

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



(left) Ukrainians and Afghans in Denmark protesting against Russian occupation of their countries.

(right) Ukrainians in Great Britain demonstrating against genocide and persecution of freedom fighters of their fatherland.

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

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 Zeppelinstraße 67/0. 8000 München 80,
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THE PATH TRODDEN BY SAINTS

Rev. Werenfried van Straaten's sermon during a requiem for the late Patriarch Josyf Slipyj, which was held in St. Michael's Church in Munich on Sunday, October 21, 1984.

According to an old legend, Andrew the apostle blessed the hills around Kyiv and prophesied victory for Christianity in Ukraine. We know for certain that St. Clement, the third successor of St. Peter was banished by the Emperor Trajan to the Crimea, where he died a martyr and exercised an indelible influence on the Church in Ukraine. 500 years later, the banished Pope Martin I died a martyr's death on the Ukrainian coast for the unity of the Church.

Martyrdom for Christian unity has remained the glorious characteristic of the Ukrainian Church. It was the first Eastern Church to renew the union with Rome following the Great Schism with the Orient and it has repeatedly sealed its loyalty to the Apostolic See with rivers of blood and mountains of corpses.

This witness through blood reached its zenith after the Second World War, when Stalin and the Moscow Patriarch forcibly integrated the Ukrainians united with Rome into the Orthodox Church. Countless faithful, hundreds of priests and practically every bishop lost their lives through this unecumenical use of force, which those responsible in the Moscow Patriarchate still regard as having been a glorious page in the history of the Orthodox Church.

Archbishop Josyf Slipyj survived the atrocities. Not through compromise but through maintaining unswerving loyalty. Even when he was offered the Patriarchal Seat in Moscow with the proviso that he renounce the union with Rome and the primacy of the Pope, he remained faithful and continued on his way of the cross which was to last 18 years.

At the beginning of the Vatican Council his seat remained empty, while the representatives of Patriarch Alexej, who was in part responsible for the persecution, were present. There was a storm of protest.

Pope John XXIII intervened personally. The unbending witness to his faith was set free on February 9th, 1963. From that day onwards he ran his Church in the catacombs and in exile from Rome up until September 7th of this year when he died at the age of 92 in the shadow of St. Sophia's Cathedral which he had built.

When the then Archbishop, Metropolitan of Lviv and sole survivor of the Ukrainian bishops (ten of them had been murdered or had died early in Soviet gaols) was freed after an unjust, inhuman and arbitrarily prolonged imprisonment of 18 years and exiled to Rome, he received me straight away. From that moment onwards I was his admirer, his helper, his comrade-in-arms and his friend.

He was a Prince of the Church with an iron character. His shattered and weakened body concealed an unbroken spirit. He was a brilliant theologian, a born scholar, and amongst all the Uniates, perhaps the most stubborn and able advocate of a pure Byzantine Rite. That made him a link with the Orthodox Church and the predestined leader of all the oriental Churches united with Rome. But he was a wholehearted spiritual leader also, who had left behind him

the beneficial traces of this activity as a priest in countless camps all over the Soviet Union. Each time when his influence became known, he was moved to another prison. Thus he had become a well-known symbol everywhere, outside Western Ukraine too and throughout the Soviet Union, not only for the dispersed Catholics but also for the genuine Orthodox Church which was to be found less among the prelates of the Moscow Patriarchate and more in the catacombs and concentration camps of Siberia. And because there exists alongside this holy Orthodox Church an unholy, Soviet dominated Orthodox Church, he finally also became an involuntary obstacle to an ecumenical rapprochement with Moscow's official Church because it will never be possible for Rome to buy peace with the Russian Orthodox Church by betraying five million martyrs and faithful belonging to the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Cardinal Slipyj worked like a giant during his final 21 years in exile. Subsequent generations will come to honour what he achieved for his exiled Church in the free world. I personally can testify to the way in which he begged, urged and requested me and "Aid to the Church in Need" to provide every conceivable and possible assistance for his persecuted, bleeding and struggling Church in his homeland. He lived and died for this Ukrainian Church, in the East and in the West.

