing and the odious tactics of blowing hot and cold. The only aim of the Soviet leadership is the maintenance and enlargement of the Russian Empire. Expansion is the hallmark of all tyrannies.

The thing the tiny ruling minority really fears is the justified wrath of their own oppressed people and that of the subjugated nations. The Western powers can speak to the Kremlin only from positions of strength and — this is a very strong point — the best allies of the West are the oppressed and enslaved people and nations in the Russian Empire.

Britain can consider herself very fortunate to be led by you, Prime Minister, because you are fully aware with whom you are negotiating — the circumstances, facts and implications. And we, the representatives of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, are happy in our confidence that any business you can transact with those people will be conditioned by your wisdom and command of the situation, and that you will also raise the issue of political, religious and other prisoners of conscience.

With expressions of our deepest respect for you, Prime Minister, we remain

Your obedient servants:

Michael Zacharchuk
General Secretary

Dr. Oktav Bazovsky
Acting Vice-Chairman

London, the 16th of March, 1987

*Below is the response to the memorandum issued by the
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.*

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH
31 March 1987

Dear Sirs,

Thank you for your letter of 16 March to the Prime Minister about her visit to the Soviet Union. I have been asked to reply. The Prime Minister and Secretary of State are certainly raising the human rights record of the Soviet Union during their talks in Moscow. Although recent releases of political prisoners are encouraging, many others remain behind bars or continue to suffer persecution for their beliefs, contrary to the commitments freely undertaken by the Soviet Union in the Helsinki Final Act. The Prime Minister and Secretary of State are therefore leaving the Soviet authorities in no doubt as to their continuing concern.

However, at the same time, the Government hopes by seeking to promote trade, cultural exchanges, personal visits and other contacts, to develop a more stable and co-operative relationship which will serve the aims of achieving a better East/West climate and encouraging development towards a more open and humane society in the Soviet Union.

Yours sincerely
K. A. Neill
Soviet Department

GORBACHEV FACING FAITH & NATIONALITY

Although the men in the Kremlin are ideologically obliged to deny it, the Soviet Union is still a Russian empire. And since the mentality of Communism is genuinely leftist — which means, among other things, hostile to variety, to plurality — it strives automatically for a deadening equality and identity from the Baltic to the Pacific.

Of course the old czarist regime also wanted to Russify the empire. So when the Bolsheviks took over, in order to show that they were different, they divided the empire into “federated republics” along national lines. However, from the very beginning, the Kremlin worked to undermine the national identities of these republics by importing masses of Russians into them, thereby “crowding out” the local populations.

The first victim of this policy was the Karelian Republic, populated primarily by East Karelians, who are ethnically Finns. Understandably, Finland had always claimed Eastern Karelia. In order to rule out such claims forever, Russians were pumped into Soviet Karelia, which was demoted from the status of a Federated Republic (like Ukraine or Byelorussia) to an Autonomous Republic within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

A similar fate might, one day, be meted out to Estonia and Latvia, whose capitals, Reval (Tallinn) and Riga, have been invaded by Russians in order to obliterate their original national character. These two Baltic republics, totally Western in mentality and civilization, are desperately trying to retain their identity. The vast majority of the Estonians and about three-quarters of the Latvians are Lutherans, while Latgallia, the eastern part of Latvia, is Catholic. The Latgallian birth rate alone keeps the country going.

Lithuania, entirely Catholic, is quite different: The tough, savage Lithuanians, who conquered vast areas reaching nearly to the Black Sea, resisted Christianization until the fourteenth century, when all the rest of Europe had already built cathedrals, churches, and monasteries. But once they were converted they stuck to their faith and their national identity with a fierce loyalty.

Nationality and religion are also closely linked in western Ukraine. This area, long united with Poland and then with Austria-Hungary, entered into union with the Catholic Church four hundred years ago and accepted the Papacy while retaining the Eastern Church ritual (including an Old Slavonic liturgy, a married priesthood, communion under both species, and a preference for icons over statues.) Millions of Ukrainians belong to this Byzantine Rite of the Catholic Church, but only a few thousand Russians do; thus, in this area, to be a “Uniate” means to be Ukrainian. Forced by the Soviets to join the Eastern Orthodox Church, the Byzantine Rite Catholics form a real (and quite energetic) “underground church.”

And now there is a new and very serious challenge to Sovietism and Russianism: the Islamic nationalities on both sides of the Urals. They have their own Federated Republics and are distinct from the Russians not only religiously, but also ethnically and racially. Almost all of them (except the Tadziks) are of Turk-Tartar origin. Although they are Sunni Moslems (and not, like the Iranians, Shiites) they constitute a real problem for Moscow: Islamic fervor is rising among the Sunnis too. The Kremlin

has methodically tried to Russianize these republics through education and, above all, immigration and it has made visible progress in the past. But this has come to a standstill because the Russian birth rate is very low and the Islamic one very high. Recently we have heard of the troubles in Kazakhstan, the most (artificially) Russianized of these republics — clashes between Kazakhs and Russians that cost many lives. The reasons might be ethnic rather than religious, religious rather than ideological-political, but the results, from the Kremlin's point of view, are bad no matter what.

Moslems show much stronger resistance to unbelief than many Christians. Their faith is compact and simple, practical, and, if you like, "fanatical". Talking to a man in the Park of Culture and Recreation in Moscow, I discovered that he was a Tartar. "And are you a Moslem?" I asked. "Well, of course," he replied. "And do you practice your religion?" "Naturally! I pray five times every day." "And what do you think of all the atheists around here?" "*Nizhe chem sobaki* (lower than dogs)!" On a beach in Sotchi I met a beautiful Tartar girl in a bikini and tried my few Turkish words on her, which she managed to understand. "Are you a Moslem?" I asked. "Yes, indeed." "And you believe what the Koran teaches?" In spite of her attire she seemed surprised at my question and answered in the affirmative. "We Moslems all believe in our religion." The Koran shows no spirit of compromise.

What happened in Alma Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan, not long ago could be a minor prelude to more troubles to come. In the end, the USSR will not be totally Russified or atheistic, nor will the hearts and minds of its many peoples be Communized. Gorbachev is a clever man and he is certainly aware of what his regime faces in the long run.

**We ask our readers to note
that the ABN Correspondence representative
for the United States is:**

**MR. J. SHEVCHUK
3438 Heresford Drive
Parma, Ohio
44134
U.S.A.**

**Mr. Shevchuk can also provide you
with all our other publications
and accept your subscriptions.**

NEWS & VIEWS

Despite Soviet Russian propaganda that they are willing to withdraw from Afghanistan, the Russians have intensified their attack against the Afghan Mujahideen and the Afghan refugees. Through their attacks they also planned to create tension between the Afghan refugees and the local population in Pakistan and thus to force Pakistan to soften its position on Afghanistan in the Geneva talks.

Just in one day in March, 86 people were killed and 128 injured after the Russians bombed Terra Mangal. The Soviet Russian bombing of Mauda Khail, the north area of Waziristan left 35 people killed and 22 injured and the bombing of Angori, a village in south Waziristan on the same day killed 23 people and injured 47. The situation along the border is very tense and the Soviet Russian planes fly over the area and continuously violate Pakistani air space. The reaction of the world mass media to these atrocities is very small. Such absence of an outcry against aggression will only encourage the Soviet Russians to continue their path of aggression. The world should know that after Afghanistan comes Pakistan, and tomorrow, it could be anyone else.

Afghanistan Update

An article entitled "US Experts See Dramatic Soviet Future" by Gary Thatcher appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor* on April 7. The article discusses the outcome of a conference of intelligence specialists as well as consultants and academic experts. Their shared belief was that widespread political unrest can be expected in Eastern Europe.

The experts agreed that modern technology presents the greatest challenge facing Moscow because information can sweep into the Soviet Union unhampered. This information revolution may be of far-reaching consequences for Moscow. A number of experts also predicted that a major upheaval in Eastern Europe can occur before the end of this century.

The Soviet Union is demanding higher-quality goods from Eastern Europe. Experts say that means fewer of those goods will be available for sale in the West, which means less hard currency for East Bloc countries. That, in turn, makes it harder for these countries to import new machinery for their own efforts to modernize. And that, according to some experts, is likely to cause growing resentment against Moscow.

What if the Eastern Europeans take *glasnost* seriously? The result will be a major political upheaval. Other problems which cannot be overlooked are the growing ethnic tensions, an upsurge in the number of religious believers, and environmental degradation. According to several experts, these will also create problems for the Soviet Union.

Leszek Moczulski, the leader of the Confederacy of Independent Poland (KPN), has been allowed to travel out of Poland for medical treatment and a possible risky heart operation. Mr. Moczulski has been taking advantage of this opportunity to meet with parliamentarians both in Great Britain and the United States, to acquaint him-

self with the national emigrations of various subjugated nations, exchange thoughts and views and to find and promote mutual, lasting cooperation.

On April 27, Mr. Moczulski was received by the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. George Bush. Mr. Moczulski expressed his appreciation to Mr. Bush and to the American people for their efforts in securing his release from prison in communist Poland where he had been sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment. In his address, Mr. Moczulski analyzed the current situation in Poland along with the prospects for the political emancipation of Poland from the Soviet Union.

A Polish and Ukrainian delegation also called upon the Governor of the State of New Jersey, Thomas Kean. In his remarks, Mr. Moczulski characterized events in present-day Poland along with the methods utilized by the Polish nation in its struggle to regain national independence and sovereignty. He outlined a prognosis for the further development of events in Poland and in other Eastern European and Asian nations, emphasizing the inevitability of those nations to strive in a united front to their common goal.



Meeting of the Polish and Ukrainian delegation with the Hon. Thomas Kean, Governor of the State of New Jersey. From left to right: Mr. Richard Jonach (Poland), Dr. Myroslav Bych (Ukraine), Mrs. Maria Moczulski, Governor Thomas Kean, Mr. Leszek Moczulski, Mr. Maciej Pstrang Bielenski (Poland), Mrs. Stefania Bukshowana (Ukraine) and Mr. Marek Ruszczyński (Poland).

FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

CZECHIA

In Prague, Czecho-Slovakia, Charter 77, a human rights organization in Eastern Europe, celebrated its tenth anniversary with an attempt to hold a press conference. With the belief that repression in the Soviet Union was easing, the members wanted to distribute a six-page document about foreseen changes on the international level encouraging Chechs and Slovaks to rid themselves of "hopelessness."

However, prior to the press conference leading group members were detained and some put under house arrest. When foreign correspondents arrived at the announced site of the conference, a Prague restaurant, they found the doors to be locked and policemen waiting outside. When the press conference was moved to a member's apartment, the authorities ordered the power cut.

Also a sore point with the CzechoSlovak authorities is a cultural organization with a mass following that has insisted on its rights to organize concerts and publish books. Calling itself the Jazz Section, the group serves as a rallying point for young people who prefer jazz and rock to state-sponsored musical offerings. On the sixth anniversary of John Lennon's death, slogans appeared on Prague walls reading "You have Lenin, let us have Lennon."

HUNGARY

At the end of March, 2,000 inhabitants of Budapest marched through the city centre demanding freedom, democracy and national independence. "We will not be enslaved any longer", chanted the demonstrators, reciting the words of their national poet S. Petefi.

The demonstration was held in connection with the anniversary of the Hungarian uprising against the Austrian monarchy in 1848. This uprising was crushed by tsarist Russia, which Austria called in for help.

The spontaneous demonstration of last March was headed by a leading activist of the unofficial democratic opposition of G. Gado. When the name of Imre Nagi, the former Prime Minister of Hungary during the national uprising of 1956, was mentioned, the participants enthusiastically cheered. Imre Nagi, as we know, was executed by Moscow.

LATVIA

News has been received in the West that there have been more arrests in Latvia. Evald Lizberski, Raimond Biteniaks and Linard Grantins have been arrested. Dr. Lindans, a Latvian, has died as a result of the radiation from Chornobyl. 300 children have been sent to Latvia from Ukraine, all of them with skin sores, a result of radiation exposure. The medical prognosis is that only 50% of them will survive. Tuberculosis has also surfaced in Latvia and is threatening to become an epidemic.

Documents smuggled out of Latvia indicate that a new Helsinki Watch Group has been formed in the Latvian city of Liepaja, according to a recent report by the World Federation of Free Latvians (WFFL).

John Finnerty of the Washington-based U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) said the commission is treating the documents

LITHUANIA

as authentic and indicated that it was to bring them to the attention of the delegates at the CSCE review meeting in Vienna.

The Latvian documents, dated July 1986 and signed by a group calling itself "Helsinki 86," include letters addressed to Pope John Paul II, Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet and Latvian Communist Party Central Committees, and the United Nations, among others.

"God has not given such an authority to anyone to deny a people their own language in their own country," stated the group protesting official Soviet Russian discrimination against the Latvian people and their language.

The group vows to "inform international organizations about violations that are being carried out against our people's material and spiritual values, including those against our nation itself.

In a letter to Gorbachev, the group asked the Soviet leader to allow the Latvian people "to determine our destiny by referendum," thereby citing the constitutional right of the Soviet-annexed Latvian republic "to secede from the Soviet Union."

Most of the statements are signed by Linards Grantins, Raimonds Biteņieks and Martins Bariss, while the letter addressed to the Soviet and Latvian Communist parties included 15 additional names.

Grantins was arrested shortly after the formation of the group and his present fate is unknown, according to the Latvian umbrella organization.

While individual Latvian human rights activists have joined with Soviet dissidents in supporting the principles espoused in the Helsinki Final Act, this is the first time an independent Latvian Helsinki Watch group has been formed.

At the time when Soviet propagandists, aided by some credulous Western journalists, are extolling Gorbachev's "liberalization" campaign, the August 15, 1986 issue of the underground journal *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania* reports another KGB attack against Lithuanians suspected of patriotic and religious activities. Arbitrary searches, seizures and arrests are on the rise. The KGB is especially concerned about the printed word — books and human beings are the victims of the new campaign.

A survey of recent searches and interrogations includes the case of Juozas Kazalupskas, whose home in Kaunas was ransacked on April 24, 1985. He was interrogated by the KGB on May 16, 1985, and threatened with prison unless he stopped his activity in defense of religious rights. In January, 1986, the KGB subjected the Rev. Antanas Šeškevičius, the vicar of the parish of Gargždai, to a four-hour interrogation; he was accused of collaboration with the *Chronicle*. Underground literature and books were confiscated during a KGB search of the home of Antanas Kelmelis, a metal worker, on April 25, 1986, in Vilkaviškis. The KGB also seized typewritten copies of books critical of the Soviet system at the home of P. Blazukas, on April 24, 1986, in Vilkaviškis.

The *Chronicle* reports that Algirdas Patackas, an engineer, was arrested on July 29, 1986, by the KGB in Vilnius, following a search of his home in Kaunas and confiscation of books and manuscripts on May 22. Books were also seized at the home of his father, Antanas Patackas. On May 22, the KGB also searched the homes of Paulius Martinaitis and Petras Kimbrys in Kau-

nas, and of Arunas Rekašius, Mindaugas Babonas and Saulius Kelpša, in Garliava. Typewriters, tapes, manuscripts and books were confiscated, including a Lithuanian translation of "Les Pensees" by Blaise Pascal.

On May 23, Aldona Raižyte and G. Bružaite were detained and interrogated in connection with the search of the home of S. Kelpša. Antanas Terleckas, a prisoner of conscience now in internal exile in Osmukchan (Magadan region) had his dormitory room searched by KGB agent Česnavičius and two agents from Magadan. Seven letters by Terleckas to addressees in Lithuania were confiscated.

The 55th issue of the unofficial journal *Aušra* (The Dawn) is dated October 1986 and has 31 pages. The issue contains detailed information on a crackdown against the Catholic intelligentsia, mostly in the city of Kaunas, during May-October, 1986. About 60 individuals were interrogated or their homes were searched. Many books were confiscated. There is a brief biography of Algirdas Patackas, who was arrested on July 29, 1986.

An article entitled "Why Was the Testament Not Fulfilled?" charges that the relatives and friends of the late Rev. Bronius Laurinavičius were prevented from burying him in Švenčionėliai, where he wanted to be buried. Father Laurinavičius, a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, perished under suspicious circumstances on November 24, 1981. The Lithuanian underground press has put his death at KGB's door.

Most of the issue (18 pages) is taken up by an installment of a study on the Seinai-Suvalkai area of Lithuania.

The 72nd issue of *Lietuvos Kataliku Bažnyčios Kronika* (*The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*) was obtained in the West in February. It is dated December 8, 1986, and is 42 pages long.

The massive raids against the Catholic intelligentsia in Kaunas and Vilnius during 1986 are described. Also included are texts of many petitions to Soviet authorities, including Gorbachev, on religious freedom and on this year's 600th anniversary of Christianity in Lithuania.

The *Chronicle* expresses thanks to Pope John Paul II for his recent statements on Lithuania and his "unceasing solicitude" for the Lithuanian Catholic Church. The U.S. Bishops Conference is thanked for the recent airing of the "painful problems" facing the Lithuanian Church.

The compulsory atheization of Lithuanian children, in total disregard of their parents' beliefs and wishes, is sharply criticized in an article entitled "A Slave's Child — a Slave Master's Property." The Soviet school is the subject of an article about "School for Hypocrisy."

The *Chronicle* welcomes the returning prisoners of conscience — Julius Sasnauskas, Jadvyga Bieliauskiene and Romas Žemaitis. Excerpts from letters of the remaining political prisoners are published.

MOZAMBIQUE

From a letter received from Africa in July, 1986:

"... it is very difficult to get news about Mozambique out of our country. We work underground in order to help the Christians there..."

Don't forget Pastor Augusto Lopes... and Pastor Moses... one of his churches was burned to the ground, some Christians were beaten to death, all clothes were stolen from the soldiers... No one is helping the Christians. Naked, hungry, they are fleeing to us..."

UKRAINE

The Ukrainian human rights activist, Mykola Rudenko, began a hunger strike on Tuesday, March 31, 1987 to press demands that he and his wife be freed from internal exile and allowed to emigrate. Rudenko, the head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, is also demanding the return of his manuscripts from the years 1977-1984 which were seized by police.

Yelena Bonner, the wife of Andrei Sakharov, was quoted as saying that Rudenko reported starting the hunger strike on Tuesday, March 31 in a phone call from the Altai region of southern Siberia, where he and his wife Raisa have been exiled since 1984. Bonner said that she tried to persuade Rudenko not to fast, but he was determined to go ahead. She also said that the continuing detention of Rudenko and a number of other activists "shows the other side of present policies."

Rudenko was a co-founder and leader of the Ukrainian group that tried to monitor the Soviet Union's compliance with the Helsinki declaration. He was sentenced in 1977 to seven years in a labour camp and five years of internal exile on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. His wife was arrested in 1981 and was sentenced on similar charges after sending his letters from the labour camp to the West.

Mykola Rudenko is not only a fearless fighter for human and national rights, but also a philosopher, writer and poet. Several collections of his poetry were published in Ukraine. By the early 1970s, however, because of his dissident views on literature, economics, human rights and the nationalities issue, his works were no longer published. Rudenko continued to write poetry, which circulated in the *samvydav*. Enough of his poems, including some that he had written in the labour camp, reached the West and are published in two collections: *Prozrinnya* (Enlightenment), Smolenskyp Publishers, 1978; and *Za gratomy* (Behind Bars), Suchasnist, 1980.

Lev Lukianenko and Mykhailo Horyn were returned to the Perm concentration camp 36-1 after a short term in a Kyiv prison.

It was rumored that Lukianenko might have been included in the political prison pardon ordered by Gorbachev, however, several sources reported that Lukianenko had refused to sign a release document and consequently was reinterned in the concentration camp.

Lukianenko was one of the first post-World War II Ukrainian national activists to demand an independent Ukraine. In the 1960s, he and Ivan Kandyba formed a political party that called for Ukraine's secession from the Soviet Union. He spent 15 years of imprisonment for that offense.

He is currently completing a 10 year prison term stemming with his membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Horyn, a teacher and psychologist, who had already spent six years in

prison in the late 1960s, is serving a 10-year sentence which began in 1981.

Ukrainian sources in the West also learned of the deaths of two young Ukrainians whose families were active in the Ukrainian national affairs.

Yevhen Antonenko-Davydovych, born in 1952, mysteriously died soon after finishing a term in prison. He is the son of Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, who died in 1984 at the age of 84 and was a major intellectual leader in Ukraine.

The younger Antonenko-Davydovych was persecuted by the KGB and had served three prison sentences in 1971-76, 1977-78 and 1982-86. During his last sentence, he lost his speech.

Zinovy Shastkiv, the 31-year-old son of a cousin of the late Olena Antoniv-Krasivska, was murdered in a Lviv stadium on the evening of October 1, 1986. He was to be married several days later. Antoniv-Krasivska was the wife of Zynoviy Krasivsky, a well known Ukrainian rights activist and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Yosyp Terelya, the founder of the Initiative Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church, who was recently released from incarceration, declared a hunger strike in defense of his and his family's emigration request.

According to the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Terelya, who was returned to his home in Dovhe in the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine, began his fast on February 22. In mid-February, he requested authorities to

allow him, his wife Olena and their three children to leave the USSR.

Apparently the officials did not even allow him to file the request. The WCFU reported that he vowed to continue the hunger strike until his request was granted.

Terelya suffers from liver and heart ailments and old spinal injuries, which became more acute as a result of the severely cold temperatures in the labor camp. He was released in early February under the decree pardoning some political prisoners serving terms for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

A major figure in the underground movement, Terelya was a leader of a group whose goal is to obtain legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as well as Ukrainian political rights. He was arrested on February 8, 1985, and sentenced on August 20, 1985, to seven years of imprisonment and five years' internal exile.

In 1982, Terelya was responsible for establishing the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics which played a significant role in the renaissance of the Ukrainian human rights movement in Ukraine, especially among religious believers.

Soviet officials are particularly sensitive to Terelya and his following because of the Ukrainian movement's strong ties with Lech Walesa and the Polish Solidarity Movement.

Danylo Shumuk, a 73-year-old Ukrainian nationalist, who has spent more than 40 years in Soviet Russian and Polish prisons and internal exile will be allowed to emigrate. He is expected to leave the USSR sometime in May and join his family in British Columbia, Canada.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

1987 Pre-Conference Meetings of WACL Executive Board and APACL Executive Committee

Grand Hotel, Locarno, Switzerland, May 3, 1987

Members of the executives of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and the Asian Pacific Anti-Communist League (APACL) held meetings in Locarno, Switzerland April 30—May 3, 1987. Included in the meetings were representatives from the five world regions, the captive nations and the world youth; whose representation demonstrated the ongoing spirit of the League to unite pro-freedom forces worldwide.

These meetings decided to hold the 20th WACL Conference, the 33rd APACL Conference and the 3rd Conference of the World Youth Freedom League (WYFL), WACL's youth affiliate, in Taipei, Republic of China August 16—23, 1987. Everyone present pledged their best efforts to continue a vigorous campaign to secure WACL's final goal of "Freedom for All Mankind". This year this goal will be pursued under the banner of the conference theme: **Common Security Through Freedom!**

The participants in the Locarno meetings reviewed the current global situation and noted the general deteriorations of the security interests of the Free World and the general consolidation of the forces of the Soviet and Chinese communist empires.

Disagreement and disarray in the Atlantic Alliance is growing as the European and American positions on the nuclear deterrent widen. This tension is heightened by the chronic weakness of the West's conventional forces. It is being skillfully exploited by Gorbachev's "Glasnost" propaganda effort to completely de-nuclearize the West. The negative effects of Chornobyl and the acrimonious debate surrounding the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), coupled with the uncertainty surrounding the Geneva negotiations, have further divided the Alliance.

On the Pacific rim the free nations of Asia continue to find themselves in disagreement with the expansion of European and American ties to Communist China and their accommodations to North Korea. These moves are especially alarming when confronted with the fact that "The China Card" has been "trumped" by Sino-Soviet rapprochement.

Both WACL and APACL pledged their ongoing moral, political and logistical support for all anti-communist freedom-fighters across the world who are fighting to regain their national independence and establish democratic sovereignty, especially the resistance movements in Afghanistan, Indochina, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Nicaragua. Special appreciation was given to the heroic struggles of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain in Ukraine, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and others, and it was resolved that the national aspirations of these peoples be continuously supported.

With these concerns in mind, the WACL and APACL executives have resolved to initiate and nurture several policies to overcome these immediate problems and to hasten the dissolution of the communist empires and the liberation and self-determination of their captive peoples:

1. The promotion of common interests among free nations with particular emphasis on the plight of underdeveloped and debtor nations which can be best improved by the removal of trade barriers which hinder investment, industrialization and modernization.

2. The enhancement of security in the Free World through the strengthening and expansion of existing security systems into regional and worldwide systems — steps which must be taken even in the face of increased communist “peace and cooperation” propaganda.

3. We share the deep concern of people across the world for the threat of nuclear accidents like Chornobyl and the threat of nuclear war. But we are constrained to point out that the Soviet Union is the greatest threat to our worldwide safety through its irresponsible use of unsafe nuclear reactors and through its maintenance and expansion of the world’s most deadly nuclear missile force.

4. Despite repeated attacks against our League stemming from KGB disinformation campaigns, we will continue to expand our proud efforts in support of freedom across the world, appealing to the consciences of all good men and women to judge us by our own acts, not Soviet calumnies.

These meetings also took special note of several more localized issues which could lead to major crises should they not be satisfactorily resolved:

a) the threat posed to the population centers of the Republic of Korea by the construction of a dam in North Korea near the Demilitarized Zone designed to unleash a super-destructive tidal wave against the South;

b) the unresolved issue of Apartheid which is radicalizing all parties and setting the stage for a major conflagration in Southern Africa;

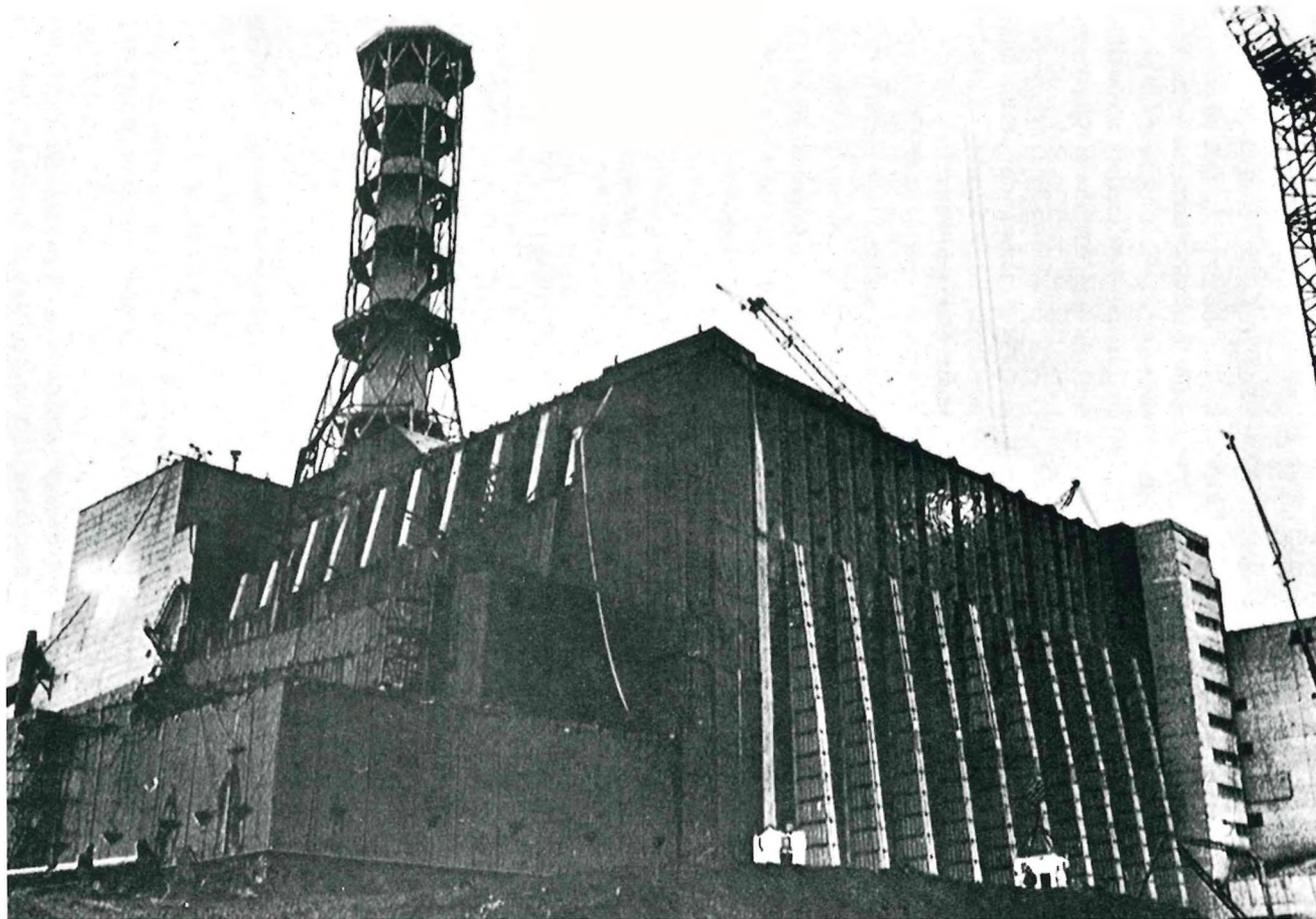
c) the sellout of the free peoples of Hong Kong and Macao under Red China’s fraudulent “one country, two systems” ploy; and

d) the conflicts in the Middle East surrounding the legitimate national aspirations of the Palestinian people, the fighting in Lebanon and the Iran-Iraq war.

Special thanks were extended to those leaders of the Arab World who are working tirelessly to bring about peaceful solutions in the Middle East.

On behalf of all the chapters worldwide, the participants in the Locarno meetings pledged to redouble their endeavors to make the General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League, the Asian Pacific Anti-Communist League and the World Youth Freedom League in Taipei in August of this year the most successful ever. Such success will be demonstrated by the increased uniting of freedom forces everywhere in their battle against communist tyranny.

The joint executives also expressed special gratitude to the Swiss Chapter for their warm hospitality and comprehensive command of the logistics of these most successful meetings.



Damaged Reactor No. 4 At Chernobyl Is Encased In A Concrete “Sarcophagus” to Prevent Radiation Leakage.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Some 10,000 people demonstrated in Riga, the capital of Latvia, on August 23. The demonstration was in protest of the Russian-German Nonaggression Pact signed on August 23, 1939. The demonstrators laid flowers at the Freedom Monument to commemorate this day as a day of mourning for Latvians. The above photograph shows the previous demonstration at the Freedom Monument on June 14, 1987.

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TRIBUTE PAID TO A GREAT SON OF UKRAINE

(The First Anniversary of Yaroslav Stetsko's death
commemorated in Munich on July 11, 1987)

Munich... a city which since the war has become a centre of Ukrainian political and social life. A Ukrainian political centre, where the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), in particular the revolutionary OUN, has its headquarters. Here in Munich, the unforgettable leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera, worked until he was murdered by a Russian agent in 1959, his successor Stepan Lenkowskyj also lived and died in Munich, and here, a year ago a great son of Ukraine, the Head of the Ukrainian National Government, the initiator of the act of proclamation of an independent Ukrainian state and President of the ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko, passed away.

Saturday, June 11, 1987. A glorious sunny day embraces the Waldfriedhof cemetery in Munich. In the early hours of the afternoon, coaches, cars and crowds of people start to arrive. A certain gravity and reverence can be seen on the faces of the pilgrims, who have gathered here from different parts of the world to salute and pay their respects to a great and beloved man.

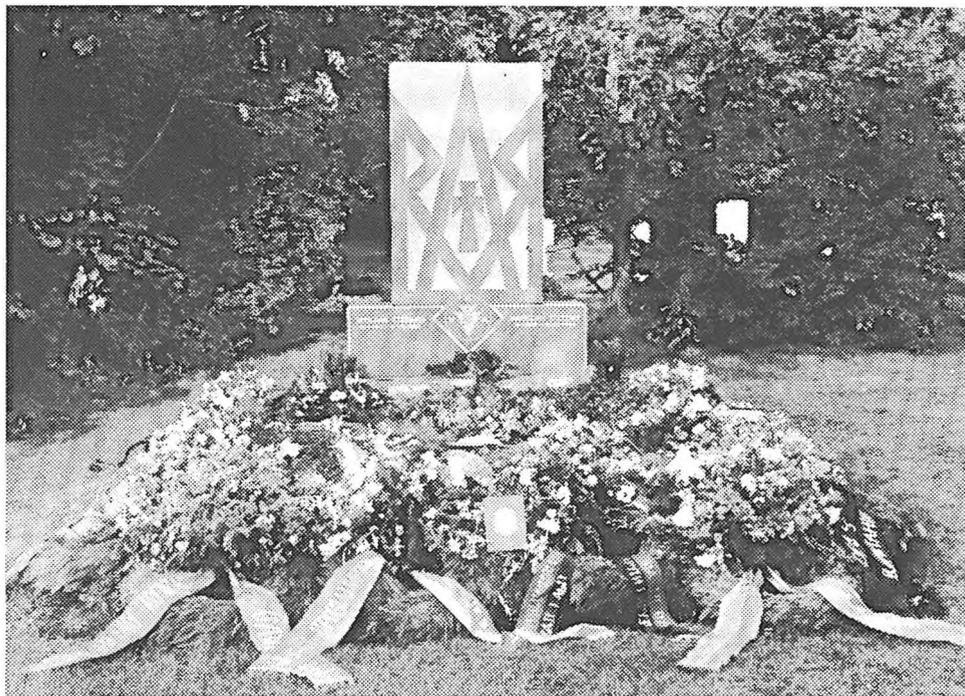
Within half an hour a lengthy column has been formed with a cross and flag bearers at its head. The flag bearers are former combatants, members of the Ukrainian Youth Association, men and women from Ukrainian organizations and from European and transoceanic countries. The flags are followed by wreaths from the deceased's wife,



Procession approaching the grave of the late Yaroslav Stetsko

family, the OUN leadership and separate organizations and institutions, including members of the ABN — Balts, Rumanians, Hungarians, Croats, Georgians, Bulgarians, Poles, Afghans, and Iranians. Then come the bishops — Archbishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Anatoliy Dubliansky and Exarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Germany, Bishop Platon Kornyliak, accompanied by priests and nuns. They are followed by the bereaved Slava Stetsko, sister of the deceased, Oksana Romanyshyn with her husband Dmytro and son Oleh, other members of the family, the chairman and members of the OUN leadership and numerous representatives of Ukrainian political and social organizations. The column is extended by groups of Ukrainian youth, combatants and other members of the Ukrainian community in the diaspora.

Everyone is heading towards the newly erected marble tombstone engraved with the insignia of Prince Volodymyr the Great, — a cross, and the symbol of the revolutionary OUN — the trident on a cross and sword. The inscription in Ukrainian and German with dates of birth and death 19.1.1912 — 5.7.1986 indicates that this is where Yaroslav Stetsko, who has become one of the symbols of the Ukrainian revolution and one of the chief architects of the restoration of the Ukrainian state, has been laid to rest. The project of the tombstone was drawn up by Adriana Stebelsky, M.A.



The monument

The grave and tombstone are suddenly surrounded by hundreds of people and the mournful sounds of the requiem service fill the air, touching the people's hearts and evoking a whole string of thoughts and feelings. The bishops bless the tombstone.

Archbishop A. Dubliansky of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was the first to speak. He recalled the monument which Yaroslav Stetsko had built throughout his

life, the basis of which “was and will be a free and united Ukraine”. While remaining loyal to this idea, he built yet another monument — one which cannot be erected by hands and which cannot be worn away by time or circumstance. The Archbishop stressed that Y. Stetsko always had a great respect for the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church and emphasized its great role in the life of the Ukrainian people.

Bishop Platon Kornyliak of the Ukrainian Catholic Church underlined the faithful, dedicated and loving character traits of the deceased.

The representative of the OUN leadership, Mr. W. Oleskiw, pointed out the great service the deceased had rendered the Ukrainian people. His firm and steadfast faith in God, his concept of man as God’s creation and the family as the foundation of the society and nation were the basis of his philosophical concept of a revolutionary struggle for a Ukrainian state and a just order in the world. For him, Ukrainian nationalism was not only a social and political or world conceptual, but also an ethical and moral movement, and the most essential factor in the formation of the OUN. The great services of the deceased include his widespread diplomatic mission in the international arena by mobilizing the nations of the world to stand up and fight against their common enemy, — Russian-Bolshevik imperialism.

The Ukrainian National Government’s spokesman was Mr. Bohdan Fedorak — the new chairman, who paid tribute to his predecessor as the initiator of the act of proclamation of an independent Ukrainian state on June 30, 1941 and the promoter of Ukrainian statehood, which was his whole life’s aim.



Ukrainian National Government spokesman Mr. Bohdan Fedorak delivering his tribute.

An emotional and deeply meaningful speech was delivered by the Estonian ABN representative Mr. S. Soldatov, who emphasized the great Ukrainian patriotism of the

late ABN president, yet at the same time asserted his universality as a revolutionary fighter for other nations for which he was and remains an unsurpassed model and spiritual leader. Mr. Soldatov recalled the great influence the underground struggle in Ukraine had for the underground organizations in the neighbouring countries, in particular in the Baltic states. He also mentioned his personal contacts with Ukrainian political prisoners in Soviet Russian concentration camps among whom the name of Yaroslav Stetsko, together with the names of Stepan Bandera and Taras Chuprynk-Shukhevych, was the banner of revolution against the imperialist occupier. He quoted Yaroslav Stetsko's words expressed on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the ABN on faith in the victory of the idea of the freedom of nations and the individual.

Due respect and grief at the loss of the co-founder and honorary member of the EFC Presidium were expressed by Mr. J. Jenkins from the British branch of the EFC. He emphasized the great creative contribution the deceased made to the struggle for freedom and international justice and the elaboration of the strategy of this struggle for the benefit of Ukraine and the whole of Europe.

Short salutes and tributes were paid by the following representatives of the OUN and World Liberation Front in the diaspora: Dr. A. Lozynskyj (USA), Mr. I. Dmytriw (Great Britain), Mr. M. Tkaczuk (Australia), Mr. M. Szafowal (Argentina), Mr. P. Holowinsky (Austria), Mr. I. Lewytsky (Benelux), Mr. T. Buyniak (Canada), Prof. Dr. W. Kosyk (France), Mr. S. Mudryk (West Germany). All of the salutes vowed to unswervingly follow the same path of the deceased to victory and the attainment of an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state.

The World Ukrainian Liberation Front honoured the memory of Y. Stetsko with short tributes paid by: Dr. A. Bedriy — member of the Presidium of the W.U.L.F., Mr. E. Hanowskyj — chairman of the Central Executive of the Ukrainian Youth Association, Mr. S. Lawrushka — on behalf of the Detachments of Ukrainian Nationalists, Mr. M. Hayva — from the Organisation of Ukrainian Former Combatants, Mrs. B. Krushelnycky on behalf of the World Association of Ukrainian Women, Mrs. M. Kolodiy — Association of Ukrainian Women in Canada, Mr. S. Oleskiw — World Executive of Ukrainian Student Associations and Mr. B. Kaczor from the Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners.

The commemoration at the cemetery passed in a prayerful atmosphere, the words of the tributes and salutes filled the souls of the participants, evoking in them mixed feelings of sorrow and pride and at the same time aroused an even greater incitement for the unattained act of past and present generations, a living embodiment of which was Y. Stetsko. The ceremony at the cemetery ended with the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem which filled everyone's hearts with renewed energy for work and struggle.

The commemorative evening in tribute of Y. Stetsko was held in the spacious Fingelre Kultur Zentrum which was filled to the brim. The program comprised an opening and main address, performances by the male voice choir "Ukraina" and pianist Kalyna Chichka-Andrienko both from Germany, the bandura ensemble "The Kobzar Brotherhood" from England and two poetry recitals by Petro Kormylo from Scotland and Irena Chalupa from West Germany.

The next day, Sunday, July 12, mass was celebrated in the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Munich by Bishop Platon Kornyliak in memory of Yaroslav Stetsko. Prayers were raised to Almighty God to bless the begun and yet unfinished work of the deceased and to help present and future generations achieve the long awaited freedom for Ukraine.

WE WILL TEACH OUR YOUTH TO FOLLOW IN HIS FOOTSTEPS

A year ago, at this very spot, we laid to eternal rest one of the greatest sons of Ukraine in the 20th century, the late Yaroslav Stetsko. As Chairman of the OUN leadership, Head of the Ukrainian National Government, President of the ABN, a leading activist in international anti-communist organizations, Yaroslav Stetsko dedicated the whole of his life in serving the great ideals of freedom and state independence of Ukraine and all the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. His untimely death did not only move the Ukrainian community in the free world, which paid such great and worthy respect to his memory, but to no lesser extent was this great loss felt by all Ukrainian people in Ukraine and in the whole Russian empire, from where we are still receiving expressions of sincere condolences and appraisals of the highly esteemed deceased.

“The hearts of patriots in our homeland are filled with sorrow and pain”, reads one letter. “A prominent fighter for the ideals of an independent Ukrainian sovereign state has passed away, a man who served our great cause with dedication, for which Stepan



Mr. Wasył Oleskiw paying tribute to the late Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko.

Bandera, Roman Shukhevych and other heroes of our indomitable nation sacrificed their lives. In these days filled with sorrow, our souls and hearts are with you. In a circle of closest friends and adherents, we have celebrated a memorial service in accordance with the principles of the persecuted, yet persevering Church... The eternal memory of our deceased Yaroslav Stetsko is our constant battlecry. Our victory would be the best

monument for him and all the heroes who sacrificed their lives for our nation. His wise and sincere directives will always guide us, and we will teach our youth to follow in his footsteps and pursue his struggle...”

In these brief, yet deeply meaningful words by Ukrainian patriots in Ukraine, the greatest aim of the Ukrainian nation is reflected, as well as its present status of enslavement, its incessant struggle for national and religious rights, and most of all its honouring of great leaders of the Ukrainian liberation movement, who have become a semaphore for present and future generations.

Today, as we stand at the foot of this very dear grave, where we have just blessed the monument, which in the shape of a cross and trident symbolizes the essence of Ukrainian spiritual values, the one thousand year-old history of the Ukrainian nation, the greatest strivings and the essence of its existence, which were also the essence of the deceased's life, let us endeavour to comprehend and acquire these great truths and ideas, which were so steadfastly propagated by Yaroslav Stetsko during his lifetime and in his legacy after his death.

Faith in God-the Absolute, which is the primeval cause of all existence in its Christian sense, and consequently the concept of man created in God's image, the family as the fundamental cell, an organic community of spiritual values — the nation as God's creation, and national statehood as the highest form of the organized existence of a nation — all of these were his main world-view principles. They also became the basis of Ukrainian liberation nationalism, upon which the social-political and strategic principles of the Ukrainian liberation struggle were formed, the avantgarde of which became the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and on them the social and political order of a future Ukrainian state is based.

The complete self-revelation of a person depends on the conscious serving of one's nation, on the struggle “for one's compatriots”, and therefore, he taught, that it is not enough to be a patriot with a nationalist world view, but to live up to the ethics and morale of the nationalist concept. Ukrainian nationalism is not only a world conceptual or a social-political movement, but simultaneously an ethical-moral movement, which re-educates a Ukrainian into an active fighter.

In the face of the formidable enemy — Russian imperialism, and its spreading of atheist communism, the struggle of the Ukrainian nation to achieve its utmost aim — a sovereign Ukrainian state — is persistent, all encompassing and long lasting. This is a revolutionary struggle, since its aim is a deep-rooted change of the entire present system, enforced by the enemy in all spheres of the nation's life, and for the dissolution of the whole empire into sovereign and national states. The principle of relying on our own forces in this struggle stipulates the need to mobilize the whole nation into active participation in this struggle, as well as the need of a leading kernel, aware of its task. Therefore, the constant bringing up of new cadres of highly idealistic fighters of the Ukrainian revolution, who are always prepared for the greatest of sacrifices, was always the focus of the deceased's attention.

As the initiator of the restoration of the Ukrainian state in 1941, Head of the Ukrainian National Government and Ukrainian statesman, the deceased raised the Ukrainian cause onto an international forum by organizing other subjugated nations to fight against the same common enemy and by gaining supporters from the free states in the world. The great idea of the destruction of the Russian enemy through a coordination of national revolutions of the subjugated nations, with moral and



Ukrainians from all over the world rendering homage to their leader.

political aid from the free countries, as an alternative to the threat of a nuclear war, continues to attract more supporters throughout the world.

These are some of the main principles, ideas and great projects, which our deceased chairman not only believed in, propagated, but also consequently realized in all sectors of work and struggle entrusted to him. Although the final aim of the Ukrainian nation has not yet been attained, since the process of a subjugated nation's coming to a state life can extend into several generations, the stage of the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for freedom and statehood reached under the leadership of the OUN and its leaders Konovalets, Bandera, Shukhevych, Lenkavsky and Stetsko has created a strong moral and political basis for the continuation of this struggle until its final victory.

In his speeches and publications the deceased chairman often spoke about the symbolism and cult of the graves in our nation, in which there exists an indestructible eternity and which are the source of inconceivable strength for the living. We believe that this grave, too, will become a place to which Ukrainians from all over the world will gather to pay tribute to a great son of Ukraine and to reinforce their faith and strength for further work and struggle.

On behalf of the leadership and cadres of the revolutionary OUN, I bow deeply before our unforgettable leader, whose teachings and exemplary life will always guide us in our constant struggle for the freedom and statehood of the Ukrainian people.

May his memory be eternal.