To assure the continuation of this Church and only for that reason he accepted the title of Patriarch in 1975 at the request of the Ukrainian synod of bishops and in expectation of legal confirmation by the Pope. As a faithful son of the Church who had to suffer more and longer than anybody this century for unity with the Apostolic See, he repeatedly sought this formal confirmation in letters and discussions and finally with the utmost vigour in his spiritual testament. He constantly explained to the ecclesiastical diplomats who were afraid of the atheist reaction that in the Eastern Church neither the Popes nor the world councils had ever created patriarchs of the individual branch Churches. He tirelessly drew attention to the fact that endowing such branch Churches with a patriarchal crown was always the fruit of mature Christian consciousness in God's people. Many did not understand this point. Even the dying martyr was not granted his wish, although it was not for his personal glory but for the existence of his Church that he sought it.

May what he wrote in his spiritual testament about this central problem remain forever in your thoughts:

"The Patriarchate which was the vision of your faithful souls has become a living reality for you and will remain so in future. In a short while the Patriarch for whom you are praying will depart this earthly life. The visible symbol, the personification of the Patriarchate in his person will no longer exist. But in your consciousness and in your thoughts a living and real Ukrainian Church bearing a Patriarch's crown will continue to exist. That is why it is my last wish that you pray as before for the Patriarch of Kyiv, Halyc and all Rus, even if you have no name to include. The time will come when the Almighty will send our Church a Patriarch and reveal his name. We already have our Patriarchate."

As we add our "fiat" at the passing of our beloved Patriarch Josyf Slipyj to-day, let us hope that the precious Ukrainian wheat seed which fell on Roman

soil forty days ago will not be wasted but will yield fruit in abundance. It is written that "the soul of this just man is in God's hands. He tried him and found him worthy."

God sent him trials. He was led along a way of the cross, the like of which hardly any Cardinal before him had to follow. He did so with exemplary loyalty, without hate towards his persecutors, but also without evading the consequences in instances where compromise or escape could have made life easier. He followed the Lord faithfully. Because "where Christ was, there also His servant should be".

He suffered unspeakably while a witness to Christ as a prisoner in the Soviet Union, just as the Lord had prophesied: "And you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth" (Acts 1,8). There were other names on the signposts along his path, not Jerusalem or Judea, but Lviv, Kyiv, Siberia, Krasnojarsky Kraj, Jenissejsk, Polar regions, Mor-dovia ... and they did indeed reach "to the end of the earth". He had to be a witness for his silent Church, condemned to death, a man robbed of all physical and mental strength and who had realized that his path "to the end of the earth" had been a death sentence (cf. spiritual testament, p. 6.). "In the eyes of the fools he appeared to be dead."

He suffered greatly from having his shining figure so systematically obscured by the half light of deceit and slander in the interest of peaceful co-existence, to the extent that Christ's accusation, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem you murder the prophets and stone those who were sent to you," could also apply to the present day Church. "That is how he lost his life in this world, but kept it for eternity."

He suffered even more under the cross which was perhaps the greatest in his life when he was freed but his Church had no freedom. This happened against his will as he expressly intimated in writing from solitary confinement in Kyiv. He was prevented from continuing to bear the heavy cross along with his Church. (cf. spiritual testament p. 9.) "God tried him and found him worthy."

He suffered terribly in Rome, more than in Siberia, he told me, when he learnt how much his persecuted priests in Ukraine were in despair on account of the Orthodox synod which had taken place in Moscow in June 1971. There the Vatican delegate had learnt without uttering a protest of the triumphant nullification declaration of the centuries old union between Rome and the United Ukrainian Church. "God tested him like gold in a melting pot, God accepted him like a burnt offering."