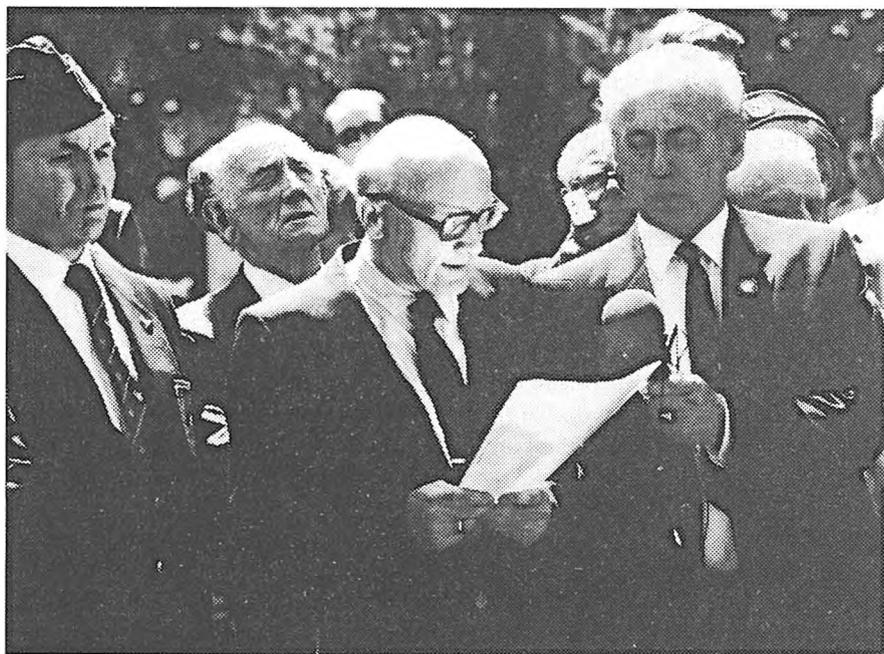
HE BELONGED TO A GENERATION OF HEROES

Tribute delivered by ABN representative Mr. S. Soldatov on the first anniversary of Yaroslav Stetsko's death at the unveiling and blessing of the tombstone on July 11, 1987.

Today, we are commemorating the first anniversary of Yaroslav Stetsko's death, whose biography is known on both sides of the Iron Curtain throughout the world. A year ago, the Ukrainian nation lost one of its best sons — a great patriot, a staunch fighter for an independent Ukraine and brilliant political thinker. It was a sad day. But there is also another side to death. Only after death, the exemplary life and struggle, and the spiritual-political inheritance the deceased left behind for the people became especially clear. On behalf of the ABN, I would like to emphasize the facts which not only give a national, but also a worldwide, moral and political meaning to Yaroslav Stetsko's life.

Yaroslav Stetsko was not only a Ukrainian patriot, a Ukrainian freedom fighter and ideologist. He was also a revolutionary, who could have changed the face of the world, he paved the road for a revolution for national freedom of all the subjugated nations in the world. His life and his struggle are a striking example, which inspired and will always inspire all national freedom fighters throughout the world.

Here are some of my recollections: I remember during my youth in Estonia, in the period after the war, that the communist rulers spoke with hatred, fear and disgust about "Bandera's movement in Ukraine", to the leadership of which Yaroslav Stetsko also belonged. This movement also inspired the partisan movement, popularly known as "Forest Brothers' War" in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which existed until Stalin's death.



Mr. S. Soldatov delivering his tribute.

I remember the close cooperation between our underground organization, “The Estonian Democratic Movement”, which was founded in the 1960s, with Ukrainian underground groups. We are grateful for this connection to a member of our leadership, Artem Yuskevych, who died in 1982. In his early youth he was a member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the Lutsk region. He passed on all of his experiences, perseverance and decisiveness over to us.

I remember many Ukrainian political prisoners, with whom I spent six years in Soviet concentration camps in the middle of the 1970s after my arrest by the KGB. All Ukrainian political prisoners both young and old, knew and respected the names of Yaroslav Stetsko, Stepan Bandera and Roman Shukhevych. Other political prisoners of different nationalities learned these names from them. In the concentration camp, Petro Saranchuk informed me in detail of the programme of the OUN to which Yaroslav Stetsko greatly contributed. Mykola Konchakivsky, an UPA veteran of the 1940s, told me in the concentration camp: “The KGB murdered Stepan Bandera. However, never with God’s help, will an assassination on our leader Yaroslav Stetsko succeed!”

And it was in the concentration camp that my close and most beloved friend, the recently deceased Vasyl Stus, told me that the generation of the OUN-UPA, to which Yaroslav Stetsko belongs, is a generation of heroes. And in prison, Artem Yuskevych told me: “If I could, I would walk from Tallinn to Munich in order to meet Yaroslav Stetsko and his co-fighters, and to work together with them.” Isn’t all this proof of the deepest appreciation for Yaroslav Stetsko’s lifelong work?

There are still many nations in the world subjugated by Soviet communism and other dark forces. The struggle for the freedom of the subjugated nations existed and continues to exist. And this global struggle will finally end in triumph. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko quite rightly said:

“In its full scope, the national liberation revolution of the subjugated nations is a struggle between two polar worlds, two irreconcilable systems, two different world-views and ways of life; the world of heroic Christianity and religion in general against the atheism of Moscow; independent and sovereign nations against a global colonial empire; democracy against totalitarianism; human freedom and dignity against tyranny.”

Therefore, we, the living, promise you, Yaroslav Stetsko, that we will resolutely continue this inevitable struggle, the way of which has been paved by you and your exemplary life.

The name of Yaroslav Stetsko is not only the pride of the Ukrainian people, but also the pride of all subjugated and freedom loving nations.

Therefore, the name of Yaroslav Stetsko does not only belong to Ukrainian history, but also to the pantheon of dedicated fighters for national freedom all over the world.

**Rest in eternal peace, our most respected leader and teacher!
We shall never forget you!**

A PERSON OF GREAT VISION

On the first anniversary of the death of
Yaroslav Stetsko

Over long decades we have travelled here to Munich from different countries of the world — for the first time without him.

Among us is his still grieving widow, his faithful wife and untiring co-worker, Slava Stetsko, but he is not among us... He will no longer greet us, gentle, smiling, with thoughtful eyes, he will not clasp our hand with that special grasp of a leader's hand... Having felt his touch it was easier to go on and struggle, but as Taras Shevchenko said, "Everything goes on, everything passes..."

Yaroslav Semenovych Stetsko, a great son of Ukraine, whose name has been eternally woven into the laurel wreath of Ukrainian glory, struggle and victory, is no longer with us.

Today we ceremonially unveiled and blessed his grave monument and almost felt his live presence once again among us, for as the poet said:

"Who says that you have died
The worthy know no death"

A person dies, but ideas do not.

Yaroslav Stetsko not only carried forward and realized the national liberation ideas of Khmelnytskyj and Mazepa, Petlura and Konovalets, Chuprynka and Bandera, he became their embodiment. He not only carried on but further developed, deepened and realized the great Ukrainian ideal into practice.

The son of a priest, raised on the ideals of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), he united within himself the noblest traits of a Ukrainian Christian and a Ukrainian liberation struggle leader. Not long before his death he wrote:

"I believe that I survived not only thanks to my will, but foremost because of my faith in God, which above all, gives strength of will."

A year has passed, and it is still difficult to be fully aware of whom we have lost, whom not only Ukraine, but the entire world has lost. And not only the subjugated nations, but free nations as well. It was he, our leader who said this to the leaders of the powerful and democratic United States:

"If the United States chooses the road of helping the subjugated nations, then the USA will become a revolutionary liberation power, the USSR is a reactionary power."

President Ronald Reagan said the following about Yaroslav Stetsko in a letter to Slava Stetsko:

"... your husband's courage and dedication to liberty will serve as a continuing source of inspiration to all those striving



Wolodymyr Masur delivering his commemorative address.

for freedom and self-determination and an abiding reminder of the timeless struggle of mankind to break the chains of tyranny.”

President Reagan said this about the man who survived Polish and German-Nazi prisons and concentration camps, the man who came to Washington, to the White House as Premier of a spiritually free Ukraine, and he was received as such by the President of the greatest democracy in the world.

The Pentagon has undertaken a thorough study of a very significant directive of our late leader, on the following:

“Our liberation strategy of coordinated national revolution is proper, and in the West people are aligning themselves with our concept. This is the only alternative to a totally destructive nuclear war. All the concepts of OUN have always prevailed.”

He stands before us, from a young age a member of the UVO and the OUN, the ideological director of the National Executive of the OUN, authorized by Colonel Yevhen Konovalts to prepare the OUN Congress in Rome, vice-chairman of the Leadership of the Revolutionary OUN from 1940, member of the OUN Leadership



The audience at the commemorative evening.

Bureau from 1945, long-term leader of the OUN, president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, member of the Honorary Presidium of the European Freedom Council, member of the Executive of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), but first and foremost, the indomitable Premier of the Ukrainian National Government of June 30, 1941, which did not yield to Berlin nor to Moscow.

For over half a century Yaroslav Stetsko gave his all to our ideas, he worked as a gifted publicist, constantly formulating our and the world's political liberation view, ever organizing our own as well as international forces to struggle against Russian imperialism and communism, for the dissolution of the empire, for the victory of Kyiv over Moscow.

The participants of the 19th WACL conference in September of 1986 in Luxembourg paid a special tribute to the memory of Yaroslav Stetsko. They wrote the following:

“Yaroslav Stetsko, in his courage and dedication to freedom has inspired individuals committed to the struggle for national independence, social justice, and individual freedoms. His courage, vision, statesmanship, warmth and leadership will be greatly missed by all.”

Both Ukrainian and international press reported about the passing away of our leader. The news, broadcast by radio into occupied Ukraine shook the hearts of millions of people, those Ukrainian people on whom our leader relied and in whose cause of freedom and happiness he worked. Even emigre press not supportive of our movement printed obituaries full of homage and tribute.

Leonid Poltava, a Ukrainian poet from Poltavshchyna was one of the first to respond to the death of Yaroslav Stetsko. Eastern Ukrainians, members and non-members of our movement in particular deeply felt Yaroslav Stetsko's commitment to unity and his tolerance. In a letter dated June 30, 1986, one of the last documents of his life — the already gravely ill Yaroslav Stetsko wrote:

“I ask you to relay to all the members of the organization my most sincere thanks for their countless expressions of support and prayer, in particular our young generation, our youth, members of student and youth organizations as well as our older members, experienced in struggle and toil, my tribute to them all. Please convey my thanks to the entire Ukrainian community, to the bishops and the clergy of both denominations, who, as supporters of Ukrainian unity have understood that they are praying for an advocate of that same unity.”

Dear Friends!

It is not easy to speak of such a great man, as dear to us as our own father, a spokesman of the Ukrainian nation. It is not easy to speak of a giant of political thought, a contemporary Moses who led his nation out of the desert of statelessness... to speak of him, who, as wrote Ivan Franko — all his life burned and toiled for one idea — the sacred idea of the liberation of Ukraine and other subjugated nations.

Yaroslav Stetsko often expressed deep, penetrating thoughts in the form of mottos and slogans. Some of his expressions became aphorisms. For example, he brilliantly characterized those emigre unbelievers and changelings and our entire epoch with these words: “In this era there is no room for the rabbit-hearted pretending to be lions!” or “To achieve victory over Bolshevism we must arm ourselves, not negotiate!”

One motto which is pertinent to all of us as well as to those who will come after us into the organization is:

“OUN was, is and will be the great guide, as it was 50 years ago —until the Ukrainian Independent and Sovereign State is restored.”

Let us listen, dear friends, to the great words of this great man, and let us mark those words well, in our minds, in our awareness and hearts, and let us pass this learning to younger generations of Ukrainian fighters. Yaroslav Stetsko wrote:

“The idea of nationalism is the solution to the current world problems, because nationalism solves problems on the basis of national societies. All other ideas, such as containment and balance of power fall bankrupt. Only nationalism can be the adversary to the erroneous system behind which Russian imperialism and chauvinism stand.”

I have already spoken of the deep Christian ethic which permeated the thinking of our unforgettable friend and leader, I have spoken about his religious tolerance and foresight. He called on all of us to actively prepare ourselves to celebrate the millen-



The male voice choir "Ukraina".

nium of Christianity in Ukraine in 1988. He simultaneously reminded of a current, important problem with these words:

“The issue of the patriarchate is a national issue. It is an issue of Ukrainian spiritual statehood. We support all efforts of both Ukrainian Churches in this endeavor.”

As a political philosopher, in the last years of his life Yaroslav Stetsko anticipated great technological changes in the world. In a letter dated June, 1986, (addressed to myself), he wrote the following:

“Electronics, technology, micro-electronics — they are a double-edged sword. Chernobyl is a frontier which Moscow has crossed, directing the Free World but in particular the nations and the people in the Russian empire against itself... In such a way technology creates a revolutionary situation within the empire. In this battle Moscow is destined to death. We must mobilize staffs of technologists, electronics experts and psychostrategists. God grant that I may be helpful in this giant battle of Kyiv against Moscow, of which General Hackett has already written.”

From this letter, written with the hand of an already ill person, we see the foresight of our leader as well as his admirable modesty. He, a giant of political thought, a strategist of the revolutionary struggles of Ukraine and the world, wrote that he wanted to be “helpful” in the struggle of Ukraine against Russia.

A colleague of Konovalets, Chuprynka, Bandera — Yaroslav Stetsko remembered his great predecessors of the struggle with respect. He wrote about the soldiers and officers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army with great personal piety, calling the UPA the “revolutionary national army”, which “rose as a deed of the political organization — OUN.”

He always warned about the possibility of any lack of discipline or anarchy. These are his words:

“No insurgent leaders, modern-day Zelenyjs or Makhnos (Otaman Zelenyj, an insurgent leader and Nestor Makhno, a Ukrainian anarchist leader, both of whom fought against the Bolsheviks in Ukraine in the 1920s) were able to conduct armed struggle against their occupant with the participation of the whole nation without a political and state oriented struggle. Only the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the leadership of General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka was such a military, political, revolutionary and national force, which created the political reality of our nation in occupied Ukraine and potentially throughout the entire country.”

The highest achievement of Yaroslav Stetsko’s life was, I believe, the Act of the Restoration of Ukrainian Statehood of June 30, 1941 in Lviv. Dr. Dmytro Dontsov, a renowned theoretician of Ukrainian nationalist thought wrote:



At the Church.



The Kobzar Brotherhood — bandura ensemble from England performing during the commemorative evening.

“The Act of June 30 was a deed which proclaimed loudly that Ukraine is not renouncing its full rights to govern on its own lands, is not renouncing its truth, regardless of the sacrifices.”

The Act of June 30 has never been revoked, therefore, it remains legal until this day. To the end of his life Yaroslav Stetsko not only guarded and expanded the traditions of this Act, he also aspired to build upon this state institution.

Yaroslav Stetsko devoted great attention to the consolidation of Ukrainian political forces who stood by uncompromising state-oriented positions. He is the author of many plans which were to become the basis for the creation of an all Ukrainian state center. We cannot abandon this great statehood idea. That is why this concept is being worked on with the intention of being realized in the struggle of Kyiv against Moscow. The creation of an active political all-Ukrainian state center would undoubtedly be greeted by Ukrainians on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

We live in dangerous and unstable times, times of political upheavals, times of growing nationalist forces, times of Afghanistan and Nicaragua, times of aid to anti-communist fighters. We live in times when the Ukrainian people in our homeland are utilizing every means to deepen and strengthen their struggle for the dissolution of the USSR into independent national states. We live in times during which our organized work for the liberation of Ukraine demands great strength, concentration of efforts of our leadership, of our organization.

Finally, we live in times, in which the words of our leader Yaroslav Stetsko are realized — that only the forces of nationalism will overcome the last remaining empire on earth. Therefore, inspired by his spirit, his vision, armed with his teachings, let us be united in this struggle, believing and knowing that Ukraine has not died, and never will die!

Eternal glory and eternal memory to our unforgettable leader Yaroslav Stetsko!

Richard Mason

EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL MEETS IN MUNICH

On the weekend of June 27-28, 1987, the European Freedom Council held its annual meeting in Munich. The Council, an international coordinating body for organizations fighting for freedom and against communism, was founded in 1967 and is celebrating its 20th anniversary this year.

The meeting was held in the Torbrau Hotel, adjacent to the Isar Gate in the historic center of Munich. The host and coordinating group was the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, headed by Mrs. Slava Stetsko, widow of the late Prime Minister of Ukraine, Yaroslav Stetsko, who is also Vice-President of the Executive Board of the EFC.

Attending the conference were many prominent members of anti-communist organizations as well as leading politicians from many countries of Europe and Asia.

The meeting was opened by EFC President Mr. John Wilkinson, Member of the British Parliament, who addressed the question of "Arms Control and Western Security", the topic which formed the major area of discussion for the conference. He was followed by Mme. Genéviève Aubry, Member of the Swiss Parliament, who discussed European peace and defence objectives from the standpoint of her country's historic and absolute neutrality in world affairs.



H.R.H. Otto von Habsburg addressing the EFC conference.



*Gen. Robert Close, Mme. Genéviève Aubry, and Prof. Leo Magnino
at the EFC conference.*

The role of NATO in European security was ably discussed by the Belgian Senator Gen. Robert Close. Gen. Close argued forcefully for recognition of the changing balance of responsibility within the Alliance, focusing on the cooperative role played by each member of NATO.

The second part of the session was devoted to political rather than military questions. Mr. Bertil Haggmann, chairman of the Institute for a Political-Psychological Freedom Campaign, and an authority on Soviet Russian propaganda methods, discussed current Soviet Russian activity in this field and how the West can counter it. Mr. Haggman's informative presentation was followed by the eloquent address of the Rt. Hon. Sir Frederic Bennett, former member of the House of Commons, who stated succinctly and elegantly the goal of Western society: "the right of men to be free individuals in free societies."

The topic of the "Soviet Union's Betrayal of Nationalities" was addressed by Prof. Leo Magnino, Director of "La Cultura nel Mondo." Speaking in French, Prof. Magnino stressed the importance to the West of the nationalities problem in the USSR. This problem is being remedied by intensified Russification, while the "independence" of the individual "republics" is represented by the trappings of statehood.

"The reality, however," said Prof. Magnino, "is completely different. Ukraine never was nor is an independent republic within the USSR: it is nothing more than a colony of Soviet Russia." Prof. Magnino went on to say that "the Soviet regime is practicing a partial but systematic destruction of the national substance, trying to reduce the (various) nationalities to a static ethnic entity."

Slava Stetsko addressed the topic of "Russian Global Strategy." Based on the earliest assessment of Russian external policy by Karl Marx in the 1870s, the

continuation of this same policy by the Soviet Russian regime in the post-revolutionary era was detailed with precision and fervor. The Soviet Union accomplished its objective of dividing Europe and used the Helsinki process to gain recognition for these conquests. The fact of the matter is, however, "that a line of freedom and slavery runs through the heart of Europe and the shameful Berlin Wall is not a theatrical canvas but one soaked in the blood of German freedom seekers."

The last speaker of the first day of the conference was Dr. Radu Budisteanu, a former Minister in the Kingdom of Rumania and for many years, before his emigration to the West, a prisoner of the Rumanian Communist regime. Speaking in French, Dr. Budisteanu detailed the current situation in Rumania and called upon the free nations of the West not to forget his and other enslaved nations.

The second day of the conference concentrated on the reports on the current situation in the enslaved nations. Mr. Najibullah Roshan, of the Federation of Afghans and Afghan Students Abroad, discussed the situation in Afghanistan and in the refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran.

Speaking in German, Mr. Roshan called the Afghan people's struggle for freedom a "struggle for national sovereignty and territorial integrity." According to Mr. Roshan, at least half of the Afghan population has been either destroyed or forced to leave its homeland. He went on to say that the West's recognition of the Afghan freedom fighters is the only realistic response to Soviet activity in the region.

The highlight of the second session of the conference was the address by H.I.H. Otto von Habsburg, a member of the European Parliament and EFC Honorary President. His Imperial Highness son of Karl I, the last Emperor of Austria, and a major figure in the contemporary history of Europe for nearly five decades, spoke on the



General view of the conference participants.



Mr. G. Romanec, John Wilkinson, M.P., Prof. Leo Magnino, Mr. Bertil Haggman and the Rt. Hon. Sir Frederic Bennett paying tribute at the grave of the late Yaroslav Stetsko.

topic of "Developments in the Political Security Problems of Europe." Having lived for many years in America after the union of Austria and Germany in 1938, the Crown Prince has an acute understanding of American politics and how they influence European affairs. The final solution of the German question and with it the liberation of Eastern Europe are, according to the speaker, necessary preliminaries to any discussion of any final security arrangements in Europe.

The remainder of the second session was made up of reports from groups and national representatives. Col. D. Kosmowicz reported on recent unrest among the intellectuals and writers of Byelorussia. Col. Dr. Ivan Bankovski discussed recent developments in Bulgaria's relationship to the West, particularly to Germany and called upon the American government to reject arms control proposals which favor Moscow at the cost of European security and freedom.

The Spanish Consul-General in Bern, Switzerland, Mr. Guillermo Kirkpatrick, Vice-President of the EFC, discussed Spain's new role in NATO and her place in European security arrangements after many decades of neutrality. Mr. Mohammad Djassemi addressed the subject of "Iran and European Security," with insightful explanation of the current Islamic regime's program and aims and possible developments in a post-Khomeini government. In addition, Dr. M. Ausala reported on conditions in Latvia, and Fr. B. Fekete on the so-called "economic miracle" of Kadar's government.

The current situation in Malta since the fall of the Socialists from power was described by Mr. Joseph Bonett, editor of the Maltese newspaper *Good News*. The American medical student Richard A. E. Mason addressed the subject of leftist



View of the Presidium at the EFC conference. From left to right: Sen. Gen. Robert Close, Mme. Genéviève Aubry, Prof. Leo Magnino, Mr. John Wilkinson, M.P. Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Mr. Bertil Haggman and the Rt. Hon. Sir Frederic Bennett addressing the conference.

infiltration of the institutions of higher learning and the need to counter this trend among student organizations. Mr. Herbert Hertlein, President of the "Bund der Freiheit" addressed the Conference in the name of the German participants.

The final declaration of the EFC's 20th anniversary conference called on the free nations of Europe to secure peace and freedom through a restructuring of their defences. It stressed the need for caution with regard to Soviet Russian peace proposals and pointed to repeated Soviet Russian violations of human rights, including the singular human and ecologic disaster at Chornobyl. Soviet Russian efforts to appropriate the upcoming Millennium of the Baptism of Rus'-Ukraine to the Patriarchate of Moscow and hence to Russia were also noted and condemned.

A final act of the conference was a wreath-laying ceremony at the grave of the late ABN-President Yaroslav Stetsko in Munich's sprawling Waldfriedhof. Mr. Stetsko's death in July, 1986, brought sadness to the EFC, of which the late Prime Minister was a co-founder and an Honorary Presidium member. The wreath-laying was conducted by Mr. Wilkinson, Sir Frederic Bennett, Prof. Leo Magnino and Mr. Bertil Haggman.

ARMS CONTROL AND WESTERN SECURITY

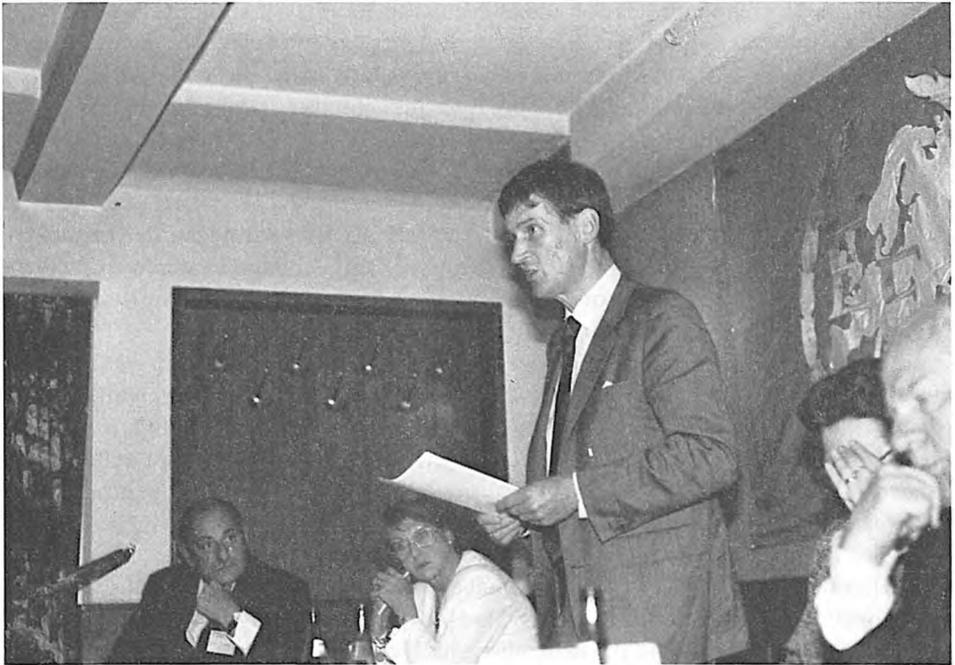
The debate about arms control has dominated East-West relations and has preoccupied the Western elected representatives almost to the extent of diminishing their preoccupation with their own security. The process of dialogue which has been initiated with the Soviet Union has, in my judgment, highlighted the different approaches that exist to nuclear strategy and deterrence between East and West.

The process of disarmament negotiations in itself is nothing new. In 1816, following Napoleon's final defeat, Czar Alexander I proposed a simultaneous reduction of armed forces of all kind. Again in 1899 at the first Hague Peace Conference, the Russian delegate, concerned about the impact of technical advances in warfare, sought to put an end to the constantly increasing development of armaments. I think it is no accident that the Soviets should prove themselves willing to come back to the conference table at this time. It is my belief that they have come back primarily because of the substantial advances made by the United States of America in the field of ballistic missile defense through the SDI program. However, there are fundamental differences of outlook to be overcome and fundamental criteria for our own security to be met. Avowedly the leaders of the superpowers, both First Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan have set an objective for virtually complete nuclear disarmament. That is the rhetoric in which from time to time they have indulged.

Although complete nuclear disarmament may be the goal, we in Europe do not have such far-fetched or far-reaching ambitions. Quite simply, we in Europe want our own security to be guaranteed. We want our freedom here in the democratic Western section of Europe to be more firmly entrenched and we wish to see that freedom extended to those nations and peoples who are now behind the Iron Curtain and have been denied freedom for so long.

For us, security is not a negative process, it is not simply the maintenance of the status quo, it is rather, a dynamic process. Until the communist system in Eastern Europe is dismantled, the fundamental threat to our own liberties here in this part of the continent will remain.

The talks on nuclear weapons reduction and arms control have spawned a jargon all of their own. One cannot talk about the subject without mentioning SALT and ABM, MPT, GLCMs and ALCMs, SS20s, 21s, 22s, 23s, Poseidon, D5s, zero option and the whole gamut of jargon related to the fundamental issues. Each side, of course, regards its own nuclear weapons as defensive and a deterrent, and those of the other side as a threat. Nevertheless, in the debate over arms control, however arcane and abstruse it seems to be at times, we should, as they say on the football field, try to keep our eye on the ball. That is why I take most seriously the observations of the outgoing Supreme Allied Commander of Europe, General Bernard Rogers, namely, that it should not be so much an abstract or even optimistic assessment of the political intentions that we make of our adversaries on the other side of the curtain, but rather, a cool, rational, hard-headed evaluation of their military capabilities and what they entail and how those military capabilities would be affected by the process of arms control. In particular, General Rogers advised that we evaluate the first process which



Mr. John Wilkinson, M.P., EFC President addressing the conference.

is envisaged, namely the elimination of intermediate range nuclear weapons, both of the longer range (1000 km) and those of the shorter range (500-1000 km).

The retired Supreme Allied Commander has emphasized, and rightly so, the spectrum of deterrence which is required to make NATO's strategy of flexible response effective. He has cautioned our alliance on the risks which could be adherent in moving too precipitately towards acceptance of Soviet blandishments. For us in Western Europe, it is critically necessary to insure that we match Soviet conventional capabilities as far as possible. Secondly, it is critical that we do not diminish the arsenal of battlefield nuclear weapons available to us and thirdly, that we seek a dramatic and verifiable reduction of the preponderance of chemical warfare agents at the disposal of the Soviet Union. Fourthly, it is crucial that any reduction or even the elimination of intermediate range nuclear weapons should be global and not just confined to the European theatre. Fifthly, now that at Reykjavik, First Secretary Gorbachev agreed not to put the issue of the Strategic Defense Initiative into the equation, we should not now be inhibited from the further pursuit of the very valid objective of making our own peoples and our own deterrent forces more secure by means of ballistic missile defenses against surprise nuclear attack. And lastly, since the French and the British nuclear deterrent forces are excluded from the arms control talks, and in my judgment rightly so, as their importance will become greater than ever before if any INF arms deal is reached, we must insure that the process of modernization of both the British and the French national nuclear deterrence is maintained.

You will remember that in January of 1985 the USA and the Soviet Union agreed to recommence the process of negotiations on arms control. This process of negotiations was carried through to the Reykjavik summit in the autumn of last year.

Two things of great importance occurred at the Reykjavik summit. First, Secretary Gorbachev indicated that it was his view that American intransigence over SDI and the American President's determination not to negotiate away the possibility of ballistic missile defense without adequate quid pro quos prevented any dramatic agreements being reached there then.

We in Western Europe all breathed a sigh of relief for the fact, because we were fearful about any super power arms deal being signed over our heads. At that time clear objectives were set, namely to move towards an INF accord relating to intermediate range ballistic missiles, to ground launched cruise missiles and Pershing IIs deployed in Western Europe on behalf of NATO by our American friends and the SS20s being deployed in the western districts of the Soviet Union since as far back as 1977.

In my opinion, one particularly hopeful side of the Reykjavik summit was the idea of a 50% reduction in offensive strategic ballistic missile systems. However, while Reykjavik offered the perspective of hope, there was a degree of wishful thinking, as well as ill-prepared negotiation undertaken by our American friends which was a matter of some concern for the Europeans. Nevertheless, since Reykjavik, I believe consultation within the Western Alliance has been greatly enhanced.

When one talks about intermediate range nuclear arms control, we take pride in the West that negotiations toward this end have resumed, quite simply because we were so determined to deploy our own systems. Had we not gone through the difficult process of challenging the pacifists and the neutralists, had we not insisted on the modernization of our own intermediate range nuclear forces through the deployment of Pershing IIs and the cruise missiles from the end of 1979, then I do not think that the Soviets would have had an incentive to come to the conference table. This was a fundamental requirement and it has proved an argument that was most compelling in the general election campaign in my own country. Prime Minister Thatcher's government was reelected with a substantial majority because we could point to the fact that it was Western cohesion, unity and determination which led to the modernization of our INF and the deployment of our new systems. It was as a consequence of this that the Soviets were somewhat more accommodating than would otherwise have been the case.

The 0/0 option being discussed now is very different from the 0/0 option we were talking about before. It is different because it is not just the longer range systems but the shorter range systems as well that are in the overall equation. When the idea of the 0/0 option was first mooted, it was implicitly mooted as part of the old twin track decision of 1979. You will recall that the Soviets have been deploying SS20s since 1977 and for two years we in NATO did nothing directly to match their deployments. But we said in 1979 that unless the Soviets dismantled their SS20s, we would modernize our own theatre nuclear forces. That theme was formally reiterated in 1981 in the 0/0 option. It was a way of pacifying our pacifists in Western Europe. We said that if the Soviets were to eliminate the SS20s which they had by then deployed in some numbers, then we would have no cause to deploy our own ground launch cruise missiles and Pershing IIs. With this ingenious political device we obtained the support of all the parliaments of the five nations of Western Europe which were to deploy a modernized INF. Of course the Soviets did not dismantle their SS20s and from the end of 1983 we began the modernization of our own ballistic nuclear missiles.

Consequently, in typical Soviet style, seeing that we had improved our capabilities, the Soviets were not prepared to lose their preponderance and therefore began to

deploy shorter range and intermediate range systems, such as the SS21s, 22s, and 23s in East Germany and in Czecho-Slovakia.

Now I would like to reiterate some very fundamental things. First of all, the strategy on the part of the Soviet Union towards Western Europe still remains — they have placed immense emphasis on building up their strategic arsenal of offensive nuclear weapons. Both sea launched ballistic missile systems with the Typhoon ballistic missile submarine, the deepest diving and fastest submarine in the world as well as the new strategic missiles some of which have mobile launchers have been deployed by the Soviets. This is something very much to be born in mind. Unless we follow through with a reduction of offensive systems, (and the idea is to get the number of warheads reduced by half) the threat will remain, and in some degree, the threat will be enhanced.

The modernization of NATO's INF occurred specifically at the wishes of the West Europeans themselves. It was Chancellor Helmut Schmidt who proposed the idea in the first place in a speech to the International Institute of Strategic Studies. He did so because he felt that Western Europe could be in danger of becoming decoupled from the US, unless the US deployed deterrent nuclear forces on our own continent on our behalf. The idea being that, missiles deployed and manned by the Americans on our own soil, here in the continent of Western Europe, totally bind the United States to the security of Western Europe, a security ultimately guaranteed, as it has for many years by the US nuclear guarantee. In this way, no United States president could ever feel that it would not be worth invoking US retaliation on our behalf here in Europe.

General De Gaulle, in the past had justified the creation of a French national nuclear deterrent precisely because he felt that in the last analysis, the Americans could not be trusted to invoke the US nuclear guarantee on our behalf in Western Europe, if we, Europeans, were subject to aggression. However, as a consequence of the INF deployment, the coupling between Western Europe and the United States has been greatly improved.

If an INF deal is reached we will, of course, have to take compensatory measures. Those compensatory measures should be to accelerate our work toward ballistic missile defense, because we will still be very vulnerable to Soviet strategic offensive nuclear systems. Therefore we should speak to our American friends to accelerate work towards a ballistic missile defense, particularly point defenses which are perhaps, the easiest part of the overall architecture to achieve.

Furthermore, we will rely even more on sea launch systems, such as the Poseidon submarines and the sea launched cruise missiles of the US Navy. We will rely even more on the airborne systems and in this regard, we may have to see an enhancement in deployment of US Air Force units in Europe.

Last, but certainly not least, the importance of the French and British national deterrence will grow. We in the United Kingdom have up to now taken a somewhat different position than France. France has said that the force de frappe represents France's investment in the security of its own national defense, and that there is no way in which the French government will put the future of French independence at risk by initiating a process of negotiations over the French national nuclear deterrent. This is a totally logical and clear position.

My own government's position is as logical and as clear, but however, it is not quite as firm. We say that if there is a dramatic improvement in relations between the super



At the EFC conference.

powers, if there is a climate in which verifiable, mutual and balanced arms control has already taken place and greatly enhanced confidence exists, then we would consider putting our own independent national deterrent into the overall arms control equation. I hope myself that this never happens, because our own British deterrent is an ultimate deterrent and it only consists of four ballistic missile submarines and it is a minimal deterrent. We could not diminish it by one and insure that at all times we had a ballistic missile on station.

At the very least, we must urgently improve our conventional defensive weapons systems. The ministers of NATO's Military Committee were discussing the implementation of the 3% increase in defense spending in real terms. Many countries have lapsed in this. I wish I could believe that the increase will be implemented. I also wish I could believe that NATO would have the political will to enhance its battlefield nuclear capability. I myself feel that having once deployed enhanced INFs and then dismantled them, it would be more difficult to convince our electors that we need deployment in further nuclear systems in Europe.

Above all, we must maintain our political and psychological determination and actual campaign to insure that the threat from the other side diminishes. This can be achieved by accelerating the process of liquidation of the offensive potential of the Soviet Union from within. This is why the message which the late Yaroslav Stetsko preached so eloquently and so well is so important. His message is particularly important at the present, because our own security here in Europe can only be guaranteed in our own continent and only if there is a change in the hearts and minds on the other side of the curtain. This change will only come about under pressure and duress. It is not something which is going to occur naturally. Therefore, everything which we have struggled for in the European Freedom Council and in sister organizations such as the ABN is more than justified in light of the development of current events.

THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS AND WESTERN SECURITY

In 1971 Professor Gerhart Niemeyer, a German-born American conservative intellectual, who fled the Nazis in 1933, published a book titled "Deceitful Peace", a term that could very well be chosen as a description of Gorbachev's present so-called peace offensive. Professor Niemeyer wrote: "Communism... is not here to stay, for it is an enterprise of a very small number of people, at the most no more than forty million people in the entire world, and those spread over many countries. It will one day crumble and become ineffective, and that day is mankind's best hope to escape atomic devastation as well as destructive tyranny."

But the deceitful peace is not only the present policy of Mr. Gorbachev. There is also a deceitful peace outside the present "glasnost", concerning the subjugated nations. We know that freedom fighters are struggling on three continents against Soviet Russian client regimes, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But what about the subjugated nations in the Eurasian empire of Soviet Russia? In October of 1987 a conference will be held in Canada on the theme of the Russian experience of counter-insurgency. Papers will be presented on the pacification of the Caucasus 1903-1907, on the Tambov campaign 1920-24, on the campaign against the Basmachi in Central Asia, on the UPA in Ukraine and on the Soviet Russian subjugation of Afghanistan. It is no coincidence that this conference is held in 1987, because there is a growing awareness



Mr. Bertil Haggman delivering his address at the conference.

in the West not only about armed resistance against Soviet Russian imperialism but also of resistance in the cultural, political and religious spheres in the empire.

If we define Eastern Europe as the tier of countries from Poland in the north to Bulgaria in the south, it is dubious if Soviet control of these countries increases Soviet Russian strategic potential vis-a-vis for instance, the United States and Red China. No doubt, however, it gives an advantage for Moscow in Europe. Let us also remember that in the modern state system, no power ever achieved hegemony over all of Europe. Napoleon and Hitler failed and Moscow will also fail if the West guards its security with strong military forces and a forward political-psychological policy. If the West can keep the Soviet empire landlocked, Moscow faces a multitude of fronts: NATO forces in the west, China in the east, an unreliable number of states in Eastern Europe and in western and southern Soviet Russia and fervent Moslems in the south.

The importance of the subjugated nations can be divided into a number of levels, it is not only a matter of military security. For example, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian authors, composers, artists and playwrights represent the cultural level. Let them all be represented here by Ukraine's national poet Shevchenko. Let us also remember the great East European names: the Nobel prize winners Sienkiewicz and Seifert, the great Hungarians von Liszt and Petofi, the East German born philosopher Kant, Paris-based Rumanian essayist of world fame E. M. Cioran and many, many others. What would Europe be without this grand Eastern heritage? The communist regimes in the subjugated nations can never claim this heritage, although they are desperately trying to do so. Thus, the constant reminder from the West that all European nations from the Atlantic to the Urals belong to a common heritage of free nation-states of Europe is part of the struggle to weaken Soviet Russian hold over these countries. It is also part of the importance of the subjugated nations to our security.

A political-psychological freedom offensive against the Soviet Bloc should have as its goal to weaken the Soviet capabilities to continue expansionist policies. Internal forces must be the major factors for change in the subjugated nations. By aiding the freedom fighters inside and outside the Iron Curtain, the West can create a climate in these nations that forces Moscow to divert attention from strengthening its own economy and hold over the enslaved nations in the Soviet empire. Radio Moscow and other Soviet Russian propaganda instruments seek to portray the Western alliance as aggressive and the main contributor to global tension. It is important that Western information counters this propaganda with a message that Western Europe and the United States and other free nations are dedicated to establishing freedom and democracy in Eastern Europe and that the resistance in the subjugated nations has not been forgotten.

Mikhail Borodin, who was once a Stalinist representative to the Nationalist Chinese then told Madame Chiang Kai-shek that the Western doctrine posing the most serious danger to communism was the Christian concept of forgiveness in contrast to the Leninist view of class struggle and class enemies. A continuous encouragement of the subjugated peoples to lobby for internal reform would contribute to the slow erosion of communist party control. The growth of the free labour movement in Poland and religious and cultural dissent in Ukraine are two examples of a development that could be possible also in other subjugated nations. Forcing Moscow and its clients to turn to internal reform would divert attention and strength from expansionist schemes. For

instance, growing pressure to force Prague, Budapest and Bucharest among others to enlarge the proportion of land being farmed by private farmers would, if turned into a continuing process, in the end cause a small shift of power from the central government to the people. Another weak spot of the communist regimes is centralized management of industry. The enslaved peoples want a higher standard of living and increased production of consumer goods. A stimulation of decentralized industrial development would reinforce reformist structures and contribute to a weakening of the totalitarian hold.

The works of East European writers living in the West should be made available in greater quantity to the peoples of their homelands. Financial contributions to the printing of special editions of these works to be brought behind the Iron Curtain represent very small sums indeed in comparison with military expenditure. What would not the price of one fighter aircraft only mean in the way of boosting such an effort. The rich Western economies can certainly sustain the extra amounts needed to carry the works of free writers, artists and composers to the populations of the subjugated nations, who are seeking contact with free cultural expression. Thus, with limited funds, Western security could be enhanced with small economic expenditure. Western Europe must of course, be adequately defended and the work of spreading cultural, economic and political freedom must of course not interfere with military preparedness.

Let us not forget the great religious revival in Eastern Europe and all subjugated nations. It is important to support true Christianity and expose the false preachings of the official churches. Next year will present an excellent opportunity to reveal Moscow's disinformation in the religious field. The masters in the Kremlin will attempt to present the millennium as an anniversary of a Russian church when in reality it is the celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the Ukrainian church. A wide and well funded information effort alongside the Ukrainian in the West would be a serious blow to Soviet Russian credibility and further weaken the hold over the subjugated nations. It should not only be the responsibility of church authorities, free churches and other private institutions but of Christians in general to support the efforts of Ukrainians in the West to inform about Moscow's deceptive anniversary celebrations. All churches, Protestant and Catholic, should refuse to go to Moscow in 1988 to add respectability to the false feast in Moscow.

Specific groups in the subjugated nations ought to be targeted in Western information efforts. The labour force in agriculture is much greater in Eastern Europe and Soviet Russia than in Western countries. Farmers should be a special audience and an exchange of views, not with official representatives of the regimes but with individuals, if initiated, could explain the advantages of new farming techniques and independent agricultural enterprise. Rumania has 56 percent of the labour force in agriculture, Soviet Russia 26 percent. Most West European countries have under 10 percent of their labour force in agriculture. The man in the street behind the Iron Curtain already knows that free farming produces much more than collective farming. But additional information and exchange could heighten the pressure on the authorities to allow more private farming. Youth is another important group to be targeted with extended information efforts. In this way the likelihood of their support for the regime can be reduced. Growing resistance to military service is a problem that

could become a grave danger to the regimes. Special material for women is another interesting and important area.

The influence of soldiers is important in weakening the aggressive potentiality of the satellite regimes under Soviet Russian domination and reducing the hold over the populations. There are a number of communist weaknesses here. Take Poland for instance. The Polish Army has with 15 divisions, around 400,000 men. According to recent information, the Polish Army will in the event of a *blitzkrieg* type war, be in the second wave after Soviet Russian and East German troops. The Polish troops are supposed to be issued ammunition for only two days and will not be allowed to pause, even to attend to casualties. Only a handful of top Polish communist officials and generals are informed about these plans. If not successful, virtually the entire Polish army will be destroyed. It is this type of information that ought to be conveyed to ordinary soldiers and to the general public.

An information campaign to spread these facts could have quite an effect on troop morale in Poland. Every move towards growing unreliability of the East European armies will create security problems for the Kremlin masters. This is one of the most important proofs of the immense importance of the subjugated nations to Western security.

It is valuable to convey to the peoples of the subjugated nations true stories of heroic resistance to communism. The Soviet Russian rulers are doing all they can to obliterate the knowledge of the history of the subjugated nations in a truly Orwellian fashion. Almost the entire Free Polish Government was arrested when traveling to Moscow to negotiate in 1946. What about its fate? What about Ian Masaryk, Imre Nagy and Iuliu Maniu murdered by the Russians and supposedly non-existent in the histories of their nations? Let us continue to remind in the East and in the West about their fate.

Let us move eastward. The 1863 uprising led by Kastus Kalinowski in Byelorussia fully defined the essential traits of nationhood and on the basis of this, proved the existence of an independent Byelorussian nation. The free Latvian nation carried out extensive land reforms in the 1920s. There was a large flow of Lithuanians to the renaissance universities of Europe and contacts between Western Europe and the great, independent Lithuanian nation. The social legislation in free Estonia was among the most advanced in the whole of Europe between the wars. Let us remember of that. The Georgian nation is one of the oldest cultural establishments in the world with a 3,000 year old history, adhering to a way of life with chivalry, honour and ancient traditions so far from the violent world of communist class struggle. Let us recall of the periods of independence of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Alash Ordu or the Kazakhs, the Basmachi of Central Asia and the Transcaspian governments of 1918-1920. The freedom fighters of Ukraine and Lithuania, the revolts in the post WWII era of Germans, the peoples of Czecho-Slovakia, of the gallant Hungarian people and the Polish resistance that has never been crushed in history and that will never be crushed in the future. All this and much more not mentioned here, should be constant information themes to celebrate and keep alive for all the subjugated peoples, particularly for the young who have only experienced communist rule, the proud, independent histories of all peoples in the empire of Soviet Russia.

The nations from the Atlantic to the Urals are all part of a European civilization, something that should never be forgotten. That does not mean, of course, that we

should not honour and admire the cultures of Central Asia. In the Eurasian context, with the efforts of Russia to dominate the whole landmass, the peoples of Central Asia, play an important role in resistance to Russian rule.

What then, should the West's responsibilities be vis-a-vis the subjugated nations in order to really show their importance to the security of the West?

Western ambassadors to the United Nations must unite to bring a resolution before the General Assembly for the removal of Soviet Russian occupation forces from the enslaved nations, including, of course, Afghanistan. The resolution should contain background facts about Soviet Russian invasions and suppression of the peoples in Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and other nations.

The West ought to proclaim a new form of "linkage". In all future negotiations Western diplomats must demand Soviet Russian withdrawal from Eastern Europe.

In the United Nations, Western states must demand troop removal and free elections in Eastern Europe and freedom for the enslaved nations within the Soviet Russian empire.

In 1943 that great British geographer, Sir Halford Mackinder, wrote with great foresight on the importance of Eastern Europe to the security of the West: "All things considered, the conclusion is unavoidable that if the Soviet Union emerges from this war as conqueror of Germany, she must rank as the greatest landpower on the globe. Moreover, she will be the power in the strategically strongest defensive position. The Heartland (that is Eurasia) is the greatest natural fortress on earth. For the first time in history, she is manned by a garrison sufficient both in number and quality."

Sir Halford served shortly as British High Commissioner in Southern Russia in 1919. He then, also with great vision, concluded that there was a need for a buffer zone against the new Bolshevik state, including the independent states of, from the north, Finland, the Baltic nations, Poland and Ukraine.

There is only one road to peace and security for the world: freedom and independence for the subjugated nations. Then, and only then, there is acceptable security for the West. The alternative may be Soviet Russian domination over not only Western Europe, but the whole Eurasian landmass. That would reduce the United States to an isolated second degree power. But complete peace and security for mankind is only possible when all totalitarian Marxist-Leninist regimes on earth have been exchanged for democracies.

THE NORILSK UPRISING

by

Yevhen Hrycak

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RUSSIAN GLOBAL STRATEGY

Mikhail Gorbachev's eagerness to introduce changes which are hailed by many in the West as aimed in the direction of democracy reminds us of Peter I and his Europeanization of Russia. The *New York Times* of June 15, 1987, calling Peter I (Great) the grandfather of Russian reformers, writes: "He sought, 300 years ago, to remake Russia in Europe's image. Agriculture, scholarship, the military, dress — little escaped his efforts. Peter turned the country into a great empire."

It would also be wise to recall the testament of Peter I to the Russian people:

"1. Keep the Russian nation in a continuous state of war... Only allow a respite in order to improve the state economy. The troops must always be armed, ready to attack at the proper moment. Thereby, in the interest of Russia's expansion and development, war shall serve peace, and peace war.

2. By every possible means the military men are to be drawn upon in war and the scholars in peace, so that Russia may adopt all the useful things emanating from foreign lands, without losing any of her own."

Further directives of Peter's global strategy of world conquest are: unrests in Germany, disturbances in Poland, Denmark's separation from Sweden, carefully planned trade relations with England, expansion along the Baltic Sea, fomented wars in Turkey and Persia and the special role of the Orthodox Church. "Our success would be assured if Russians were in possession of the whole East and part of Europe," is a further quotation from the testament. The successors of Peter I did not disappoint him. Russia grew fast at the cost of its neighbours. In an article, published in the *New York Staats Zeitung und Herald*, Karl Marx wrote:

"Since Peter I opened his famous "window" to the West, Russia's frontiers have come 700 miles nearer Berlin, Dresden and Vienna, 500 miles nearer Stockholm and 1,000 miles nearer Teheran."

But we should not forget that this was 100 years ago.

"Russian diplomacy gains from the fact that Western statesmen fear it," continued Karl Marx, and again in the article in the *New York Herald Tribune*, he wrote that "the methods can change, but the Russian fixed star remains the conquest of the whole world."

The methods alternately changed. To improve the economy, Lenin introduced NEP (New Economic Policy). The NEP brought a strong recovery, but Stalin abolished it, thus restoring once again the rigidly controlled economy. In order to enforce collectivization and suppress the urge for national independence, Stalin practiced genocide against the conquered nations.

British scholar Robert Conquest, in his book "Harvest of Sorrow" published in 1986, blames Russia for 7 million deaths in Ukraine alone, not counting victims in Byelorussia, the Cossack lands, as a result of the introduced terror famine in 1932-33.

However, Stalin enlarged the Russian empire in World War II, thanks to the allies, — the United States and Great Britain. It grew from a small state of Muscovy (300 years ago) into a huge empire with 10,937,400 sq. miles and a population of 353,660,000.



Mrs. Slava Stetsko delivering her address

But still during Stalin's last years, the Soviet Russian focus was largely regional or continental, with relatively little attention given to distant areas. Khrushchev again turned toward global competition. The onset of detente after 1969 did not reduce Moscow's commitment to compete globally which resulted in a series of actions in Angola and Ethiopia. Moscow's careful global reassertion coincided with US global engagement. This demonstrates Soviet Russian tactical behaviour — expand when the opportunity arises, retrench when the opportunity is to your disadvantage.

The British empire ceased to exist granting voluntary independence to its colonial nations, other empires disappeared, but Russia remained as the last, the largest and most evil empire. But what use is it now to interpret the Yalta and Potsdam agreements? Or to discuss how Russia violates them by not carrying out the promise of free elections in so-called liberated Europe? Liberated from Brown totalitarianism, but sealed by Red imperialism. There was not a real peace treaty, remark Western diplomats, there was no division of Europe agreed upon in Yalta by the Western allies, state the analysts, among them Zbigniew Brzezinski leading the group of experts. However, the fact remains that Europe is divided, the line of freedom and slavery runs through the heart of Europe and the shameful Berlin Wall is not a theatrical canvas but soaked in the blood of German freedom seekers. "Tear down the Wall, Mr. Gorbachev, if you mean glasnost in deeds," calls US President Ronald Reagan, while the youth assembled on the East side of the wall wait in vain to catch the most welcome words of hope, but the police barriers make it impossible. "Americans out of Europe," answer Moscow inspired peacemakers on the Western side of the Wall.

In order to induce the West to sanction its World War II conquests, Soviet Russia initiated the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, popularly known as

the Helsinki Accords. And the West accepted it eagerly, expecting some possibilities to exploit this forum for the improvement of human rights in the oppressed countries inside the Soviet Union and the so-called satellite states. Some highly respected spokesmen, such as Mr. Fred Zimmerman of the United States and other French, German, Canadian and British representatives, defended religious believers, political prisoners and prisoners of conscience of the subjugated countries at the Vienna conference. But the basic human right — the right to self-determination — is painstakingly avoided by almost both sides at this forum.

The most known Russian reformer for the West was Nikita Khrushchev. He urged cultural thaws and political change as a way to invigorate the economy and overtake the West. As Karl Marx stated, the methods may change. And they changed. After Khrushchev, the Brezhnev doctrine quenched the Czechs and Slovaks and made all expectations for national-communism or communism with a human face unrealistic.

The New York Times writes: “Mr. Gorbachev presses forward. Hardly a day now passes without another initiative inconceivable even five years ago. Last week he decided on a further loosening of central controls over the economy — but without bone restructuring.”

Gorbachev’s reforms of “glasnost” and “perestrojka” dominate the pages of the world press. “The system experienced,” write the other newspapers, “great crises and reforms were needed in agriculture, industry, social life and the judiciary.” They should add — to rescue the empire from collapse. Not only rescue it from collapse — the empire’s ambition continues to be world conquest.

Since World War II, Soviet Russia has pursued arms and trade agreements with the West while engaging in a massive military build-up also during the era of detente in order to dominate the world. This was accompanied by the infiltration of African, Asian and Latin American countries, its direct aggression in Afghanistan, its intrigues in the Middle East and its encouragement of discussions in Western Europe.

Soviet Russia’s strength lies in the systematic disintegration of Western societies. A US State Department conference on Contemporary Soviet Propaganda and Disinformation (Moscow refers to this as “active measures”) came to the conclusion that the Soviet Union spent 3 billion dollars per year on various forms of foreign propaganda (books and pamphlets, weeklies, radio, a network of contacts with foreign newspapers, press agencies, radio and television companies). It now extends into virtually all reaches of the world. Internally, the Soviet Union is weak (the seven year war in Afghanistan is the best proof) and can only survive by suppressing national liberation and democratic processes in Poland, Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Georgia, North Caucasus and other subjugated nations.

By the system of disinformation, the Russian empire conceals its weaknesses and its total economic bankruptcy and is always rescued by the West.

Henry Kissinger was right in his commentaries published in *Die Welt*, that reforms are for the strengthening of the empire and not for the benefit of the West. They, the reforms, are not for the well-being of the incarcerated people and nations. The newly released dissidents, such as the psychiatrist Anatoliy Koryagin at his open meetings in the West, similarly as President Reagan, request Mikhail Gorbachev to show his glasnost in deeds. “Open the psychiatric wards where the healthy, sane people are administered heavy medicine to weaken their will and ruin their health because they have dangerous thoughts towards the communist regime,” says Dr. Koryagin.

The recently released Ukrainian Catholic Yosyp Terelya, who is still under KGB surveillance, wrote a letter to Prime Minister Mitterand and the French Parliament, in which he says: "During 23 years of prisons and concentration camps I became an invalid at the age of 44. The unique cultures are being ruined under the rule of the "older brother". The tragedy of the Baltic nations and Ukraine was planned in the KGB cabinets and by the party leaders. From the very beginning of the Helsinki Accords, two approaches have clearly been visible — the West and the East. The democratic countries wished peace based on Christian principles and European culture, to conduct dialogues frankly, trusting that the other side, although having developed its own morale and policy towards other nations, still wished peace and co-operation. Nothing of that.

One example is the film currently shown, called "Repentance". At the same time there are thousands in prisons and concentration camps. The Ukrainian sociologist Mychaylo Horyn is dying. In Perm the following are still languishing: Lev Lukianenko, Ivan Kandyba, Mykola Horbal, Ovsienko, Father Semen Skalych and many others. In Ukraine, Ukrainian churches are burned, forceful Russification is being conducted and all this at the time of the Vienna Conference where talks are lead about cooperation and harmony among nations."

The Byelorussian political prisoner M. Kukobaka was released, but is now imprisoned again. And he is not the only one who has been sent back to prison.

In connection with Gorbachev's so-called reforms, the group of writers in the French magazine *L'Express* of May 22, 1987 draws attention to the problem not less important than the economic — namely the national problem. Political scientist Alain Besancon puts an open question to the West: what answer has it prepared to the



General view of the EFC conference participants.

national desires for freedom of the subjugated nations. He strongly believes that the Soviet Russian empire is approaching its fall.

Milovan Dzillas, one of the experts on communist affairs, in his recent interview in Vienna stated that present developments in the USSR are corroborating the fact that the Soviet imperial system is slowly but incessantly disintegrating and that no reforms will save it. It will lead, Dzillas maintains, to the dissolution of the Russian empire in the future, and the main role in this will be played by the non-Russian nations in the USSR.

French professor A. Besancon states in *L'Express*: "It (the empire) cannot be reformed and it is doomed to collapse. It is high time to think about the future of the subjugated nations. If Gorbachev succeeds in persuading the West that he is a champion of de-militarization he can get the material aid which the USSR needs to preserve its status as an empire. But it is not the first time that the West has cherished the hope for new reforms. This was during the 1920s and 1930s, during Khrushchev's, Brezhnev's and Andropov's time. Western credits help the regime to exist. The West should help the nations in the Soviet Union to liberate themselves which — not the West — will liquidate this system. Why shouldn't the West extend its hand to the Baltic nations, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and others, so that their name remains in Europe and Europe does not forget them. Shouldn't we, as Western de-colonisers, tell the peoples of Central Asia that we do not recognise the legitimacy of the Soviet empire? Russia too may be liberated when the other nations which she tries to Russify and which hate her will be granted the right to self-determination. The West does not endanger peace if it keeps to its clear positions, nor does it endanger peace if it breaks off its close ties with the Russian empire." This is the French advice for the West.

Are the national feelings really so strong in the USSR, others may ask. After so many purges of the intelligentsia, genocide of entire conquered nations (North Caucasians, Crimean Tartars), deportations of thousands upon thousands of people from Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Ukraine, the constant policy of Russification, distortion of history, banishment of national cultures to the burning down of national libraries, incarceration of bearers and defenders of cultures and national ideals behind the barbed wires and in psychiatric wards.

Ellen Carrère D'Encausse, the French author of "The Cracks in the Russian Empire" also writes in *L'Express* that "the awakening of nationalism is Gorbachev's main challenge" and that "the movement in Ukraine and Byelorussia in the defence of national languages in official use and day to day usage put the unification policy of peoples into one Soviet (read Russian) people under a question mark."

In *Newsweek* of May 25, 1987 we read: "M. Gorbachev's policy of relaxing the political reins may be releasing pent-up nationalism on the fringes of the Soviet empire. In Jerevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia, Armenian nationalist leader Paruyr Ayrikyan has petitioned Gorbachev to permit "the creation of an organisation supporting Armenian independence." The group's first step would be a referendum in Armenia on whether the republic should remain within the Soviet Union."

The members of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, in a memo to the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, severely criticised Gorbachev for the distortion of Lithuanian history and demanded the introduction of Lithuanian as the official language of the republic, the creation of a national Lithuanian army and independence for Lithuania. This has been recorded on a video film which reached the West.

At the Writers' Congress in Kyiv earlier this year, Volodymyr Drozd, Ivan Drach and Serhiy Plachynda raised their voices in defence of the Ukrainian language and culture. Similar voices were heard at the other Writers' Congresses in the national republics. The writer Oles Horbach asked why the negligence of the beautiful language of Taras Shevchenko is tolerated. Pavlychko and Novychenko also criticised the unjust treatment of the Ukrainian language. The numerous letters published in *Radianska Ukraina* referring to the article "There is no greater treasure" (meaning the national language) show how close this problem is to the heart. Several authors demanded that the Ukrainian language and literature be taught in all schools in Ukraine. The intensified Russification created strong resistance which is presently coming to the fore. A similar process was noticed during Khrushchev's thaw, but was suppressed under Brezhnev's rule.

In December last year, 28 Byelorussian cultural activists wrote an open letter to Gorbachev. They describe the unbearable state of the Byelorussian language and culture under Russian domination and demand the immediate introduction of the Byelorussian language as the official language of the republic and give proposals of how the status of Byelorussian culture should be uplifted. The Party chief Efrey Sokolov's official answer was that the Byelorussian national question will be viewed from an international position.

Similar resistance against national oppression and Russification is noticeable in all the republics. Bloody clashes in Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan and Tadzhikistan were followed by new arrests and persecutions. In Latvia and Estonia writers and scientists are leading the resistance. They are demanding the guarantee of their national languages and cultures and they have mass support.

It would be wrong to judge the developments and measure the degree of national feelings only according to open opposition. We recall that in Ukraine, the Ukrainian underground Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) were fighting a regular guerilla warfare until 1953. A similar organised insurgency was fighting in Lithuania and to a lesser degree in the different national republics of the USSR.

During Stalin's time there were 17 million prisoners in concentration camps incarcerated for their love of God and nation, and 6 million deported, according to Western estimates at the Vienna Conference. What about the influence of these 23 million people? And the spread of patriotic, national ideas throughout the whole empire by the visitors of these millions? The Russian dissident Ludmilla Alexeyeva in her book "Soviet Dissent — Contemporary Movements for National, Religious and Human Rights", published in the United States, gives a very profound analysis of the resistance movements which developed in the Russian empire after World War II, which for some time were also not centralised, sometimes assumed different names. Yet, they were born out of the nationalist underground movements dominating the scene during World War II while fighting both tyrannical regimes — the Nazi German and Soviet Russian.

These still existing resistance movements and their frequent appearance on the surface — the barometer for them being the degree of sentences presently administered — are Gorbachev's main headache. Therefore, Moscow's constant policy is that of no glasnost for national problems.

In connection with Kazakhstan's Alma Ata demonstrations, a leading article, written on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, appeared in the Party

newspaper *Pravda*. It clearly relegated the interests of the individual Soviet Republics to the lowest rank. The Communist Party starts “from the interests of the all-union economy. The orientation on local-patriotic, limited-resource, small-group considerations is liable to skid onto the path of protectionism and nepotism.”

This is the Party’s reply not only to the events in Kazakhstan, but also to the anti-Russian debates which took place last summer when the nuclear reactor disaster in the Ukrainian city of Chornobyl provoked discussions in the non-Russian republics about the unproportional distribution of dangerous plants and whole branches of economic production in the Soviet Union in favour of the Russian SFSR.

It is not without reason that the non-Russians in the Soviet Union equate terms such as “all-union economy” and “Soviet State” with Russian. Russian has been imposed as the obligatory language from Vladivostock to Vilnius, in all republics it is taught from text books as the “mother tongue”. As a rule the deputy party secretary in all the republics is Russian, and Russians also run larger factories and organisations in the non-Russian republics. According to *Pravda*, this trend should be consolidated in the future: “It is necessary to promote a constant exchange of personnel, an exchange of experienced workers between the republics and the centre.”

“Exchange of personnel” is synonymous with Russification because Russians who come to Uzbekistan or Ukrainians who are sent to Estonia, can bring their experience to bear only through the medium of the Russian language.

Moscow badly needs the subjugated nations. Moscow’s exploitation of the agricultural, mineral and economic resources of the subjugated nations, such as Ukraine, Turkestan, North Caucasus, the Baltic States, Eastern and Central European nations, the exploitation of the wealth of Siberia through slave labour, the usurpation of the creative talents and national genius of every enslaved nation and of the geopolitical position of Turkestan, Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, East Germany, Rumania and the expanses of Siberia — all this gives the Russian empire the opportunity to increase its military potential and to become an ever greater threat to the rest of Europe and the Free World in general.

On the other hand, the struggle of these incarcerated nations against Russian domination are the main hindrance to world conquest, which in spite of reforms and methods, remains the main aim of Moscow’s rulers. For this reason, Soviet Russia not only has its historic expansionism merged with an imperialistic, totalitarian communist system, but also aspires to spread itself globally.

The free countries of Europe are faced with the threat of direct or indirect Russian communist aggression. Moscow has developed and is using, as in Afghanistan, the most modern means of warfare to pursue its global, aggressive objectives. Among these aims we can include the Russian military conquest of Afghanistan and various subversive actions in the Near East with the aim of securing the oil fields in this area, the initiation of Soviet “proxy wars” in Africa and Latin America, and the establishment of Russian offensive naval power throughout the oceans. By isolating Free Europe from the oil fields of the Near and Middle East and from the natural resources of Africa, Moscow could establish its hegemony over Western Europe without even having to initiate military hostilities.

Some 75% of US imported oil, as well as more than 90% of strategic minerals, now comes through the sea lanes of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico. In the event of any military conflict in Western Europe, 50% of US supplies to NATO will travel

through these sea lanes. 40% of them will go through the Straits of Florida. With the communist regime in Nicaragua, the Cuban satellite and until the communist expansion from Grenada, Moscow was physically contiguous to four of the five vital sea lanes of the United States. "The extension of Moscow's web of global assets to Central America is one of the most disquieting developments of the last decade. Moscow's purpose is to undermine the political solidarity of the Western alliance by outflanking it militarily in the front yard of the United States. Neither the United States nor Western Europe can remain unaffected by this threat. The Caribbean and the Gulf have become Western Europe's fourth frontier." (Mrs. Whittlesey, US ambassador to Switzerland, in *The Wall Street Journal*, April 7, 1987).

The Soviet Union is drawing up plans to build huge satellites in orbit that would convert sunlight into electricity for cities and industries on earth. Orbiting solar satellites and reflectors could be used in both peace and war. The Soviet Union also has at its command an assemblage of front groups, the World Peace Council among others.

The activities of the Russian Orthodox Church are designed to win over the support of foreign churches for the current Soviet "peacemaking" initiatives and to neutralize religiously based foreign opposition to Soviet Russian policies through a series of international ecclesiastical conferences and exchange programs it organised and co-sponsored. Through its representatives in the World Council of Churches and other interchurch forums, the Moscow Patriarchate faithfully followed the agenda of Soviet Russian foreign policy and propaganda.

Since the very existence of a large body of emigres undermines the utopian promises of the ideology of a perfect society and since the emigres have had a certain impact on a number of Western countries' policies towards the USSR for the first four decades, Moscow pays great attention to political discreditation of the emigre communities and their political leaders in the eyes of their host societies. However, little attention has been devoted to the study of KGB disinformation directed at the emigres. The Soviet Russian aim is to demoralize, to wear down the West's self-confidence, to implant a sense of pessimism about its ability to maintain its values in a global competition against alternative values and to achieve a "gradual submission".

The covert activity of communist agents and Moscow's "fifth columns" in all the countries of the world which have aided international terrorism and the internal subversion of Western societies through the undermining of patriotic, religious and democratic moral values are the important part of Moscow's global strategy.

The United Nations is one of the places where the Soviet Union has used proxies in a "socialist division of labour". Similar interconnections are to be found in the Middle East, North Africa, Central America, and so on. This is in accordance with the Bolshevik tactical prescription "avoid the direct use of military force and use proxies whenever possible." We should put Moscow on the defensive.

Robert V. Daniels, professor at Vermont University says: "Communism in its original sense is on the ash heap of history. The terms of Marxist ideology remain but the substance is changed to meet the needs of the quest for global advantage. The Third World is the main domain where Soviet propaganda has been able to appeal effectively to the anti-imperialist legacy. The time has come when we seriously need to devise a long-term and global strategy to divide the Soviet Union from its misled supporters.

We are told that Russian involvement in the Third World conflicts is good because it is essential to the cause of national liberation. Where is Western policy of national liberation from the Soviet Russian empire? "Force is not bad, if used by the right side," say the Soviet Russians. Moscow exploits the Western fear of war and realizes that he who sets the terms of debate is almost halfway toward winning that debate. For example, Moscow focuses international attention on the arms race as the principal source of East-West tension, obscuring the fundamental political, moral, philosophical and ideological differences that are, in fact, the basic source of tension. In the 20th century nations in jail, religions in catacombs, human rights trampled!

Moscow has and follows a strategy for waging the struggle within Western societies, and the battlefield is meant to be solely on the Western side.

The West's answer should also be the global strategy of securing peace in freedom, national self-determination and independence for all peoples, religious freedom, social justice and the well-being of mankind. In this global strategy of the West, the subjugated nations in the Soviet Russian empire should be awarded their deserved importance as the West's most reliable allies.

The late ABN President, Yaroslav Stetsko, wrote:

"The Free World must come to understand one irrevocable truth: that the subjugated nations can eliminate the threat of Soviet Russian aggression. It is they who place the perpetuation of the Soviet Russian Empire at risk despite being subjected to continuous Russian terror and despite the fact that Western policies vis-a-vis the USSR often actually tend to facilitate the Russian system of subjugation. The key to a just and lasting universal peace lies in the dissolution of the Russian Empire into independent national democratic states based on the presently subjugated nations, each within its ethnographic borders through a process of self-determination. This would eliminate once and for all the Soviet Russian threat to the Free World, which is the principal impediment to the full development of economic, political and cultural relations between all countries of the world on all continents on the basis of mutual cooperation and partnership between independent sovereign states."

**We ask our readers to note
that the ABN Correspondence representative
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Educated Public, Media — Best Defense Against USSR

Statement of the European Freedom Council

June 27-28, 1987, Munich, West Germany

The transfer of power to Mikhail Gorbachev in the USSR has shown that in order to survive, the Soviet Russian empire has to change. In effect, the transfer has shown the great weakness of the empire. This year is the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. The totalitarian system introduced in Russia via the 1917 coup now stands at a crossroad. It can ignore the revolution in technology and information in the West and continue down the road of growing economic and political problems: the national antagonisms within the empire and the erosion of the failing Marxist-Leninist economic system. On the other hand, it can attempt at alteration and change. The present campaign of "glasnost" is not a result of moral and ethical considerations. It shows the growing panic of the Soviet Russian leadership that the empire is lagging behind the West. "Glasnost" is not a change of mind of the totalitarian system. It is an attempt to save that system, realizing it may be the final opportunity.

The strains of the arms race are clearly visible in the Kremlin, thus a concentration of attacks against SDI, the U.S. space-based defense system under development. Soviet Russia would not be able to cope with financing an effort to match the American defense system. It is in this light that the present "zero zero option" for global elimination of shorter range nuclear missiles as part of an INF treaty removing cruise, Pershing-2 and SS-20 missiles from Europe must be seen. EFC believes the proposed treaty, without countervailing improvement, would leave Soviet Russia with a superiority in conventional weapons in Europe. Reducing missiles in Europe must not mean reduction in security.

The Soviet Russian human rights record has remained unchanged under Gorbachev in spite of "glasnost." Kremlin continues to harass, imprison and even torture dissidents from Ukraine, the Baltic states and other subjugated nations. Recent moves by Gorbachev are designed to soften Western attitudes and direct attention from the real state of Soviet Russian human rights and to shift the emphasis of East-West relations more to arms control instead of human rights. EFC insists that human rights dimensions should be included in all top-level meetings between Soviet Russia and Western nations.

In April 1986 the graphite nuclear reactor at Chornobyl in Ukraine was wrecked by explosion due to inexcusable breach of safety regulations. The accident led to death and injury and evacuation of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians. It will probably lead to thousands of additional cancer cases during the next 50 years in Ukraine. EFC condemns the carelessness of the Soviet Russian authorities in handling nuclear power, causing suffering not only of so many Ukrainians but also of Scandinavians, East Europeans and other peoples. Because of the accident, Western countries should press Moscow in international forums to allow on-site inspection of Soviet Russian nuclear stations.

EFC supports Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) against ballistic missiles. Such a defense can be initially operated within seven years of a decision by a U.S. president. In disarmament negotiations with Soviet Russia, the United States must continue to

make it clear that SDI will not be abandoned, that research will be continued and that a decision on early deployment will be taken unless Moscow is willing to make concessions.

EFC urges all free nations to support the liberation struggle in Ukraine, Poland, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua and other countries subjugated by Russia and its client regimes. EFC supports efforts to create German unity in freedom through self-determination and the full expression of the German people's will for liberty. The existence of a divided Germany in the heart of Europe is unacceptable.

EFC regards it as important to strengthen the northern and southern flanks in Europe. Spain and Italy are of special importance in the Mediterranean region. A growing NATO presence in the North Atlantic, the Norwegian Sea and the Baltic Sea is necessary to balance growing Soviet Russian military strength in the Leningrad military district, in the Baltic states and on the Kola peninsula.

The nations subjugated by Soviet Russia should be given full support by free nations in the United Nations. EFC urges Western governments to implement the U.N. Declaration on Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples (1960, 1970, 1971, 1974) in regard to the subjugated nations and the United States in its foreign policy to fully implement the U.S. Resolution on the Captive Nations (US Public Law 86/90).

Propaganda and political warfare ("active measures") of the International Department of the CPSU and KGB will continue to play an important role in Moscow policies. EFC encourages the West to counter Moscow's use of agents of influence aimed at subverting Western policies. Pakistan must be aided as it is particularly at risk from Soviet Russian efforts to widen influence in this area. The West must not cease to support the Afghan freedom fighters until Soviet occupying forces are withdrawn from Afghanistan.

In 1988 the Soviet regime will be celebrating the millennium of the introduction of Christianity in Russia. It should be stressed that this was not the introduction of orthodox religion in Russia, but the Christianization of Ukraine. The EFC calls on the Holy See to intervene on behalf of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and to be careful not to legitimize the efforts of Moscow to present the anniversary as a celebration of the Orthodox Church by sending a representative to the celebration in the coming year.

The West must increase efforts to inform the public of Soviet Russian active measures especially "overt" forgeries aimed at the media and more subtle "silence" forgeries targeting heads of state and senior policy makers. Moscow's use of single-issue international organizations in subverting Western public opinion must be publicized and revealed to a greater degree. The United States and other free nations should increase funding of departments involved in information on active measures. The best defense against Soviet Russian disinformation is a well educated public and media aware of the techniques used.

"WAS IT REALLY RUSSIA THAT WAS CHRISTIANISED IN 988?"

**by His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky
Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church**

Published by: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 200 Liverpool Road, London N1 1LF, England.

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Forty six years ago Ukrainian statehood was renewed by the Act of Proclamation at the National Assembly in the city of Lviv on June 30, 1941. The late Yaroslav Stetsko, whose first anniversary of death we commemorated on July 11, 1987, headed the Ukrainian National Government as its Premier.

ACT OF PROCLAMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE

1. By the will of the Ukrainian people, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera proclaims the restoration of the Ukrainian State, for which entire generations of the best sons of Ukraine have given their lives.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which under the direction of its creator and leader Evhen Konovalets during the past decades of blood-stained Muscovite Bolshevik subjugation carried on a stubborn struggle for freedom, calls upon the entire Ukrainian people not to lay down its arms until a Sovereign Ukrainian State is formed in all the Ukrainian lands.

The sovereign Ukrainian government assures the Ukrainian people of law and order, multi-sided development of all its forces, and satisfaction of its demands.

2. In the western lands of Ukraine a Ukrainian government is created which will be subordinated to a Ukrainian national administration to be created in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv.

3. The Ukrainian national-revolutionary army, which is being created on Ukrainian soil, will continue to fight against the Muscovite occupation for a Sovereign All-Ukrainian State and a new, just order in the whole world.

**Long live the Sovereign Ukrainian State!
Long live the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists!
Long live the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists —
Stepan Bandera!**

**The City of Lviv, June 30, 1941, 8 p.m.
Yaroslav Stetsko
Head of the National Assembly**

ABN AT THE 20TH WACL CONFERENCE



National representatives, from left to right: Joe Pavlovic (Croatia), Arvo Horm (Estonia), Mykola Szafowal (Ukraine), Avo Piirisild (Estonia), Srecko Psenicnik (Croatia), John Halmaghi (Rumania), Orest Steciw (Ukraine), Zacharia Angel (Rumania), John Ivica Kokic (Croatia), Nino Alschibaja (Georgia), Ivan Bankovski (Bulgaria), Slava Stetsko (Ukraine), Roksolana Stoyko-Lozynskij (Ukraine), Bohdanna Krushelnyckyj (Ukraine).

The 20th conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) took place in Taipei, Taiwan, the Republic of China from August 15-23, 1987. Within the framework of the WACL conference, three other conferences were incorporated, namely, the 3rd conference of the World Youth Freedom League (WYFL); the 33rd conference of the Asian Pacific Anti-Communist League (APACL) and the 7th conference of the Asian Pacific Youth Freedom League (APYFL). 471 representatives from 113 nations participated in the conference.

WACL was founded in 1967. It was initiated in 1958 in Mexico City by ABN president Yaroslav Stetsko, the president of the Asian Anti-Communist League, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, and the chairman of the Inter-American Confederacy for the Defense of the Continent Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens. Yaroslav Stetsko, the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian National Government was a long time member of the WACL Executive Board. After his death, at the 19th WACL conference in Luxembourg, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, the current ABN president, was elected a member of the Executive Board.

The ABN has been a member organization of WACL from the beginning, and has been represented at all the previous 19 WACL conferences. The ABN delegation at the 20th conference, headed by its president, Slava Stetsko included delegations of the

following subjugated nations: Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Rumania and Ukraine.

The opening ceremonies took place on August 17. Senator Jose Desmarets of Belgium, the chairman of the 19th WACL Council opened the ceremonies, followed by Dr. Osami Kuboki of Japan, the chairman of the 32nd APACL Council and by Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, chairman of the 20th WACL and 19th APACL conferences. Premier Yu Kuo-hwa of the Republic of China welcomed the conference participants. Congratulatory messages were read from His Excellency Chiang Ching-kuo, President of the Republic of China, President Ronald Reagan, and from President Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay.

Guest speeches were delivered by Congressman Earl Hutto from the USA, the Hon. Dieter Weirich from the Federal Republic of Germany, the Hon. Georges Apélété Creppy from the Ivory Coast, Mr. Ahmed Mohammed Jamal from Saudi Arabia and the Hon. Daso de Oliveira Coimbra from Brazil. That same day, the second session consisted of reports on Council action, reports from WACL regions and youth activities. Mrs. Stetsko reported on the activities of the ABN and on the current status in the subjugated nations.

On August 18, a wreath laying ceremony was conducted at the Martyrs' Shrine. The program of the conference was a multifaceted one. Youth delegates participated in an all day meeting with the Chinese youth "China Corps". WACL and APACL delegates participated in three forums: 1) Forum on Mainland China and the Soviet Union; 2) Forum on Free World Security and 3) Forum on International Cooperation in the Cause of Freedom. ABN delegates actively participated in the discussion sessions of all forums. The day ended with a concert of Chinese folk and classical music and dance performed by schoolchildren and youth.



Mrs. Slava Stetsko with other dignitaries at the Captive Nations Rally.

The conference continued with separate meetings of the WACL regions. ABN held a workshop on common strategy approaches in combatting communism. ABN youth delegates actively participated in the WYFL meeting.

On August 20, the Captive Nations Rally was held at the China Sports and Cultural Activities Center. Honorary WACL chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-kang addressed the rally, other addresses were delivered by Congressman Charles Wilson of the USA, the Hon. Ortwin Lowack, member of the West German Parliament, the Hon. Antonio Ortezturcios of Honduras, the Hon. Jong-Woor Hong of Korea, the Hon. Takeo Hiranuma of Japan, Professor Abdul Sattar Sirat of Afghanistan, the Hon. Jacques Teuira of French Polynesia. Mrs. Stetsko addressed the rally from ABN.

The joint closing ceremonies featured speeches by the following statesmen: Governor of the State of Arizona, USA, Evan Mecham; Mr. Lic Bernal Urbina Pinto, a political activist from Costa Rica, General Luis A. Villa-Real of the Philippines, the Hon. John Wilkinson, member of the British Parliament and president of the EFC and Mr. Pierre Schifferli from Switzerland, which will host the 21st WACL conference. The conference ended with a farewell dinner hosted by Dr. and Mrs. Ku Cheng-kang.

The conference issued a final joint communique assessing the world situation, contrasting the success of the Free World with the ever increasing failures of communism. The communique urges free nations to strive for unity as part of a global anti-communist strategy, and calls upon them to "provide moral, political, and logistical military support for all anti-communist freedom fighters... We must never accept as final, the division of the world into half slave — half free."

During the course of the conference, in official capacity as delegates and in private conversations, representatives of the ABN were able to promote the struggle for freedom of the subjugated nations. Literature in several languages was distributed to the conference participants and old contacts were strengthened and new ones were made. The high level and overall success of the conference, in which the subjugated nations were able to promote their cause and generally inform the Free World of their plight, prove the importance and necessity of such conferences and our participation in them.



ABN delegates in the front row at the Captive Nations Rally.

J O I N T C O M M U N I Q U E

*20th WACL, 33rd APACL, 3rd WYFL and 7th APYFL Conferences
Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China, August 21, 1987*

The 20th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), the 33rd Conference of the Asian Pacific Anti-Communist League (APACL), the 3rd Conference of the World Youth Freedom League (WYFL) and the 7th Conference of the Asian Pacific Youth Freedom League (APYFL) convened in Taipei, Republic of China, from August 15-23, 1987, to deliberate on effective ways to achieve common security through freedom.

President Chiang Ching-kuo, President Ronald Reagan, and President Alfredo Stroessner sent messages of congratulations and support, for which we are grateful.

The participants reviewed the world situation with respect to:

1. The Free World's success of political democracy and free market economies, contrasted with the growing failures of the communist world.
2. The Free World objective of defending freedom and national independence has helped to check the communist goal of unlimited expansionism.
3. The attempt to use Peking as a counterweight to Moscow has not prevented rapprochement between the two communist powers and could lead to serious consequences.

The conference reaffirmed the Free World goal of peace with justice, national independence, economic freedom and prosperity, and social progress.

With these concerns in mind, the Conference resolved to urge all freedom-loving peoples to:

Draw a line between democracies and communist systems. An example of this is Communist China's support of Iran and the sending of Silkworm missiles into the Persian Gulf. Free nations should strive for unity as part of a global anti-communist strategy.

Strive for the expansion of freedom through national, regional and global channels. Common security systems should be adopted to achieve this goal.

Expand political, economic, cultural, sci-tech, information and other exchanges within the Free World (recognizing the constraints of security).

Deter communist attacks through the retention of credible nuclear retaliatory forces, increased conventional forces, and defense of Free World assets through the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Even if nuclear weapons could be abolished with guarantees of verification, it would only make the Free World more vulnerable to massive Soviet Bloc conventional forces.

Stop arms sales and technology transfers to the communist world.

Work to resolve racial and religious conflicts so that internecine acts do not threaten freedom and encourage the communist world to divide and conquer the Free World through infiltration and subversion.

Support all activities to prevent the betrayal of Hong Kong and Macao residents under Communist China's fraudulent "one country, two systems" ploy. Every positive and effective step should be taken to prevent the further enslavement of free peoples.

Stand behind the peoples of the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea, and other divided nations to insure national reunification consonant with freedom and national independence.

Stand behind the peoples of the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea, and other divided nations to insure national reunification consonant with freedom and national independence.

Most importantly, provide moral, political, and logistical military support for all anti-communist freedom fighters, with emphasis on existing resistance movements in Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, the Seychelles, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and South Yemen. Care should be taken to reject one-sided "peace" proposals which block U.S. support to resistance movements (as in Nicaragua) while allowing Soviet and Cuban aid to continue to the Sandinistas. Moreover, the Free World should support the heroic struggles for national independence of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain in Mainland China, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Caucasia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Czechia-Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Croatia. We must never accept as final the division of the world into half slave — half free. Hanoi's attempt to Vietnamize the peoples of Cambodia and Laos must be vigorously opposed and stopped.

The World Anti-Communist League decided to hold its 21st Conference in Switzerland at an appropriate date, in 1988 and the Asian Pacific Anti-Communist League decided to hold its 34th Conference in the Asian Pacific area at an appropriate date in 1988. The 1987 Conference expressed special gratitude to the host country for its warm hospitality.

A D D E N D U M

This communique recognizes the following areas of conflict between the Free World and communist totalitarianism and applies its principles to those conflicts:

1) Recent election results in New Zealand reveal a further drift of that country in the direction of Soviet influence, with the apparent determination of Prime Minister Lange to reduce Western influence from the area through the extension of so-called nuclear-free zones.

2) Four "peace" plans for Nicaragua could result in the elimination of the Democratic Resistance (or Contras) and the consolidation of the Soviet-backed Sandanista regime, in violation of the Monroe Doctrine and the RIO and OAS treaties.

3) The USSR and Iran have strengthened their political and economic ties, while Communist China supplies military aid, including Silkworm missiles.

4) The communist threat to the Philippines continues in spite of increased efforts by the Aquino government to contain it. The increased strength of the New People's Army (communist guerrillas) and its political arm, the National Democratic Front, has led to increased infiltration, including the Administration itself.

5) Sri Lanka, a non-aligned country with cordial relations with the West, has been besieged by an insurgency backed by India and the USSR, endangering the survival of the strategic naval base at Trincomalee.

6) The division in ranks of the Burmese resistance forces has been bridged and ten nationalist revolutionary groups are now being united under the banner of the National Democratic Front.

7) Continuing conflict and turmoil in the Middle East has led to growing Syrian and Soviet influence in the area.

8) Western sanctions and disinvestment against South Africa have proven counter-productive, and have severely harmed the black population economically. Increased Soviet influence threatens Western access to the minerals of this strategic country.

9) Free World interests would be served in North Korea would cease and desist in its threat to interfere with the 1988 Olympic Games.



Mr. Glinski at the ABN-EFC conference in London, England in November, 1985.

On June 11, 1987, in London, England, the great Byelorussian patriot Konstantyn Glinski passed away after a long and severe illness. He dedicated his life to working for the Byelorussian nation and Church, always active in the freedom and independence struggle of Byelorussia and all the nations subjugated by Moscow. As a member of the presidium of the Byelorussian Liberation Front and as chairman of the Byelorussian Central Council in London, England, as well as chairman of the ABN in England and member of the EFC, Mr. Glinski was active until the last days of his life.

Born on February 8, 1906 in Prytychyno in Byelorussia, he finished gymnasium in Dzisne and the law faculty at the university in Vilnius. He belonged to the Byelorussian Students' Association during his studies, and was its chairman for several years. Later he was the chairman of the Byelorussian students' organization "Skarynia" and published the newspaper "New Guard". Shortly before World War II he was a judge in Ashmiane, western Byelorussia, at that time under Poland, where he performed his judicial duties until September 7, 1939.

After the occupation of western Byelorussia by Bolsheviks, he was arrested by the NKVD and without a trial, was sent to a concentration camp for 8 years in Onehlah in the Arkhanhelsk district. In November, 1941, when the Polish Army was organized, he entered its ranks and worked in the military courts. He experienced all the horrors of war and was demilitarized in England, where he continued his work as a civil servant. Simultaneously, he dedicated all his spare time to the Byelorussian community and Church. He published a Byelorussian community newspaper "The Steeple".

Konstantyn Glinski was a staunch anti-communist. Modest and patient until the last moment of his life, he served his Byelorussian nation and all the subjugated nations. Already severely ill, as ABN chairman for Great Britain and as the representative of the Byelorussian Liberation Front, he participated in the London ABN-EFC conference in November of 1985, and was engaged in its preparation. Not only the Byelorussian nation mourns his death. He will remain a shining example for younger generations. His love for his nation and dedication to its freedom and freedom for all the subjugated nations will be an inspiration for all.



Captive Nations Week, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

For nearly three decades Captive Nations Week has symbolized the American people's solidarity with all throughout the world who courageously seek freedom and independence from Soviet domination. During this week, we recall that the liberties we enjoy are denied to many by the Soviet empire; and we publicly affirm our admiration for captive nations, who keep the light of freedom burning brightly as they oppose military occupation and brutal totalitarian oppression.

Our Nation offers the world a vision of inalienable political, religious, and economic rights. This vision has always been shared among peoples subjugated by Soviet imperialism; and so has resistance, ever the catalyst of liberty. Today, a struggle that began in Ukraine 70 years ago is taking place throughout the Soviet empire. In the last year alone, people have risen up to demand basic human rights in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Moldavia, and among the Crimean Tatars. And across the globe, in Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, and Nicaragua, courageous freedom fighters battle tyranny. All captive nations deserve and require our special support. For those seeking to enjoy humanity's birthright of liberty, independence, and justice, we serve as guardians of their dream.

Thus, we must and will continue to speak out on the plight of captive nations. We will continue to call for the speedy release of the persecuted and the falsely imprisoned—people such as Gunars Astra, Lev Lukyanenko, Mart Niklus, and Viktoras Petkus. So long as brave individuals suffer because of their nationality, faith, and desire for human rights, the United States of America will demand that every signatory of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Accords live up to its obligations and respect the principles and spirit of these international agreements.

So that we who cherish liberty may proclaim our commitment to those to whom its blessings are presently denied, the Congress, by joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July of each year as "Captive Nations Week."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning July 19, 1987, as Captive Nations Week. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge them to reaffirm their devotion to the aspirations of all peoples for justice, self-determination, and liberty.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

Ronald Reagan

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



"Revolutionary Voices"

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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SOLIDARITY WITH NATIONS WHOSE INDEPENDENCE IS VIOLATED

President Reagan's address at the Captive Nations commemoration on July 24, 1987, in Washington D. C.

I want to express my deep appreciation to the Ukrainian Catholic Church for permitting us to use this shrine. And let us look forward to the day when Ukrainian Catholics and members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church will again be free to gather and worship in churches like this in their own homelands.

There are indications of change coming from the Soviet Union, and those are welcomed. But we should not, and cannot, turn our attention away from those who look toward the day there is improvement in human rights and basic freedoms.

Today, we come together to declare again our solidarity with those whose nations have been captured by communism. This commemoration is in keeping with the vision of our founding fathers who saw our new land as an inspiration to all mankind, a bastion of freedom and a shining beacon of hope for all the world's oppressed. And that's what America is all about, and together, we intend to keep her that way.

A member of my staff recently brought to my attention a document that reflects this traditional American commitment to the universality of human freedom. The document concerns Governor Lazlo Kossuth, one of the leaders of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, an uprising that, except for the brutal intercession of Russian troops, would have allowed the Hungarian nation to move toward liberty and independence.

In 1852, Governor Kossuth was traveling through the United States, speaking about the people of Hungary and their desperate struggle for freedom. One place he visited was Springfield, Illinois, which was then on the edge of the frontier. A town meeting was called by some of the community's respected citizens, including one Mr. A. Lincoln.

Apparently, the Hungarian leader's speech aroused a fiery debate about America's international role among the people of Springfield. A vote was taken and the final resolution included the following unmistakable and heroic commitment:

"It is the duty of the United States not to do any act or lay down any principle in regard to noninterventionism that shall prevent this nation at any time from interfering in favor of any people who may be struggling for liberty in any part of the world."

So said the people of Springfield, Illinois, in 1852. I wish we had a few of them with us so they could pay a little visit to Capitol Hill the next time Congress is about to vote on support for the freedom fighters.

Clearly, there is still a noninterventionist sentiment in the United States, although it's tempered by an understanding that our country cannot live in isolation — as we did before World War II — and that the free people of the world look to us for leadership. Our global commitment to freedom does not mandate the sending of arms or troops, but at the very least, it means that any people whose liberty is denied or whose independence is violated, that these people know we Americans are on their side.

We are the keepers of the flame. It's up to us to foster the legacy of those who came before us and to ensure America remains a champion of liberty and a force for good in

the world. I want to take this opportunity to thank each of you for what you have done and are doing in this regard. Many of you have contributed much time, effort, and resources to this cause. I hesitate to mention any names because there are so many here who have done so much.

Those who suffer under communist oppression may not know our names, just as we don't know the names of every American who attended that Springfield town hall meeting back in 1852. Nevertheless, those behind the barbed wire, those who are separated from us by the killing zones and watch towers, realize they have unnamed friends in distant lands — people who care deeply about them and people who are uncompromising in the fight against the tyranny that enslaves so much of mankind.

We're not misled by the propaganda and parades, the rallies and the orchestrated spectacles and events. We know that communist governments do not represent those whom they govern, otherwise, they would not suppress the people's right to speak or travel or have free elections. Those brave souls who endure such regimes are our allies; they, more than anyone else, realize that communism is a failed philosophy, a theory that creates only misery, deprivation, and oppression whether it's put into practice.

People who live in the Soviet Union tell many funny stories, often as a form of underground protest. One is about the question: What is a communist? The answer: A person who has read the works of Marx and Lenin. And the question: What is an anti-communist? The answer: Someone who understands the works of Marx and Lenin.

Today, we're being told that there are historic changes taking place in the Soviet Union; that the leadership is now pushing for "openness" and democratization. Well, last month when I was in Berlin, I called on Soviet leader Gorbachev to prove to the world that his glasnost campaign is more than words. I challenged him to tear down the Berlin Wall and to open the Brandenburg Gate.

I renew that challenge today and extend it to include opening up those countries that are now under the domination of the Soviet Union or its Leninist proteges from the Baltic States through Bulgaria, from Vietnam to Ethiopia. If the leadership of the Soviet Union desires a new relationship with the West, it can start by establishing a new relationship with its neighbors and allies. Let us hear that the so-called "Brezhnev Doctrine" is no longer policy. It is null and void. Let the Kremlin announce or renounce the use of force as a means of imposing on any people a form of government they do not choose or of preventing the captive nations from freeing themselves.