His bitter fate reminds us all that all our efforts to save the menaced Church would remain unfruitful, if we did not possess the additional stream of grace attributable to anonymous prayer and to the silently carried crosses of hidden saints. The Church draws its strength from people like these. Looked at in this light, the Patriarch's fate will at some stage represent the victory of the blessed cross. That could be the only reason why God allowed it to happen.

Christ's having been obedient up to his death on the cross cannot be comprehended by reason alone. We have to submit to that wisdom which reason regards as being foolish.

Jesus Christ and all the martyrs who shared his fate have preceded your Patriarch along the hard path which he chose freely. It is the path trodden by

saints down the ages. They were deprived of their rights just like God's own Son who assumed the role of a slave and remained obedient up to His death on the cross. This cross of obedience is the basic law of Christianity. Despite all the praiseworthy and necessary efforts at giving human rights more weight within the Church, we should not be under any illusions and never forget that we must endeavor to be defenceless disciples of the One who died without rights and who seeks to continue not only His life but also His death in each one of us. For such a giant in the history of the Church as Josyf Slipyj to submit to this law is a sign of true holiness and an example for all those who walk bent under the heavy and sometimes incomprehensible burden of obedience to the Church.

As we wait in hope for the signs and miracles, which we trust God may work through him very soon to save the Ukrainian Church, we can already dare to say, "Corona aurea super caput eius!" "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account. Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven." (Mt. 5, 10-12).

Therefore listen to your Patriarch with respect and childlike obedience. He is not dead. His soul is in God's hands and no further suffering can affect him. The hour has come where he will be glorified with the Son of Man. A voice was heard from the heavens saying, "I have glorified and will continue to glorify." Your Patriarch shines like a bright light. He passes judgement on the pagans and rules over the nations.

Yes indeed, listen to him because he continues to preach in his testament, the magnificent and at the same time moving document which he has left behind as his final legacy. If this legacy is not repeatedly read, weighed up, taken to heart, acquiesced to, carried out and lived by every Ukrainian family, by every Ukrainian priest and by every Ukrainian bishop, then I fear the Ukrainian Church has not been worthy of such a shepherd. That ought not to be the case. Therefore you, the flock of Josyf Slipyj, listen to his voice, trust in his intercession, carry out his legacy and above all preserve your Christian family life, your language and your beautiful liturgy.

Your liturgy! I experienced it as never before on September 12th and 13th, when I took part deeply moved in the Parastas, the Liturgija and Panachyda for your Patriarch. Under the golden mosaic of the Cathedral which he himself had built like a hymn in stone at God's feet, I felt as if I were in heaven. We were not alone. The many saints who had protected the Patriarch throughout his life glinted on the iconostasis, on the vaulted ceiling and on the walls. Clothed in scarlet cloaks and wearing shining mitres with a touch of God's splendour about them, metropolitans, cardinals, bishops, archimandrites, priests and monks stood around the mortal remains of the iron-hard martyr who was permitted to outlive Stalin and his weak servant Alexej, so as to build up through God's power everything which they had destroyed in the service of Satan.

The pain felt by the thousand-strong congregation finds an outlet in the sombre Alylujas and in the heart-rending laments of the cantors who repeatedly break out into the Hospody pomyluj with voices full of tears. The wood of shame which the deceased carried for so long for his Church and his nation and on which he died victorious is revered a hundredfold everytime when the cele-

brants and the congregation profess their belief in the Blessed Trinity and the victory of Jesus Christ by making the threefold sign of the cross with expansive gestures. Incense rises up over the martyred body as a belated tribute to this man deeply stirred by God who all through his long life carried with him and radiated the divine grace which he had received at baptism and at ordination.