At home and throughout the Soviet bloc, open up the gates, tear down the walls, let the political prisoners go. We can have a peaceful world. We can spend less on weapons. We can have more cooperation, and make no mistake — the improvement of freedom and human rights is essential to progress between East and West.

Petro Ruban, for example, is a prisoner in "special regimen labor camp number 36-1," one of the most notorious of the Soviet gulags. In 1976, he fashioned a wooden replica of the Statue of Liberty and for that he was taken away. Later, he was arrested again for criticizing the invasion of Afghanistan. Well, free Petro and the others in the gulag and respect people's fundamental human rights.

The free people of the West are also looking closely at what the Soviet Union is doing in the Third World and in regional conflicts. In Afghanistan and Angola brutal puppet regimes are being propped up by Soviet and Cuban troops. For some time now, we've heard words about the movement toward peace, especially in Afghanistan. But if Moscow wants reconciliation, why do Soviet aircrafts still bomb villages in

Afghanistan? Ground your helicopter gunships, take your troops home and let the people of Afghanistan solve their own problems.

In Central America, over 1 billion dollars worth of Soviet-bloc military hardware and other assistance was poured into Nicaragua last year alone. The communist regime in Nicaragua has been engaged in subversive aggression against its neighbors almost from its first days in power. The word about the Soviet attempt to establish a beachhead in Central America is getting through. The polls now suggest that the American people are waking up to the threat of a communist power grab in their own neighborhood. Well, let me pledge to you here today, we are not about to stand by and see our neighbors in Central America added to the list of captive nations.

I predict the increased awareness of the American people, as you've shown here just now, will permit us to continue providing weapons and support to those brave individuals who are struggling for the right to choose — freedom — and not to continue a communist dictatorship in their native Nicaragua.

Our own security and the cause of human freedom are inseparably linked in Central America. The threat is too close to home to tolerate an on-again, off-again, vacillating congressional policy toward that region.

All indications suggest that the more people know about what's happening in Central America, the more they support a strong stand for freedom. Thomas Jefferson said that if the people know all the facts, the people will never make a mistake. Well, I have one favor to ask of you, men and women who understand that the threat communism poses to our country and to the free people of the world. Can I count on you to help me get the word out and mobilize the American people?

I'd like to leave you with one thought: I think America is heading into one of the greatest periods of its history. Yes, we have our differences, and at times politics can get pretty rough. Democracy is not for weak spirits. Whatever problems we have, whatever differences we have, however, are minor compared to those of our adversaries. Freedom is now on the offensive. We turned a corner in 1981, and if we have the courage and are realistic in our approach to world affairs, freedom will not only survive, it will triumph.

Furthermore, our economy is strong and our young people are filled with energy, creativity and optimism. I don't mind telling you that what we've got today, in those young people, are the best darn bunch of kids we've ever had.

What I see in America today is that same character and spirit, that same love of freedom that was evident back in that Town Hall meeting in Springfield in 1852. The final resolution from that Town Hall meeting contained the following section: 'The sympathies of this country, and the benefits of its position should be exerted in favor of the people of every nation struggling to be free.' As I say, now it's up to us.

“WAS IT REALLY RUSSIA THAT WAS CHRISTIANISED IN 988?”

by

His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky

Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

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Dr. Ku Cheng-kang
Honorary Chairman, WACL

NEW CIVILIZATION FOR MANKIND FREE FROM COMMUNIST ENSLAVEMENT

*Speech delivered at the Captive Nations Week Meeting of the Republic of China on
August 20, 1987 in Taipei.*

The gravest threat to human civilization comes from the communist drive to enslave mankind. Anti-communism, therefore, is the fundamental requirement if freedom and democracy are to be protected. Communist rule and communist expansionism must be strongly opposed.

The observance of the Captive Nations Week is to promote anti-communism for the sake of freedom and democracy. This Captive Nations Week Meeting here today is to join campaigns against communism and enslavement with endeavors for freedom and democracy. We are to expand the captive peoples' struggles for freedom, democracy, and human rights and join those struggles with the efforts of all other freedom-loving peoples of the world who are fighting against communist advances.

The freedom fighter guests here from the world's various regions have all done much in leading campaigns for freedom and democracy. It is my great privilege to avail myself of this opportunity and express my highest respect to you for your exertion and contribution. That we are assembled here is living testimony that anti-communism certainly will be successful, that the free democratic portion of the world will surely relieve the other half from the pain of their shackles.

I. Refusal to Accept Results of Communist Conquest

That nations have been allowed to become captive will be forever recorded as a blemish of human civilization resulting from free nations being timid and weak. As we mark the Captive Nations Week today, we must urge all the free world nations and peoples to never accept as established facts the communist domination of East European states, enslavement of the masses of people on the Chinese mainland, in North Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Cuba, etc., and subjugation of nations in the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Teng Hsiao-ping have both been pushing reform, but the purpose is to consolidate the regimes' rule as an unchangeable fact. Likewise to be noted is that Gorbachev's peace gestures and arms reduction proposals are not for peace and Teng's open-door policy is not for a march on the capitalist road. Absolutely under no circumstances should free nations be misguided by the images those communists are trying to create in their attempt to make everybody accept as an established fact their enslavement of the multitudes behind the Iron Curtain.

Let it be emphatically noted that the Iron Curtain is there not as an unchangeable, historical fact. The course of events that created the Iron Curtain was wrong and should be corrected. Campaigns in the name of Captive Nations Week are to rectify this mistaken development in history.



Dr. and Mrs. Ku Cheng-kang, Mrs. Slava Stetsko and Mr. Mykola Szafowal at the WACL Conference in Taipei.

II. Anti-Communism for Free Nations' Common Interests

That desire and strength for freedom and democracy grow, as opposed to forces of communism and enslavement, is the correctly destined course of history. Because this growth is beyond their control, the communists have had to push sinister propaganda in their attempt to distort the images of anti-communists on the one hand, and on the other, to produce illusions of peace in the minds of people in general and spiritually disarm them. Fighters for the cause of freedom and democracy are described as headstrong, as bellicose rightists, and as fascists. This smear campaign by the communists has made large numbers of people hesitant about mouthing the word "anti-communism" and about coming forward for the defense of freedom and democracy.

We must put an end to all such communist schemes. Through proud efforts, we should make people see that opposition to Red forces of enslavement is a must, if freedom and democracy are to prevail in the interest of all.

The fundamental approach to prevention of nuclear war is to thwart the communists' external expansion and free the captive peoples from under communist yokes. If we are to stop the communists from using the well over one billion people under them as tools of war to wreck world peace, we must give enough support and encouragement to those people's continuation of the struggle for freedom, democracy, and human rights — their continuation of the surge, no matter how cruelly the communists may attempt to suppress them.

Struggle for all to be free and democratic, anti-communism for the building of world peace, and opposition to enslavement so as to safeguard the common interests of all in freedom — this is the way of man's new civilization that we must promote. The light of this new civilization must break through the dark clouds of communist rampancy. Through resolute action to safeguard common interests in freedom, we shall defeat all communist ploys to divide, conquer and enslave us.

III. Necessary Steps Against Communism and Enslavement

Communist expansion is not irresistible. It is a scourge fueled by the appeasement policies of free nations in the absence of unity and action. But communism has been losing its color in recent years because of the firming up of policy measures against it and due to the pulling together of those who stand for freedom.

Facts as well as our experience show that the best and necessary approach to victory over communism is the enhancement of common security through freedom. NATO and ASEAN may not be as effective as we want them to be, but they are common security systems deterring communist expansion.

We must strengthen common security through two approaches. One is to expand common defense systems for the checking of Red advances. The other is to join the anti-communist endeavors of Iron Curtain masses with those of the people outside.

To make this possible, free nations must act decisively, as follows:

1. Suspend all measures of concession to any and all communists, stop attempting to use the Chinese communists as a counterweight against the Soviets, impose strict embargo of capital, facilities, raw materials and knowhow to all the Reds.

2. Strengthen assistance and cooperation in military, economic, scientific, technological and other sectors within the free world for a decisive period to red moves.

3. Take all necessary steps to enhance the unity of freedom forces behind the Iron Curtain with those in the free world.

So long as any part of the world remains under communist yokes, the rest of the world cannot be free from threats. Those enjoying progress and prosperity in free areas of the world should not remain mere observers when countless millions are suffering under communist enslavement. To keep the free world free and deliver the captive people from enslavement, we must persist in anti-communist endeavors. We must enhance cooperation and strive on for an early victory of freedom and democracy over communism and communists.

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Dr. Otto von Habsburg
Member of the European Parliament

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SECURITY PROBLEMS OF EUROPE

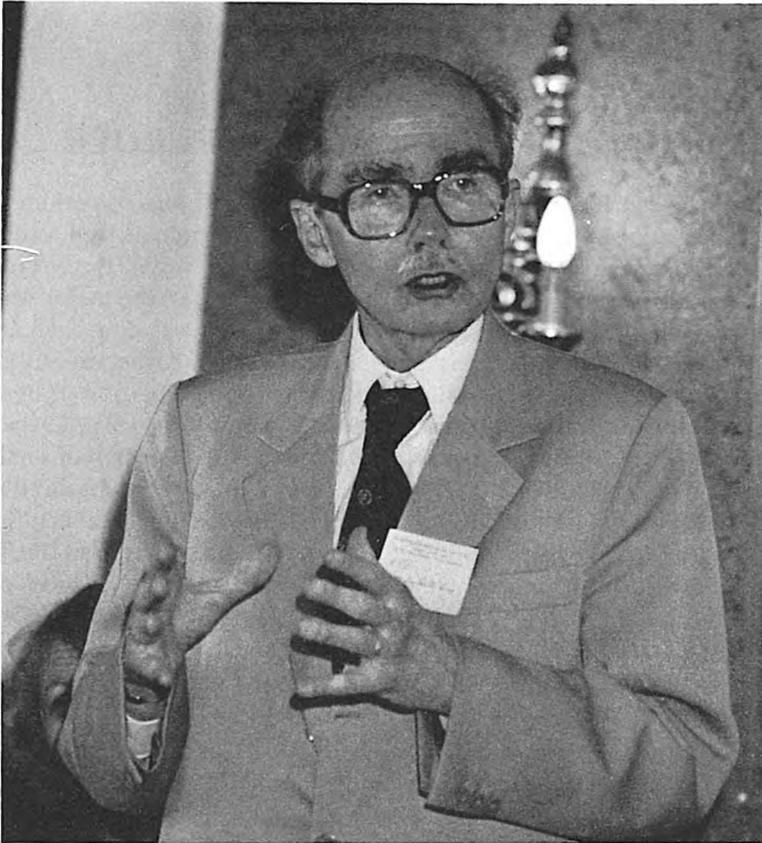
I understand security in a very broad sense, that is to say, as something linked to geostrategy, which also includes economic and social factors, as well as all matters affecting our lives every day. From that point of view, we as Europeans should remember one fundamental lesson of history, namely that all the major wars of our times have broken out in areas in which a traditional unit was destroyed and small, excessively nationalistic or isolationist states arose in its stead, thereby automatically creating an area of low political pressure. This attracted the superpowers of the times, and consequently these states were conquered. This is how World War I began, due to the destruction of the Turkish empire in the Balkans and the creation of small Balkan states. World War II erupted in the Danube valley because of the dismantling of the unifying factor there, which lured in the superpowers of the time, that is to say on the one side Hitlerite Germany and the Soviet Union on the other. Incidentally, the problems we encounter today, are approaching a similar era. However, the developments in the Near East are somewhat slower. As Turkey was a great integrating factor all the way to the Suez Canal, it is really the destruction of the unity of the Near East which has created the conditions from which we are suffering today, and in all likelihood, will suffer much more in the years ahead.

If we look at today's perspectives from that point of view, we clearly see that they are no longer the perspectives of 1914, or for that matter of 1939, namely, they are not global perspectives. Today, we in Europe are reduced to a small world. If we look at the global sphere, we actually have two real superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union. There is one near-superpower, China, and another, Japan, which is rapidly developing into a fourth superpower with its links with the Asian countries. Then there is Western Europe, the economic first force of the world, but at the same time an area of low pressure politics, which means that we are by necessity attracting dangers, because of the fact that we are simultaneously rich and weak. We don't need historical experience to know that weakness always brings forward aggression.

This then, is the basic situation in Europe. We are directly affected by two superpowers. On the one hand, the United States. It is thanks to them that we have been able to be free for the last forty years. We must admit that without American troops within the framework of the NATO Forces, we would not be here today. The Soviets would have reached the shores of the Atlantic long ago. On the other hand we have the Soviet Union which continues to occupy a large chunk of Europe, just a few kilometers from here, and goes on telling us with breathtaking frankness what it plans to do with us.

When analyzing the Soviet press, you can't open a single newspaper without reading about world revolution. And what is world revolution other than a continued declaration of war on all the countries not yet under the rule of the Kremlin. If we take some other view of this proclamation, it is our own fault.

A highly positioned colleague of mine, the late Enrique Berlinguer, president of the Italian Communist Party, said in one of his last speeches in a foreign policy debate:



Dr. Otto von Habsburg delivering his address at the EFC Conference in Munich.

“Take fine cognizance of what the Soviet Union is telling you.” One could say that this statement was his political testament. Unfortunately, when I look at the so-called statesmen of today, I see that they refuse to learn what Enrique Berlinguer, a communist, learned from his own experience.

In examining the superpowers, we have, first of all the United States. We have benefited greatly in the last few years from the Reagan Administration, that is to say, the remarkable American efforts at rearmament, and from the fact that America has steadfastly pursued the present policy for a number of years. Some Europeans still remember the insecurity of the times when a weak figure like Jimmy Carter was running the White House, and you couldn't predict the U.S. stand on anything. I believe that we were much more in danger of an international war of the superpowers then, than we ever were under President Reagan. As soon as a great power is predictable, the peril is relatively small, it is when it becomes unpredictable under a weak leadership, that danger exists.

We must realize that, psychologically, the declarations of anti-Americanism on the part of a few Europeans are by necessity hurting our relationship with the United States. American leaders can tell us that they disregard these outbreaks, however, it has a great impact on American public opinion. At the same time, this anti-American-

ism is merely an expression of an inferiority complex which exists here in Europe. Those who are proud of themselves are much less anti-American than those who are ashamed of not playing the role that they ought to.

We must take account of one serious item, which in the long range will be of the greatest political consequence. That fact is that the United States is rapidly moving west. With each year the center of gravity of American population and economics moves 90 kilometers south and west. In the past we were the first priority in the eyes of the Americans as the neighbours of the eastern seaboard, which is also the seaboard of the United States. This is no longer the case.

I have lived quite a bit of my life in the USA and I understand these differences as absolutely dramatic and serious. When observing American politics, one becomes aware that cities like Boston, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, important 25 years ago to political decisions, are of much less consequence today than cities such as Atlanta, Houston or Los Angeles. This is the reality. I recently read an interesting analysis of the American electoral process in *The Wall Street Journal*. The author of the article says that nowadays one cannot nominate anyone for president who does not have the full support of the southern states. When I was in the U.S., the southern states did not count, nobody cared about them, and scarcely anyone campaigned there. Now the weight is there, in the south.

Consequently, we as Europeans must realize one thing, and that is that we must now stand on our own feet. American friendship can no longer be counted upon 100% as in the past. This is a perfectly logical development for which we cannot criticize the Americans. If we must criticize anyone, it is ourselves and our attitude of the past forty years.

On the other side we have the Soviet Union with its so-called new leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev. As you know, today there is a general consensus about human rights. We must now enforce these and ascertain whether Gorbachev is more capable than his predecessors in implementing them. The democrats of today always project their own kindness on the world and believe that, potentially, others are just as kind as they are. This has been our weakness in all our negotiations with the Soviet Union. We in the West believe that peace is the normal state of people, and that conflicts between nations are the consequence of misunderstandings or the results of mistakes which have been made.

The Soviets consider conflict the normal state between countries, and negotiations have only one aim, not to reach an acceptable compromise, but to propose and enforce their own goal 100%. This is why they win practically every negotiation. Consequently, we must see Gorbachev, the man, not as he presents himself but as he truly is. When one or two sentences in a Gorbachev speech are pleasing to some of our reporters in the Soviet Union, the whole speech is great. I think this is abominable, because as it is known, Soviet readers count less than ours. When you read the entire Gorbachev speech, you realize that the man is just as much a product of the Nomenclatura as all his predecessors. He is probably a far more able propagandist than those who were in power before him.

Consequently, I never quite understood the uproar in Germany, when in the beginning of the year Chancellor Kohl mentioned Gorbachev and Joseph Goebbels in one sentence. This was considered a hideous kind of insult against the Russian. That the Soviets refer to Hitler in connection with German leaders constantly, is viewed as

perfectly acceptable and natural; but when one day we say something similar about them, it is considered absolutely criminal. I don't think the remark criminal, since Goebbels was the greatest propaganda genius of our century. It is things like these that create misconceptions of one kind or another.

When we heard that a few generals were fired in the Soviet Union, it suddenly became evident that there was military rule there. Of course, there is military rule in the Soviet Union. However, nobody who knows the Soviet Union believes that the USSR is run by its army. The Soviet Union is run by its Nomenclatura: the Party, the KGB and the Army. Which of the three stands in the forefront of power, is in accordance with the needs of a given situation and in accordance with Soviet policy.

In the past, when the Soviets still believed that they could bring about a military solution, the army stood in front. Now, when they realize that a military settlement is largely out of the question, the KGB steps into the forefront, as we are in the phase of subversive warfare. And we are in a phase of subversive warfare because the Soviet Union feels to be by and large in a most awkward and dangerous position.

Mr. Brandt and other world diplomats in speaking of East-West relations say that we must build confidence with the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union must believe that we are no threat to them. This is a terrible insult to the intelligence of the USSR. The Soviet Union knows perfectly well that we are no danger and that we are not to be feared. What the Soviets are really afraid of is something entirely different. If one reviews the lessons of history, one finds that if a nation conquers another and does not at the same time more or less exterminate the subjugated people, in the long run the conqueror will always become the prisoner of the defeated country. This is exactly the relationship between the Soviet Union and those hundreds of millions of people they have conquered. It is not only the countries here in the Yalta zone of Europe that have been annexed, but also the territories in Asia. Let us not forget that the Soviet Union as such is the last colonial empire in the world at the end of decolonization, and this does not allow for a stable and rational policy.

The situation is most dangerous for us. Any dictatorship in such an adverse position is by necessity forced to push ahead. Afghanistan is a typical case in point. It is because of the Moslem issue, which is becoming one of the major problems of the Soviet Union, that the Soviets had to take this step. Other steps may follow.

There is another factor now playing a major role. As known, our paramount problem in the European Community is agriculture. We have enormous surpluses of wheat, butter, etc. We don't know what to do with these excess quantities and the measures our governments have taken in the matter are equivalent to treating cancer with aspirin. This agricultural problem is not only a European problem, it is a global one. In the world today, agricultural production is increasing by 5% each year, while consumption remains absolutely stable. The reality is that we have a market which cannot expand and into which ever new merchandise is flowing. In the last five years, two great powers who received our surpluses in the past, China and India, have become exporters of foodstuffs. The Soviet Union has some of the world's richest soil. When it still had a market economy, it was one of the greatest agricultural exporters, now, agriculture is one of its main areas of deficit. If one day socialism ceased in the Soviet Union, we would have an almost insoluble amount of surpluses. Recently I have heard a Commissioner of the European Community say that we must pray that the present

Soviet system be maintained as long as possible, because otherwise we will incur an even greater catastrophe.

We live in a time of modern technology which has meant a tremendous acceleration. Modern technology is a prerequisite to a highly planned system, because mobility must be the basic law of the economy when any major breakthrough invention has a life expectancy of five years only. When Gorbachev makes his speeches about change and reform, he realizes this very clearly. On the one hand he is aware that he must do something to make the Soviet economy more productive, but on the other he cannot rule out agriculture, because it is the foundation of Soviet power. Therefore, the economic reconstruction he is speaking of today, is not to be carried out. Listening to his recent utterances, one hears him speak less and less of economic reform but more clearly of political reform.

When Gorbachev announced several weeks ago that the secret ballot would be introduced in the Soviet Union, there was a burst of enthusiasm. People ought to remember that Stalin introduced the secret ballot in 1937 and at that time there was also talk of reform. However, the reform was not implemented. I believe that Gorbachev will carry out his proposals because he added something to the secret ballot which we did not see before. The candidates are nominated by the Party Secretariat. It looks more democratic, but there is no more democracy today in the Soviet Union than there was before, consequently, we must realize that the Soviet Union will probably stay the same, except that at its depth it will be altering and strengthening its policies, utilizing subversive propaganda and terrorist methods. This is more of a threat to us than a military escalation would be, because we are less equipped for a defense against these methods than in the military field. We find ourselves in a situation where we are unprepared to counter subversive warfare. In the military field we at least gave great potentials.

We in Europe are entering a new and delicate phase. It is called the New United European Act. This body can negotiate as one voice. The Soviet Union wants to conclude an arrangement with the European Community. I would not be surprised if the Soviet Union recognized the European Community towards the end of the year. Negotiations for it have run for more than eight months and the negotiations themselves have changed considerably. The Soviet Union has a sense of strategy in these dealings, and that applies as well to the European communists. Unfortunately some of the people from the European Community participating in the discussions, have no idea about Soviet policies or intentions. What the Soviets want, is very clear: they want direct relations between the Comecon and the EC. This is unacceptable to us for two reasons. The first is a juridical one: the EC is a political body with its own passport and today is recognized by 104 governments in the world. Comecon is not a political body, it is an economic machine. In the EC all the countries have equal rights; in the Comecon the Soviet Union has privileges and the other countries have no rights at all. The second reason holds even more peril. In the Comecon Treaty a paragraph stipulates that anyone exporting anything through the Comecon to outside countries must be paid in hard currency, and this hard currency is remitted to one of three Soviet banks. The Soviet banks keep the hard currency, and supply the exporting countries with the equivalent in non-convertible Rubles. This is certainly detrimental to the communist countries which are members of the Comecon. Nevertheless, some capitalists insist on trade with the Comecon because it is easier to deal with one partner

than with several. These capitalists are so short-sighted that Lenin was right in what he said about them; namely that they themselves would sell the rope by which the communists will hang them. If someone wants to export via the Comecon, we cannot prevent it, but in principle we continue bilateral trade with the communist-ruled countries, so as to help the local governments gain as much independence as possible. I can tell you from my contacts with communist leaders from Central and Eastern Europe, that they are communist merely because they want to stay in power. I don't think you will find many, even among the top people, who still believe in what they preach. I could scarcely find anyone not utterly disgusted by the Russian presence in his country and who did not want to be independent.

A major problem at the present time are the relations between the EC and Turkey, because we have a joint and united front in the European Community made up of ecologists, communists, socialists and Greens, who in voting all follow the party line without any diversion, and that party line is fighting tooth and nail any rapport with Turkey. With that, Turkey is absolutely essential for the maintenance of stability in the Mediterranean.

Another matter we must cope with today is psychological warfare. International terrorism is one of our basic problems. When looking at international terrorism, one thing is certain, at the roots one always will find the KGB involved. There is scarcely an independent terrorist movement at all, whether it is Gaddafi or the Bulgarians, in the end it all goes back to the same command center — KGB. The international terrorist network uses our weaknesses against us. One of those weaknesses is that we still do not have a common juridical space in Europe, we cannot carry out trans-border police operations, a judgement passed in one country cannot be executed in another and so forth. We must try to advance a common front against terrorism. Unfortunately, terrorist actions are quickly forgotten, until another bomb awakens the public.

Research and development are also a problem directly related to our policies of security. To have better security we must develop our inventive genius, more than we have done until now. It is being claimed that we need more money for research and development. I believe we need less. We are now paying more for research per capita than the Americans or the Japanese. However, we are investing that money badly because we are pursuing research and development on a national level, which means that the Germans are researching against the British, the British against the French and so on, so that in the long run everything costs twice or three times as much as it ought to.

These are some of the questions of European security confronting us. We must, however, always come back to one aspect, namely that without political authority we will have no security. There is no army without a government and there is no money without a government. That is why all talk about a European currency is nonsense, as long as we do not have the political authority to impose it.

Another matter which needs to be addressed, is the moral disease which has befallen Germany. It is a curious thing that before the entry of Britain into the common market, Britain was the weakest link in Europe. Today, Germany, although economically and in human potential the first power, is politically by far the least firm link in the entire picture. We have an institute to study public opinion in each of the 12 countries of the Community. This institute publishes its findings in the form of reports.

Recently a survey was conducted concerning the attitude of the younger generation towards the state and its history. The results were as follows: the French showed 97% and the British 95% of positive acknowledgements, and Germany only 50%, which means that about 50% of German youth today feel no relation to their nation nor to its history. This is a very dangerous development and a consequence of the fact that in German schools they scarcely teach history. When they do teach it, they focus on the brief period of 1933-1945. The young people, therefore, get a completely distorted picture of their country. The fact that we all concentrate the German into one shameful phase of their history, makes them morally weak, and there is nothing more harmful in a community than to have a morally ill partner. There are many people inside and outside of Germany who live off that German inferiority complex. Each time a German says something, he is accused of being a nationalist. However, if a Frenchman is a nationalist, it is a good thing; and it is a good thing, because when you work in the European Community you realize that people who are not good patriots of their own nation, will never be good Europeans. This is one of our greatest weaknesses today and we must try to make the Germans recover that sense of national dignity which is so needed for an effective role in the security of the European Community. It will be a long up-hill fight, because it will mean a change in the thinking of our historians and many of the facets of our public opinions, which tend to keep Hitler artificially alive more than forty years after his death, and give the impression that he had a monopoly on the German nation. This is simply not true. Practically each one of our nations has had a time when a monster came to power. It is the great tragedy of Germany that Hitler came at a time of modern technology. Let us imagine for a moment, what would have happened if Robespierre during the French Revolution had had aircraft, tanks and the technology of Adolf Hitler, what kind of bloodshed would he have perpetrated. It is only because Robespierre was depending for his misdeeds on horses and boats that his radius of action was restricted. Therefore we must see to it that Germany recovers its role in Europe, a role it has traditionally held and which has been beneficial to all of the partners.

One of the great miracles of our time has been the reconciliation of European nations. I remember that when I was young, for every German the French, and for every Frenchman the Germans were the hereditary enemy. Each one of us was convinced that we would have to fight in a war between Europeans in our lifetime. In my youth the barbed wire along the Rhine was an accepted fact of history. The young people of today do not think in these categories anymore, they are outside the realm of their comprehension.

In a recent opinion poll taken in France concerning the election of a president for Europe, the result was that 69% of the French would cast their vote for a German with whom they politically agreed rather than for a Frenchman with whom they politically disagreed.

We have made some great progress. However, we still have many weaknesses we need to overcome. But we are on a broad foundation of success and this success is a challenge for us in the future. All of us who are fighting for freedom have a particular task to fulfill, and that task is to remember and to remind the world of it, that there are over 100 million Europeans today suffering under the world colonial regime of all time. The European Community can truly be a European community only when these nations are liberated and assume their rightful place in that community.

EUROPE AT THE CROSSROADS

Speech presented at the WACL Conference in Taipei.

One of the last General Assemblies of the Western European Union held in December 1986 was perfect proof of the confusion and even fears reigning in European countries who, for the first time, face an apparently irreversible situation which might be decisive for strategic future choices.

I therefore find it essential to examine two important points:

1. The state of affairs at the beginning of the 21st century, or in other words, what our position is concerning European security and our real weight on the political chessboard.
2. The means of a strategy and, more importantly, of a policy which raises the entire problem of Europe's place in an era of empires and their final goals.

Within the framework of the North Atlantic Alliance, European security consists of a disconcerting list of shortages and deficiencies which has continuously increased over the years. I shall limit myself to mentioning the main deficiencies:

1. The chronic weakness of our conventional forces, particularly in terms of manpower.
2. The erosion of the credibility of the United States nuclear response.
3. The serious problem of chemical weapons and the enormous Soviet superiority in this field.
4. The inexistence of an adequate civil defence.

This disastrous and chronic lack of personnel results in drawn out fronts with an insignificant number of combatants per kilometer, a linear disposition, and a void in the rear that is extremely vulnerable to any aircraft or helicopter attack. A strengthening of our conventional forces is therefore imperative. If we should not be able to resist for several weeks, the United States reinforcements from across the Atlantic would arrive too late and, in any case, after the dye had been cast.

It is indeed a paradox that Europe's defence relies totally on the arrival of a million Americans whose timetable stretches over several weeks when events would actually require mobilization of several million men within 48 hours. This manpower weakness is a crucial problem which has deteriorated due to two factors:

- Firstly, a shortening of military service time to a very brief period (12 months on the average in most Western European countries as against 24 months in the Warsaw Pact nations).
- Secondly, the demographic developments which imply a loss of about 120.000 draftees in the Bundeswehr of the Federal Republic of Germany alone and, for example, will reduce the number of conscripts in Belgium by 25% within the next few years.

The result is a tragic lack of "sustainability", that is the capacity to hold our, as General Rogers, who until recently was the Supreme Allied Commander of Europe, stated on the occasion of the North Atlantic Parliamentarian Assembly in Istanbul about six months ago.



The Captive Nations Rally during the WACL Conference in Taipei.

If we should not be able to relieve the units along the front lines for lack of reserves, in what condition would our armed forces be after three or four days of continuous engagements, day and night?

As to the erosion of the credibility of the U.S. nuclear umbrella, it should be borne in mind that our American friends already have issued several warnings regarding the necessity of reinforcing the European conventional forces. As you well know, a decrease in the conventional forces capabilities increases the danger of a nuclear conflict considerably.

Indirect confirmation of this decline was given by Mr. McNamara and Co. who, in an article published in *Foreign Affairs*, seriously questioned the military usefulness of nuclear weapons. However, even more important indications were received from the European large-scale pacifist demonstrations whose main theme consisted a year ago of the unconditional opposition to nuclear weapons of any size. In spite of the pacifists' evident defeat in the orchestrated efforts to prevent deployment of the Euromissiles, it is certain that this mass phenomenon should not be ignored. It also explains the position of the Labour Party in the United Kingdom during the last elections. They were determined to eliminate all nuclear weapons in Great Britain, a suggestion which seems to be warmly received by a large proportion of European public opinion.

Furthermore, we must emphasize that Mr. Gorbachev exploited, to a maximum, the declarations by President Reagan in March of 1983, who, *urbi et orbi*, declared that the Strategic Defense initiative (SDI) would one day permit the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

Gorbachev ably seized this opportunity by approving the principle of phasing out all nuclear weapons. However, he added, “why could we not save several billion dollars in the SDI programme which will no doubt be required for research?”

Apparently a logical argument, appealing to quite a few Europeans which excludes parallel negotiations on short-range missiles located in the German Democratic Republic and Czecho-Slovakia (the SS-21, 22 and 23) and equally excludes any balanced reductions of the enormous Soviet superiority in the conventional field, which would permanently consecrate European inferiority, placing us in the uncomfortable position of being Moscow’s hostage.

This leads quite naturally to the critical question of chemical weapons. What exactly are the stockpiles of the Soviet Union in this respect. Reliable estimates vary between 200.000 and 500.000 tons. The West possesses almost no chemical weapons except those allowed for in a recent U.S. Congress decision that granted authorisation to produce chemical weapons of the binary type which only become lethal after having been assembled.

Chemical weapons touch a very sensitive cord in European public opinion because the mortal toxic gases of World War I are still vividly remembered. This time the Europeans were unanimous for once, in refusing to stock chemical weapons on their territories and some nations even suggested that their use be banished during the times of war.

Let me counter these protests with the following rationale:

- It is impossible to deploy these weapons in times of crisis or war; the warning time is just too brief.
- The absence of chemical weapons — especially when the adversary is in possession of those weapons — forces the West to equip all troops with protective clothing and gas masks, thus reducing their combat capability by 50%.
- How could we even begin to negotiate with the aim to eliminate all chemical weapons in the absence of any chemical weapons on our side, meaning that we arrive at the negotiation table with empty hands?

May I also remind you that the probabilities of employing chemical weapons in case of a conflict appear much more likely than the use of nuclear weapons. Chemical weapons have been used in the past and are still being used. They can be fitted onto long-range missiles (such as the SS-20), thus creating total panic in the rear formations. These weapons can open large breakthroughs of linear formations without, however, producing the catastrophic consequences caused by nuclear war.

European incompetence in this domain is total, with the exception of France, who recently decided to implement the necessary measures.

It is in this context that the problem of an adequate civil defence structure, tightly linked to the nuclear deterrence capability, arises in all its complexity.

In the absence of any policies for the construction of shelters, supplying sufficient information, plans of escape routes, etc., can we reasonably hope that the population will stoically follow NATO’s “stay-put” policy? I take the liberty of having serious doubts about this matter, at a time when practically all citizens are motorised and when their protection on the spot is less than assured.

The events at Chornobyl have tragically demonstrated the absence of the most elementary security measures. What would happen in case of a real conflict and deployment of nuclear weapons, even if only at the tactical level?

What does the civil defence policy, also known as the international agreement on refugees, foresee for directing the great migratory movements from East to West and the counter-current of military vehicles on the way to occupy their combat positions near the Iron Curtain?

I admit that at first sight the situation concerning the military components of our security is not very encouraging. Is it the same at the political level? Where is Europe situated between the two opposing empires?

Transatlantic misunderstandings are nothing new within the Atlantic Alliance, but undoubtedly they have never been pronounced so sharply before. Mutual incomprehension stems from multiple causes. To list a few: equal sharing of the defence expenses (burden sharing); economic disputes between the United States and the European Communities, reaching from the fall of the dollar to reciprocal accusations of “unjustified protectionism”; general indifference or open hostility in Europe concerning the events in Central America (when the interdependence of what might happen in Mexico and European security is blatantly evident); a feeling of frustration on the part of the Europeans in the “post-Reykjavik” era (in the face of badly prepared discussions dealing with vital European interests, the superpowers negotiating over their heads and reducing to insignificance the tremendous efforts made by the European conservative parliamentarians to push through a decision on the deployment of the Euromissiles); the concern and perplexity over the Strategic Defense Initiative issue and its long-term consequences.

The many irritating causes are catalysed by the convergence of the centrifugal forces that enlarge the gap between the two coasts of the Atlantic Alliance.

One force is the resurgence of a certain neo-isolationism on the part of the United States whose interests are gradually leaning more towards the Pacific Basin, leading partially into a withdrawal into “Fortress America”.

The other gap-widening force is a strong recurrence in leftist circles and some center parties of a visceral anti-Americanism which has resulted in theories such as the “equivalence between the Soviet and United States imperialism”. The recent executive crisis stemming from the “Irangate” affair and the consequent marked decline of presidential authority has certainly not helped to discourage this anti-Americanism.

We, the Europeans, might possibly be in a position to overcome this crisis and protect ourselves against the rising dangers. But, at the same time, we witness an extraordinary psychological offensive by a remarkably able man who possesses the genius of propaganda combined with a pronounced psychological sense. I am, of course, referring to Mikhail Gorbachev, who seems to be the most gifted disciple of Marshal McLuhan and Sun Tzu.

As a disciple of Sun Tzu, he brilliantly demonstrates the old Chinese philosopher’s proverb stated more than a thousand years ago that “the best and most able strategist is he who is capable of demolishing the walls of a city without assaulting them”.

It is by now obvious that the centrifugal forces, which contribute to the widening of the gap between Europe and the U.S., are catalysed by the spectacular initiatives of the Soviet Union’s Secretary General. Gorbachev succeeds in meeting the needs of this imposing mass of Europeans who more easily believe in that which they hope for, than in reality, as it presents itself.

We would be wrong not to mention the geostrategic asymmetry as well as a definite complementary situation in some economic matters that play into the hands of Mr. Gorbachev, whose first strategic aim is to isolate Europe from the United States.

In an outstanding book entitled *The Finland Syndrome* by Alain Minc, the author remarks that, if these orientations continue, "this Europe which sparkles like a dead star" would find itself in the end as "the lungs of Moscow in a semi-protectorate condition".

How can we escape such a cruel fate? Has Europe the means of a strategy or, more importantly, does she have a common policy?

Having been indifferent to the imperatives of security for such a long time — in fact, since the attempt to create a European Community of Defence failed in 1954 — and living happily under the reassuring protection of the U.S. nuclear umbrella, Europe has never succeeded, or even started, the process of building her common defence and of creating, within the framework of the Atlantic Alliance, a European pillar which would have enabled her to negotiate alongside the United States as a full-fledged partner.

Now the time has come when it is no longer possible to ignore the situation which the German writer Woller expressed as follows: "If we cannot find a solution, the process of European unification has no possibility of developing. That which cannot be defended, according to the classical definition and notion of sovereignty, is no more politically viable".

Nevertheless, we must recognise the fact that for quite some time authoritative voices have risen to call for immediate action and effective measures. Chirac, for example, proposed a "European Charter" at a recent Western European Union Assembly. He added: "We must not forget that the USSR pursues constantly the aim of denuclearisation of Western Europe, the process of which would allow to draw enormous political and military benefits regarding her superiority in the conventional armaments field."

As a follow-up, so to say, Sir Geoffrey Howe, British Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Commonwealth, delivered a moving argument at the Royal Institute for International Relations in Brussels in March 1987. "An improved European defence effort could be called to live via the Western European Union and might lead to a more substantial European pillar of the Alliance."

The rising fever has even reached the level of the Chiefs of Defence Staff. Jacques Delors, Chairman of the European Commissions, repeated his proposal in March for a European summit meeting in order to examine United States and Soviet proposals concerning the withdrawal of the Euromissiles. The very same day, President Mitterrand of France and the Belgian Prime Minister Maertens, at the time Chairman of the European Council, invited their peers to an extraordinary summit meeting devoted to European defence. Even though it is obvious that neither the European Communities nor the Council of Europe are judicially competent for dealing with defence problems, which is the prerogative of the Western European Union, it is a positive sign. We must keep up the momentum and turn the "Europe of the conversations" into the "Europe of decisions".

To begin with, we must confront the issue of the subjects to be discussed and the measures to be taken, more precisely, we must define the means of global strategy within and outside Europe.

As we have seen, erosion of the nuclear deterrent has been achieved and the eventual elimination of all Euromissiles seems unavoidable. For these reasons, it is absolutely essential that a joint negotiation process of medium-range missiles be initiated. It is equally essential that the matter regarding conventional forces and chemical weapons be included. Whatever may happen, Europe has to take a position and must participate in negotiations on which her future depends. This does by no means in itself solve the European security problem, but now we at least agree unanimously on the urgent necessity of reinforcing our conventional forces. The question is how?

Today not even one European nation can claim that they are not confronted with the distressing dilemma of defence requirements on the one hand, and budgetary constraints on the other. The cost of a battle tank was, for example, \$5.000 in 1960 and will amount to \$5 million in 1990. An aircraft will cost about 350 million dollars in about ten years. A fatal impasse has arisen from which there seems no escape.

We have to think of a European solution to our defence problems in order to succeed and avoid a complete failure, bearing in mind our own defence strategy. We have to review our present defence apparatus drastically.

It is strange indeed to note the fact that more than 40 years after the Second World War, we have now more or less the same offensive mechanism as existed at the time of the Normandy landing when the Anglo-American troops had to penetrate deep into the heart of Germany from the Normandy beaches.

And what can we say about the slowness of our logistics, perfectly suitable for expeditionary forces fighting in Africa or other regions devastated by war, but much less adaptable in the Federal Republic of Germany, whose infrastructure is one of the most advanced in Europe.

Is it still feasible to foresee a renewal of thousands of combat tanks whose vulnerability will have increased tenfold within one decade when third generation missiles would more adequately fulfill our missions and suit our resources?

Why couldn't we organize autonomous territorial units, easily mobilised within a short period of time, by drawing on the reserve forces at our disposal, provided we equip and train them periodically.

Maintaining exclusively defensive forces, we could not be accused of relaunching the armaments race; however, these forces could assure defence at the front lines or in the rear, simultaneously eliminating the void of the rear forces already mentioned.

Outside Europe, in those areas where our vital interests are seriously threatened, be it the Middle East oil supply or vital strategic resources from the Southern hemisphere, everything has to be reviewed if we do not want to lose a war before it begins.

Furthermore, if the political will existed, there would be no argument against the creation of a multi-national "Mobile Intervention Force", and the revitalisation of African bases whose significance is obvious.

Above all, we urgently need European coordination efforts so that we can pass from the level of ideas to that of making the plan operational. Thus it is even more important to have the cooperation of the respective national defence staffs to whom we could quote the prophetic words of Loustauna-Lacau:

"The High Command lives a permanent drama during peacetime, similar to a squirrel aimlessly turning back and forth in its cage. The future of

mankind depends on their mental choice which covers only a small number of crucial ideas. In order to carry out their mission, they also need considerable intelligence as well as courage, independence and lucidity.”

We are living a complete paradox with our armed forces being sometimes inferior to what they were during the period of NATO's massive response strategy, when their role was limited to a “trip wire” policy. Once deterrence is only based on the nuclear element, it is no more a panacea and becomes inoperational in the peripheral areas where our vital interests could be endangered.

The credibility of the U.S. nuclear response and the guarantee offered by the Euromissiles now appear to be sacrificed on the altar of the Geneva negotiations. Consequently, we step right into the post-nuclear era, i.e. the post-Reykjavik period.

In this respect it follows that an increased, intensive and collective effort is required by the Europeans. Political realism forces us to draw our lessons from history, at the same time taking into consideration the upheavals in our century and the long term trends on which our vital interests depend.

Let us hope that the determination of the Western European populations and the political will of our leaders will move us forward into a more secure future. If not, we might discover too late that all civilizations are destined to die!

LITHUANIANS DEMONSTRATE IN VILNIUS

According to reliable sources from Lithuania, some 500 people gathered at noon on August 23 at the statue of Adam Mickewicz in front of St. Anne's Church in Vilnius to denounce the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and to honor its victims; several hours later their number grew to about 3,000. Western press reports gave the number of demonstrators as 500, while dissident circles in Moscow spoke of several thousand participants.

The demonstration was organized by four Lithuanian patriots and human rights activists — Vytautas Bogusis, Petras Cidzikas, Antanas Terleckas and Nijole Sadunaite. All four had suffered prison or persecution for their beliefs. The first three had signed the *Declaration of 45 Balts*, issued on August 23, 1979, in Moscow, denouncing the Hitler-Stalin Pact and demanding that the Balts be allowed the right to exercise the right to self-determination.

Sadunaite opened the demonstration by demanding freedom for Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, to which the crowd responded by chanting “Freedom! Freedom!” She requested that the Pact and the secret protocol be published.

Many participants wept as they sang patriotic songs, religious hymns, and the forbidden Anthem of Independence of Lithuania. Some wore black armbands, mourning their loved ones lost to Soviet Russian terror. The police did not intervene, but KGB agents in civilian clothes were busy in the crowd, which was filmed and photographed from adjoining houses.

Right after the demonstration, the Soviet Russians began interfering with telephone conversations between Vilnius and many Western European cities, as well as overseas.

ARMS CONTROL AND WESTERN SECURITY

A Swiss Perspective

To talk about arms control in 1987 has something remarkable about it. Only a few years ago, when the debate about Western INF deployments had reached its peak, most forecasts, and certainly, the perceptions of quite large segments of Western public opinion, were marked by distinct gloom with respect to the future. It was a time when a number of West German “women for peace” entered into a hunger strike to prevent the US INF deployments in Europe because, in their view, war would be inevitable as soon as those missiles would be deployed. It would hence be much better to risk their lives to prevent that war than to lose it in that war. In short, there was genuine fear once the USSR had decided to break up the arms control dialogue and to prefer sulking self-isolation.

Today, times have changed dramatically. There is a new and vigorous Soviet leader who has recognized that the Soviet Union cannot afford to stay away from international affairs and who has demonstrated a remarkable gift of impact on Western public opinion and imagination. Arms control is no longer dead, but indeed, very much *en vogue*. There is the strange mixture of a quite distinct euphoria about possible progress — after all, the SS-20s and the Pershing IIs might go (and so could other deadly weapons systems) — yet that euphoria is mingled with fears that perhaps that “historic” chance might not be seized, but either destroyed or fade away.

From a Swiss perspective, both views seem strange. A more sober view might be imperative. It might simply be true — to paraphrase former British Prime Minister Palmerston — that Great Powers are neither in favour of arms control, nor against it, but simply favouring their national interests. (Complete quote: “Great Powers have neither permanent foes, nor permanent friends, but only permanent interests.”) The key point might perhaps be less whether the times appear good or bad for arms control, but rather, whether military stability — and hence the basis for peace in the nuclear age — is fostered or not.

No country in Europe can be more interested in such stability and peace than Switzerland — a small country with no nuclear weapons and a purely defensive army, which has of its own free intent, withdrawn from the struggle for mastery of Europe over 450 years ago and declared itself neutral. Switzerland is no threat to anybody. However, it has learned the hard way that to maintain its independence and freedom, demands not only good intentions, but also a strong army. Swiss neutrality had to be an armed one.

This does not mean that Switzerland is not deeply interested to see international tensions reduced and the levels of armament lowered. It has offered its territory to numerous international organizations, arms control and summit negotiations. It is the home of the International Committee of the Red Cross. It has extended its good offices to many nations and on countless occasions. The Swiss Federal Council is, and will continue to be, in favour of all negotiations which bring about military parity at a lower threshold or armament — as was only recently reconfirmed by the head of the Federal Military Department in Parliament.



General Robert Close and Mme. Aubry at the EFC Conference.

The contemplated elimination of all INF missiles of longer and shorter range in Europe may aim in that direction. Yet in order to secure peace and, more modestly, military stability, this agreement will need to be accompanied by further deep cuts in military holdings, particularly in the realm of conventional forces, chemical weapons and shorter range — or battlefield — ballistic missiles: all of them areas where the Warsaw Pact Treaty Organization holds significant and worrisome advantages over the West. Individual weapons systems can be reduced or eliminated. This may, and should be a positive step in the right direction. There is no progress without such steps. The ultimate litmus test remains, though, the impact such steps will have on the military balance and on the prospects of improving stability and reducing the risk of war. It is this yardstick against which our current hopes will have to be measured. Arms control cannot stop at INF; it must go beyond it.

In that respect, it was a positive sign that the General Secretary of the CPSU acknowledged during his recent speech in Prague that there are indeed military asymmetries in Europe (and that this recognition was later endorsed by the Warsaw Pact at its meeting in East Berlin). It was an equally encouraging sign to be able to read in the final communique of the latter meeting that nuclear and conventional arms control are linked to each other. A conventional war in Europe may be a limited conflict in the eyes of some observers; it can never be such a thing for the countries on whose territory it might be fought out. Conventional arms control and chemical arms control cannot be separated from nuclear arms control. Some, including former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, have even pondered that it might have been wiser, had the former two preceded the latter in some respects. Nevertheless, recent political statements

sound encouraging. Now it remains that the statements be followed by concrete deeds.

It is equally encouraging to note that both the United States and the Soviet Union appear to agree that for any arms control agreement to be concluded, it will have to be adequately verified. How, indeed, could it be otherwise! Switzerland has not been hesitating to offer whatever was reasonable also in this respect — most recently a neutral inspection plane for the implementation of the results of the Stockholm CDE conference. The offer was not taken up; however, Swiss willingness to foster the chance of balanced arms control will remain.

Yet we should not lose a sober and realistic view of the complex issues at stake. In arms control and disarmament matters — as in matters of armaments and security policy — the interests of the Great Powers will eventually prove to be predominant. Good intentions, on their own, do rarely change harsh realities. The Swiss willingness to assist the process of arms control is hence matched by our determination not to foreswear our own legitimate national security interest.

The Swiss militia army is purely defensive and no threat whatsoever to its neighbours. Switzerland cannot, and will not, lead the way by unilaterally renouncing that protective shield which has served her so well in the past. Nor can the Swiss army be reduced in size before the threat to Switzerland has become reduced too. To claim that the Swiss army is an obstacle to, or even a major issue in European arms control would be absurd and preposterous. To take gambles before there is clear cut evidence that offensive military options have been significantly reduced in Europe, not only in the nuclear but also in the conventional and chemical fields, would neither be wise nor a contribution to European security and stability. It would simply lead to a dangerous and highly destabilizing power vacuum in the very heart of Europe. It would neither benefit European security, nor the perspectives of arms control, and least of all, Switzerland herself.

The Swiss attitude towards arms control is, in conclusion, as simple as it is logical: we are, with all our heart, in favour of it and willing to foster its chances with all our energies; yet we cannot afford to equate words with concrete deeds. The time for concrete deeds has come indeed. Agreements may be the stepping stones of progress. However, success will eventually not have to be measured by their numbers, but by the way covered towards the genuine objective: towards military stability, the elimination of offensive military capabilities and last, but not least, let us not forget it, towards freedom, the ultimate precondition of peace.

THE NORILSK UPRISING

by

Yevhen Hrycak

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THE TREASON BY THE USSR TOWARDS THE DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES

Today, everyone is convinced by the detente policy introduced by Mr. Gorbachev. Yet no one remembers and no one mentions one of the most burning issues which is marked in its entire history by the former tsarist empire and the present Soviet Union, the issue of different nationalities incorporated into the USSR.

The Soviet Union, established at the end of 1922 (December 30, 1922) is not a unitary state. It is composed of numerous national Soviet Republics. Today, it incorporates 15 republics, including Russia, which are all dominated by the Russians.

It is under the constraint of the occupying force that these states had to establish a union called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. According to official documents, it is a matter of a voluntary union of independent and sovereign states which agreed to convey a part of their jurisdiction to the organs of the Union by safeguarding their entire sovereignty which is indivisible and which cannot be divided between the national republic and the Union.

Only on its European territories does the USSR incorporate numerous and very important nations: Ukraine, Byelorussia and from 1945 the Baltic countries and Bessarabia and Bukovina from 1940.

If the dimensions of our intervention prevent us from presenting them in an elaborate way, no European has the right to forget them. For these people did not integrate themselves into the Soviet Union, but were incorporated by force by communist Russia — the heiress of tsarist imperialism.

The great famine of 1932-33 cost Ukraine and Byelorussia millions of deaths. During the last World War, the Ukrainian partisans had to fight on two fronts. Hundreds of thousands of Estonians, Lithuanians and Latvians were deported. In the meantime, there was a flow of Russians: in 1939 there was a total of 8,20% in Estonia. Today there is a total of 30% and 32% in Latvia, instead of 2,07%.

The treatment of the nations within the Soviet Union comes to light under an alluring approach which is just as deceptive as it is precarious. The same can be said for all of the other nationalities incorporated into the USSR. They find themselves practically in a state of enslavement.

I would like to unfold to you the real situation of the different nationalities within the USSR. The structure of the Soviet state undoubtedly stands in contrast with that of the tsarist assimilative empire. From a theoretical point of view, the 14 nations which were established into federal republics form a union with Russia, on a base of theoretical equality with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Theoretically, all of them ought to exercise international competency and the right of secession.

In this system of federated republics, some nationalities of a certain importance enjoy more or less a certain kind of autonomy, going from a status of an autonomous republic, elaborating its own constitution (there are 19 of them), to that of an autonomous region (9 of them), and national districts (there are 10 of them).

Incidentally, it is necessary to underline the fact that from September 17, 1939, the territory of the USSR underwent changes, or to be more precise, an abstraction created



Prof. Leo Magnino at the EFC Conference.

by the fluctuation of the front during the German-Soviet war. It increased with the annexation of the Western Ukrainian regions in 1939 and 1946, the Baltic regions in 1940, the Touva regions in 1944, Southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands in 1945, Kalingrad and Kleipeda in 1946.

All of these groups exercise their own representation in the Soviet Union of nationalities and the federal republics, through their own presidents, participate directly in the Council of Ministries of the USSR, in the Supreme Court and in the Federal Supreme Court.

Ethnic federalism is Lenin's work of art: during this era the communist leaders used national demands to combat tsarism which had already belonged from the time of Bakunin to revolutionary Russian heritage. Moreover, propaganda made gains in effectiveness when the small man was addressed in his own language. Therefore, it was very simple to reabsorb illiteracy by using the popular language in a written way and imposing Russian articles. Thus, the nationalities policy before and after the October revolution had been conceived to serve the interests of the propagation of communist ideology.

Today it plays the same role, serving to appease, or rather, to deceive the susceptibility of recalcitrant people. The interests of the nationalities arise from sheer

tactics because Marxism-Leninism has no true consideration for the national problem and Soviet politics are only made to “startle the old fogeys” — and the old fogeys are evidently the Europeans and the West, who still believe in the safeguarding of the nationalities within the USSR; this is the treason of the USSR towards the different nationalities incorporated into the Soviet Union.

According to the constitution of the USSR, the Ministries of the Union “control the entire territory of the USSR, either directly or through their appointed organs, the branch of state administration entrusted to them.” (Art. 75) However, these are federal ministries of the Soviet Union. They exist only in Moscow, their activities are completely under the power of the Union. However, there are no corresponding ministries in the national republics. These are ministries which transmit total centralization into defined domains.

The federal ministries and the federal-republican ministries of the Union administer only directly a determined and very limited number of enterprises according to a list ratified by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (Art. 76 of the constitution of the USSR). Although the existence and the number of these ministries are constitutional proof of the domination of Moscow over the national republics, nevertheless, in Soviet texts they continue to be called “sovereign” in order to once again deceive the West.

If the consideration of the ethnic fact arises from a tactical arsenal, it is not necessary to be surprised that communism consents to the nationalities’ advantages which are more conspicuous than real and always striking the most extreme precariousness. We must not forget the cynical dispersion of several nationalities during the war and the right of secession of the “federal republics” is so illusionary, that these republics have no guarantee of existence. A simple example: in 1956 the Karelian-Finnish Republic was reduced to the rank of a simple “autonomous republic” in the heart of the Federal Russian Republic.

Parallel to the alleged respect of languages and cultures, Russification is being conducted on a grand scale. Simultaneously, the anti-religion campaign is being continued behind a constitutional facade.

In all of the federal republics, the intensive instruction of Russian is flourishing. The decolonization of Siberia and Turkestan is a pretext for the vast movements of the population which is weakening the ethnic minorities.

The satellite countries, apart from Russia, or rather under her pressure have implanted a system of ethnic protection and sometimes, even territorial autonomy. However, diverse indications reveal the tactical character of these concessions: the deportation of minorities, the discrimination against German and Jewish minorities, the sudden repeal of solemnly proclaimed guarantees, the progressive extinction of national character through the politics of the communist masses.

One example should suffice to convince us of the cruelty and malice of these politics: that of Ukraine. After having initiated military aggression against the Ukrainian National Republic, the Russian communists created a political fabrication in the form of the “Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic” in opposition to the legitimate Ukrainian government. In 1923 with other non-Russian republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, created by Moscow, entered into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). By virtue of being republics of the USSR, these nations have been deprived of all their basic rights, however, Moscow continues to maintain

the fiction that they are sovereign states. In 1945, when it appeared useful to Moscow to enlarge its prerogative in a way to make it seem that the Republics of the Union are truly independent, Ukraine and Byelorussia were introduced into the Organization of the United Nations as founding members. At the same time, the Republics of the Union acquired a certain number of external attributes of sovereignty, namely an emblem, a flag and a national anthem.

However, the reality is completely different behind this facade. From the beginning of its enslavement by Soviet Russia, Ukraine never was and is not an independent republic, she is only a colony of Soviet Russia. In the present Soviet Russian empire, the Ukrainian people are suffering relentless social and national oppression.

The Soviet Russian empire known as the USSR is a totalitarian state where unlimited power lies in the hands of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This sole party, central and totalitarian, controls all of the republics of the Union. Even on an economic level, the republics incorporated into the USSR are rigidly submissive to Moscow's central planning. The levied taxes are utilized to realize the external imperialist policy of the Soviet Union and its territorial expansion. The industrial and agricultural products are destined to be distributed in different parts of the USSR or else for export in order to maintain competition with America and the countries of Western Europe.

In certain republics of the Soviet Union, the enslavement of peoples has taken on intolerable forms. The Soviet Russian regime practices a partial, yet systematic destruction of the national essence in many of the republics. For example, in the Baltic countries, in Ukraine and in many other republics the Soviet Russians try to reduce these people to a static ethnic entity.

It is now necessary to address the question of religion which undoubtedly touches the conscience of the people of the republics incorporated into the Union who are not Orthodox, but rather Catholic, Moslem and Jewish. It is a known fact that the Soviet power officially tolerates the Orthodox Church under the Patriarch of Moscow. The Russian Orthodox Church effectively enjoys the right to exist. Russian power categorically denies the same right to other denominations.

There are appalling examples in Lithuania and Ukraine. The Russian power denies the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church the right to exist. Both churches were liquidated by force and by the most abominable police methods — one in 1930 and the other in 1945. Even today there are countless Catholic priests imprisoned or liable to be deported into forced labor camps, they are almost all Ukrainian or Lithuanian.

All possible means are undertaken by the Patriarch of Moscow to progressively alienate the faithful from their ancestral beliefs and from the Holy See. In this way propaganda is introduced methodically and with great tact: the aggressiveness of the Moscovite Orthodoxy is continuously working towards erasing all traces of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Byzantine rite.

It is necessary to point out here that the christianization of Ukraine occurred in 988 during the reign of Volodymyr the Great, who, having accepted the Byzantine rite, remained in contact with Catholicism. However, at the beginning of the 15th century, with Moscovite political pressure on Ukraine, Moscow, the self-styled Third Rome, exercised a baneful influence on her in order to alienate her from the gravitation towards the West and the Catholic Church.

Still dissatisfied with his efforts, the Patriarch of Moscow wants to celebrate next year, 1988, as the millennium of the introduction of Christianity in Russia, as if this anniversary should consider the introduction of the orthodox religion in Russia and not the christianization of Ukraine first.

The Patriarchate of Moscow is urging the Holy See to officially participate in this celebration. The Holy See must choose categorically between Moscow and Rome. Therefore, if the Vatican, in its "Ostpolitik", participates in the celebration of the millennium in Moscow, then this will signify the total renunciation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by handing over Ukraine's faithful to the Patriarch of Moscow.

In this so-called "entente cordiale" which Mr. Gorbachev just developed today, it will be necessary that the West agree finally to demand from the USSR, as a preliminary condition to the solution of international problems, the application of the right to self-determination, which was recognized by Lenin, of the nations incorporated by force into the Soviet Empire. This is perhaps a true utopia if the free nations continue to act separately and allow themselves to be deceived by the Kremlin's "fireworks". Yet things might perhaps change if we recognize that at the present moment, the USSR needs the West more than the West the USSR and if the Western nations act consequentially.

NEW HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP FORMED IN UKRAINE

Five former political prisoners have formed an Initiative Group for the Release of Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience in Ukraine. A statement dated October 3, 1987, was issued by the founding members — Vasyl' Barladyanu, Ivan Hel', Mykhailo Horyn, Zoryan Popadyuk and Vyacheslav Chornovil. All of the five founding members have served long terms in Soviet Russian concentration camps.

The group's statement appeals to the Soviet Russian regime to: 1) eliminate from the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and the criminal codes of other republics the discriminatory articles that have been used to imprison those political prisoners who have spoken out against the regime; 2) rehabilitate prisoners of conscience and compensate them for damage; and 3) return to Ukraine the remains of those prisoners of conscience who have died in the camps.

The statement further points out that the present political situation is in conflict with the democratization proclaimed by the regime: "The release of some prisoners of conscience by pardoning them does not remove the reason for their incarceration, and it is a way of shifting the blame from people of the Brezhnev-Andropov period to their opponents, who for decades carried on the struggle against the infringement of national and religious rights of citizens. Support for democratization clashes with the barbed wire of the concentration camps, arouses fear and hesitation. The forces of the toiling *aktiv* of the country could be mobilized by the humane act of releasing prisoners of conscience.

The newly formed group further announced in their statement that they will provide information about political developments in Ukraine and announced their readiness to cooperate with other organizations who have similar aims, both inside and outside of Ukraine.

COMBATTING COMMUNIST LIES

One reason for the success of the communist movement throughout the world is their successful infiltration and manipulation of the media in non-communist countries. To achieve their goals it is absolutely necessary that they distort the facts, suppress the truth and lie. When the great writer and one-time journalist, Arthur Koestler, decided to break with the communists fifty years ago, he made a speech in which he said he had come to realize that a harmful truth was better than a useful lie. When he said that, all the communists in the audience knew that Koestler had renounced communism.

Arthur Koestler was only one of many secret communist journalists who successfully infiltrated the mass media in the West, assigned by the Communist Party to influence the flow of information to their benefit. These secret communists have been assisted by a multitude of sympathizers, some of whom are “useful idiots” and some simply calculating opportunists.

There was Walter Duranty, Moscow correspondent for *The New York Times* in the 1920s and early 'thirties. Duranty knowingly helped conceal from the world one of Stalin's greatest crimes, the man-made famine in Ukraine in 1932-33, which killed over six million people.

There was Herbert Matthews, also of *The New York Times*, who rescued Fidel Castro from obscurity and convinced the United States that he was just the kind of democrat that was deserving of support in his efforts to overthrow Fulgencio Batista.

In 1975, we had Sydney Schanberg, another *New York Times* reporter, who assured Americans that life would be better for most Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians once the Americans were out of Indochina and the communists had taken over.

Useful lies and distortions have worked for the communists mainly because there has been little in the way of a systematic effort to expose them. If we expose their lies and distortions, we can convert what has been one of their assets into a serious liability. We can nullify their propaganda and discredit their agents and helpers.

With that in mind, I started an organization called Accuracy in Media eighteen years ago. Combating communism was not its only purpose, but it has had considerable success in that area as well as some others.

At the height of the communist insurgency in El Salvador, the correspondent covering El Salvador for the *The New York Times*, Raymond Bonner, was sympathetic to the guerrillas. Accuracy in Media demonstrated that his reporting was seriously inaccurate and slanted. Bonner's tour of duty was cut short after only 10 months. The guerrillas lost a valuable helper.

In 1985, Accuracy in Media infuriated the left by producing and getting aired a documentary narrated by the famous actor, Charlton Heston, that exposed the errors and pro-communist bias of a \$5.6 million television documentary called “Vietnam: A Television History.” We followed this with a second documentary showing how flawed reporting contributed to the loss of Vietnam to the communists. That was aired on most public television stations in the United States and is now being distributed as a video cassette.

Accuracy in Media uses many channels to inform the public of the errors of the media. It publishes a newsletter, the *AIM Report*, twice each month. It has a circulation of around 30,000. It airs a daily radio program on over 150 stations. It distributes two newspaper columns a week to about 100 newspapers. It has a speakers' bureau that books nearly 500 lectures a year, and its representatives make frequent appearances on radio and television programs. We are currently producing another television documentary, one that examines the influence of the Communist Party in the United States.

Accuracy in Media also assists in the publication of *The Washington Inquirer*, a weekly newspaper that publishes important stories ignored by the regular media. It has given birth to a new organization called Accuracy in Academia, which is now endeavoring to combat error and leftist intolerance on college campuses, using techniques similar to those of Accuracy in Media. Thomas Jefferson said that error may be tolerated as long as truth is free to combat it. Combatting the errors disseminated by the communists is a big job that requires the full-time effort of a professional staff. It is a job that serious anti-communists cannot afford to neglect.

LATVIANS RALLY IN RIGA, ESTONIANS IN TALLINN

On August 23, some 10,000 people demonstrated in the Latvian capital, Riga, in protest of the Russian-German Non-Aggression Pact signed in 1939. Janis Rozkalns told the Associated Press by telephone that at least 2,000 Latvians had gathered at Riga's Statue of Liberty around noon. They were quite vocal about their feelings. Latvians in Stockholm received reports that some 7,000 tried to reach the cordoned-off square throughout the afternoon. According to Rozkalns, about 500 police set up barricades and closed off a pedestrian underpass to the statue. People who walked to the statue to lay down flowers were cheered by the crowd.

The police in Riga were rougher than in Vilnius or Tallinn. Posters were confiscated. A photographer, believed to be a foreigner, was seized and his camera was smashed. As evening fell, twelve demonstrators were arrested, including the wife of Grantins, the imprisoned member of the Latvian "Helsinki 86" group, and her two children. Scenes from the demonstration were shown on Latvian television, with some participants complaining of police brutality.

Reports from Estonia were still sparse in late August. Some 2,000 people were said to have convened at the Statue of Linda, the widow of Kalev'sson, a legendary Estonian hero. They laid flowers at the statue and made speeches. According to TASS (August 23), the demonstrators made remarks about the "national feelings of Estonians," and engaged in a "propagandistic spectacle." There were no clashes with the police. TASS did not like the choice of the site, associated with the Estonian national epic *Kalevipoeg*: "By this action the provocateurs tried to distort, to cast aspersions on the revolutionary past of Estonia's working people, on the fraternal community of Soviet people."

The reports on the demonstration in Vilnius published in the Lithuanian Communist press, were a mirror image of TASS and the Moscow press. They accused Western radios and special services as having engineered the rallies, heaped abuse on the organizers and participants, and insisted that the demonstrations were a "failure." In doing so, they omitted any mention of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

Elta Information Bulletin, September 1987

IVAN SOKULSKYJ'S LETTER TO GORBACHEV

Ivan Sokulskyj wrote his letter to Gorbachev in 1986. Miraculously, the letter somehow got beyond the concentration camp and into the West. Born in 1940, Ivan Sokulskyj was sentenced in 1980 to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". In 1983 he agreed to give an interview to a correspondent of *Vechirnij Dnipro*, a newspaper from Dnipropetrovsk. The article was falsified and published under the title "Prozrinnya" (enlightenment). Finding out about the falsification, Sokulskyj protested and he was once again sent off to the Chystopol concentration camp. Later, three additional years of imprisonment were added to his sentence, accusing him of a criminal deed. The KGB proposed a pardon for Sokulskyj, if he admitted to the "facts" in the "Prozrinnya" article. Sokulskyj did not agree to the KGB's proposition, that is why he is now serving in one of the severest of concentration camps. Gorbachev's "amnesty" did not include Ivan Sokulskyj.

May-June, 1986

Esteemed General Secretary!

Forgive the awkward address. The contemporary Russian language does not have a form of polite address to an official person.

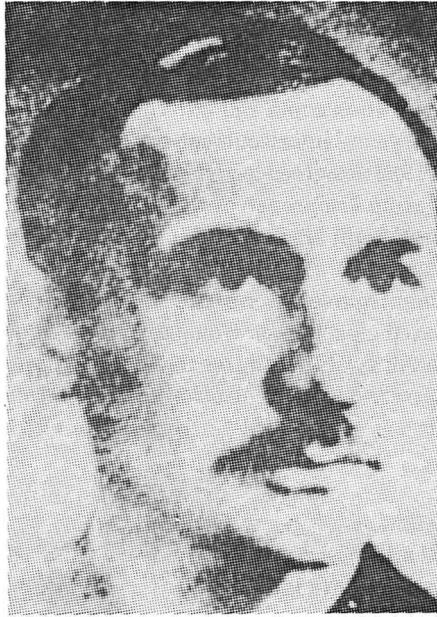
As probably the majority of people, I diligently follow your efforts at creating peace. As the majority, I, certainly, also would wish that they end in success. But at the same time, I can understand those who view your peaceful initiatives with mistrust, seeing in them propagandist recourse. Insofar as it is my misfortune to reside within the borders of a country headed by you, I think that I have the right to turn to you with my reflections on same.

The reason for the mistrust of the USSR is well known. It is the internal politics conducted by the government headed by you. It is no secret that it is the internal politics of a country which designate its true face in the international arena. When the national-socialist government came to power in Germany and enforced its political terror, it smelled of war throughout the world. This was a challenge to the world citizenry. Therefore, taught by recent history, the world cannot believe the so-called "love of peace" of the Soviet government, if in its position towards dissent, unofficial parties and convictions, it is exactly the same, if not more ruthless, than that of Hitler's Germany.

For example, Hryhoriy Prychodko and I were sentenced only for our patriotic, nationalistic convictions, with a complete lack of any factual evidence of anti-Soviet activity. In exactly the same manner, almost all patriotically inclined persons in Ukraine were sentenced in 1950-1960 and earlier to maximum terms of imprisonment. They were completely eradicated. But even this was not enough for the organs of the KGB.

In the special regimen VS-389-36 camps, the KGB has organized and fully unleashed a series of political murders under the guise of the so-called "regime of maintenance". In this manner, about 20% of prisoners in the special regimen camps were killed.

Having arrived to a VS-389-36 camp from the Chystopol prison where I had served 5 years, I noticed immediately that the regimen here was ten times more severe than the prison regimen at Chystopol. Not so much the regimen, but the entire willful, intention-



Ivan Sokulskyj

al, premeditated murder. In this way, immediately upon my arrival from Chystopol, formally relying on the fact that I was not able to complete the required work quota — I was gravely ill, suffering from an acute form of osteochondrosis — I was thrown into an isolation cell for 67 days. In isolation, aside from the wasting away from hunger and cold approved by the regimen, I was constantly subjected to inhuman torment by the guards. To qualify their treatment of me as sadistic, would be putting it mildly.

It is impossible to say to what extent a human being can go, if completely turned over to the rule of another, and particularly if the ruler's authoritarianism cannot be charged, for such instances do not exist. All charges come back to the authorities of camps for state criminals, from which the standard reply is "punish for slander". The real power over the prisoners is not the camp administration, but V. I. Vasylenko, who is completely authorized by the KGB. The administration as well as the military guards are only the executors of Vasylenko's secret instructions. In his conversations with prisoners, he openly speaks about his principles in his work: "If the enemy does not submit, he must be eliminated". The death penalty cannot be given for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", but Vasylenko gives each prisoner his own secret sentence, which is carried out under the guise of punishment for "violation of the regimen". They will add up as many acts of "violation" as necessary for them to constantly terrorize people. In this way Vasylenko summoned the Estonian Tarto to his office and threatened him, unless Tarto admits himself guilty and writes a petition for pardon, he will be sentenced to a further 5 years' imprisonment. Vasylenko also talked with me frankly: if I don't cooperate with the KGB, in a matter of time I will be carried out feet first, i.e. killed. And obviously, this is not simply blackmail.

They began to destroy me systematically immediately upon my arrival in the camp. If I am alive until now, it is only because Vasylenko granted me a "retreat" for a period of time, so that I would have the opportunity to think and choose death or cooperation

with the KGB. As Vasylenko said, I have no other choice. Last year, 1985, Taraban arrived in Chystopol from Dnipropetrovsk. He gave me an ultimatum from his superiors: either I admit to guilt in something which I did not do, as the case was fabricated, and publish an announcement in the press that I was the author of the interview done in my name by the correspondent Homolsky and published in the newspaper *Vechirnij Dnipro*, June 12-14, 1983, or I will be sentenced for a criminal deed.

I was sentenced to three years of the regimen which I now have. The conditions in the special regimen surpass Buchenwald and Majdanek in their cruelty.

I will give several examples. With the purpose of torment, they did the following to me: three times per day I was made to undress and told to turn my socks inside out, after which they wrote me up for turning my socks inside out too slowly. As it was winter, they removed my therapeutic belt, I was allowed only my underclothes. The prison food consists of 450 grams of bread, every other day we get something warm. Despite this, I had to work. My cell has a steel door on which the guards constantly pounded with a hammer. I was kept in a solitary cell for almost a year. Despite the fact that during the working hours I worked to fulfill the required quota, every three or four minutes the overseer would open the window and shout abusively "Sokulskyj! Why aren't you working?!", calling me abominable, censorable names. When I complained to higher authorities, their response was "You must fulfill your quota".

I was gravely ill and could only fulfill about 80% of the work quota. However, for two months I was able to meet the quota, except for singular days, but the authorities continued to write in their reports that I "intentionally do not fulfill the work quota". Again and again I was thrown into isolation cells, or my terms in them were extended.

By some miracle, despite the inhuman conditions, my illness eased a little and I began to systematically fulfill the work quota, otherwise I would still be in isolation today, if alive at all. The guards would walk into my cell and threaten me with murder, or mock me, "Now you're reaching the quota, I'll kill you yet!".

A camp administrator often annulled the doctor's instructions, using the excuse that I was not fulfilling the quota. Snyedovsky, a camp division official, contradicting the doctor, wrote in a report that I was simulating illness. As I had a cold, I went to the doctor who gave me medication for gargling. When Snyedovsky learned that I had the medicine, he instructed the guard to get rid of it, which the guard did.

Almost every day, and at that several times a day, I was summoned by either Dolmatov, an administration official, or a camp division official who branded me as "spitefully not fulfilling the work norm". They called me lazy, a hooligan and other derogatory names.

My conviction is love for Ukraine, with all the consequences which stem from that love. I believe that Ukrainians have the same right to an independent state of their own as do the Russians or Africans. National interests can only be safeguarded by having our own state. Our own state is the only thing that can rescue Ukrainians from total Russification and from their disappearance as a nation by the year 2000.

The Ukrainian SSR is pointed out to us. But this is only an administrative unit of the "one and indivisible Russia". The USSR does not have equality of rights, not even formally. The communists of Russia, of the RSFSR stand above all national party organizations. When speaking of national republics, all national republics are bore in mind, except the RSFSR. Russia is formally a supnation. Is it possible that

Ukrainians must agree with Russification because they live in the so-called “most progressive and most just order”?

It seems to me that there is no greater despotism nor iniquity in all the world. Can it be otherwise if the powers that be are certain that they have captured and mastered the most objective course of history? If there is an objective course of history, then what mortal can know of it beforehand? Who can really know in what societies mankind will live in fifty years? No one, except for those cabinet scholars who know the course of history in advance as well as those who identify their deeds with the course of history.

As for myself, I don't divide countries into capitalist and socialist. The principle of economics — the basis of mankind — is but one, as there is only one nature of man. I divide countries into free ones and despotic ones. As far as the regime under which I have been forced to live, I have been convinced by my own bitter experience that there is no place here for human individuality; the party has usurped everything. If you have any claims to being an individual, your place is in prison. And here you can be killed at any time by the secret sentence of a chekist reeducator, in this case, Vasylenko.

If we considered freedom of the individual and of nations overall as the main goal of the revolution, then communists-Leninists are counterrevolutionaries rather than revolutionaries. After the fall of czarist rule, during the time of the Provisional Government, Russia had many political freedoms — freedom of political activity, political parties, meetings, demonstrations, strikes. There was freedom of speech, press, etc. As I understand it, at that time, Russia was seeking its own national form of rule, therefore, the government was modestly called “Provisional”.

Taking advantage of the democratization and the right of secession, Ukrainians created their own independent State — the Ukrainian National Republic. But the Bolsheviks, usurping rule with the help of subversion, did not look for forms of rule suitable to the people, did not adapt rule to the people, but quite the contrary, they began to conform the people to an abstract, conceived in advance form of rule. What did not fit in, they cut off.

This is how entire classes and strata of society began to be liquidated. State terror was enforced within the country, terror which has lasted until today, and which is now applied to individual persons. The first internally political deed of the Bolshevik government, after pronouncing its “love of peace”, was an attack upon the independent Ukrainian state. With time, they came to restore the “one and indivisible”, where from the Moldavian to the Finn, all is silent on all tongues. I have no pretensions to the infallibility of my thoughts, but this is what my convictions are comprised of, for which, I am being killed.

Ivan Sokulskyj

UKRAINIAN HERALD

Underground Magazine from Ukraine, Issue IV

An English edition containing short biographies and works of political, literary and cultural activists in Ukraine, namely, artist Alla Horska, historian, publicist and writer Valentyn Moroz, national poet Vasyl Symonenko and others. Available from: ABN Bureau, Zeppelinstr. 67, 8000 Munich 80, West Germany. Price: U.S. \$10.00

CHRONICLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN UKRAINE

PART IX

*To the Presidium of the Supreme
Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.*

STATEMENT

On the 21st we members of the timber procurement team, Firka M. V., Korol Yu., Romanets I. M., Dutka D. I., and Firka Yu.M., drew up a contract with the Petrovskiy collective farm, Verkhnodni-provsk district, Homel region. The contract was ratified by the authorities of the collective farm on March 1st, 1984. We completed the job on April 28th, 2 days before the set deadline. The contract was signed by the head of the district agricultural administration, H. V. Velyhiv, by the director of the UKS (Management of Capital Construction), A. I. Chornomoret, and by the chief economist of RAPO (District Consumers' Cooperative) and the legal service, V. I. Vasylenko.

Chief construction engineer, Troyan V. F., and the works manager of the collective, Belko, received 497 cubic metres and (an additional) 3 tons of timber from our procurement team. Both men immediately signed a document authorising the payment of the team's wages. However, to our great regret, the money we had earned by the sweat of our brow was not paid out to us. We are ordinary Ukrainian rural workers, who worked 16 to 18 hours a day just to earn some money and bring home a well-earned piece of bread for our families... We do not know why Soviet law was so blatantly violated and why the management thinks our children do not want to eat. Only fierce enemies of the working class and peasants can act in such a way. It is interesting to note that as soon as the Uniates got to know of this they immediately came to my house and insisted that we complain to their committee of defence so that the world would know how Ukrainian rural labourers work for noth-

ing on our collective farms. We have nothing in common with the Uniates. We belong to the Russian Orthodox Church and do not tread the same paths as our enemies... we wrote a statement to the district prosecutor's office, but our money has still not been paid. To whom should we write now? Why did the management have the "right" to violate the contract and spit into the soul of a Soviet rural worker?

Surely the guilty persons cannot get away with only a mere reprimand for the obvious theft of our honestly-earned wages? We hope that the higher administrative organs of the Ministry of the Interior will find the time (to deal with this case) and that our children will not end up without a piece of bread.

12.7.1984

*To the Secretary General
of the United Nations
Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar*

Mr. de Cuellar!

Forty years have passed since the end of the world war. It would seem that there would be no return to the past — the people of little planet Earth are heading towards peace and mutual understanding. But mere aspirations are not enough. During the war in the city of Lviv in Ukraine there was a concentration camp, which stood on Shevchenko Street near the Lukachiv cemetery where over 100,000 prisoners of various nationalities were exterminated. After the war Soviet Russian troops occupied Ukraine and set up their own concentration camp in the place where Hitler's "Yaniv concentration camp" once stood. The Soviet camp has survived to this very day. On May 20th (1984) the Ukrainian Catholic priest Fr. Antin Potochniak who was

aged 72, was murdered there. The Moscow officials expanded the camp by more than half. We, the members of the Helsinki Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine, turn to you with the request that a monument to the memory of those, who died at the hands of the Nazis and the Stalinists be erected on the site of the former Nazi and now communist concentration camp.

People of good will! Remember and do not forget that in Ukraine an undeclared war is being waged against our people. Moscow has decided once and for all to finish with Ukraine and its past, depriving us also of the future.

1.8.1984

Lviv

Chairman of the Initiative
Group — *Vasyl Kobryn*
Secretary — *Fr. Hryhoriy
Budzinskyi,*
Member — *Josyp Terelya.*

CHAUVINISM — RUSSIA — COMMUNISM

Throughout the centuries imperial Moscow has strived for peace and at the same time has conducted its own wars of conquest. Throughout the centuries Moscow has hidden behind the shield of the “protection of small nations” before the large ones, while simultaneously destroying and subjugating these very same nations.

This is what *Russkaya Mysl* wrote in December, 1914: “We are fighting for the general liberation of all nations that are being threatened with humiliation and oppression, no matter what their particular race or religious beliefs may be. We are striving for the rights of every nation, for the (protection) in politics of

the national principle itself in its full sense...”. This quote has been taken from an article written by Prince E. Trubetskoy, entitled “War and the world mission of Russia”. This article goes on to say that: “... the liberation of other peoples and the struggle to help the weak against the strong does not only concern our political disinterestedness, it is also indispensable for the survival Russia. However, we can see that for the Russian chauvinist (Trubetskoy) the imperialist war was not a case of the “political disinterestedness of Russia”, which (supposedly) thought about the time when the peoples of the world would be free from slavery... “The task, thrown upon us by history, is alien to the differences between East and West. It equally concerns racial and religious antagonism. This task, in essence, is international, universal — the general political renaissance of all subjugated nationalities”. In reality, how very similar Prince Trubetskoy’s article is to the doctrine of the Central Committee of the CPSU. For the followers of Andropov and Chernenko speak the same. Neither the communists nor their predecessors, the princes and so on, ever asked the nations, which in the eyes of the chauvinist (Trubetskoy) came under the category of those, which had to be liberated from themselves (whether any of them wished to be liberated)..

In January, 1915, *Russkaya Duma* repeated what had earlier been published in *Russkaya Mysl*: “The task of general national liberation can be resolved only through our victory — through such a victory that would bring us world hegemony... This (achievement of this victory) is our greatest problem...” As we can see, world hegemony, which is now called the world hegemony of the working class, is equally indispensable to both regimes (tsarist and communist). Al-

though its nature and slogans may have changed, the essential principle — imperialism — is the same. In the opinion of the author (Trubetskoy) Russia will only succeed in avoiding the triumph of nationalism by a “successful solution to the national question in its world-wide scale and significance...”

This means that Russia should become an international policeman in its future global empire in which the big Russian elder brother will make the peoples happy...

Prince Trubetskoy writes: “Russia should preserve the image of itself as a liberator-state — the defender of all small nations against predator-states”. It is interesting to know to which of these nations the chauvinist Trubetskoy felt he belonged? Perhaps he was trying to say that “Russia will become the centre of a union of nations with the aim of common security”. Although not a communist one, he did, nevertheless, create in his mind a picture of a “centre of a union of nations”.

The communists did not have to think up anything new. They made use of everything that the old imperial machine had left behind. They merely added lack of principle, cruelty, and the destruction of faith — in other words complete amorality. It was embarrassing for “Christian Russia” to propagate the idea of Pavlyk Morozov (a boy who gave his father away to the authorities for hiding grain during the period of collectivisation). For the new emperors, not restricted by international laws, this was most unfitting. The aim put forward was unambiguous: the struggle for the complete destruction of capitalism and the triumph of communism — clear and simple. They want to change the label and conquer the world with their dirty hands, according to the old imperial principle, divide and rule, to achieve the complete

triumph of Russian chauvinism, today called “communism”.

However, as we shall see later on, today the well-known “Ukrainian question” stands in the way of the achievement of all these aims, as it did 70 years ago. “Such an annexation is essential — as it became clear in connection with this war (WWI) — also for the internal recovery of Russia, for the life of the Little Russian (Ukrainian) race under Austria has created and nurtured the monstrous so-called ‘Ukrainian question’ in our midst...” In this way Mr. Struve and Prince Trubetskoy were hoping for a war — a war to achieve the “unity of the great Russian culture...” by means of destroying the little Ukrainian culture, thus realising the religious miracle of the fusion of power and truth.

All of the programmatic documents of today’s Kremlin officials hurt the eyes with statements on peace and friendship, on the protection of the interests of the Russian worker, the great Russian culture, and so on. However, the Ukrainian question is not forgotten either, especially today, when raging Russification and the destruction of everything Ukrainian is on the advance.

I purposely made this selection of quotes of former tsarist government officials in order to convince myself one more time that the communist empire did not spring up from an empty space. August, 1984.

WHAT HAS CHANGED IN THE LAST 70 YEARS?

For us — nothing. Ukraine remains a Russian colony as it was in the past. In September, 1914, Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi was arrested and exiled to Kursk in January, 1915, where he was placed under the supervision of Archbishop Tykhon.

Ukrainian Catholic bishop, Stepan Yuryk, was arrested and exiled to the gubernia of Tomsk, along with 54 Ukrainian intellectuals from Lviv, Ternopil, and Kolomyia.

On January 9th, the Kyiv police retracted permission for the printing of all publications in the Ukrainian language, which appeared in Kyiv. Nineteen publications were closed down, not including those publications which were printed in both Russian and Ukrainian. The basis for this action was the instruction issued by the Commander-in-Chief of the military district in Kyiv, which said: "Halt all periodicals in the Little Russian dialect, the old Aryan language and in the Hebrew jargon for the entire period under military conditions." In this way the empire, which was crumbling, began the year 1915.

ANNOUNCEMENT

In 1983, the church in the village of Stare Stryiske, Zhydachiv district, Lviv region, was converted into a funeral directory. Presently, it houses a museum.

In the spring of 1984, the church in the village of Veriatsia, Vynohradiv district was destroyed. The communists smashed everything and burnt all the liturgical books. The church itself was turned into a medical centre. It would be interesting to know where the Ukrainian people's money goes if the Kremlin destroys churches and turns them into medical centres instead of building hospitals. For more than half a year none of the local people wanted to work in the medical centre. The authorities then sent down a Russian obstetrician, who now works in the village. However, the inhabitants of the village do not turn to her for medical help.

On June 9th, 1984, a meeting of young Catholics from two districts of Transcarpathian Ukraine was held on the site of the Boroniavskyi Monastery, which had been destroyed by the Russians.

MYKHAILO HORYN

The Ukrainian sociologist, M. Horyn, is in exile in the village of Kuchino, Perm region, Russia. This is the second term (of imprisonment) for his love of Ukraine and its independence. According to information received from his relatives, Mykhailo Horyn suffered a heart attack in May. The commander of the concentration camp, Major Zhuravliov, agreed to allow Horyn to receive his next visit, but on the 14th he unexpectedly sent a telegram denying permission for the visit. Having arrived in Russia, where the concentration camp is situated, Horyn's wife did not receive permission to visit her husband. Later it became clear that some KGB men from Ukraine had arrived to have a "chat" with M. Horyn. This chat did not take place and the "friends of the people" gave permission for a visit from his relatives.

Horyn moved around his cell with difficulty. The camp doctors did not allow him to move around... But why did the heart attack occur immediately after the KGB visit? It is also strange that of late all those political prisoners who did not compromise with their own conscience have died.

This question is primarily directed, both today and in the future, to Major Zhuravliov, the commander of the concentration camp, who puts into practice the Kremlin's directives on the destruction of Ukrainian political prisoners. A truce with the authorities cannot be made until every single camp commander is put on trial for crimes committed against

the nations, which inhabit this huge empire...

Mykhailo Horyn is now imprisoned on the basis of fabricated evidence. The authorities are well aware of his tough stand on the issue of the liberation of Ukraine. For this reason they have resorted to the open destruction of this Ukrainian Catholic.

Presently, Mykhailo Horyn is confined in a cell with Zorian Popadiuk, Levko Lukianenko and Valentyn Kalynychenko.

Ukrainians! Pray for the martyr M. Horyn. Pray for all those innocent people who are suffering for their love of Ukraine and its people, and for the love of our Lord God Jesus Christ.

The Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine demands the return to Ukraine of all Ukrainian political prisoners, who are imprisoned in Russia. The Russians took upon themselves the terrible mission to destroy the Ukrainian nation — a genocide of the Ukrainian people. This action was thought up by the Kremlin's God-killers.

The Nuremberg process, which began in Nuremberg against the fascist murderers, will come to a close in Moscow with a tribunal of all the subjugated nations.

AFGHANISTAN

Announcement

Volovets district — 32 men were drafted for military service, 4 killed, 1 wounded.

Perechyn district — 10 killed, 3 wounded, 51 suffering from frost-bite.

Velykyi Bereznyi district — 1 killed, 12 wounded.

Vynohradiv district — 31 killed, 63 wounded, including those suffering from frost bite.

The authorities have made a compromise. They "allowed" crosses to be placed on the graves (of the dead soldiers) next to the star. However in the town of Svaliava when relatives placed a cross on the grave of a dead soldier the authorities took it down. This continued for half a year.

Extract from Report No. 12
Meeting of the local committee of the VTK (Department of Technical Management) of the LZTV (Lviv Television Factory)

Agenda

1) The case of the controller of the VTK, comrade Kobryn, V.A.,

Subject: Everyone present listened to the report of the head of the local committee, comrade Zherdev, N. I., on the memorandum he had received from the chairman of the BTsK (Office of Factory Floor Management), comrade Bronnytskyi V. U., concerning the absence from work on 4.5.1975 (4.5.1975 was Easter Sunday. The Council of Ministers of the USSR had proclaimed this a working day. Kobryn did not turn up to work that day for religious reasons) of comrade Kobryn, the controller of the VTK without a valid reason.

Discussion: Kobryn V. A., the controller of the VTK, refused to answer why he had been absent from work on 4.5.1975.

Zherdev N. I., head of the local committee, proposed that the factory committee of LZTV should be asked to dismiss the controller of the VTK, Kobryn, V. A., for his unexcused neglect of duty.

Los, V. V., controller of the VTK: "It is my opinion that the easiest thing to do is to dismiss a person, but we have to re-educate him, to help him find the correct way in life."

Semko, acting chairman of the BTsK: "I condemn comrade Kobryn's behaviour and support the motion put forward by comrade Zherdev to dismiss comrade Kobryn for his neglect of duty, so that others would not be tempted to act in a similar way."

Decision: It was decided to ask the factory committee of the LZTV to dismiss the controller of the VTK, comrade Kobryn V. A., from the factory for his neglect of duty.

The decision was unanimously approved.

Head of the local committee:
Zherdev

3.12.1975

*Extract from Report No. 15
Meeting of the factory committee
of the trade union of the LZTV,
"Electron", on May 23, 1975*

Subject: Examination of the case of comrade Kobryn, V. A., the controller of the VTK.

The head of the local committee of the VTK, comrade Zherdev N. I., spoke on this issue. He informed the members of the factory committee that comrade Kobryn V. A. deliberately failed to come to work on May 4, 1975. The shift supervisor reported this to the chairman of the BTsK of the factory floor No. 6, comrade Bronnytskyi V. U., who in turn reported the incident to the chairman of the VTK of the factory, comrade Koriakin N. Ya. This issue was examined at the meeting of the local committee of the VTK during which it was decided to ask the factory committee of the trade union to employ certain measures to dismiss comrade Kobryn V. A. for his deliberate neglect of duty.

Discussion: *Comrade Bronnytskyi V. U., chairman of the BTsK of factory floor*

No. 6: I know comrade Kobryn V. A., very well and I personally warned him that May 4 was a working day. But he did not come to work dismissing it as a joke.

Comrade Kobryn V. A.: According to the decision of the Council of Ministers in April 1974, May 4 was declared a working day, but that day's working hours were to be counted as part of the vacation. I don't know why Easter had been declared a working day this year. The administration knows that there are many religious believers at the factory, but yet, without consulting any of the workers, it declared May 4 a working day in order to dishearten the souls of the faithful. There were many unhappy Christians. For instance, on April 29 and 30 two shifts were sent home supposedly because there was a lack of necessary parts. As to what concerns me, I knew that all this had been done in order to make me work on Easter. I believe that the management could have revoked the declaration of the Council of Ministers and leave the 4th a free day. I could not act against my conscience and so I did not go to work.

Comrade Malkin A. I. chairman of the personnel department (question): I would like to know whether you know the legislation on employment?

Comrade Kobryn V. A. (answer): I do know the legislation, but I also know that it is not for religious believers, and that the government is discriminating against Christians. I did not act against my faith, but the government does not do anything to meet the wishes of the faithful.

Comrade Rodych P. I.: I can see that he thoroughly understands everything. His work is clean. This is a political treatment of the issue. Basically he did not wish to contribute his mite to government matters.

Comrade Nerushev, legal adviser of the factory: I listened to your testimony with reserved patience. You are like someone

from the Middle Ages, although you have finished technical school. What you are saying is anti-Soviet propaganda. People who violate Soviet laws by their activity are enemies of the people. It is not worth wasting government funds on such people. If you believe in God, then believe in Him, but don't conduct agitation. I propose that comrade Kobryn be dismissed from the factory for his deliberate neglect of duty.

Comrade Malkin A. I.: It is completely unclear to me as to where you became so saturated with anti-Sovietism. You're only 37 years old, and you were born under Soviet rule. We are following the right course and we do not tread the same path as you. You deliberately failed to turn up to work with the intention of disrupting a working day. I propose that comrade Kobryn V. A. be dismissed under Article 40-4 of the Legal Code of Employment (of the UkSSR).

Comrade Poplavskiy A. A.: This is the first time I've heard of such agitation and I fully support the proposition to dismiss comrade Kobryn V. A. for his deliberate neglect of duty.