Occasionally the tempo and the rythm of the singing increase and the pitch rises. No longer is it a suppliant beseeching, it has become a crying out and a demand for God's mercy. No longer is it intercession for the soul of the Patriarch, but rather the soul of an oppressed and betrayed people despairingly seeking help. It sounds like a last appeal to the pastoral care of the dead martyr, who is already in God's presence. Protect your poor nation, give our priests holiness and strength, awaken in our bishops the willingness to preserve your legacy and to defend it, provide the diplomats with supernatural vision, and prevent them from further exchanging truth and justice for an illusory gain. And enlighten your Slav friend, the Pope from Poland, so that he may find a way of leading us all to peace, justice and freedom...

When the final Hospody pomyluj has died away, silence reigns in the golden cathedral. Now that the powerful voice of the Patriarch is forever silent, may God grant that silence will not reign in the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. God grant that sufficient faithful disciples may be found to repeat continually the teachings which he, just like Moses, put before his people as far as the borders of the promised land. And let those teachings be stamped indelibly on the hearts of the Ukrainian people.

Then the Almighty will hasten the day which his faithful servant Josyf Slipyj was not permitted to see, the day when justice will reign. Then your strong and courageous Patriarch will bless your Ukrainian nation from heaven, just as once upon a time Andrew the Apostle blessed your homeland from the hills around Kyiv. Because the Lord says, "I myself will seek out my sheep and look after them... I will pick you out of all races and collect you together from all countries and bring you back to your homeland... Then you will live in the country I have given you and be my people and I will be your God."

"In you I embrace in the charity of Christ all the people of your homeland, together with their history, culture, and the heroism with which they have lived their faith..."

"Our meeting today, taking place as it does on the threshold of the solemn celebration of the Millennium of Christianity in Kyiv and the entire Ukraine, carries our minds and hearts back through the centuries of your glorious history of faith... I came to know and appreciate this precious heritage of the Ukrainian people..."

(The Holy Father's Message to the Ukrainian Community in Canada at Sts. Volodymyr and Olha Cathedral, September 16, 1984 in Winnipeg.)

Three More Victims of Russian Terror

It has been noticeable that for quite some time now the Russian authorities and the KGB have been tightening the screw in Ukraine. Their recent actions in the most important of the non-Russian republics were aimed specifically at dealing a death blow to the human and national rights movement in Ukraine.

As a result of this crackdown on all dissent and opposition three prominent Ukrainian political prisoners, Oleksa TYKHYY, Yuriy LYTVYN and Valerij MARCHENKO, all active campaigners for national rights in Ukraine, have died since the spring of 1984, as a direct result of ill-treatment and inadequate medical attention. Others have been forced to recant.

In addition four former members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which fought against the Nazis and then actively opposed the reimposition of Soviet Russian rule, Olexander PALYHA, Mykhajlo LEVYCKYJ, Nil YAKOBCHUK and Vasyly BODNAR, were rounded up and shot as "traitors" and "war criminals", as was reported by Radio Kyiv on 2nd October, 1984. According to "Radianska Volyn" (Soviet Volyn') their trial took place on 17th August, 1984. A report in "Radianska Ukraina" (Soviet Ukraine) No. 221, of 27th September, 1984, states that another member of OUN and UPA, FILONYK, was also put on trial and sentenced to death by firing squad. Many similar incidents have occurred in past years as well.

At the same time the anti-nationalist and anti-religious propaganda campaign in Ukraine has also been greatly stepped up.

Why is this so?

The 50 or so million Ukrainians living in the Soviet Union form by far the largest

non-Russian nation in the Soviet Russian empire and their nationalism is far from spent. In actual fact national and religious feeling in Ukraine is still very persistent indeed and hence forms a great hindrance to Moscow, which has not ceased to find it a serious threat — serious enough to warrant any possible means in the eyes of the Russians to destroy it and its roots.

The Russian authorities are also well aware that in recent years Ukrainian opposition has been especially unequivocal about demanding independence from Moscow and has made every effort to widen the social base of the Ukrainian opposition movement.