Comrade Melyk-Pashayeva N. M.: I tell you with an open conscience that the lathe workers of the factory were really unhappy when May 4 was declared a working day, but when the shift supervisor explained to them why this had been done, they understood and all came to work. It has been proposed that you should be dismissed for your neglect of duty, and really, if you will be unable to reconcile your religious beliefs with your work discipline, then you will, undoubtedly, have much unpleasantness in the future as well.

Comrade Smoktiy I. A., acting head of the factory committee: I listen to you and wonder how you came to think this way? I am poorly versed in religion, but I've

heard that it doesn't forbid work. How can you explain your behaviour. You deliberately didn't come to work and we have to punish you. Comrades, members of the factory committee, I support the proposition to dismiss comrade Kobryn V. A. for his malicious neglect of duty under Article 40-4.

Decision: A decision was made to allow the administration of the factory to dismiss the controller of the VTK, comrade Kobryn V. A., for his deliberate neglect of duty under article 40-4 of the Legal Code of Employment.

Head of the factory Committee:
M. Hnus

*Extract from Report No. 15
Meeting of the factory Committee
of the LZTV's trade union
"Electron" on May 23, 1975.*

Present: 15 members of the factory committee, the legal consultant of the factory, comrade Nerushev P. V., the chairman of the personnel department, comrade Malkin A. I., the head of the local committee of the VTK, comrade Zherdev N. I., the chairman of the BTsK of factory floor No. 6, comrade Bronnytskiy V., the shift supervisor of the VTK of factory floor No. 6, comrade Hataliak Ya.

Subject: The case of the controller of the VTK of factory floor No. 6, comrade Kobryn V. A., (statement by the head of the local committee of the VTK, comrade Zherdev N. I.).

Decision: To agree to the dismissal from the factory of the controller of the VTK, comrade Kobryn Vasyl Antonovych, for a deliberate neglect of duty without a serious reason under Article 40-4 of the Legal Code of Employment.

Head of the factory committee:
M. Hnus

STATEMENT

UkSSR, Lviv Region,
Public prosecutor of the
Zaliznytsia district
30.6.1975, no. 984, Lviv.

To citizen Kobryn Vasyl Antonovych,
Peremyshliany district,
village of Bibrka,
Lenin Street 66-1.

In reply to your complaint, I inform you that the office of the prosecutor of the Zaliznytsia district, city of Lviv, does not find any grounds for objecting to the order to dismiss you from work.

May 4, 1975, was declared a working day throughout the (Soviet) Union, and, therefore, it was a working day for you as well. By not coming to work on 4.5.1975, on the grounds that there was a religious holiday on that day, you are guilty of the neglect of duty. According to Article 40-4 of the Legal Code of Employment, the management has the right to dismiss people for individual instances of neglect of duty.

Because of these circumstances you have been dismissed from work legally, and for this reason your complaint has not been settled.

According to Article 231 of the Legal Code of Employment, disputes over re-instatement at work are examined by the people's courts.

Assistant Prosecutor of the
Zaliznytsia district of the
City of Lviv
Signed: *Korynevych*
Legal adviser

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet
of the USSR.

From Kobryn, Vasyl Antonovych
Lviv region, Peremyshliany district,
village of Bibrka, Lenin Street 66-1

On May 28, 1975, the director of the Lviv Television Factory dismissed me from work, where I had worked without reserve for 6 years. Regardless of the fact that I often worked overtime, as well as on free days, I was thrown out of work for a single incident of failing to come to work on May 4, 1975. (The Christian festival of Easter fell on this day.) Compulsory work for religious believers is a discrimination against one's conscience and also a violation of human rights. This is how I interpret Soviet law. Abusing his position, the director of the LZTV gave order forbidding anyone to give me a copy of the instruction to dismiss me from my work, so that I could not be able to send it to the people's court with my complaint.

Circumstances of the issue: As soon as it was announced that May 4 and 11, 1975, had been declared working days, and that these days were to be counted as part of the vacation, the management of the factory and the leadership of the trade union, fully aware of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the workers at the factory were religious believers, immediately began a campaign to dispirit the conscience of those workers who adhered to religious beliefs. At the general meeting much was said about the fact that it was compulsory to work on Easter Sunday. The opportunity to frighten the religious workers with the threat of the most severe administrative measures for non-attendance at work was not missed even at the meeting dedicated to May 1.

It is obvious from the circumstances that the management of the factory, along with the trade union, were not getting ready for just any ordinary working day, but specifically for Easter Sunday, so that on that day — the day of the most important Christian festival —

they could dispirit the conscience of the religious workers.

Thus on April 30, the last two shifts in the part of the factory where products are finished off, a major section of the factory, which secures the required production levels, were sent home. In addition, the previous week another shift purposely did not work for a whole day. In this way an artificial lag in production was created in another part of the factory. As a result of this, on May 4 the whole lag (in production) fell on the shoulders of the workers of this particular factory floor (who had to make up for it). The director from the main factory arrived and that day, which was an important day for them, the employees had no work with an excessive workload. I understand that a hospital cannot function without doctors, that trams cannot run without drivers, that the postal system cannot operate without postmen, and even in such cases where there are variable schedules production cannot be halted. However, in our factory the whole campaign was conducted purely and simply in order to dispirit the conscience of the religious believers.

The way I see it, the management of the factory, as well as the trade union, have violated Soviet law, for a person who believes in God cannot act against his conscience and at the same time not wish to get into conflict with the management. Because I have previously been subjected to discrimination for my beliefs on more than one occasion, I felt that the wisest course of action for me (that day) was not to go to work. At the meetings of the factory committee I was slandered with all kinds of insulting words. Those present called me an "enemy of the Soviet authorities" and a "nationalist." They stated that I should be put on trial for not coming to work on Easter Sunday. All this was said by people who do not even know me, and whom I have never seen

either. Making use of such fictitious evidence against me, these people succeeded in provoking others who were present at the meeting of the factory committee, into raising the question of my dismissal from the factory. Regardless of the fact that I had never previously violated work discipline, I was unjustly thrown out of work, where I had been working for 6 years. The director of the factory denied permission for me to receive a copy of the instruction authorising my dismissal in order to deprive me of the opportunity of lodging a complaint about the affair to the people's court. In addition, as can be seen from the reply to my complaint, which I had earlier sent to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, it appears that it is unjustified for me to complain about the matter mentioned below, because the main reason that I have been left without a means of existence is the fact that May 4 had been declared a day of work by the Council of Ministers. Instead of themselves making the appropriate decision, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR directed my statement to the office of the regional prosecutor. And, as I was being rushed around "from Pilate to Herod", more than three months went by. I was born into the family of a poor peasant. I was 11 years old when my father joined the collective and we handed over all our possessions along with our land to the state in the hope that we could constantly be certain of secure employment. But my hopes did not come true. As I have no means of existence, I am compelled once again to address my statements to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and ask you to consider it and to help restore me at my work.

Signed: *V. Kobryn*

Bilynskyi Vasyl Ivanovych —Ukrainian Catholic priest. During the forced

incorporation of the Greek-Catholic Church into the Russian Orthodox Church, Bilynskyi refused to go over to the Russian Orthodox Church. For this he was accused of treason and sentenced to 10 years. He was released in 1958. Because he was unable to register at his former home, he was compelled to take up residence with his sister in the Mykolaiv region. He found work, most recently of all at the Lviv administration of dispensaries, from where he received a certificate proving that he picked medicine plants for them in the Lviv region. In 1974 he had already reached retirement age, but continued to work. In May of that year his passport expired. The KGB knew about this, as a result of which he was arrested in the village of Novi Strilyshcha, Lviv region, and locked up at the Zhydachiv department of the militia. There the sick 65 year-old priest was held for about 20 days, and was constantly provoked in every possible way. The prosecutor of the Zhydachiv district, Lubarskyi, the investigator, and the chief of the militia department came to his cell and said that he will be tried for breach of passport regulations. Then they decided to provoke Bilynskyi into offering them a bribe. When Bilynskyi's friends arrived at the militia to find out why he had been arrested, the militiamen who were explaining the situation demanded a bribe for his release, of course without the knowledge of the chief of the militia department and prosecutor Lubarskyi. When the militia received the money, Bilynskyi was released. They bought him a ticket to the Mykolayiv region and put him on the train with great care under the escort of a militiaman. However, they had arranged in advance with the KGB of the Veselynove district of the Mykolayiv region that the latter would also demand a bribe from Bilynskyi, who, they said, would offer one.

I have explained the affair of the priest Bilynskyi in order to make use of a living example to show what kind of methods are practiced by the KGB. Who could have foreseen the tragic outcome, which ended within 3 years of severe regime imprisonment for the Catholic priest. And secondly, because Bilynskyi has no family, I have taken it upon myself to be his nephew and study the whole affair.

SENTENCE

On behalf of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

On October 31, 1974, the people's court of the Veselynove district, Mykolaiv region, composed of the following: President — People's judge Pastushenko, People's assessors Zhust and Yusypenko, Secretary Shcherbyn, Prosecutor Shevtsov, Attorney Forostyan, examined during an open session in the village of Veselynove, the case of the accused, Bilynskyi Vasyl Ivanovych, Ukrainian, born on 4.4.1909, native of the village of Rukomysh, Buchach district, Ternopil region, non-party member, secondary religious education, unmarried, without permanent work or residence, who had previously served a prison sentence.

Incriminatory resolution delivered. Under arrest since 9.8.1974.

Charged under Article 170-1 of the UkSSR Criminal Code.

Because his passport expired, he came to Pishchanyi Brid in May 1974 and stopped with his relatives. He applied in writing for a new passport to the District Department of Internal Affairs (RVVS). Because his passport had expired for a long time, and because Bilynskyi could not state his place of work and residence, on the instructions of the head of the Veselynove RVVS, an inquiry was held in

order to establish the actual place of residence and employment of Bilynskiy, with a view to issuing him a passport. Aware of this and fearing the discovery of incriminating evidence against him, he came to the passport section of the RVVS on 2.8.1974 and placed a bribe of 50 rubles wrapped in paper on the desk of the acting head of the passport section, Mavryshchuk, hoping that he would get a passport. Mavryshchuk ordered him to take back the money and escorted him out of his office. On 9.8.1974 Bilynskiy again came to see the acting head of the passport section and this time placed a bribe of 150 rubles wrapped in paper on his desk in the hope that he would receive a passport. Mavryshchuk asked witnesses, citizens who came for their passports, to come into his office, and also told the head of the RVVS. A report was written on this incident. This was confirmed by the evidence given by the witness, Mavryshchuk, who stated that on 9.8.1974 Bilynskiy did in actual fact place on his desk 150 rubles wrapped in paper, and that he was compelled to call in witnesses. The witness, Strokyna O. V., had already confirmed during a previous investigation that when she entered the office of the chairman of the passport section, she unwrapped a package and counted the money which came to the total sum of 150 rubles.

The defendant Bilynskiy, did not plead guilty, alleging that Mavryshchuk had demanded the money from him and that he had brought it for him, and afterwards that Mavryshchuk had provoked him into this.

The court considers that the crime committed by Bilynskiy has been correctly classified under Article 170-1 of the UkSSR Criminal Code and proved to its fullest extent. In choosing a suitable sentence for Bilynskiy V. I., the court takes into account his age, as mitigating circum-

stances and believes it possible to pass a less harsh sentence on him. Basing itself on Articles 323 and 324 of the UkSSR Procedural Code the court has made the following decision:

Sentence: to find Bilynskiy Vasyl Ivanovych guilty under Article 170-1 of the UkSSR Criminal Code and to sentence him to 3 years imprisonment in a strict regime corrective labour colony. The term of imprisonment is to be backdated to 9.8.1974. The accused is to remain under arrest. The material evidence — money in the sum of 150 rubles — is to be confiscated. The sentence may be appealed in the regional court for a period of 7 days.

Signed: *Pastushenko*
People's judge
Zhust, Yusypenko
People's assessors

Conforms with the original document:

Official Stamp

Signed: *Pastushenko*

People's judge of the Veselynova district

To the Head of the Supreme
Court of the Ukrainian SSR.

From Kobryn Vasyl Ivanovych,
resident of Lviv region,
Peremyshliany district,
village of Bibrka
Lenin Street 66-1.

Concerning my convicted uncle, Bilynskiy Vasyl Ivanovych, who is serving a term of imprisonment in the Dnipropetrovsk region, Sofiyivka district, village of Makorty, Postal Code YaZ-308/45.

COMPLAINT

For Review

By verdict of the people's court of the Veselynove district, Mikolayiv region, on October 31, 1974, Bilynskiy Vasyl Ivano-

vych, born in 1909 was found guilty of a crime under Article 170-1 of the UkSSR Criminal Code and sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment in a strict regime corrective labour colony.

Bilynskyi V. I. was found guilty of placing a bribe of 150 rubles on the desk of the acting head of the passport section of the RVVS, Mavryshchuk, on 8.9.1974, for the renewal of his passport. Throughout the investigation and during the trial Bilynskyi did not plead guilty to offering a bribe to the acting head of the passport section, explaining that the latter had provoked him into this action.

Circumstances of the case: Since 1958, Bilynskyi V.I. lived with his relatives in the village of Pishchanyi Brid, Veselynovе district, Mykolayiv region, and was constantly registered there.

Every summer Bilynskyi travelled to the Lviv region where, in accordance with an agreement with the Lviv administration of dispensaries, he picked medicinal plants for them from 1968 until the day of his arrest in 1974. This is confirmed by the certificate issued to Bilynskyi V. I. by the Lviv administration of dispensaries, by a receipt for plants which they had received from him, and by the agreement between Bilynskyi and the Lviv administration of dispensaries made in 1974.

In April 1974 Bilynskyi V. I. asked the Mykolayiv region to renew his passport. For this purpose Bilynskyi turned to the village council asking them to give him a certificate stating that he was registered and lived in the village of Pishchanyi Brid. The village council replied that the Veselynovе RVVS had forbidden the issue of any certificates to him.

Acting above the law, the Veselynovе of the Mykolayiv region deliberately the renewal of Bilynskyi's passport comthe sick old man to come and see them many times in order to put into practice his right to the renewal of his passport. The

verdict had stated that Bilynskyi's pass had expired a long time ago and that he was unable to state his place of employment and residence. Thus, on the instructions of the head of the Veselynovе RVVS, an inquiry was held to establish the actual place of employment and residence of Bilynskyi, with the aim of issuing him a passport... "Fearing the discovery of incriminating evidence against him he came to the passport section of the RVVS on 2.8.1974 and placed a bribe of 50 rubles on Mavryshchuk's desk. Mavryshchuk escorted him out of office."

The court verdict groundlessly stated that Bilynskyi did not have a permanent place of residence, although he was registered and lived in the village of Pishchanyi Brid. He was arrested and searched. A note from Lviv administration with the agreement in 1974 Bilynskyi was to pick medicinal plants for the administration was found on his person. However, this document was taken from him and was not produced as evidence during trial. Also the Lviv administration of dispensaries was not asked to verify this fact. This bears witness to the fact that the Veselynovе RVVS conducted the whole affair in such way as to create a fabricated case against Bilynskyi. For this reason it provoked him into offering a bribe. The inquiry did not produce any incriminating evidence against Bilynskyi because he had not committed any crimes.

In the court verdict it was stated that Bilynskyi did not live in the village of Pishchanyi Brid, but went to the Lviv region and there travelled around various villages. Such conclusions reached by the court are not backed by any objective evidence and contradict the real facts behind the whole affair. As is clear from the enclosed documents: a certificate issued to Bilynskyi by the Lviv administration of dispensaries, and a receipt also issued

to Bilynskiy by the Lviv administration of dispensaries for medicinal plants which they had received from him, he did not go the various villages, as was stated in the verdict.

The Lviv administration of dispensaries had the legal right to make such an with Bilynskiy, who lived in the village of Brid in winter, and in summer went away pick medicinal plants. If the Veselynove had made inquiries at the Lviv administration of dispensaries this would have been officially confirmed.

The prosecutor of the Zhydachiv district, Lviv region, comrade Lubarskiy, categorically forbade the head of the dispensary of the Zhydachiv district, comrade Mudryk, and also the head of the dispensary in the village of Novi Strilyshcha, comrade Borysiuk, to issue any certificates to Bilynskiy concerning his agreement with the Lviv administration of dispensaries by which he was to supply them with medicinal plants.

It must also be noted that Mavryshchuk did not make an indictment on 2.8.1974 about the fact that Bilynskiy had offered him a bribe of 50 rubles, but threw him out of his office telling him to come and see him again at the RVVS on 9.8.1974, which gives the impression of a provocation to make Bilynskiy offer a bigger bribe. Witnesses were already waiting by Mavryshchuk's door for the arrival of Bilynskiy with the bribe which he had provoked into bringing.

It is common knowledge that someone who offers another person a bribe is aware that in exchange for the material gain he provides, he requires certain services from the person in question that would in turn be advantageous to him. In this particular case what was the acting head of the passport section supposed to do? He was supposed to renew Bilynskiy's passport, something to which the latter had a legal right, and Mavrysh-

chuk, as the person responsible, was obliged to renew the passport according to the law. The crux of the matter lies not with the issue of a new passport, but with the renewal of an already existing one.

On what basis and according to which law was the sick old man Bilynskiy rushed around by the Veselynove RVVS backwards and forwards many times between its own office and the village council, which had been ordered not to give him any certificates? Why did the Veselynove RVVS deliberately fail to make an inquiry at the Lviv administration of dispensaries in order to confirm that Bilynskiy really did pick medicinal plants for them? They acted in this way because these measures were unnecessary for their purposes. Such a certificate had already been taken from Bilynskiy and not produced as evidence during the trial.

All this shows that the Veselynove RVVS had acted above the law during its handling of the case of Bilynskiy, using illegal methods for carrying out the investigation. It was only interested in the negative outcome of the affair and therefore had conducted a one-sided and unfair examination of the case, failing to mention all those circumstances, which were of decisive significance for an objective examination.

Bilynskiy V. I. is 66. He is old and seriously ill. He is suffering from arteriosclerosis of the heart, contraction of the blood vessels of the main part of the brain and loss of memory. He also has hypertension and is a grade 2 invalid. Bilynskiy V. I. is of reduced intellect, he is easily persuaded, and not highly literate. Irrespective of the fact that Bilynskiy did not plead guilty either during the investigation or during the trial itself, the defending attorney did not complain to the Mykolayiv regional court or inquire about the receipt of a certificate from the Lviv administration of dispensaries to confirm

whether or not Bilynskiy really picked medicinal plants for them. For this reason the court did not have the grounds for alleging in the verdict that Bilynskiy lived in the Lviv region and travelled around various villages, as no objective evidence was presented as proof of this.

On the basis of the above-mentioned facts, and in connection with the one-sided examination of this case, I complained to the Mykolayiv regional court and to the Supreme Court of the UkSSR. However, they refused to review the case. I ask you to allocate time for the case of Bilynskiy to be retried and also to protest at the verdict of the Veselynove district court, which sentenced Bilynskiy V. I. on the basis of unverified evidence. The investigative organs conducted the case of Bilynskiy in total breach of Soviet law.

Enclosures: a copy of the verdict, documents which prove that Bilynskiy picked medicinal plants, a letter from the Mykolayiv regional court stating its refusal to review the case, and the refusal of members of the Supreme Court of the UkSSR to re-examine the case.

27 June, 1975

Signed: *Kobryn*

In connection with the arrest on the night of November 11-12, 1984, of the chairman of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine, Vasyl Kobryn, on November 14 searches were carried out in the homes of 2 other members of the Group, Josyp Terelya and Stefania Sichko, as well as in the homes of people who are not members of the Group. In the vil-

lage of Tybara, Svaliava district, the home of the Catholic Mykhailo Smozhenyk was searched, and in the town of Svaliava itself, the home of Josyp Terelya's aunt, Maria Fales, was also searched. Smozhenyk M. was arrested for refusing a Soviet passport. Nothing is known about the trial of the secretary of the Group, Fr. Hryhoriy Budzinsky. Fr. Hryhoriy was to have arrived in Transcarpathia to see Josyp Terelya, but was arrested on his way there and forcibly sent to the venereal section of the regional hospital for an alleged check-up. After that, when Terelya went around warning people about the mass arrests and repression of Ukrainian Catholics, Fr. Hryhoriy was released from the hospital on December 11. On December 12, his home was searched. The search was personally conducted by the regional prosecutor, Dorosh, and KGB men who did not reveal their names. Five ecclesiastical vestments, 5 oversleeves, 2 chasubles, 2 crosses, a Bible and a catechism from 1905, a missal, a book by V. Soloviov entitled *The Orthodox Church and Catholicism*, *My Saviour*, two poems by Josyp Terelya — *The Suffering Jesus* and *The Return of Jesus* — some little crosses, a rosary, 2 icons painted by Josyp Terelya, who had given them to Fr. Hryhoriy on his birthday, an icon of the Ascension of the Virgin Mary, and a savings book, along with his pension worth 6000 karbovantsi, which he had been saving for 20 years, were all confiscated. This was not the first time that the communists had robbed the Christian faithful and their pastors. For in the Soviet Union the citizens' possessions can be plundered by the militia or the KGB at any time. Fr. Hryhoriy was released from the "hospital" in a critically ill state. He is 82 years old.



Yosyp Terelya and his wife Olena in Dovhe, Ukraine.

he had begun a hunger strike when his request for an exit visa for medical treatment abroad was turned down. In April, Terelya informed the Canadian Embassy in Moscow that he wished to emigrate and that the Soviet authorities had assured him of their readiness to allow him to leave the USSR if a visa from a Western country was forthcoming. Terelya arrived in Canada on September 30.

At a press conference on October 6, Terelya talked of churches being burned to the ground in Ukraine and described an incident where a village with a largely Catholic population was surrounded by the army and militia who attacked homes. Entrances to Catholic churches were sealed with concrete. "They took our land, they took over our forests and now they are taking away our religion," Terelya said. He further stated that the government must allow Christians the right to practice their religion in the Soviet Union and must establish the right to emigrate. "Christians in Soviet prisons receive the worst treatment," he said. "They are punished for praying. They will not sign documents because they regard this as a recognition of the Soviet government and so they are refused privileges. A prisoner can be destroyed within a month if the government wants. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of glasnost is just a game and the suppression of the Church in Ukraine is worse than it was," Terelya said.

UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC ACTIVIST YOSYP TERELYA IN THE WEST

Former Ukrainian political prisoner and Ukrainian Catholic rights activist Yosyp Terelya was allowed to leave the USSR and arrived in Amsterdam on Friday, September 18, together with his wife Olena and children Mariana, Kalyna and Pavlo. A major figure in the banned Ukrainian Catholic Church, Terelya has spent many years in Soviet Russian camps, prisons, and psychiatric institutions. Earlier this year he had been released from camp prior to the expiration of his term of confinement.

Terelya, forty-four years old, is one of the founders of the Action Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church and served as its first chairman. The Action Group was formed in September 1982 to press for the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which was dissolved and forcibly incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church following the so-called Synod of Lviv in March 1946.

During the past several years, there has been a marked increase in the activities of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church, and Terelya has played a central role in this revival. At his first press conference in the West on September 24, Terelya said that "Neither Stalin, nor any other leader succeeded in destroying the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine." He also provided details on the number of Catholics in the USSR, including 5 million Ukrainian Catholics living in Ukraine and 1.9 per cent Ukrainian Catholics scattered throughout Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan, Kirghiz, Uzbekistan and Turkestan, making it the largest single outlawed religious group in the USSR. There are ten secret Ukrainian Catholic bishops and anywhere from several hundred to 1,000 underground priests.

In December 1982, within several months of the formation of the Action Group, Terelya was arrested on a charge of "parasitism", and on April 12, 1983, he was tried and sentenced to a term of one year in a strict regime-camp. Terelya was released in December 1983, and shortly afterwards the Action Group began to compile its *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*. Twenty-six issues of the *samvydav* journal have been issued so far. The authorities subsequently tried to persuade Ukrainian Catholic activists to break their ties with Rome, but to no avail. Threatened with arrest, Terelya went underground in November 1984, but was arrested again on February 8, 1985, on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." His trial was held in Uzhhorod on August 19 and 20, 1985, and ended in a sentence of seven years in a strict-regime camp to be followed by five years of internal exile.

Terelya has had a long history of conflict with the Soviet Russian regime and has spent over 20 years in prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals for his national consciousness and religious beliefs. He was first arrested in 1962, then in 1966 and sentenced to seven years of imprisonment. In 1972 he was incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital from which he was released in 1976. Although he was pronounced sane, Terelya was nevertheless once again confined to a psychiatric hospital in April 1977. On May 29, he escaped, and on June 2 he was captured in Ivano-Frankivsk. On June 21, he was transferred to the Dnipropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital. In November 1981, news reached the West that Terelya had been released, but he was arrested again after the formation of the Action Group at the end of 1982.

Terelya was released from his latest period of confinement in February 1987 — that is, well in advance of the expiration of his term. Shortly thereafter, it was reported that

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*Cover: Mother Of God With Jesus
Painting by Daria Hulak-Kulchytsky*

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TO EVERYONE WHO IS CAPABLE OF HEARING THE CRY OF HUMAN SUFFERING

Appeal by Yuriy Badzio

Yuriy Badzio, a Ukrainian national rights activist and political prisoner, currently serving a term of exile outside Ukraine, recently wrote an appeal "To Everyone Who Is Capable Of Hearing The Cry Of Human Suffering."

The appeal, dated August 31, reached the West via samvydav (underground publication) channels. In his appeal, Mr. Badzio recounts the psychological terror being used by Soviet authorities who refused him permission to visit his ailing 82-year old mother in the village of Kopynivtsi, Transcarpathian oblast of Ukraine. Mr. Badzio's mother, whom he has not seen for eight years, suffered a stroke on August 10 which left her paralyzed on one side and causes her to lose consciousness. "The authorities of the country have refused to hear my cries for help, have refused to respond to the deathbed pleas of a mother and have subjected an 82-year old woman to physical and psychological torture that poses a direct threat to her life. My wife, my children, and I also feel as if we were in a torture chamber," Mr. Badzio wrote in his appeal.

Mr. Badzio also discusses the tragic plight of Ukraine, noting that "the reaction of the world to our situation has been and remains outrageously indifferent and self-seeking." He goes on to cite the real reason he was deprived of his freedom: "my public statement in defence of the rights and interests of the Ukrainian people."

*Mr. Badzio, 61, a philologist and journalist, was arrested in April 1979 and was subsequently sentenced to seven years' imprisonment and five years' internal exile for writing his documentary work about the subjugation of Ukraine entitled **The Right To Live**.*

I had not intended to use the occasion of my coming to Ukraine to visit my mother for making public statements of any kind. My world outlook, political conduct and emotional reactions to circumstances are far from extremist, and I am not prone to immoderate responses to situations. I already knew and now have new confirmation of the sad truth that, in terms of the historical needs and prospects of the Ukrainian people, today's world is blind and deaf to our fate.

However, the manner in which I have been treated recently is so exceptional and, in my opinion, so significant in moral, political and legal terms that I feel compelled to speak out.

I was given permission to take leave from exile and spend one month in the village of Kopynivtsi in the Zakarpatska Oblast visiting my 82-year old mother, who has not seen me for more than eight years. The travel document that I was issued in Khandyga (the village in the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, where Mr. Badzio is serving his term of exile) specified my itinerary only as far as Kyiv (Kiev), but it noted that the purpose of my trip was "to see my sick mother." When I insisted that the Khandyga authorities specify my itinerary to my final destination, that is to the village of Kopynivtsi, the militia inspector explained to me that the Kyiv authorities knew all the details and that they would issue me the necessary document designating the remainder of my itinerary.

Upon my arrival in Kyiv, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR gave me permission to spend only seven days with my mother. But a day later, citing

an order from Moscow, the ministry revoked even this permission, claiming that the Khandyga militia had informed them that I myself had chosen Kyiv and had refused to visit my mother. This is patently untrue as proven by my written requests to the chief of the Khandyga militia for permission to visit my mother in the village of Kopynivtsi and to the Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR for permission to travel to my mother's home through Kyiv.

The falsehood of this claim is further attested by my announcement of my visit to Kopynivtsi in letters to family and friends, as well as by my conduct in Kyiv. The situation is simple and unambiguous, justifiable on both legal and moral grounds, and there are no procedural obstacles in the law to prevent the resolution of this issue. This matter does not pertain to me alone; it also affects my wife, and, above all, my mother — an old woman and a mother being deprived of what is almost certainly her last chance to see her son and bid him good-bye forever.

I have been requesting permission to visit my mother since the day I arrived in Kyiv. In addition to the request I submitted to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, I sent similar requests to the highest government authorities in the land: a statement and a telegram to the Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR, Aleksander Vlasov; a telegram to the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikolai Ryzhkov; a telegram to the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Andrei Gromyko; two telegrams to the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev; a telegram and a statement to the procurator general of the USSR, Aleksander Rekunkov. I also telephoned the reception office of the Central Committee of the CPSU, where they spoke to me in a rude and vulgar manner. My brothers and sisters, who had gathered at my mother's home, also appealed to the authorities, in particular to the chairman of the KGB, Viktor Chebrikov, asking that I not be detained in Kyiv.

There has been no response from anyone. Meanwhile, the moral aspects of the case, which were already exceptional, have become even more grave: my mother, who had been waiting for my arrival in a state of considerable stress and anxiety, suffered a stroke on August 10 which has left her paralyzed on one side. She has been bedridden for three weeks and frequently loses consciousness and the ability to speak. Whenever she does regain consciousness, the first thing she asks is when I will arrive.

For more than 20 days, the authorities of this country — the highest representatives of the government at that — have refused to hear my cries for help, have refused to respond to the deathbed pleas of a mother, and have subjected an 82-year old woman to physical and psychological torture that poses a direct threat to her life. My wife, my children, and I also feel as if we were in a torture chamber.

I have spent a considerable portion of my life amidst a thick fog of official lies, demagoguery, oppression and abuse. But even I was taken completely by surprise and astonished by the diabolical spectacle that has been staged for me on this occasion. Even if there were no high-sounding declarations by the government about the revolutionary restructuring and democratization of Soviet society, I would regard the conduct of people responsible for creating and maintaining this terrible repressive situation as a cynical violation of the most elementary universal norms of humanity and morality.



Yuriy Badzio with his wife Svitlana Kyrychenko, shortly before his arrest in 1979.

I find it difficult to imagine why and for what purpose the authorities have decided to exact such a high price — this so-called “prophylactic” (preventive) torture that is so familiar to political prisoners who refuse to yield. But I am not the only one being tortured; it is my mother, above all, who is being tortured. Is this being done in revenge for my attitude to the government’s initiative with respect to political prisoners in January and February of this year, for my attitude to the government’s attempts to remove the problem from the agenda for a time at least by means of a devious maneuver designed to capitalize on its results? The situation is especially serious, because it falls within a political context that bears directly on the very essence of the government’s proclamations about reforms.

Of course, what we have here is not the stupid, arbitrary act of some petty functionary. I am now convinced that everything was planned in advance, and that there is a definite operational or political design behind what has happened. But I also know that no government considerations, be they broad or narrow, can exculpate those responsible for these repressions: their conduct is barbaric and its inhumanity and immorality are tantamount to sacrilege and robbing the wounded and the dead.

I interpret what the government has done as serious proof of its true ideological and moral nature, of the real intentions of the initiators of restructuring, and of the possibility and prospects of a revolution from above.

Such a flagrant disregard for the law and for moral principles, especially in the light of the widely advertised policy of reform, is possible only when public opinion does not exist, or when the authorities know that there will be no reaction from world public opinion. It would appear that they were certain about the latter circumstance.

And we Ukrainians have learned once again that the politicians and the political public in the West, and in particular the Western media, treat us as no more than material to be used for propaganda purposes. They “forget” that we are a nation, a separate and self-contained subject of history, with our own legitimate historical needs and interests. Ukraine of the 1960s-1980s has proved itself in a fitting and honorable manner; it has suffered perhaps the harshest repressions and the largest human losses. The reaction of the world to our situation has been and remains outrageously indifferent and self-seeking. National-political (great-power) and ethnic egoism reigns in the attitude towards us where one might expect simple human sympathy to have produced active solidarity with our plight. Disregard of the Ukrainian problem and Ukrainophobia cannot but have their historical consequences, even in the sphere of private human relations.

All of this requires a separate and detailed discussion. I will confine myself here to a single point, a simple syllogism: the lasting and sound betterment of international life on the principles of stable, peaceful coexistence and cooperation cannot occur without a complete and genuinely revolutionary democratization of the Soviet Union, and the democratization of the Soviet Union is impossible without democracy for Ukraine, without a democratic resolution of the Ukrainian question, that is, in practical terms, without the attainment by the Ukrainian people of national independence, of real and complete control over its historical existence.

Vasyl Stus (a prominent Ukrainian poet and human rights activist, who died of medical neglect in a Soviet labor camp in 1985 at the age of 47) once told the story of a beggar who asked for alms thus: “Give! Give!! Give!!!” (in other words, he demanded rather than pleaded). Intending to continue the fight for my release, I want to assume the role of such a beggar.

Ukraine is a member of the United Nations, one of the founding members of this international organization. The real national-political and cultural situation of the Ukrainian SSR as a formally separate state entity of the USSR is the subject of my treatise, *The Right to Live*, for which I was deprived of my freedom. (The full text of the treatise was confiscated from Mr. Badzio at the time of his arrest and only his theses, in the form of “An Open Letter to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU”, are available in the West. An English translation of this letter was published by the Journal of Ukrainian Studies, (University of Toronto), 9, No. 1 (Summer 1984) and 9, No. 2 (Winter 1984). I place upon you, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar, the moral responsibility for taking up my defense in person and through UNESCO and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

I know that some time after I was imprisoned, certain members of the U.S. Congress spoke out in my defense. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to them and ask that the U.S. Congress continue to keep my fate within the sphere of its official attention. As a matter of fact, during those August days when I was knocking hopelessly on the doors of the highest government offices, including those of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, crying for help, the deputies to the Supreme Soviet were hosting an American delegation led by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. I therefore address the appeal in this letter to you in particular, Sen. Moynihan.

At the heart of the social and political ideology of my treatise, *The Right To Live*, lies the concept of democratic socialism. I appeal to the leadership of the Socialist International to speak out for my release.

The ideas of democracy, freedom and cooperation are the keynote of all my public statements. The participation of the Vienna Conference on the Helsinki Accords cannot ignore the criminal treatment to which I have been subjected. I appeal, in particular, to the delegations of the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France and West Germany, in the belief that the representatives of these countries have not fallen prey to the euphoria brought on by the liberal changes in Soviet policy and have retained the ability to comprehend the reality soberly.

The absence of criminality in the texts and actions cited in the charges brought against me is obvious even in accordance with the logic of Soviet law (in principle, of course). I therefore appeal to all international jurists' organizations to demand that the Soviet authorities submit my case to an objective review with the participation of Western lawyers.

The real reason why I was deprived of my freedom is my public statement in defense of the rights and interests of the Ukrainian people. I appeal to the lawyers of Leonard Peltier to become my defenders as well before the government of the Soviet Union, which is actively concerned with the fate of Leonard Peltier. I wish to inform you and Leonard Peltier that as a political prisoner, on December 10, 1984, I submitted to the Soviet authorities a declaration on the occasion of International Human Rights Day, in which I also appealed to the government of the United States to turn its attention to the fate of Leonard Peltier and ensure an objective and just examination of the case. As punishment for my statement, I was held for 12 days in a special punishment cell, where conditions were such that they constituted daily torture.

A writer is a symbol of the moral conscience of humanity. The first such writer to come to mind is you, Gabriel Garcia Marquez. I therefore appeal to you for assistance. Perhaps it was your recent meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev that has prompted me to turn to you.

My mother is a woman of deep religious conviction and intense and pure Christian feeling. During the third week of August, when our Soviet Peace Committee welcomed Mother Theresa in Kyiv, the torture of my sick 82-year old mother reached its apogee. I appeal to you, Mother Theresa, to your heart, which feels pain at the absence of love and goodness in the world. Before you, I pass harsh moral judgment on those people who did not find a drop of compassion for my old half-paralyzed mother. Your response to their cruelty, Mother Theresa, would diminish some of the evil in human life.

I take this opportunity to thank all people of good will abroad who have spoken and continue to speak out in defense of all Soviet prisoners of conscience, including myself.

I ask the representatives of organized groups and individual members of the Ukrainian community abroad to ensure that this appeal, as well as other evidence of my fate, reaches the people I have named here.

Yuriy Badzio
Kyiv, August 31, 1987

FORMER UKRAINIAN AND GEORGIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS TESTIFY IN US CONGRESS

Ukrainian Catholic activist Yosyp Terelya and prisoner of conscience Danylo Shumuk, both recent arrivals from the Soviet Union, provided a very grim interpretation of “glasnost” and its effects for Ukrainians before a hearing of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Also appearing with Terelya and Shumuk were Tengiz and Eduard Gudava, both members of the Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

In his testimony, Terelya stated that since December 1986, repression against Church activists as well as Ukrainian nationalists has increased in the Soviet Union. Terelya cited that beginning December 1986 and ending in June 1987, “at least 150 churches have been burned or bulldozed” on orders of the KGB. Even with the popularization of “glasnost” in the West, Terelya stated that prison camps “are still home for many faithful” including Vasyl Kobryn, head of the Initiative Group in Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church.

Comparing Khrushchev to Gorbachev, Terelya stated that when Khrushchev came to power, he granted amnesty and political rehabilitation to Soviet political prisoners. Terelya noted that the Gorbachev regime has not yet taken such a step.

Following Terelya’s remarks, Shumuk, a long-time prisoner of conscience, testified movingly that “the terror of Russification of my people has reached a culmination point.” Shumuk pointed out that in Kyiv, there are only 34 Ukrainian-language schools compared with 152 Russian-language schools, while in the cities of Donetsk, Voroshilovohrad, Mykolayiv and Chernihiv there exist no Ukrainian-language schools. Shumuk also pointed out that in historically significant Ukrainian centers such as Zaporizhia and Kharkiv there are one and two Ukrainian-language schools respectively, compared with 95 and 156 Russian-language schools.

In his remarks, Shumuk said he considers “glasnost” a “deception of public opinion in the USSR and to a greater extent here in the West.” He asked, “can one seriously accept this ‘glasnost’ and these ‘reforms’ when the organization of the man-made famine of 1933 in Ukraine still remains a secret and uncondemned by the government of the USSR?”

Shumuk also cited the banned Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches as well as those persons confined for writing about the famine and Ukrainian secession from the USSR as examples of “glasnost’s” limits.

Eduard and Tengiz Gudava, in a joint statement, said that “glasnost” and democratization were essential goals of the human rights movement in the Soviet Union long before the arrival of the Gorbachev regime. They stated that “the present exclusion of the human rights movement from the process of glasnost” makes it a mockery.

The Gudava brothers stated that Gorbachev’s human rights policy is “based on the exploitation of propaganda from the release or emigration of each dissident or refusenik separately” along with “extensive marketing of sensationally democratic announcements and hints.” The Gudavas believe that Gorbachev is playing on the desires of the West to discover a “human face in the image of the Soviet beast,”

concluding that the regime is “creating an image visible to everybody” based on the “extent of his or her impressionability.”

Responding to questions about the Soviet proposal to host a human rights conference in Moscow, most of the panelists had similar responses. Shumuk put forth six conditions which the Soviets would have to meet in order for a Human Rights Conference to take place in Moscow: the release and rehabilitation of those persecuted for their political and religious beliefs; justice to those who led repressions against innocent people; an end to jamming of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe; the introduction of native language use in all Soviet republic schools and institutions; the withdrawal of all occupying forces from Afghanistan; and the legalization of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches in Ukraine.

Terelya added that the Soviets should guarantee national rights based on self-determination as well as the free emigration of those who wish to leave the Soviet Union. Amplifying the comments of Terelya and Shumuk, Gudava stated that the West should take advantage of “perestroika,” using the opportunity to better conditions for national liberation struggles and assist efforts to coordinate various national movements.

Each person testifying underscored the need and importance in understanding the national component of the human rights struggle in the Soviet Union, especially among those movements outside of the Russian FSSR. All four panelists made specific mention of the national rights issue in the Soviet Union, attesting to the fact that much of the human and religious rights activities are expressions of desires for national self-determination.

Hon. Steny H. Hoyer

OPENING REMARKS HELSINKI MONITORING HEARING

Washington, D.C., October 22, 1987

Last week, I had the honor of representing the United States, together with the senior Senator from New York, Mr. Moynihan, on the ABC capital-to-capital broadcast, the live spacebridge program linking members of the U.S. Congress and the Supreme Soviet. It was shown, uncensored, throughout the Soviet Union.

Our topic was one the people of the USSR are not accustomed to hearing the truth about — human rights. Over one hundred million Soviet citizens watched and listened to a remarkably frank discussion on human rights in the Soviet Union.

Never before has such a broadcast aired in the USSR. We were able to ask Soviet officials, before millions of their own people, why they restrict religion, movement, and political and national expression, why they have policies which we in the West cannot and may never understand.

And the general idea they tried to convey was that the situation is changing — that there are, indeed, shortcomings in their practices they are trying to correct.

Of course, the world waits to see whether their actions will accord with their words and promises. We await real progress in Soviet Helsinki compliance. We

wait to see how these changes will affect Soviet society. And we wait to see the impact on the citizens of the USSR with the least amount of influence in Moscow — the half of the Soviet population that is non-Russian.

Few individuals are in a more unique position to offer insights into these questions than our witnesses today — two Ukrainian and two Georgian human rights activists recently released from Soviet prisons. They come from two formerly independent nations — now Soviet republics — Ukraine and Georgia. They represent two proud peoples, each with their own ancient and unique historical, cultural and religious traditions. Georgia and Ukraine, throughout much of their history and especially in this century, have suffered greatly. Yet these nations still aspire to a future where fundamental human freedoms are respected.

The Helsinki Commission is pleased to welcome to these hearings these four men who, despite relentless persecution, maintained their dignity and their commitment to the struggle for human rights. Their persistence, despite the KGB's most tenacious efforts, is a testament to their courage and devotion to ideals embodied in the Helsinki Final Act.

Mr. Yosyp Terelya is the best-known leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the largest banned religious denomination in the Soviet Union. Mr. Danylo Shumuk, until his release last January, was the longest-serving prisoner of conscience known in the USSR. Eduard and Tengiz Gudava were members of the second Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group. They also founded an unofficial musical ensemble made up of Jewish and Catholic refuseniks.

Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act commits all signatory states to respect human rights, including religious and national minority rights. We look forward to hearing from our witnesses on observance of these principles in Ukraine and in Georgia, — and indeed, in the entire Soviet Union.

THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH HAS NEVER CEASED ITS WORK

The following is the statement by Yosyp Terelya, former prisoner of conscience and Ukrainian Catholic activist, released during his testimony before the U.S. CSCE Commission in Washington, D.C., on October 22.

Throughout the whole period of the subjugation of Ukraine to the Muscovite occupier, our Ukrainian Catholic Church was always the object of attacks and destruction by the “Great State” circles of the Empire. It makes no difference whether we are speaking of the tsarist times or the days of the Red governors of Moscow.

The government of the “one and indivisible” Russia, along with its faithful servants in the Russian Orthodox Church made tremendous efforts to destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church and along with it our people and our nation... Whether they succeed at this, only time will tell. But, notwithstanding, at this time our Church continues to live and our people hope that someday we will have our day in the sun.

After the death of Stalin many persecuted priests and monks, who remained alive, returned from the concentration camps. Many petitions were written to the

government asking for relief from terror and repression. In the 1960s petitions were authored appealing to sympathetic Christian circles asking them to show their Christian solidarity with our struggle to attain our God given freedoms.

Even though much of our hierarchy and clergy were physically destroyed the Church never ceased its work. Rather the Church reorganized itself in the underground. But the KGB began a new wave of repression against the priests, monastics and active faithful. The KGB organized a slew of operations to once more physically destroy our clergy.

In 1953 the Basilian monk Peter Oros was murdered. In 1957 the abbot of an underground monastery in Boronyav, Yosyp Zavadiuk, was killed. In 1957 in Karaganda, while in exile, the layman of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ivan Markiv was murdered. In 1963 in Dzheskazgani the Basilian priest-monk Oleksa Zarytskyj was tortured to death by the KGB.

Even more were sentenced to new prison and camp terms, for example: Basilian monk Anton Potochniak — 7 years' camp; Studite monk Hryhoriy Budzinskyj — 10 years' camp; priest Ihnat Soltys and Redemptorist priest Mykhaylo Vynnytskyj both 7 years' each. There were many more who fell to Khrushchev's wave of terror.

When the third Muscovite occupation began in 1944, the Ukrainian Catholic Church had 6,390 priests and monastics, whereas today in Ukraine and throughout the USSR, there are just over 1,000 priests and 1,200 monastics in the underground, plus a very active group of faithful. The Church in Ukraine and the USSR is directed by over 10 bishops, among whom there are some who are already known in the West; the bishop of Lviv, who is in fact the assistant of Patriarch Myroslav



Yosyp Terelya (left) testifying before the Helsinki Commission on October 22, 1987. Rev. Myroslaw Tataryn of the St. Sophia Religious Association, translated.

Cardinal Lubachivskij, is His Excellency Bishop Sterniuk, the Bishop of Kolomyja and Ivano-Frankivsk is Bishop Dmyterko, the Bishop of Uzhorod is Ivan Semedi, and there is also Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk.

The Soviet authorities continually use terror against our Church: constant fines, new arrests and sentences for the faithful and priests. Even this year in 1987, when Gorbachev proclaims for the whole world reconstruction and glasnost, the camps are still home for many faithful among them: the head of the Helsinki Initiative Group in Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church, Vasyl Kobryn; in a woman's camp in Siberia is Polanya Batio; in the Kazan special psychiatric prison is Hanna Mykhaylenko and in another camp is the now blind Prof. Pavlo Kampov. These are only a few of the best known names. In addition to the past year and a half many churches have been desecrated, closed or even totally destroyed.

But as Christians we are grateful to Our Lord for having given us both suffering and hope — we remember that “the first shall be last...” We remember with both joy and sorrow the innocent slaughter of the hierarchy of our Church. We rejoice because they now abide in the Kingdom, we are sorrowed because they are no longer among us. At the very outset of the arrests, Bishop Khomyshyn was tortured to death in the Kyiv Lukyanivskiyi prison. Bishop J. Kotsylovskij of Peremyshl was martyred on November 17, 1947. Bishop Lokota was murdered in a camp in Vorkuta on November 12, 1950. October 1 is the date of the death of Bishop Ivan Budka in Dzhezkazgani. Bishops Letyshevskij and Ivan Verhun died in exile. The Bishop of Uzhorod Fedor Romzha was murdered by the KGB on November 1, 1947. Bishop Hoydych of Pryashiv died in a Czech camp in 1960. Bishops Ivan Balan and Oleksander Rusu were murdered in the Rumanian prison of Sigetskyj in 1950.

However, accepting Gorbachev's propaganda campaign of 'glasnost' at face value, we the Ukrainian Catholic Church have presented Moscow with a fact — we desire legalization. The authorities must now resolve the problem of the Ukrainian Church or they must begin a new wave of arrests and sentences upon those who signed the declaration. Should they choose the latter it would demask 'reconstruction' before the world. This Church which the Soviets contend does not exist, does in fact exist and flourish. In Ukraine alone there are 5 million Ukrainian Catholics and another 1.9 million in other areas of the USSR.

Without doubt, should the Soviets not resolve the question of the Ukrainian Church and the question of free emigration from the USSR for all people without exception — then we feel that in no way should there be a positive conclusion to the Conference in Vienna on Cooperation and Security. It is now time that the government of Moscow show in deeds, not just words that they are ready to put into practice the agreements which they have signed in the past.

The Church also asks that as a further sign of the Soviets' sincerity in seeking a new openness they close the special regime camp Kuchino No. 36-1 and release unconditionally all prisoners held there and in other prisons and camps in the USSR. We are very concerned with the fates of Lev Lukyanenko, Ivan Kandyba, Vasyl Ovsiyenko, Vasyl Kobryn, Hanna Mykhaylenko, Petro Ruban, Mykola Horbal, Pavlo Kampov, Ivan Smetana, Stefan Belskyj, Mykola Mamus and many, many other prisoners of conscience who languish in Soviet prisons and camps.

Only when the above problems are faced and resolved in a positive manner can we say that we have created a situation in the world where true peace can be advanced. In other words, we must recognize that peace in the world is more than just an absence of war. The Ukrainian Catholic Church realizes that peace is built on measures which assure order and justice for all social groups throughout the world. And such order cannot be built on force or dictatorship since this would just be a mirage of true peace. Just social order must rather be built on mutual respect of our neighbors — individuals must respect each other's rights.

Solidarity and tolerance are the true measures of human relations. We clearly saw this in the fate of our suffering Church, in the fate of our people. We await an expression of solidarity from the Congress and the Government of the United States and from all in the West. Solidarity as has been expressed for 40 years, for example, by the Dutch priest Werenfried van Straaten and his organization Church in Need. We are grateful to all Christians and non-Christians who have assisted and continue to help our persecuted Church.

“GUARANTEE PEACE ON EARTH”

*Yosyp Terelya read the following statement
upon his arrival to Canada in October, 1987.*

I am overjoyed to be able to say, without worrying about the KGB: “be vigilant, strengthen Christian solidarity.”

At the same time I would like to express my sincere gratitude and the gratitude of my wife and our children to the government of this free Canada — we are free, we are among you. The Prime Minister of Canada, the Most Honorable Brian Mulroney, the Minister of External Affairs, the Honorable Joe Clark and the Minister of Employment and Immigration, Mr. Bouchard who did everything they could to ensure that I would not be brought to trial again and that I could be among you today.

I would also like to acknowledge the efforts on my behalf made by the members of Parliament, Joe Reid and Andrew Witer, thank you sincerely. With joy and sincerity, I would also like to thank the government of Queen Beatrice of the Netherlands and the Christian communities of that country for their many efforts on my behalf and ultimately for granting me my initial visa for travel to the West.

I am the son of my people, the son of the Apostolic Universal Church of Christ and I can now see you and speak with you in the name of our humiliated and wronged Ukrainian Catholic community in the USSR. In 1982, on September 9, my friends and I founded a new Helsinki Group: The Initiative Group in Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine. The aim of this group was to bring to light the abuse of the rights of believers of all confessions on the territory of Ukraine. We knew what was ahead of us.

After three months I was arrested and sent to camp VL-315/30. In time, the Ukrainian Catholic priest, Fr. Anton Potochniak, was brought there. Fr. Potochniak died in the camp on May 29, 1984. Fr. Potochniak was also a member of the Initiative Group and one of the authors of our Madrid Memorandum.



Yosyp Terelya at a press conference in The Hague on September 24, 1987.

Reflect upon the reality: we were persecuted by the communists of Moscow and by the official Soviet Russian Orthodox Church only because we were faithful to Christ and the Holy See (Rome) — they do not even allow us the very necessities of life. No one will ever know the number of martyrs for Christ's faith who lay down their lives in the prisons and camps of the USSR! But we must remember that in the Soviet Gulag more Christians may have died, than for the entire period from Christ to 1917. Even today, thousands of Christians remain in the camps of the USSR. The government continually resists the closing of the horrible special-regime camp in Kuchino where such important activists as Lukyanenko, Kandyba, Horbal and others are imprisoned.

Gorbachev's government does not have the courage to condemn the unjust and illegal acts of Stalin and to once and for all solve the question of the Ukrainian Church by recognizing the legal existence of the Ukrainian national churches: the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church.

But I also have another concern: two nuclear accidents in Ukraine. I speak here of the accidents in Chornobyl and Rivno. I appeal to those present, aid us in the evangelization of Ukraine, Byelorussia and Russia — this will guarantee peace on earth and will bring us all closer to God's Kingdom.

THERE CAN BE NO PEACE WITHOUT MUTUAL TRUST

Testimony before U.S. CSCE Commission in Washington D.C.

I have travelled a long road of incarceration in prisons, concentration camps and exile. It took me 42 years to find my way to you, to your capital, to these hearings. My first words to you are words of thanks for your constant moral support which you have for many years given political prisoners of the Soviet Union.

From time to time over the radio programs of the Voice of America and Radio Liberty and various roundabout ways we received the news that at the Helsinki Conferences in Madrid, Ottawa and Vienna, members of the U.S. delegations spoke about the nationalities problem in the Soviet Union, about religious persecution, about the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, which are outlawed in the USSR. They spoke about Russification of the non-Russian peoples. And they mentioned us by name — political prisoners condemned to long years of miserable existence or even death. We knew that you mentioned many of us, including myself. All of this gave us strength to persevere in the most difficult moments — knowing that someone in distant Washington, or members of Amnesty International know and remember us and are working towards our release.

And how painful it is for me to speak before you today, to be in the capital of the most powerful country in the world, to be free and to know that my friends from the Ukrainian Helsinki Group — Vasyl Stus, Yuriy Lytvyn, Oleksa Tykhyj — will never be able to come to the West because they died in Soviet imprisonment. It is painful because still other members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group remain in the terrible death camp No. 36-1: Levko Lukyanenko, Ivan Kandyba, Ival Sokulskyj and Mykola Horbal. It is painful to find myself at liberty in the Free World, while to this day the right to leave is denied to Mykola and Raisa Rudenko, Yuriy Shukhevych, Yuriy Badzio, and to many others who still remain imprisoned, exiled, in psychiatric prisons and those who are constantly persecuted under conditions of so-called “freedom”.

These constant repressions are evidence that neither the Soviet government nor its new leadership believe their own citizens, do not believe the millions of people they rule.

And I ask: how can the West believe the current government of the USSR? How can the Administration of the USA trust Gorbachev? How can you, honorable Senators and Congressmen be certain that during your trips to the Soviet Union and in the course of your conversations with Soviet diplomats they are telling you the truth?

I am convinced that without mutual trust there can be no peace. I am convinced that truth, justice, honesty and humaneness must form the basis for mutual trust between the people and between states. Does this kind of trust exist? No, it doesn't, and it won't exist as long as one nation oppresses another.

The Soviet Union consists of various republics, each with its own language, culture and spirituality. But the existence of separate “independent” republics is only theoretically recognized. In reality, the USSR is a Russian communist empire with an authoritarian regime of a government, which does not tolerate the slightest signs of a desire for independence, freedom, and democracy. For expressions of free thought, for strivings toward independence, the Russian communist empire starved over 7 million people in Ukraine in 1933. Later, approximately the same number of people perished in prisons and labor camps, some having been sentenced for possessing a handful of grain gleaned from the fields to save their children from death by starvation.

I did not live through the horrors of the Ukrainian Famine of 1933 because I was born in Volynia, which after World War I, became a part of Poland. In 1932 I became a member of an underground communist organization, thinking and believing that only the communists were fighting for social and national justice. Filled with these ideas I organized members of the Young Communist League and energetically engaged in underground communist activity. In 1935 I was sentenced by the Poles to 8 years of imprisonment and following an amnesty I was released in 1939. In the fall of 1939 the Red Army “liberated” Western Ukraine from Polish occupation and soon it was united with Eastern Ukraine. However, we didn’t enjoy this “liberation” for long, because shortly afterwards the repressive machine began its horrible work in Western Ukraine.

On June 22, 1941, Nazi Germany attacked Communist Russia, its ally for the preceding several months. The war found me at work in a construction battalion on the Western border. I was taken prisoner during the siege of Kyiv. I escaped the POW camp in Khorol in the Poltava region. Only then, making my way through the regions of Kyiv, Zhytomyr and Vinnytsia did I learn of the horrors of the Famine of 1933, the arrests, trials and summary executions of 1937. From that point I came to hate communism, to hate Russian imperialism as much as I hated German fascism.

In 1943 I joined the organized struggle against German Nazism and Russian communism in the role of political instructor in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). In the USSR I was sentenced the first time for my participation in the UPA, the second time for my refusal to participate in the repressive organs, and the third time for writing my memoirs (*Life Sentence*). In all three cases I was sentenced for political reasons, because I could not make peace with the regime of Russian communism. My weapon in this struggle was the word and only the word. All totaled, I spent 37 years in Polish, German and Russian prisons and camps, and 5 years in exile.

Not everyone is talking a lot about “glasnost” because people tend towards wishful thinking. I consider this “glasnost” a deception of public opinion in the USSR and to a greater extent, here in the West. Can one seriously accept this “glasnost” and these “reforms” when the organization of the man-made famine of 1933 in Ukraine still remains a secret and uncondemned by the government of the USSR? When today those who were sentenced and died in confinement for writing and speaking about the famine remain unrehabilitated? When today the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches are denied a legal existence regardless of the fact that their right to exist is recognized in the Soviet Constitution, in the UN Charter and the Helsinki Accords? When they have not rehabilitated those who, in accord-



Former political prisoner Danylo Shumuk (left) and translator Yuriy Dobczansky from the Library of Congress at the CSCE hearing in Washington.

ance with the Constitution of the USSR called for the secession of Ukraine from the Soviet Union or those who spoke out against the Russification of Ukraine?

In 1972 during my trial, the director of the Pioneer camp where I worked was called as a witness. The judge asked him: “What can you tell us about Shumuk?” He answered: “Shumuk’s attitude towards his work was faultless, but he always and everywhere spoke only in Ukrainian and expressed indignation about the fact that all the posters in our camp were in Russian. In 1970, we wanted to write above all the entranceways to the camp: ‘Dobro pozhalovat’ (Welcome) in Russian, and Shumuk wanted to write this in Ukrainian, and then I realized that he is a nationalist.”

And they sentenced me as a nationalist. I bring up this point just to illustrate that not only almost 20 years ago, but today on the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, the terror of Russification of my people has reached a culmination point. In the capital of Ukraine, in Kyiv, there are only 34 Ukrainian-language schools and 152 Russian-language schools and in such traditionally Ukrainian cities as Donetsk, Voroshilovohrad, Mykolayiv and Chernihiv, there are none. In the historical Ukrainian city of Zaporizhia there is only one, and 95 Russian schools. In the former capital of Ukraine, Kharkiv, there are only 2 Ukrainian schools, and 156 Russian schools. (More detailed information about these conditions in Ukrainian education is provided in the Kyiv newspaper *Literaturna Ukraina*, July 9, 1987. I request that a copy of the article be submitted for the record.)

I heartily welcome the fact that up to July 1987 the USSR finally allowed 2,378 Jews to emigrate, that several of my prison companions — Russian prisoners —

have left for the West. And I ask whether it is “glasnost” if until now they have allowed only two Ukrainians to leave, as fortune would have it, myself and Yosyp Terelya?

My friends from the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Mykola Rudenko, Yuriy Shukhevych and many others are still trying to leave. This is a problem not only for us Ukrainians. The problem of Ukraine becomes a problem for the entire Western world, for the 35 nations that signed the Helsinki Accords. To this day the principles of Helsinki have not reached my people. Ukraine is still not included in the Helsinki process—a problem we addressed in our memorandums. There is still not even one Western consulate in Kyiv, not to mention the absence of an accredited journalist. And I ask: is this normal for a nation of 50 million, for the largest European nation in the 20th century?

I am deeply convinced that it is in the interest of the USA and Canada, where I have now made my home, and in the interest of all Western nations to support in practice my nation’s aspirations to independence using peaceful means, diplomacy and negotiations. It is in the interest of peace on earth and normal relations among nations that Ukraine be an independent state in the UN and among all nations— an equal among equals. The independence of Ukraine, the Baltic nations, and all of the republics of the USSR would be a great step towards achieving a stable and longlasting peace in the entire world.

Then the danger of Russian communist infiltration of Nicaragua, the countries of South America, Africa and Asia would be diminished. Taking advantage of the current situation in the USSR, I am convinced that much could be achieved in this area. I am hopeful, Mr. Chairman, that you and the US Congress will take my thoughts into consideration.

Tengiz and Eduard Gudava

GEORGIAN NATIONALISM REMAINS THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE FOR THE PEOPLE

The following is the statement of Tengiz and Eduard Gudava, Georgian national and human rights activists, before the United States Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington, D.C., October 22, 1987.

Recently, the national problem in the USSR has become more acute. There are indications that the authorities want to compensate for limited progress in individual rights by instituting retrogressive national policies, which result in the increasing of the population (for example, the events in Kazakhstan and Latvia). The situation in Georgia is also becoming more dramatic. In view of this, the political importance of the human rights movement increases substantially.

Three major aspects can be identified with the human rights movement in Georgia:

1. The struggle for national interests;
2. Religious activity;

3. The defense of fundamental human rights.

Understanding the fundamental unity of these three aspects is growing among Georgian human rights activists, even though Georgian nationalism remains the most important issue for the people. This is to be expected because Georgia, like the Baltic States and Western Ukraine, were forcibly annexed into the USSR.

National consciousness, which is extremely strong among the intelligentsia and the students, covers a wide ideological spectrum, from the defense of local national interests to supporting the idea of national liberation.

For Georgian human rights activists, the idea of national liberation is directly associated with the following fundamental legal principles: the right of a nation to self-determination, the right of individuals to free expression of their views, the right of patriotic associations and the right to use democratic procedures in resolving the issue of Georgia's separation from the Soviet Union. The majority of Georgian political prisoners were imprisoned for supporting the last principle, even though that right is stated in the Soviet constitution. Thus, in Georgia, the struggle for national independence is a struggle for democratization and vice versa. In this, Georgian nationalists differ from, say the Basques or the Irish, who are in possession of all the democratic means for fulfillment of their programs.

These days, when the Soviet Union publicizes worldwide the "democratization" of its regime, we hear nothing about changes in the attitude of Moscow towards the right of the Georgian people for a democratic procedure to resolve the most fundamental question: that of the sovereignty or non-sovereignty of Georgia.

My brother, Eduard, and I are members of a movement, whose aim is the humanitarian fight against totalitarianism and tyranny, and which supports the ideals of liberty, democracy and human rights. We joined the movement as youths because we were critical of the Soviet system and were searching for the truth.

While we were medical students during the 1970s, we openly expressed our disagreement with many realities of Soviet life: the non-existence of freedom of speech or democracy and the issue of self-determination for the Georgian people, etc. For all this, we were subject to authoritarian force. Our parents were dismissed from their jobs for supporting our activity.

In 1978, we were convicted of speculation on trumped-up charges. I (Tengiz) was sentenced to four years in a labor camp; Eduard to three years. After our conviction, in 1982 we handed in an application to Amnesty International where we accused the Soviet government of tyranny and asked for legal help. At that time, we wrote an autobiographical book which was distributed as *samizdat* (underground literature).

In March 1982, we found our way into the British Embassy in Moscow where we told about ourselves and, under the threat of annihilation by the KGB, we asked representatives of the embassy to be witnesses to our fate. At the end of 1982, we were politically motivated to renounce our Soviet citizenship.

In 1983, we converted to Catholicism and began to take an active part in the life of the Catholic parish in Tbilisi. We organized a choir, obtained and distributed Bibles and church literature, issued religious *samizdat*, and arranged Catholic youth circles.

In searching for new forms of activity, at the end of 1984, we organized a "Phantom Orchestra." It consisted of refuseniks and dissidents, both Christians

and Jews. The purpose of the orchestra was to draw the world's attention to the breach of human rights in the Soviet Union. Orchestra members were subjected to various repressions such as searches, cross-examinations, and assault and battery. Even foreigners were subject to repression. In May 1985, four Boston musicians were deported from the Soviet Union after joining in concert with the "Phantom Orchestra."

In the spring of 1985, we joined the Georgian Helsinki group and renewed its activity. While we carried on our human rights activity, the KGB persecuted us constantly and we were subject to cross-examinations, threats, spying, searches and arrest. Our apartments were searched and bugged, our correspondence was inspected and blocked. We were deprived of any possibility of working in our specialty and, as a result, we lived in poverty.

In May 1985, we and our mother were accused of "slander against the Soviet state and social system" and later we were arrested and condemned. I (Tengiz) was convicted of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and sentenced to seven years in a labor camp and three years in exile. Eduard was convicted of "hooliganism" on a trumped-up charge and sentenced to four years in a labor camp (he had hung out the following placard: "KGB, stop persecuting").

It is remarkable that I was accused of not only having taken part in the Georgian Helsinki group, the organization of the "Phantom Orchestra," religious and *samizdat* activity, but I was also guilty of a speech made by American Senators and Congressmen about the breach of human rights in Georgia. For the first months of the investigation, the KGB threatened to incriminate me on the grounds of "high treason" according to the paragraph "rendering assistance to a foreign state in conducting hostile propaganda with respect to the Soviet Union." During our imprisonment we did not stop fighting for our rights. We went on long hunger strikes. As a result of this, we were subject to additional floggings.

At the end of April 1987, we were discharged from prison in the course of Gorbachev's campaign for discharging political prisoners. But the powerful pressure of the KGB preceded our discharge from prison. The purpose of the pressure was to incline us to public "repentance" as a precondition for our discharge, although the authorities' actions ended in failure. We were discharged on the condition that we would emigrate from the Soviet Union.

On September 8, 1987, we arrived in Boston, Massachusetts.

Georgia and its national problems

Georgia is situated between the Black and Caspian Seas and it borders Turkey and Iran. The population is approximately five million people, 70% of whom are Georgian.

The Georgian people are an ancient family which was organized as a state from time immemorial. In the fourth century, Georgia adopted Christianity and for centuries it was an advanced outpost of the Christian faith. In the 18th century Georgia fell under full Russian influence and it was turned into a province of the Russian Empire.

After the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, Georgia became independent. In 1921 it was occupied by the Red Army and became part of the Soviet Union. After that,

national liberation actions of the people did take place, but they were brutally suppressed. Now, Georgia is one of 15 Soviet republics.

All branches of industry are developed in Georgia. The most important is agriculture. Georgia is the main supplier of tea, citrus fruits and wine. The nature of Georgia is varied and favorable to tourism.

Georgian culture is rich and original. Shota Rustaveli, a poet and an intellectual, was born and worked creatively in Georgia in the 18th century. At present, Georgian theatre and cinematography are known all over the world.

However, the human rights community feels that the creative forces of the Georgian people are gripped by the vice of the communist regime. Many people in Georgia think that because of the general inefficiency of socialist economy, their natural national resources are being used inefficiently, and that, if Georgia were an independent state, it would flourish economically. The society is being eaten away by social sores: corruption and machination which are connected with the party and form a united "mafia".

The spiritual values of the Georgian people, such as their language, history, culture, and religion, are being persecuted and this arouses the anxiety of the intelligentsia. Only owing to the demonstrations of the intellectuals and students in 1978, did the Georgian language at last receive a constitutional status and became established and approved as the state language. However, this status is broken everywhere. The Georgian language is being excluded from scientific, administrative and management activity.

The teaching of Georgian history is curtailed. Many monuments of antiquity are being destroyed. To weaken the unity of the Georgian people, the further fragmentation of the Georgian national minority is encouraged. In addition, there is evidence of discrimination against Georgians residing in adjoining republics.

The issue of Meshs, or Georgian Moslems, is left unresolved. Meshs are Georgian Moslems who were deported by Stalin and deprived of any possibility of returning to the homeland.

The authorities prevent the opening of new parishes which are greatly needed. The mass actions of the believers toward this end are brutally suppressed. The official church hierarchy is under the control of the state, and is infiltrated with KGB agents. With a view to undermining church authority, amoral and criminal elements are installed in the priestly environment. The clergy and lay people who are against this, are subject to persecution.

The authorities subjugate the people for expressing patriotic and national-religious views. People are put on trial as state criminals or ordinary criminal cases are fabricated against them. At this time, we are aware of three names of Georgian patriots who have been suffering in prison for many years: Guram Gogbaidze, Valentina Pailodze and Boris Kukobava.

Currently the issue of building a Trans-Caucasus Mountain Pass Railway is extremely controversial. There is wide public opposition to this project and against the Soviet government because of the inherent danger to ecology, demography and historical monuments in the construction zone. Petitions have been submitted to the government which are signed by thousands of representatives of the intelligentsia, students and workers. Recently, the authorities started a campaign against the signatories: they are summoned by the KGB, the Central Committee of the Commu-

nist Party, where they are threatened and told to withdraw their signatures. Searches are conducted with confiscation of the lists of signatories. There is danger that unrest among the students will become widespread.

It should be noted that Gorbachev's *perestroika* has resolved none of the national problems of the Georgian people. Moreover, there is an opposite tendency. For example, after the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Yegor Ligachev, visited Georgia in June 1987, the Georgian language divisions in all departments of Tbilisi State University were drastically reduced and a campaign to intimidate student activities was begun.

All of the national problems of Georgia are the consequence of the above issue, the prevalence of nationalistic ideas creates a specific character for the entire human rights movement. Together with a relatively underdeveloped open organization of human rights structures, there is a widespread of small, temporarily national, patriotic and religious groups, which exist in an atmosphere of very active student masses with the productive support of the scientific intelligentsia, especially in the humanities.

Human rights events tend to concentrate around several renowned activists and these events include the distribution of proclamations and petitions, often during demonstrations.

The Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group had two short periods of activity, both of which resulted in severe repercussions against the participants. First, the group announced its creation in January 1977, with six members. In four months it was attacked by the authorities and four members were arrested and its activity stopped. In the spring of 1985, the group appeared with new members, also numbering six. At that time, my brother and I became involved. Once again, after three months, the KGB destroyed the group: three members were imprisoned and two emigrated to the West.

In our activities, we emphasized the necessity to observe universal human rights norms. The group published several documents about the conditions of Georgian political prisoners, about unlawful deeds by the authorities, as well as appeals to the West regarding the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act and a demand for freedom for Andrei Sakharov, etc.

Presently, the Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group consists of two members: Ziyad Gamsakhurdia and Merab Kostava. They are helped by many supporters whose names should not yet become public because of the danger of repercussions.

Gorbachev's "perestroika" and ourselves

Our assessment of Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost* coincides with the opinions of many human rights activists we know in the USSR. Briefly, our conclusions are as follows:

Changes are occurring in the USSR and their importance should neither be under nor overestimated.

Of course, some of these changes are positive; a number of political prisoners have been released, some families have been permitted to emigrate, previously banned writers and their books have been "pardoned". Still, this campaign has its other side which not everyone wants or can see.

First, let us examine the motivations for all their changes. It is extremely naive to assume that present Soviet leaders are liberals striving for good. It is enough to mention that we were already arrested and sentenced during Gorbachev's rule, and we experienced the entire depth of Shevardnadze's "humanism" during his tenure as head of the Georgian Communist Party.

Changes occurring in the USSR are necessitated by pressure from three directions:

1. Socio-economic: there is fear of another Poland, where the decline in the standard of living, together with the flourishing of corruption and protectionism, resulted in an explosion of indignation not only among individual dissidents, but involving the entire working class.

2. Military-economic: here there is fear of SDI as a project capable of making technological superiority of the West real and irrefutable.

3. Ideological: there is fear of continuous increasing political and moral isolation of the Soviet regime which is deservedly considered to be an "evil empire".

Accordingly, the Soviet Union was forced to undertake these changes in order to stop dangerous tendencies and to preserve and strengthen its totalitarian and misanthropic nature. Secondly, positive changes in the Soviet system have been long awaited by human rights activists, both in the USSR and abroad.

Glasnost and democratization were and are essential goals of the human rights movement in the Soviet Union and they were formulated long before Gorbachev. Many activists have sacrificed their lives in the struggle for these ideas. The present exclusion of the human rights movement from the process of *glasnost* makes it a mockery of real *glasnost*. At the same time, the attitude of Soviet authorities toward human rights activists and the human rights movement have not changed.

Freed political prisoners were not rehabilitated, but rather "pardoned" under various fabricated excuses. The process of their release was not covered in the Soviet press, except for a couple of very short and absolutely deceitful paragraphs in the newspapers.

The jamming of some Western radio stations is continuing, as well as the ban of the publication of the best masterpieces of free literature.

Fundamental human rights — of speech, of obtaining information, of freedom of religion and association, of emigration and return, of due process of defense, etc. — are not guaranteed now any more than they were under Gorbachev's predecessors.

Changes in legislation (both already introduced and expected) — are designed to legitimize the deficient Soviet interpretation of human rights which is drastically different from what is universally accepted. Real modification of the Soviet legal system should have begun with a modification of the foundation — the totalitarian and anti-human rights Soviet constitution. The hounding of human rights activists continues in the USSR finding, however, new forms.

Gorbachev's entire policy in the human rights area is based on a primitive use of the Western media: the exploitation of propaganda from the release or emigration of each dissident or a refusenik separately and the extensive "marketing" of sensationally democratic announcements and hints. Gorbachev is playing on the desire of the West to discover a human face in the image of the Soviet beast. He is

creating a mirage in the desert, visible to everybody to the extent of his or her impressionability.

Thirdly, human rights activists see as a major danger of the process now occurring in the USSR, the camouflaging of the real Soviet attitude towards human rights.

This real attitude has not changed. Together with a smoke screen of Soviet propaganda and the attempt by Soviet ideologues to substitute the universal interpretation of human rights with their own, they pose a danger of not only the reinstatement of past suppression of individual rights in the USSR, but also of its expansion worldwide.

Where are the guarantees that this practice of suppression is not going to be reintroduced? Who will be accountable for the death and suffering of hundreds of people whose only "crime" was defending their own legitimate rights, dignity and freedom?

Still intact is the whole apparatus of the KGB and those articles in the criminal code which leave the possibility for further terror against dissidents. "Repentance" in this system goes no further than artistic allegories.

It is our belief that only an open and democratic trial of the instigators and executioners of repression against human rights would be a real indicator of *glasnost* and democratization in the USSR. Only such a trial could act as a watershed between the 70 years' bloody history of the Soviet regime and Gorbachev's rule.

Our slogan for today is: KGB, stand and be accountable! Totalitarianism, stand and be accountable! We strongly believe that the Soviet communist system brings a continuously increasing threat to the world at large. At the foundation of this system there is a denial of the spiritual nature of man, of freedom of choice.

The history of this system is a history of monstrous crimes against human rights, against humanity and the rule of law, in conjunction with the devilish ability to conceal its atrocities and escape responsibility.

The global danger of the present policy of *glasnost* in the USSR comes from the preservation and strengthening of the criminal nature of the Soviet system. The stabilization of the system at a new level will give it even more power.

Unfortunately, we have to admit that there is a lack of understanding of this situation in the West. At the same time, we are certain that understanding the Soviet system is necessary both to save Western democracy and preserve peace on this earth.

We hope to contribute as much as we can towards this great cause. We could propose a great many projects in this direction. We are counting on the understanding and help of the American authorities for the implementation of these projects.



Compliments of the season and sincere wishes for a

MERRY CHRISTMAS

and a

HAPPY, PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR

to all our friends and readers of ABN Correspondence

ABN Central Committee



PUBLICATION OF UNOFFICIAL UKRAINIAN JOURNAL ANNOUNCED

The well-known Ukrainian human rights activist Vyacheslav Chornovil has written an open letter to Soviet Party leader Gorbachev, announcing the intention to openly publish an unofficial journal. The letter criticizes the fact that the national question has thus far remained untouched by the policy of *perestroika*, suggesting that nationality issues be discussed at a special plenum of the Central Committee.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, one of the veterans of the Ukrainian dissident movement and a former political prisoner, has announced the intention of a group of Ukrainian journalists and writers to renew the publication of a *samvydav* (underground publication) journal suppressed in the early 1970s. The announcement comes in a thirty-page open letter to CPSU general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev dated August 5, 1987 that has recently reached the West through *samvydav* channels.

Chornovil, arguing that former political prisoners like himself have been prevented from contributing to the official press, maintains that they, in effect, have been forced to seek out other means of communicating with readers:

I am informing you that a few Ukrainian journalists and writers who have been barred from their professions and the press, including myself, are legally resuming the publication of the socio-political and literary journal *Ukrainskyj Visnyk* (*Ukrainian Herald*), which came out in the difficult conditions of the years 1970-72, and which fully meets today's requirements of *glasnost*. (A declaration to the appropriate departments is being sent separately, along with a statement of the publication's program and a request to allow the minimum possibility for the journal to be published, at least the personal inviolability of its associates.

According to Chornovil, Ukrainian writers, journalists, and artists who have been excluded from membership in the official creative unions may also form their own unofficial groups.

As is clear from the text of the letter, the idea of publishing an unofficial journal is a reaction to the unsatisfactory results of Gorbachev's campaign for *glasnost* and *perestroika* insofar as the national question is concerned. Chornovil argues that "today the national question, the most important question for a multinational country that has proclaimed itself a union of sovereign socialist states, finds itself in the most obscure blind alley of restructuring":

Theory (including your speeches at congresses and plenums) is totally devoid of any analysis of the real state of affairs, and the same general phrases about "flourishing and drawing together" that are known still from Stalinist times are repeated, with the same warnings about the inadmissibility of preserving national survivals (although, in practice, one such "survival" that is being banished now for almost sixty years turns out to be, above all, the national languages of the non-Russian members of this "equal" union.)

Referring to a speech made by Yegor Ligachev in Tbilisi last June, Chornovil argues that if it also reflects Gorbachev's thinking then it must be concluded that thus far no alternative has been found to the Stalinist nationalities policy pursued in the Soviet Union to the present day. This is borne out, he says, by the regime's reaction to the disturbances in Alma-Ata, which were seen only as manifestations of local nationalism. The practical consequence was a reduction of the number of Kazakhs in the republic's institutions of higher education and an influx of Russians, russified Ukrainians, and others.

In practice, maintains Chornovil, restructuring with regard to the national question has been limited to permitting cultural figures, for the most part writers, to talk about "the depressing situation" of the national languages and the cultural heritage of their nations. Even so, says Chornovil, this discussion has been conducted on a superficial level, without delving into the reasons for the existing situation and avoiding any references to the erosion of the statehood of those nations comprising the Soviet Union. At the same time, in the name of equality, "chauvinists" have been given an opportunity to voice their views. As a case in point, Chornovil notes the article by Oleg Trubachev, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, published in *Pravda* on March 28, 1987, which he says resulted in many protests.

As far as Ukraine is concerned, Chornovil feels that the situation is hopeless as long as the present republican Party leadership remains in power:

Here in Ukraine, many people think that in order for restructuring to finally reach the republic, the entire Shcherbitsky "team" — poisoned by bureaucracy, corruption, and chauvinism — should have been removed from leading positions at the center and on the local level a long time ago (chauvinism, as Lenin noted, is often associated with "russified non-Russians").

Chornovil also has some concrete suggestions for Gorbachev, should the Soviet Party leader consider returning to "the Leninist norms of national life in the Union." First of all, a special plenum of the Central Committee should be convened that would tackle the problem with the same courage and candor that Gorbachev displayed when outlining the country's economic situation at the June Plenum of the Central Committee. The proposed plenum should tell the entire truth about the real situation of the non-Russian nations in the USSR, about the fictitious character of their statehood, and how current policies are totally out of line with Lenin's legacy. It should restore to its rightful place Lenin's thesis that the main danger as far as national relations is concerned has been and remains "great power chauvinism" rather than "local nationalism." Other topics that need to be addressed include a discussion of Moscow's central role in planning and implementing Soviet nationalities policy. This is in reaction to the argument that has been put forth by some Ukrainian writers recently to the effect that the real villain here is the local Ukrainian Party leadership that has hoped to win favor at the center by being holier than the pope. Chornovil also proposes that such a plenum finally discard the notion that the Soviet Union's nations will eventually be "merged," and that it provide a legal guarantee for the non-Russian languages by specifying them as state languages in the republican constitutions. And, in order that the Central Committee properly prepares itself for such an undertaking, Chornovil suggests that its



Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ukrainian Helsinki Group member, sentenced in June 1980 to 6 years' labor camp. Photo from 1970.

members acquaint themselves with some of the Ukrainian dissident writings on the subject, particularly Ivan Dzyuba's classic essay *Internationalism or Russification?*

The *glasnost* aspect of Gorbachev's policies with regard to filling in the so-called blank pages of history is also subjected to severe criticism insofar as Ukraine is concerned. Chornovil provides a long list of individuals and specific issues — beginning with the first decades of the twentieth century and ending with the suppression of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group at the end of the 1970s — that thus far have either been totally ignored or treated only superficially. The modern history of Ukraine, he points out, has been written largely in terms of the history of its Bolshevik Party. According to Chornovil, Ukrainian historians would do better if they took some pointers from their colleagues in neighboring Poland.

In closing, Chornovil expresses the hope that he will have the opportunity to discuss these issues in more depth with Aleksandr Yakovlev, whom he describes as being an adherent of Gorbachev's policies, and explains that the choice of an open letter was dictated by the expectation that it would come to the attention not only of the addressee, but would also reach a wider circle of the Party leadership and the public as a whole.

Chornovil's letter to Gorbachev displays the same uncompromising stand on fundamental issues that previously landed him in the Gulag on four separate occasions. If his criticism of Ukrainian writers and other intellectuals who have recently been pressing for changes in the Kyiv press, particularly with regard to the language question, seems unfair in view of the past experiences of those who have expressed divergent views, the basic thrust of his argument can hardly be challenged. To date, the Party has yet to address the national question in any serious shape or form.

UNOFFICIAL JOURNAL *AUSEKLIS* APPEARS IN LATVIA

The first copies of *Auseklis*, an unofficial journal on political, social, and literary topics, started to circulate in Latvia in mid-October, 1987. A copy of the typed journal has subsequently reached the West. *Auseklis* is the first uncensored publication of its kind to appear in postwar Latvia. A review of the journal shows that it remains true to its stated purpose: it disseminates ideas and documents that the official media, even during this period of officially endorsed "openness," will not print.

Taking advantage of Gorbachev's policy of "openness," three Latvians have decided that the time is ripe for the publication of a nonprofit journal that would disseminate ideas and information conspicuously absent from the official media. They have, no doubt, been buoyed by the appearance of *Glasnost* in Moscow on August 20 and perhaps also by the Ukrainian human rights activist Vyacheslav Chornovil's intention to resume openly the publication of *Ukrainskyj Visnyk*, a *samvydav* journal on socio-political and literary themes that was suppressed by the Soviet authorities in the early 1970s.

Preparations and Plans

On October 6, Ivars Zukovskis, Lidija Doronina-Lasmane, and Ausma Kresla submitted a request to the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers to publish and disseminate free of charge 20 to 30 copies of a journal called *Auseklis*; attached to the request was a manuscript of the journal's first issue. Zukovskis and Doronina-Lasmane are former political prisoners and are well known in dissident circles, but almost nothing more than her address in Riga is known about Kresla. After receiving no reply from the authorities for about two weeks, they decided to start distributing the unofficial journal. The first issues appeared in mid-October in Riga. About 40 copies of *Auseklis*, probably the first uncensored journal of its kind to be produced in Latvia in the postwar years, are now in circulation. There are plans to publish the journal bimonthly and to issue a supplement for younger readers.

Appearance and Purpose

The title page features a drawing reminiscent of the female figure that holds three stars on top of the Statue of Liberty in Riga; this figure is enclosed by an eight-pronged star, which for centuries has been a Latvian symbol for the morning star or *Auseklis*. Centered under the drawing is the journal's name in capital letters. *Auseklis* was also the pen name of Mikus Krogzemis, a poet popular during Latvia's national renaissance in the 19th century. Thus, the drawing and the name seem to suggest the dawn of freedom. The journal's motto and name are given on the title page; it is stated that the issue is the first of 1987 and that it is an independent journal on social, political, literary, and religious topics.

The first 4 of the journal's 122 typed, unillustrated pages are devoted to explaining why it was founded. The unsigned introduction, presumably by the editor Zukovskis and his assistants, Doronina-Lasmane and Kresla, states that since the republican press has been slow to implement the revolutionary changes

advocated by the present CPSU leadership, the need exists for an uncensored publication to transmit information and ideas not found in the party and government-controlled media, hence, the appearance of *Auseklis*. The authors add:

We are Latvian patriots and shall fervently uphold our national interests, but at the same time we shall respect the national sentiments of other nations and view Latvians simply as a nation equal among other nations. We take pride in our nation's traditional hospitality, and we shall urge our compatriots to receive with the utmost cordiality those who come to us as friends and those who wish to get to know Latvia and the Latvians; but those who despise, scorn, and humiliate us should not count on amity. Believing in equal standing and equal rights, we shall strive for mutual understanding with members of the other nationalities living in Latvia. We shall demand that the wrongs inflicted upon our nation during Stalin's tyrannical rule be recognized. We are deeply convinced that even the sharpest disagreements and the most complicated problems can be resolved through constructive discussions and the willingness of both sides to compromise. Aware of the perilous situation of our nation in the world arena, we believe in our tenacity to survive as a nation and in a brighter future for Latvia. This faith in a brighter future will serve as the foundation for our activity. The journal's motto comes from Ranis' eloquent poetry:

"That new era, tremulous in the rustling wind,
Will not arrive, unless we bring it in."

In conclusion, the introduction urges readers to support actively the policies of the new era ushered in by the CPSU.

Organization of Contents

As promised on the title page and in the table of contents at the end, the journal covers a broad spectrum of topics, organized into the following sections: news and information (48 pages), prisoners of conscience (19 pages), literature (13 pages), religion (17 pages), and history (20 pages). The same categories will be used in the next issue of the journal which will deal primarily with the demonstrations of August 23.

News and Information

As its name indicates, the first section contains topical reports, recent documents, and polemical articles on current issues. It is the journal's longest section and contains the following: a description of the demonstration in Riga on June 14, 1987; six statements by the Latvian human rights group Helsinki '86 about the demonstrations of June 14 and August 23, which the group organized; a letter from Zukovskis to the Latvian Communist Party newspaper *Cina* on a vitriolic article by Jazeps Zelonka, published on June 17, about the demonstration of June 14 and its initiators; a cogent article by M. Leimanis urging that Latvian be made the official language of the republic; another article by Zukovskis calling on the Soviet authorities to discuss crimes against humanity committed not only under Hitler but also under Stalin; critical remarks about *glasnost* and freedom of the press by A. Strelyanny, a member of the Board of Editors of *Novyj Mir*, made in a speech to Komsomol activists at the Moscow State University; information about the plight and the aims of the Crimean Tatars; and a biographical sketch of the journalist Pavils Ducmanis, who collaborated with both the Nazi and Soviet

regimes in Latvia. Interspersed between these articles are statistical data comparing conditions in independent Latvia with those under the Soviet Union. These facts do not merely fill space but also counterbalance Soviet propaganda about Latvia in the 1920s and 1930s.

Prisoners of Conscience

The second section focuses on the political prisoner Gunars Astra, an advocate of democratic changes and national rights in Latvia. Astra was charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and was sentenced on December 15, 1983 to 7 years in a special regime camp (the harshest type in the Soviet Gulag) and 5 years in exile. The sentence was so severe partly because he was considered a recidivist. He had been arrested and accused of industrial espionage in 1961; although the charges were completely unfounded, he was tried for treason and participating in organized anti-Soviet activity and was sentenced to 15 years. While in detention, Astra protested many times against the mistreatment of prisoners of conscience.

The journal includes a biographical sketch of Astra; an open letter dated June 6, 1987 to CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev from 19 Latvian and Estonian former political prisoners calling for Astra's release; letters from the signers of the open letter, asking the editors of *Dzimtenes Balsi* and *Literatura un Maksla* to publish the appeal for Astra's freedom; an open letter to leading Latvian writers from the Riga-based Committee To Free Gunars Astra, which points out that in 1983 the authorities considered Astra's main offenses to be his possession of "forbidden" books, such as George Orwell's *1984* and Aleksander Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*, and Astra's English translation of a memorandum by 45 Baltic activists calling for the revocation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact; and Astra's stirring final statement at his trial before the Latvian SSR Supreme Court on December 15, 1983.

Literature

Consisting of only 13 pages, this is the journal's shortest section. It compares the paeans to Stalin by the pro-regime writers Andris Vejans and Arvids Grigulis and anonymous poets with two poems by Andrejs Eglitis, an exiled Latvian poet living in Sweden. The second part of the section consists of the Reverend Juris Rubenis' incisive analysis of Chingiz Aitmatov's novel *Plakha*. Rubenis considers from a philosophical and nonsectarian viewpoint the different attitudes toward religion and faith expressed in the novel, which was published in *Novyy Mir* in 1986.

Religion

This section features four documents issued by Renaissance and Renewal, a group of Latvian Lutheran activists; a careful assessment by Peteris Cekuls of the current conflict within the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Latvia over the consistory's inability to defend the Church and its clergy from the regime's attacks; an appeal from five Latvian clergymen to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to commute the death sentence of the Kazakh student Kairat Ryskulbekov, who participated in the riots in Alma Ata in 1986; and a trenchant sermon on the role of the Church in contemporary society by Dean Modris Plate that was removed by censors from the 1983 calendar of the Lutheran Church in Latvia.

History

All of the articles in the journal's final section focus on the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and its effect on Latvia. The section summarizes the treaty and gives the full text of the appended secret protocol dealing with the Baltic States, an historical background of the Soviet-German treaty of 1939, and a brief review of the relations between Moscow and Berlin during World War II. This is followed by the text of a memorandum written in 1979 by 45 Baltic activists and endorsed by 4 Soviet human rights advocates, calling for the revocation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and rectification of the wrongs committed as a consequence of it, and review by the UN General Assembly of the situation in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which have not been allowed to exercise their right of self-determination.

The concluding article, which illustrates Latvia's plight under Hitler and Stalin, is an interview with the German official who ordered the partial razing of a monument in Jelgava honoring those who had fought against the Germans and Russians after Latvia proclaimed its independence in 1918. A postscript states that the demolition work started by the German occupation forces was completed by Soviet soldiers and that a dragon-shaped "monstrosity" now stands on the site.

CANADIAN M.P. DEFENDS YURIY SHUKHEVYCH

On Tuesday, October 20, 1987, Canadian M.P., Andrew Witer, brought to the attention of the House of Commons the plight of the Ukrainian political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych. Mr. Witer pointed out that Yuriy Shukhevych has spent 33 years in Soviet labour camps, prisons and internal exile for the so-called crime of being the son of the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Roman Shukhevych.

Mr. Witer also mentioned Yuriy Shukhevych's poor health and called on the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Government of Canada to use their influence to effect the immediate release of Yuriy Shukhevych and to send a clear reminder to the Soviet Government of its obligations as a signatory of the Helsinki Accords.

A significant factor was that Mr. Witer's statement was delivered in the presence of a visiting delegation of four members of the Supreme Soviet.

Later that day during a meeting of the Soviet delegation with a joint House of Commons and Senate External Affairs Committee, Mr. Witer questioned the Soviet delegation about the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine and emigration from the Soviet Union. Other members of parliament also questioned the Soviet delegation. David Kilgour asked about the Ukrainian famine, the murder of Polish officers at Katyn and Afghanistan. Bill Attwell asked about refuseniks and Jewish immigration, while others concentrated primarily on disarmament and the environment.

In response to a question on the formation of a Soviet Canadian parliamentary association, Mr. Witer stated that the Canadian people rejected such a proposal earlier this year. He stated that Canada has many citizens of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Byelorussian origin whose firm position is that until the Soviet Union gets out of Afghanistan, until it respects human rights and complies with freedom of speech, political thought and worship, and discontinues deliberate Russification of the captive nations, Canadian parliamentarians do not have a common ground for debate with the Soviets. The response of the Soviet delegation was as expected.

ON THE 45TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UPA

Three letters — UPA (Ukrayinska Povstanska Armiya — Ukrainian Insurgent Army) but what depth of meaning and what images do those letters evoke before our eyes. The wondrous Ukrainian Carpathian Mountains, the forests of Volyn. Young soldiers and commanders cleaning their weapons, learning the craft of warfare.

1941. June in Ukraine. Armed German columns approaching Ukrainian lands. The figures have merged with the tanks and foreboding hangs in the air. The German military might approaching and the Russian regiments retreating, leaving behind them prisons filled with Ukrainian leaders and the flower of Ukrainian youth. People searched among the corpses, identified relatives, buried them. However, there was no time to mourn them for long, because we began to build “new temples and fortresses” on the ruins.