Ukraine has always stood in the forefront of opposition to Russian assimilationist policies and forced russification. In the 1970s the authorities decided to intensify their efforts to integrate the multiple nations forming the Soviet Union by transforming them into a single Russian-speaking "Soviet People". With Ukrainian resistance and opposition Russia's plans cannot succeed. Therefore, such great importance is placed on destroying Ukrainian nationalism and opposition, and the political prisoners, who embody and personify it and act as the nation's spokesmen with the authorities.

In 1979 the KGB launched a major attack against all forms of opposition in the Soviet Union. Ukrainians were especially hard hit by this new wave of repression. For instance over twenty members of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group were imprisoned, over half of them receiving sentences of 10 years or more. In addition many Ukrainian political prisoners received additional sentences to prolong their imprisonment and hence curtail their influence on the movement of opposition in Ukraine. Religious believers, especially Protestant communities and the

outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church became persecuted on a scale unmatched anywhere else in the Soviet Union. Tykhyj, Lytvyn and Marchenko also fell victim to this latest wave of arrests and persecution of activists in Ukraine.

Although their deaths have been reported in the Western press, they are usually said to have died from natural causes. On the surface this is very true indeed, but one must look deeper into all the circumstances surrounding their deaths in order to get a better picture of the true nature of the facts.

All three were in fact tortured to death both mentally and physically in a long-drawn-out process of lengthy sentences closely followed by additional sentences to keep them permanently out of the way, and prevent them from "causing trouble". In the hard labour camps where they stayed, the three men were constantly deprived of proper food and greatly needed medical care and facilities, despite being seriously ill suffering from diseases acquired during earlier terms of imprisonment. They were constantly subjected to acute suffering and maltreatment as well as other forms of physical and moral brutality, and they were made to work in the severe climatic conditions of Siberia in total disregard of their critical health conditions. This treatment was designed to either force them to recant or else to die a slow and agonising death. All three, however, preferred to die rather than recant. They were unwilling to break under the severe stress of the physical and mental torture and brutality they had to endure, which after long periods of previous imprisonment were already becoming unbearable, and thus betray the ideals which they had defended unfalteringly for so long.

Oleksa Tykhyj was compelled to go on a 50-day full hunger strike in protest of

the excessive treatment he was receiving from the camp staff; Yuriy Lytvyn, unable to stand any more mental and physical torture, was forced to take his own life, and Valerij Marchenko was made to die by the authorities through excess brutality and deprivation of indispensable medical assistance when in a critical state of illness.

The circumstances surrounding the deaths of these three men paint a vivid picture of the common practice, especially so in the most recent years, of the destruction of political prisoners in the Soviet Union by the Russian authorities and the KGB. This has been going on for some time but the tragic deaths of three prominent Ukrainian human and national rights campaigners in the space of a single year clearly exposes this barbaric practice.

Another victim of Russian oppression, Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of General Roman Shukhevych, Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, who has spent over 30 years in Russian prisons and concentration camps since the age of 14, has now become completely blind. Yet, since this occurred in 1982, he has not been released but continues to be detained in exile in Siberia. How long can he survive?

Who is next on the list destined for the slow road to destruction?

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The Situation in Ukraine and in the Empire

The bankruptcy of the bolshevik system in Ukraine and in the empire as a whole is evidenced by the fact that Moscow is compelled to strengthen even more the russification of the nations subjugated by it. This testifies that Moscow is no longer able to mobilise the people of the subjugated nations with its communist ideas and, in order to preserve the empire, it has to appeal to its historical Russian chauvinism, without disguising it in any way, and thus enabling it to mobilise the Russian people.