The bells rang out. The joyous refrain of “Rise Ukraine” echoed from the radio station in Lviv. On June 30, 1941 the National Assembly in Lviv (initiated by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera) declared the restoration of the Ukrainian National Republic. Yaroslav Stetsko became head of the newly created Ukrainian National Government. The joyous news was carried across Ukraine all the way to Kyiv. Blue and yellow Ukrainian national flags fluttered in cities and towns, people knelt and kissed the warm, ancestral Ukrainian earth soaked in blood and tears. Princes of the Church, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptyckyj and Metropolitan Polikarp of Lutsk blessed the Ukrainian nation and its government. Churches, schools, libraries were opened, the people were rising.

However, Nazi Germany, armed to the teeth with the most modern armaments, did not respect the restoration of Ukrainian statehood. But Ukraine did not capitulate before Nazi Germany, the Nazi Germany which annexed Austria, which conquered France, the Benelux countries, Czecho-Slovakia and before whom, Poland capitulated after a three-week struggle.

World War II began and Ukraine was ideologically prepared for battle for its sovereignty and statehood, and aware of its goal. In Western Ukraine under Poland, the Ukrainian Military Organization created by Col. Yevhen Konovalets was active, which subsequently was reorganized into the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. The Organization brought with it awareness into Ukrainian cities and villages, strengthened their morale and raised faith in our strength and ability, raised courageous leaders who were not afraid to state before Polish courts that they were ready to die for the Ukrainian state.

In Central and Eastern Ukraine, after the loss of independence which was declared in Kyiv with the IV Universal in 1918, Ukrainians did not lay down their arms, but continued the armed struggle with the communist Russian invaders for many years. The trials of the members of the Organization for the Liberation of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Youth Organization as well as the artificial famine of 1932-33 organized by Moscow shook the conscience of the Ukrainian nation. The people would not surrender. The enemy was unable to break or destroy

the Ukrainian nation, which continually brings forth new strength to build a new life on the ruins of the old.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists gave the Ukrainian people faith in their own strength, faith and trust in their government and faith in the victory of just truth — the right of our nation to be master on our own land. The proclamation of the restoration of the Ukrainian State took place not only in Lviv with the Act of June 30, 1941, this proclamation was repeated across all the cities and towns of Ukraine. The people rose not only to freedom, but to grasp the opportunity to announce to the world that only the Ukrainian nation could be master on Ukrainian soil.

The war between Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia provided such an opportunity, because this war was being waged over Ukraine, not over its independence, but over its riches and resources, its land and its people. Ukrainian nationalists were not surprised by this, they were prepared because they had not forgotten the order of the great hetman Ivan Mazepa: “You will have rights only through the sword!” That is why members of underground nationalist groups, risking their lives, pursued the retreating Bolshevik forces, to confiscate their weapons, which very soon became necessary in building up our own military.

Lesya Ukrainka, a Ukrainian poetess, lived with hope for the “morning star”, which would pierce the darkness of night and show our nation the path to freedom. She believed and lived with a vision for a better future. When World War I ended, her prophetic words came true. The morning star in Ukraine took flame, dimmed, and burned once again. And despite our rights and freedoms being trampled and destroyed, not even defeat in the war for the liberation of Ukraine, nor the terror enforced by Moscow’s oppressors could stop the Ukrainian nation from its striving for freedom and statehood. That is why when the Nazi sword of destruction hung over the world, the morning star once again burned in Ukraine. When the enemy was terrorizing the Ukrainian people with oppression and famine, plundering our lands and shedding our blood, we did not humbly stand by, we prepared for battle and the threat of Ukrainian national revolution hung over the enemy.

In April, 1942, the Second Conference of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists adopted the following resolution: “We will base our policy on the creation and strengthening of our own revolutionary, political and military forces and on an independent, all-Ukrainian policy of revolutionary struggle.”

On October 14, 1942, the first armed divisions of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were formed in Polissia. October 14 is the feast of the Ukrainian Army, the feast of St. Mary, the Protectress. It is also the date of the formation of the modern Ukrainian armed forces — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The UPA quickly spread from Polissia and Volyn to the Kamyanetska, Vynnytska, Zhytomyrska and Kyivska oblast. News of the UPA was spread across all of Ukraine. The Third Conference of the OUN in February, 1943, having examined its external political resolutions, confirmed that the UPA had taken upon itself the defense of the Ukrainian population. In July, 1943, 12 Ukrainian oblasts had joined the armed struggle against the occupants. OUN became the backbone in the structure of the UPA, it provided the revolutionary struggle with ideological-political clarity and direction.

Three components, — the re-established Sovereign Independent Ukrainian State, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent

Army, together created a powerful force which challenged the two totalitarian occupants —Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia to war. The nation was filled with the spirit of heroism.

Foreign historians write that in the course of only one year, divisions of the UPA engaged in 531 defensive battles, 82 offensive battles, 112 acts of sabotage and 47 propagandive raids. The minister of defense of communist Poland, General Swierczewski and the Bolshevik General Vatutin were assassinated by UPA detachments.

What gave the UPA the strength and the courage to fight against the greatest military force of Europe of that time — Nazi Germany, and later with the shifting fronts, against both totalitarian powers, Nazi Germany and Communist Russia? The strength and courage stemmed from the fact that the nation was ready and aware of its purpose. Young men and women freely and readily joined the ranks of the UPA and the people supported them as they best could, providing food and clothing. The partisans obtained their weapons by taking them from the enemy.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army became an all-national army. Not one country in the world helped the UPA. Its own nation helped and that is why the UPA was able to sustain itself for so long. The UPA defended the Ukrainian nation and the ideal of the Ukrainian State for over ten years. Moscow needed the help of Communist Poland and Czecho-Slovakia to defeat the UPA.

When the leader and several members of the Ukrainian National Government were arrested, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council was created in 1944 on the initiative of the OUN-UPA, whose secretariat was headed by a member of the Ukrainian National Government, General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka. The UPA was not only an armed force, these were politically aware people. It was the UPA divisions who protected the first Conference of the Subjugated Nations in 1943 in the forests of Zhytomyr. It was the UPA divisions who carried the motto of ABN “Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!” to Byelorussia, the Baltic countries and the Caucasus. They carried the idea of a common liberation front to Poland, Rumania, Czechia, Slovakia in 1945 and 1946. Armed divisions of the subjugated nations were formed along-side the UPA. It was members of the OUN and UPA, imprisoned in Siberia, who organized strikes, mobilized not only Ukrainians but people from all the subjugated nations, strengthening a common front against Moscow’s tanks. And today, those who return from concentration camps, add to the fame of those OUN-UPA members, who stood firm and unbroken in their ideals even in the face of death. When members of the OUN and UPA found themselves in other subjugated countries, they used their experience to organize underground resistance movements there against our common enemy — Moscow. Artem Yuskevych organized such a movement in Estonia, for which he and his Estonian friends were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment in Siberia, where he died.

On the 40th anniversary of the UPA, Patriarch Yosyp Slipyj wrote the following in his epistolary letter: “The UPA was born out of the sacrificing love for our homeland, which became a live boundary, clear symbol and a flaming sign for the future and the coming generations. Even though the enemy forced many UPA fighters into prisons and death camps, along with our Church hierarchy, priests and the faithful of both Ukrainian Churches, even though the enemy tried to defame

our fighters and martyrs, ruining and grazing their graves with tanks, they could not destroy the UPA. It lives on, like a living legend because the UPA placed itself under the protection of the Blessed Virgin.”

Forty years ago, on the orders of its leadership, several divisions of the UPA embarked on missions. They were led by fearless, brave commanders: Hromenko, Burlaka, Krylach, Lastivka and others. They were ordered to go West. Through enemy lines and hermetically sealed borders, they reached the Free World, the American zones in Austria and Germany. Many of these brave men died on the way fighting with the enemy, but the majority reached their destination. At last, the Western press carried reports that the UPA is fighting in Ukraine and its divisions had reached the West. Those who came told of the terror which was reigning in the nations subjugated by Moscow, an ally of the West. In 1949 an appeal from the leadership of the UPA in Ukraine to the Ukrainian emigration was issued. It stated: “Fighters and commanders of the UPA! You fulfilled your orders bravely. The nation rejoices that you have reached the free zones to voice a protest before the whole world, to protest the subjugation of the Ukrainian nation by the Russian Bolshevik occupant, and to tell the truth about the liberation struggle in Ukraine. Although you are far from your homeland, your struggle is not over. The enemy which is subjugating your native land is active there as well and you must fight against him. ”

The raids which convinced the doubting Thomases that the UPA exists and is fighting, also showed that we could not count on help from the West after Yalta and Potsdam. This convinced us even more that we had to rely on ourselves, both in Ukraine and outside of it. In the aforementioned appeal, it was also stated: “Represent your country and its liberation struggle with dignity — each Ukrainian outside of his struggling homeland, is a representative of his nation. Each Ukrainian person must carry the ideals of Ukraine, must unceasingly speak the truth about the USSR to all nations and must mobilize them to fight against Russian Bolshevik imperialism, must organize all nations subjugated or threatened by Moscow into a single, united front.”

The struggle of the Ukrainian nation continues. And today, when we commemorate the UPA, let us remember the words of the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian National Government, Yaroslav Stetsko, in his greeting to soldiers and commanders of the UPA in 1982: “Focus your attention on the young generation, counteract pacifism and scorn for armed struggle, because no enslaved nation liberated itself without an armed struggle. Remember that nations who had too many heroes never ceased to be, it is nations without heroes and martyrs that disappear.”

Commemorating the 45th anniversary of the UPA, let us remind the world that we cannot expect anything good from Moscow while it enslaves other nations, while its communist totalitarian system continues to exist.

We don't know where the graves of the brave soldiers of the UPA are, we don't know where Gen. Taras Chuprynka is buried, but we do know that the Ukrainian nation has not laid down its arms. New generations were raised on their heroism and they are preparing for the decisive battle. That is why Moscow fears the UPA even now, arresting and sentencing its former members to death. Ukraine is rising up to freedom. The death of heroes and martyrs for both God and Ukraine was not in vain.

NATIONALISM IN LATVIA

In July, 1986, a group of Latvians, most under the age of 45, formed a new Helsinki monitoring group in the city of Liepaja, demanding that Mikhail Gorbachev allow Latvia to implement its constitutional right to secede from the Soviet Union. The group also sent letters to the United Nations and Pope John Paul II, asking that action be taken to halt the Russification of their once independent nation.

In September, 1986, hundreds of Latvians, many of them young, braved a tight ring of KGB security agents to approach Americans participating in the Chautauqua Conference in Jurmala, Latvia. Some shouted, "We are slaves of the Russians." Others pleaded for help from the West saying, "We are waiting for freedom and you are our only hope."

On December 27, 1986, over 300 Latvian youths returning from a rock concert, marched down the main street of Riga, the nation's capital, shouting, "Down with Soviet Russia! Freedom in a free Latvia." Tourists who witnessed the event reported that several Soviet militia cars were overturned. A similar demonstration occurred a week later.

Nationalism in Latvia, like that in neighbouring Estonia and Lithuania, is not new. Ever since the Soviet Russians invaded and occupied the three Baltic countries in 1940, anti-Russian sentiment has understandably been strong. What is significant here, and seems reflected in other non-Russian Soviet-ruled republics such as Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Georgia, is that the common denominator in all these anti-Russian manifestations is youth. In all the above mentioned incidents, the key figures are Latvians born after Soviet rule was established.

One would think that after 46 years of rule in the Baltic States (and even longer in the other republics), a steady propaganda diet promoting "socialist internationalism" and the desirability of the "complete unity of nations" within the Soviet Union would have diminished the nationalist ardor of the Soviet-educated generations. Not so. To the contrary, it appears that in the non-Russian republics, youthful rebelliousness is expressing itself in decidedly nationalistic terms.

A Latvian-made documentary, "Is it easy to be young?" presently playing before packed houses in Moscow, shows Latvian "punks" and "heavy metal" kids decked out in chains, spiked bracelets and garish make-up, expressing open disenchantment with the Soviet Union. The opening of the film even documents a riot that occurred near Riga following a rock concert when over 100 youths demolished two rail cars.

The documentary does not reveal, however, that during the demolition of the rail cars, the Latvian youths were singing, "We will batter the red swan," a clearly anti-Russian verse from a song they had just heard at the concert. The severity of the Soviet punishment for one of the youths involved in the melee — three years in a strict regime prison — indicates that the authorities knew quite well that this wasn't just a case of adolescent hormones running amok.

Ironically, the fact that non-Russians are in fact "mastering the Russian language" could be the Kremlin's undoing. According to tourists returning from Latvia, the resurgence of nationalism among younger Latvians is accompanied by a

64 CONGRESSMEN ASK MOSCOW TO END IMPRISONMENT, PERSECUTION OF CATHOLIC PRIEST

Sixty four members of the U.S. House of Representatives have written to the Soviet official who oversees religious affairs in Lithuania to ask that a “wrongfully imprisoned” Roman Catholic priest now in a labor camp, be released and allowed to practice his vocation without interference.

In a letter to Religious Affairs Commissioner Petras Anilionis, dated October 1, the Congressmen express their concern that Father Jonas Kastytis Matulionis may not be allowed to go free in November, though that is when his three-year sentence in a general regime labor camp officially ends. They note that Matulionis, whose conviction on charges of “disturbing public order” was covered under the terms of a 1985 Soviet amnesty, was released on June 19, 1985, but rearrested 7 days later and returned to labor camp. The Congressmen term the circumstances surrounding Matulionis’ second arrest “mysterious.”

The letter also raises the issue of Matulionis’ poor health, stating that at one point his weight in the labor camp had gone as low as 40 kilograms (90 pounds).

In addition, the Congressmen ask that Matulionis not be persecuted after he is released from the labor camp. They say the motive behind Matulionis’ arrest in November 1984 was to punish him for graduating from an underground seminary after he had been denied admission to the only state-controlled seminary in Lithuania. The specific charge for which he was convicted under Article 199-3 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code was leading a religious procession from a church to a cemetery.

The congressmen remind Anilionis of remarks made by his superior, Konstantin Kharchev, the top official in the USSR for religious matters, while the latter was visiting the United States in late August. They quote him as admitting that in the past the Soviet government made mistakes in its policy toward religious believers, which it was not attempting to reverse. According to the signers of the letter, the punishment of Fr. Matulionis for graduating from a seminary not sanctioned by the Soviet government was just such a mistake.

Father Matulionis is one of a dozen priests who have graduated from the underground seminary in Lithuania. Though the Soviet government refuses to recognize the legitimacy of these theological courses and harasses its graduates, the semi-



growing curiosity about other Soviet minorities, i.e. fellow victims of Soviet Russian discrimination and repression. The deeply nationalistic Latvian rock song “Native Language” for example, was translated from a Moldavian poem.

Despite their ethnic and linguistic differences, the non-Russian minorities of the Soviet Union are discovering that they have something in common: a deep-seated resentment against the ethnic Russian majority. By learning the Russian language, however, they (the non-Russians) can communicate with each other more readily. In the long run, the Soviet ideologists in the Kremlin may achieve their “unity of nations”, but it may not be what they had in mind.

Baltic News, September, 1987

narians are ordained by members of the official Catholic hierarchy and, in the eyes of the Church, enjoy all the rights and powers of their counterparts who graduate from the state-sanctioned seminary.

The Congressional letter on behalf of Rev. Matulionis was circulated on Capitol Hill under the auspices of the Lithuanian Catholic Religious Liberty Group, which is co-chaired by Representatives Edward Feighan (D-Ohio) and John Miller (R-Wash.). Miller and Feighan have sponsored three other letters to Soviet officials on behalf of jailed or exiled Roman Catholics from Lithuania.

Lithuanian Information Center

25 SENATORS URGE MOSCOW OFFICIAL TO FREE BISHOP FROM 26-YEAR EXILE

Twenty-five U.S. Senators have called upon a leading official in Moscow who oversees religious affairs for the USSR to end the internal exile of Lithuanian Bishop Julijonas Steponavicius as the prelate marks his 76th birthday.

In an October 22 letter to Konstantin Kharchev, Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs, the Senators expressed their concern over the banishment of Bishop Steponavicius in January 1961 to the small north Lithuanian town of Zagare from Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital, where he was serving as apostolic administrator. Noting that the bishop has never been formally charged with any crime, much less tried or convicted, the Senators call his quarter-century of exile "incredible."

In their letter to Mr. Kharchev, the U.S. lawmakers cited a Western news report that the Soviet government was considering legal reforms that would abolish the practice of internal exile. Though welcoming this prospect, they urged that the case of Bishop Steponavicius be resolved immediately, given his advanced age (he was born October 18, 1921) and his prolonged period of exile. The Senators requested that the bishop be allowed to return to Vilnius and take up his duties there as apostolic administrator.

Steponavicius was consecrated as a bishop by Pope Pius XII in 1955. In 1958, Pius XII appointed him apostolic administrator of the diocese of Vilnius and Panevezys. An apostolic administrator, as distinguished from a resident bishop, is appointed when the Pope wishes, in abnormal circumstances, to retain more direct administrative ties with a diocese.

Bishop Steponavicius was exiled by the Soviet government in 1961 for refusing to accept state control over the Catholic Church in Lithuania. He clashed with Soviet authorities who wanted to direct the selection of new priests and of faculty for the Lithuanian seminary, and who ordered him to prohibit priests from engaging in religious activities with youngsters.

The bishop is widely rumored to be the secret cardinal ("in pectore") appointed by Pope John Paul II in 1979. It is believed that the Pope bestowed the cardinal's hat on Steponavicius covertly to prevent harsher reprisals against him by Soviet authorities.

The letter to K. Kharchev was spearheaded by Senators David F. Durenberger (R-MN) and Donald W. Riegle, Jr. (D-MI), co-chairmen of the recently formed Lithuanian Catholic Religious Liberty Group in the Senate. The letter was also signed by the following Senators: Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), Joseph R. Biden, Jr., (D-De), Jeff Bingaman (D-NM), Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN), Quentin N. Burdick (D-

FORMER POLITICAL PRISONERS FORM NEW HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP IN UKRAINE



Founding members of the Initiative Group for the Release of Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience: (from left) Vasyl Barladianu, Ivan Hel, Mykhailo Horyn, Zorian Popadiuk and Vyacheslav Chornovil.

Five former political prisoners have formed an Initiative Group for the Release of Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience in Ukraine.

In a statement dated October 3, the founding members — Vasyl Barladianu, Ivan Hel, Mykhailo Horyn, Zorian Popadiuk and Vyacheslav Chornovil — assert that the existence of prisoners of conscience in the USSR contradicts international agreements signed by the Soviet Union, the essence of the Soviet Constitution, as well as “those democratic changes that have been initiated in the country.”

The new group is the first such organization set up in Ukraine since the liquidation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in the late 1970s and early 1980s. (The text of the statement is printed below.)

The establishment of a new human rights monitoring group in Ukraine comes at a time of increased political activity within the community of Soviet dissidents and former political prisoners.

Within the past several months a number of unofficial journals have also sought legal status from Soviet authorities. Among them is the *Ukrainskyj Visnyk* (Ukrainian Herald).

Like other groups who have recently sought redress of their grievances, particularly representatives of the non-Russian nations, the human rights activists have argued that their activities are fully consistent with the Communist Party’s avowed policies of *glasnost* and democratization.

▶ ND), John H. Chafee (R-RI), Kent Conrad (D-ND), John C. Danforth (R-MO), Christopher J. Dodd (D-CT), Pete V. Domenici (R-NM), John F. Kerry (D-MA), Frank R. Lautenberg (D-NJ), Patrick J. Leahy (D-VT), Carl Levin (D-MI), Spark M. Matsunaga (D-HI), Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-OH), Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY), Frank H. Murkowski (R-AK), Don Nickles (R-OK), Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Larry Pressler (R-SD), Paul Simon (D-IL) and Timothy Wirth (D-CO).

An estimated 80% of Lithuania’s inhabitants are believed to be practicing Roman Catholics. They comprise 2.5 million of the Soviet Union’s 4 million western rite Catholics.

Lithuanian Information Center

All five founding members of the Ukrainian group have previously served long terms in concentration camps. Two of the group's members, Messrs. Horyn and Popadiuk, were released earlier this year prior to the expiration of their terms.

Existence of Prisoners of Conscience Contradicts Human Rights Agreements Signed by USSR

*Appeal of the Initiative Group for the Release of
Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience*

We, the undersigned, believe that the existence of prisoners of conscience in the USSR contradicts the international agreements of human rights signed by the government of the USSR, the nature of the constitution of the USSR, its laws and democratic transformations in the country which have begun in the government.

Further, the movement for the political democratization of life has come into conflict with the reality of the political situation in our country. The release of a portion of the prisoners of conscience by means of a pardon cannot hide the reason for their imprisonment and is a method of shifting the guilt from the authorities' shoulders during the Brezhnev-Andropov period onto the shoulders of their opponents, who throughout the last 10 years have struggled against the infringement of national and religious rights of individuals (in the USSR).

We, therefore call upon the government of the USSR to:

- a) remove from the Soviet Ukrainian criminal code and other national republics the constitutionally, discriminatory articles which were used to imprison those struggling for democratization.
- b) fully rehabilitate prisoners of conscience together with the compensation for the wrongs done to them.
- c) return to Ukraine the bodies of those prisoners of conscience who have died in the camps.

We turn to the world community to support our efforts. We will regularly inform them about the state of political life in our country and call upon all people to inform us about prisoners of conscience. We are ready to cooperate with organizations and groups, who work for similar aims in Ukraine, other Soviet republics and outside the USSR.

Oct. 3, 1987

Signed:

Mykhailo Horyn (head of the group).

Vasyl Barladianu,

Ivan Hel,

Zorian Popadiuk,

Vyacheslav Chornovil,

NOTE!

The Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS) reported on December 8, 1987 that Ivan Hel, Mykhailo Horyn and Vyacheslav Chornovil were arrested while on their way to Moscow for a conference on *glasnost*. After being detained for four hours, all three were released.

CHRONICLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN UKRAINE

Special issue

On November 12, 1984, in Lviv, the chairman of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine, Vasyl Kobryn, was arrested. During the search of his home, the tenth issue of *The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine* was confiscated along with various church literature, a Catholic catechism, a missal, a Bible, several crosses and rosaries, as well as paper and materials for the next issues of the *Chronicle*.

Vasyl Kobryn is presently in Lviv prison.

At about the same time, Father Hryhoriy Budzinskyj, the secretary of the Initiative Group, who was on his way to visit Yosyp Terelya in Transcarpathia, was abducted. On the way, Father Budzinskyj disappeared along with his driver — the Soviet KGB did not repeat the mistake of their Polish colleagues...

On November 14, a search, which lasted 7 hours, was carried out in the home of Yosyp Terelya, member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine and head of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics. The search was carried out in connection with the arrest of Vasyl Kobryn.

It was carried out by the investigator of the public prosecutor's office, Mitsada, Ivan Ivanovych, local militiaman Lt. Bazhyv, and a "third person who did not identify himself". Four representatives of the village council were also present during the search. The report of the search

stated that it had been carried out in connection with the case of Vasyl Kobryn in order to find "Uniate clerical anti-Soviet literature" as well as "other documents and literature"...

When the prosecutor and the KGB man entered Terelya's home, he protested against the illegal nature of the search. Terelya needed to search the militia and KGB man in order to make sure that the guardians of communism were not carrying any narcotics or other rubbish. The Soviet law enforcers reacted vigorously, but eventually turned out their pockets after which they began their "work".

The owner of the home himself placed on the table all the "seditious materials" in his possession. These included: a catechism, a Bible, liturgical materials, a missal, a Psalter, a collection of poems by Iryna Ratushynska, various notes, his own poetry, and also various underground church literature, which included the book *My Saviour*.

After completing the search, the officials presented Terelya with the protocol, which he refused to sign because it was written in Russian. From the above-mentioned literature only one poem by Terelya was confiscated, as well as a typewriter and tape-recorder along with a cassette with an Easter broadcast and poems by Tychyna, Rylskyj and other classical figures of Ukrainian literature, including Shevchenko. The KGB man told the investigator not to take Ratushynska's poems or any of the other everyday things that are usually discovered during searches.

Terelya was summoned to appear at the district centre for questioning on November 15. However, on the night of No-

vember 14-15, he managed to flee from his guarded home and warn his friends.

On November 14, a search was carried out in the home of Stefania Sichko, a member of the Initiative Group, who lives in the town of Dolyna, Panas Myrnyj Street, No. 14. During the search nothing was found. Stefania Sichko was warned not to leave.

Between November 9 and 14, 310 Ukrainian Catholics were given a final warning by the authorities to accept Soviet passports by November 17, which these faithful members of the Church had disowned earlier. Not one Catholic carried out the order of the authorities, and so Soviet prisons and concentration camps are being filled with new victims of communist tyranny.

**Appeal by the head of
the Central Committee of Ukrainian
Catholics, Yosyp Terelya,
to Catholics in Europe
and North and South America**

Glory be to Jesus Christ!
Peace on you, Brothers and Sisters!

In Ukraine a new pogrom of Ukrainian Catholics has begun, (a pogrom) of all members of the Initiative Group. This year, Father Antin Potochnyak, a member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine, died in a Soviet concentration camp. He was serving a term of imprisonment in concentration camp VL-315/30, where he was killed on May 29 of this year, aged 72. Now there is a new pogrom of all members of the Group and also of the rank and file of the faithful of the Church.

What are the Ukrainian Catholics guilty of? We are guilty of one thing — we want to pray openly and bring up our children, but we are not permitted to do so...

We ask of the authorities only one thing — legalisation — but they incarcerate us in prisons and camps.

Brothers and Sisters! Friends! The time has come for a new trial for our people and our Church — pray for us, guilty ones, let your prayers help us to stand firm. These may be my last words of love to our Lord God Jesus Christ, to you, and to my friends and relatives...

Glory be to Jesus!

Glory forever!

Y. Terelya
Lviv, November 15, 1984

Aleksander Oros, a Ukrainian Catholic and professor of Uzhhorod State University, is serving his sentence in difficult conditions in concentration camp YeCh-325/62, which is situated in the town of Cherkassy. According to available information, A. Oros has been forbidden to correspond with his friends and relatives, and also to make use of the camp shop.

Ukrainian Catholic Pavlo Kampov, who is almost blind and is serving a sentence in difficult conditions in concentration camp OR-216/3-1 in the RSFSR, Kirov region, Rudychnyj settlement, is dying.

In the village of Dovhe, Transcarpathian region, the authorities have warned Catholics Maria Trykur, her husband Mykhailo, and also Polanya Batyo, to accept Soviet passports. If they refuse, these faithful will be arrested and punished. This year, the above mentioned people re-

turned home from Soviet concentration camps, where they were serving a sentence for their faith and for Ukraine.

According to available information, 2 more political prisoners have died in the Kuchino concentration camp VS-389/36-1, shortly after the tragic death of O. Tykhyj, V. Marchenko and Yu. Lytvyn. Who will be the next victims?

18.11.1984
Y. Terelya

RESISTANCE OR SUBMISSIVENESS

Or

thoughts which I sometimes have...

Seven days ago, I made a decision which will affect both my own personal life and that of our movement for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Between November 12 and 14, the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine was crushed. The secretary, Father Hryhoriy Budzinskyj, has “disappeared”, along with his driver, and no one knows where; I have gone underground; and other members of the Group are under house arrest “until things are cleared up”.

Three hundred and ten refuseniks, who have disowned Soviet passports and other documents, have been arrested “under the pretext” of the crushing of the Group...

Our movement had a loyal character vis-à-vis the authorities, but after my arrest opinions became divided.

On January 12 of this year, I was re-elected for another term as head of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics and at the same time took on responsibility for the publication of *The Ukrainian Catholic Herald*. Remaining a member of

the Initiative Group, I also worked on *The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*.

From here — from the underground — the world and everything we do appear different. Here, we have no room for thoughts of submissiveness. As a Christian and Catholic, I understand that all the work and endeavours to denigrate and hate God, that is to oppose Him, are doomed to failure.

The initial days of confusion have made us more confident that the former conditions are drifting over. The distress was necessary in order to lead the Church out of its state of uncertainty and confusion. Now everything is clear. They want to physically destroy us — to do what Stalin was unable to achieve. In time, wickedness violated, or rather rose up against, the eternal law. Through sin, which is the offspring of wickedness, Russia became what it is today — the land of practical atheism. Collective egoism and pseudochauvinistic slogans, nourished by sin and having gone through a national catastrophe, gave an appearance which is not unique since the beginning of the world.

Some people have a wrong opinion as regards the question of the Church, and in particular the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The very idea of “Church” is dangerous to the land of practical atheism and militant God-killing, and gives rise to much fear. For a “Church” is a “bond” and any “bond” (that is union) is hateful to the Satanists. But the “Ring of Nibelung” idea creates much anxiety and has already led Russia into a catastrophe in the past. Apparently, history does not teach anything.

Analogies easily come to mind: the Russo-Japanese war and its consequences, and now the Soviet Russian-Afghan war and its consequences which are difficult to foresee.

70 YEARS OF TYRANNY

The 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution is no cause for celebration. The revolution brought with it bloody terror and enslavement of once free nations. The pompous self-glorifying parades that were held in Moscow cannot hide the truth, and that is that the Bolshevik Revolution ushered in an era of totalitarian, imperialist Russian rule.

ABN representations in the United States, Great Britain and Denmark held demonstrations, distributed leaflets and submitted memorandums to their respective governments concerning 70 years of Soviet Russian communist rule.

In the United States, a conference was organized by the American Freedom Coalition in New York. Chaired by Richard Frazer, the conference included the following speakers: Mr. Habib Mayar — Afghan Community in America; Mrs. Slava Stetsko — ABN; Mr. Roy Innis — Congress of Racial Equality; Mr. P. Barry Farber, well-known radio commentator, and Mrs. Linda Shapiro, whose husband, a television camera operator was killed by the communists in Afghanistan.

On November 7, 1987, a demonstration was held outside the Soviet Mission to the United Nations in New York. The participants carried placards, distributed leaflets and information about the spread of Soviet Russian imperialism.

Ukrainians in Denmark held a 48-hour hunger strike on November 6 and 7. They also prepared a memorandum on the anniversary of the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, which they submitted to the government of Denmark and the governments of free western nations.

The ABN Delegation in Great Britain issued a statement to the press and to the British Government, pointing out that the 70 years of Bolshevik rule have been years of tyranny, terror, mass murder, mass starvation and enslavement. The text of the statement is printed below.

▶ After the murder of Father Popieluszko and the disappearance of Father Budzinskyj (his body and that of the driver were not found) Ukrainian Catholics realised for certain that it is war! But why war? Why the persecution? The answer is that practical atheism is in a state of crisis.

Some radical Catholics can be heard voicing the opinion that a more realistic (form of) opposition to the regime than the perpetual appeals for recognition and legalisation should be adopted. Certain people, who are more categorical in their opinions, think that the time has come to use force and get involved in the war in Afghanistan, making use of China, in order to conduct partisan warfare not only for the liberation of Afghanistan, but also on

the territories of neighbouring republics. Other voices urge that people accept Israeli citizenship and join the Israeli army in order to cut off Moscow's reach in the Middle East. Others still, including me, believe that the regime will after all agree to the recognition and legalisation of our Church.

One should not forget that in Russia of the Soviets Stalinism is simply impossible, it cannot return. Indeed, it is not needed by Moscow's rulers; to speak well of Stalin does not yet mean to wish for his return. Even the current pogrom of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is a cul-de-sac and (reveals) the impotence of the authorities, which is a consequence of their rejection of Christ.

STATEMENT

*issued by the ABN, UK Delegation
on the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution*

No other 70 years in the history of mankind have been so full of tyranny, terror, mass murder, mass starvation, mass enslavement, suppression of freedom, oppression and extermination of whole nations, international armed aggression, torture of disagreeing individuals and whole groups — whether on religious or other ideological grounds — of fraud, distortion, mendacity and forgery committed by the government and the ruling clique, than the last 70 years under communism. And this great “achievement” is now being celebrated!

No cosmetic public relations operations, such as the freeing of a few dozen dissidents, no three-hour speeches about the naughtiness of Stalinism (which is to be “investigated” by a special government commission), no hollow promises of no more dictating to the satellites, will abolish the Soviet Gulag. That prison of millions, that jail of directly enslaved and satellite nations is held together solely by brute force. *Glasnost* and *perestroyka* will hardly scratch the surface of the evil of that empire. Are they not being used as decoys to lure the Western powers into disadvantageous arms agreements? Deeds, not words should be demanded. When is the Soviet Union going to withdraw its armed forces from Afghanistan, East Germany, Poland and the rest of the Central European nations?

The threat of nuclear aggression, the endangering of world peace, the blackmailing of Western European nations in an attempt to neutralize and Finlandize them will be removed only when the Evil Empire is dismantled, nations and individuals set free, communist dictatorship abolished.

The governments of the free world should exert their influence and pressure in that direction instead of giving technological and other material aid to the Soviet Union. And the media in the free world should inform the public truthfully about the evils in the East and they should also put emphatic pressure on Moscow in the interests of human rights and freedom instead of trying to find excuses for the culprits and the culpable system every time when, despite the disinformation and propaganda spread abroad by the powerful communists and their front organization apparatus, the world learns about some communist crimes.

Members of the ABN representation in Denmark during the hunger strike.



BOOK REVIEWS

THE MILLENNIUM OF UKRAINIAN CHRISTIANITY

A monumental work in English entitled "The Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity" is being prepared by the Ukrainian Institute for Education in Munich. It will appear at the end of 1987 on the eve of the epochal event of Ukraine's official acceptance of Christianity in 988 during the reign of Grand Prince Volodymyr the Great.

The editor-in-chief is Prof. N. Chirovsky, and members of the editorial board are: Dr. A. Bedriy, Prof. Y. Borovsky, Prof. Dr. V. Omelchenko, L. Poltava, Prof. Dr. B. Romanenchuk, Dr. B. Stebelsky, Prof. Dr. W. Stojko. Numerous Ukrainian authors, renowned academicians and activists in Ukrainian Church life have contributed individual chapters to the work.

The book will contain approximately 650 pages with over 60 illustrations. It will reflect the great impact of Christianity on Ukrainian spiritual and cultural life throughout centuries.

The book will be divided into four parts, which will reflect four Christian aspects of the Ukrainian national community: 1. the historical aspect; 2. the organizational aspect; 3. the religious aspect; 4. the cultural aspect.

The contents of the book are: the preface; expression of thanks; contents.

In lieu of an introduction: What has Christianity given to Ukraine during the first millennium, *H. Udod*.

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Chapter 29: Church Architecture in Ukraine-Rus' From the Early Times to the Era of the Rococo, *Vasyl and Yuriy Luciiv*.

Chapter 30: Old Ukrainian Prints, *O. Sokolyshyn*.

APPENDIXES

I. Spiritual Testament of His Beatitude Patriarch Yosyf.

II. "A Year Since the Patriarch Passed Away", *Very Rev. Werenfried Van Straaten*.

III. Statement by the Lviv Krylos.

IV. For the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate, *Yaroslav Stetsko*.

Orders can be sent to:

ABN Bureau,
Zeppelinstr. 67,
8000 München 80,
West Germany.

MOSCOW'S USE OF THE 1988 ANNIVERSARY FOR DISINFORMATION PURPOSES

The fall issue of *Disinformation: Soviet Active Measures and Disinformation Forecast* in 1986 (1130 17th Street, NW, Suite 620, Washington, D.C. 20036 USA, Subscription price: \$20.00 per year) reports on the Soviet Russian plans for using the thousandth anniversary of the adoption of Christianity in Kyivan Rus'.

Moscow, and rightly so, fears Ukrainian nationalism, and will try to find as much support in the West as possible for the celebrations. On the other hand, Pope John Paul II has strongly supported Ukrainian Catholic rights.

The first point in the USSR strategy will be to try to convince the West that there is freedom of worship. The Patriarchate in Moscow has therefore been given permission to organize celebrations to divert attention from the anti-religious policies of the regime. To fool the West, lavish books on iconography and church architecture will probably be published. The Patriarchate will probably invite representa-

tives of major Christian denominations in the West.

However, at the same time anti-religious campaigns will intensify within Soviet Russia and the KGB might well step up harassment of Christians. Dissenting Christians will certainly be kept away from the celebrations.

The struggle between Ukrainian Catholics and the KGB is likely to be harder. The leaders will probably be arrested and the Kremlin will claim that the Ukrainian Catholic Church "voluntarily" opted for abolition.

Ukrainians in the West will be targets of special active measures. Active Ukrainians in politics and church affairs will be, as usually, depicted as "obscurantist reactionaries".

Moscow is not, according to "Disinformation", used to celebrating religious anniversaries so it will be an unusual twist in tactics along with the old lines being repeated.

ENGLISH REPORTS ON MAZEPA 1687-1709

By Theodore Mackiw, Ukrainian Historical Association, Inc., New York, 1983, 177 pages.

Scholarship concerning the Ukrainian leader Ivan Mazepa (1639-1709) appears to be entering upon a new and welcome phase of development. Whatever the specific factors may be, one happy result of the process has been the steady appearance in recent years of excellent, provocative reinterpretations of Mazepa's personality. Theodore Mackiw's *English Reports on Mazepa, 1687-1709* exemplifies many of the virtues of this new trend.

In his introductory chapters the author acquaints the reader with the personality of Mazepa, Hetman (Com-

mander-in-Chief) of the autonomous Ukrainian Military Republic, also known as the Hetmanstate. This state was at first under a Polish protectorate (1649-1654) and, from 1654, under a Russian one. The Hetmanstate itself lasted until 1764, when Catherine II forced the last Hetman, Cyril Rosumovsky (1750-1764), to abdicate and ultimately incorporated Ukraine into the Russian Empire.

The author not only describes the general situation in Eastern Europe, Ukraine in particular, but also presents a brief biography of Mazepa which helps to explain his motives in joining Charles XII of Sweden. He writes: "Mazepa was, in principle, neither a Russophile nor a Russophobe, although he knew the tragic development of Ukrainian-Russian relations. In fact, he considered coexistence with Russia possible on the basis of the agreement of Pereyaslav in 1654. This was the political reality which he inherited from his predecessor and it was his understanding that the condition *sine qua non* of any Ukrainian policy was the benevolent or at least neutral position of the Russian government towards Ukraine" (p. 1). In fact, Russia had given Mazepa reason to hope he would be able to consolidate Ukrainian lands within the framework of the Hetmanstate. When the Great Northern War began in 1700, the relations between Tsar and Mazepa were cordial. On Peter's recommendation, the Austrian Emperor Joseph I granted Mazepa the title of Prince of the "Holy Roman Empire" (September 1, 1707).

However, Mackiw argues, when Mazepa learned from the Tsar himself that he intended to abolish the autonomy of the Hetmanstate and to absorb the Cossacks into the Russian Army,

and especially when the Tsar refused the Hetman's request for military aid against a possible Swedish invasion of Ukraine, Mazepa had no alternative but to negotiate for Swedish alliance.

Although England was not directly involved in the Great Northern War, Whitehall carefully watched this development, as can be seen in the contemporary English press, memoirs, and in the reports of English diplomats and eyewitnesses.

According to Mackiw, the contemporary English press, using Russian sources through German and Dutch channels and without having information from Swedish sources, reported in an unbiased fashion about Mazepa and his alliance with the Swedish King, merely giving facts without comments. It would have been helpful if the author had provided an analysis of the reports concerning Eastern Europe, particularly concerning the Hetman, in the contemporary English press but he did not. It should be mentioned that one of the oldest contemporary American newspapers, *The Boston News-Letter* of January 29, 1705, contained a report about "the Cossacks commanded by the famous Mazepa" (p. 66).

One of the controversial questions is whether or not Mazepa invited Charles XII to enter Ukraine and then failed to give the help he had promised. The Hetman is blamed for that by some historians to this day. For example, the German historian Hans von Rimscha blames Mazepa in his *Geschichte Russlands* (Darmstadt, 1979), that the Hetman "influenced Charles XII to switch from the Smolensk-Moscow route into Ukraine" (p. 289). Yet, as Mackiw correctly explains, the Swedish King was forced by lack of food and accommodation to move southwards. This was confirmed

by Captain Jeffreyes, who also mentioned in his report of October 7, 1708 from the Swedish headquarters at Starodub that Charles XII sent a special messenger to Mazepa's residence in Baturyn requesting to spend the winter in Ukraine.

The English diplomats cannot be accused of bias in their reports concerning Mazepa as some Russian historians claim. For example, Lord Whitworth in his report of November 28, 1708 wrote about Mazepa's joining forces with the Swedish King. The Russian translation of that document reads "treason", yet, in an earlier report, Whitworth had expressed his doubt whether Mazepa, a man nearly seventy years of age, very rich, childless, enjoying the confidence and affection of the Tsar, and exercising the authority of a monarch, would have joined the Swedish King for selfish or other personal reasons.

Mackiw not only analyzes the reports of the British diplomats but also publishes for the first time the dispatches of Dr. John Robinson and Sir Philip Meadow. Although the reports of Lord Whitworth and Captain Jeffreyes have been published before, Mackiw includes some interesting facsimiles.

Mackiw's work is supported by extensive documentation, up-dated publications, well chosen maps, engravings, and copies of original documents. It is informative and stimulating, not only for the uninitiated but also for scholars who regularly research this period of history.

The Ukrainian Historical Association should be encouraged to provide for the English speaking public more books which prove that the best defense of history is a demonstration of its bearing on truth.

Wolodymyr T. Zyla
Texas Tech University

UKRAINIAN SILHOUETTES

By Michael Heifetz. Cover by Nadia Stender, author's biography, photographs of prisoners in question, author's dedication to his Ukrainian Friend, E.M. Published by "Prologue" and "Suchasnist" no. 163, "Suchasnist", 1984, p. 23

Born in Leningrad of Jewish nationality, Michael Heifetz, an intellectual and literary specialist, himself a political prisoner who knew the political prisoners described, has done more with his book *Ukrainian Silhouettes* in acquainting the reader with the fate of prisoners of conscience Vasyl Stus, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykola Rudenko and other idealists — human rights fighters and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in Soviet Russian prisons and concentration camps, than any other Ukrainian literary specialist until now.

Indeed, numerous articles have appeared by publicists and literary specialists in our press about the late Vasyl Stus, however, the material which has appeared until now with regard to the size and content of presented articles and moreover with regard to their deeper grasp of the essential nature of the staunch Ukrainian poet, cannot be compared to Michael Heifetz's over 70 page-long psychological research on the uncompromising Ukrainian national fighter both in literature and in the political arena — Vasyl Stus, who was tortured in the punitive concentration zone. For his clear, projective portrayal of this one man — Vasyl Stus — unyielding till the end, a man of strong character, an iron will and irreproachable national behaviour, the author of *Ukrainian Silhouettes* deserves the reader's thanks. In fact, Vasyl Stus fully deserves M. Heifetz's character portrayal of him on account of his moral values, high poetical cadence and the artistic literary qualities of his creativity, since "there is no greater poet in current Ukrainian literature."

The author first heard the attribute given to this great Ukrainian poet as "the best in present-day Ukraine" in the Moldovian "Dubrovlag" from the Ukrainian political prisoner, the young student of the Lviv University, "the tall, handsome, gray-eyed man", Zorian Popadiuk about whom Heifetz also writes with great sympathy and fondness in his original collection of silhouettes about Ukrainian political prisoners of the Soviet terror system of brutal force on people and nations.

M. Heifetz also depicts prominent and less prominent figures in the Ukrainian resistance after becoming personally acquainted with them during imprisonment together: — the "zek" (from the Russian word "zakliutchonnyj") "general" Vyacheslav Chornovil, thus called for his qualities of leadership; the pensive poet-philosopher Mykola Rudenko; the "subtle and sensitive to any kind of injustice" Vasyl Ovsienko; the humane but staunch Dmytro Kvetzko; and many other less known Ukrainian national rights fighters, such as Petro Saranchuk, Volodymyr Kaznowskyj, Mykola Konchakivsky, Roman Semeniuk, Constantyn Skrypnyk, Mykola Hamula, Mykhailo Zhurakivskyj, Mykola Hutsul, Fedir Dron. M. Heifetz also renders the less known heroes their due. He finds a place for all of them in his documental book of Soviet Russian maltreatment of people, accurately characterizes known and less known silent heroes.

Heifetz also writes about foreigners, friends of Ukraine, as for instance, the brave Armenian prisoner, the secretary of the United National Party of Armenia — Paruyra Ayrikyan, a close friend of Ukrainian political prisoners.

On the whole, the author distinguishes himself with his freedom-loving spirit and erudition, and is well acquainted with the Ukrainian liberation struggle.

Roman Kuchar

IN MEMORIAM



Dr. Basil Mailat

It is with great sorrow and pain that we inform our readers and all friends of ABN that the great Rumanian patriot Dr. Basil Mailat passed away at the age of 80 on November 11, 1987 in Munich, West Germany.

Dr. Mailat dedicated his whole life to the service of his Rumanian nation. In his early years, as Mayor of Bucharest, Dr. Mailat was responsible for the public welfare of the citizens of Rumania's capital. Later on, in exile, he continued to fight for the freedom and independence of his native Rumania, in the capacity of a long-term member of the Central Committee of ABN and as its secretary-general — a post which he held for many years until his death. His dedication to the cause of freedom of all nations subjugated by Russian communism and imperialism never ceased and his death is a painful loss to us all.

Dr. Mailat's funeral took place on November 16 and was attended by Rumanians, and friends from ABN. Tributes and messages of sympathy were expressed by the Prelate Dr. Octavian Barlea, rector of the Rumanian Catholic Mission in Germany, in which he emphasized Dr. Mailat's great service to the Rumanian people. Dr. Radu Budisteanu, his compatriot, recalled his fifty-year long acquaintance with the deceased, who, in spite of being a victim of constant persecution in his homeland, never for a moment ceased his struggle for the freedom of his people. A tribute from ABN President, Mrs. Slava Stetsko was read by Nino Alschibaja, who gratefully acknowledged Dr. Mailat's great work in ABN and his incessant struggle not only for the independence of Rumania, but for all the nations enslaved by Moscow. His love for his nation and his dedication to its freedom and the freedom for all subjugated nations will remain an inspiration for all and will always be remembered.

May His Memory Be Eternal.

The Central Committee of ABN

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АРМІЇ



Monument to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) on the 45th anniversary of its formation, unveiled October 1987 in Oakville, Ontario.