After forcibly imposing a Russian Communist way of life, Moscow enslaved nations by forms and contents unnatural for them in all spheres of life. This causes the subjugated nations to constantly oppose this system with its own social, cultural and economic structures. For example, such inherent structures are the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the principle of ownership and heritage, freedom and democracy. The analogical anti-Russian structures exist in all the subjugated nations, and in particular, in the Islamic nations. The constant and continuous strive for private ownership of land and its obvious higher productivity over the kolkhoz system corroborates the existence of the nucleus of such national structures. Similarly, the strikes which lately once again took place in the industrious towns of Ukraine (Kryvyj Rih, Kyiv) confirm that the workers oppose the imposed Russian economical structures. The fact that the change of these structures is not possible without the destruction of the political and military occupation, without national liberation, renders a national political character to every action, namely, the concentration of all the processes in one direction — the regaining of the Ukrainian State. This awareness is growing more and more in the Ukrainian nation and there is nothing anyone or anything can do to stop it, no terror whatsoever, for the whole unnatural occupational system alone creates such a situation. This system cannot be changed by itself. Manoeuvring from the partial de-centralisation of economy, started by Andropov at the beginning of 1984 and confirmed by the Politburo later in August of 1984, to a renewed reversal to complete centralisation, which happened in October during a Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, testifies to the magic circle of the system from which there is no escape, for the USSR is not a homogeneous state, but an empire. The de-centralisation of the economy would mean the dilapidation of the system at its basis. Again centralisation with the aid of force leads and has for decades already led to the regression of the economy and in particular of agriculture in comparison to the Western countries. For the time being, the old system is maintained, the severe centralisation of all spheres of life is preserved, which is more natural to the Russian way of life. However, this is unnatural for all the other nations and is the cause of constant clashes inside the empire. In order to keep the Russian people in a constant messianistic mood, new aggressions and further expansions are necessary.

However, this again complicates the situation for the ruling nation, which can no longer trust anyone except itself, and has to have its own people, Russians, everywhere as prison-guards in the nations it is always conquering. This also broadens the front of the subjugated nations, mobilises the increasing number

of the new threatened nations, and thus the front of Russia's enemies is constantly growing. The proportion of the population of the subjugated nations to the subjugators is continually growing to the detriment of the conquerors. Thus, this is the new magic circle of the empire, after the economical one, from which there is no escape.

The present situation in Poland is a characteristic example of the internal problems in the empire. At the beginning, "Solidarity" made a fundamental mistake when negotiating with Jaruzelski, by regarding him as a Polish partner. In reality, however, they were negotiating with the Russians, — Jaruzelski as their proxy. The outcome of this was martial law and the outlawing of "Solidarity". The Russian communist system only knows a mono rule, and no two centres of power, and certainly no three sources of power which was what Poland had — the system, the Catholic Church and "Solidarity". With the aid of brutal force, the Polish national movement was suppressed, but not liquidated. The principle teachings which Polish patriots received during this period was that Poland cannot liberate itself from the Russian orbit, in spite of its situation being much better from that of Ukraine, because it has an open door to the West, religious life goes on more or less normally and cultural activity develops to no lesser degree in the Polish spirit. Such a liberation is only possible in a common front together with all the other subjugated nations, and this concept of ours receives more and more supporters among Polish political circles, in particular in underground centres inside the country. This turn of events is also useful for our struggle because it strengthens the front against our principle enemy — Russia. The Polish patriots' resort to the underground and their concept of a further struggle in a common front with the other nations is, on the one hand, a great danger to the Russian occupants and, on the other, a great strengthening of all the subjugated nations.

It is now vital to strengthen the ripening of the revolutionary situation among the subjugated nations and to co-ordinate the activities of the underground movements. This ripening takes place also with the help of the smallest of 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. In order to illustrate the feeling of the population in Ukraine and their aims and demands to us abroad, we will quote excerpts from two most recent documents received from the Ukrainian underground:

"The system of educating children and adults, which was meant to replace religious rituals with Soviet state feasts and new rituals, as for example, the several-day feast on the occasion of the 1st of May, the Soviet state ritual wedding ceremony, the ceremony of giving names to children, did not satisfy the population, nor did it fulfill the vacuum after the forceful removal of religious beliefs. The youth is searching for an enrichment of spiritual life, in the restoration of ancient Ukrainian national customs (carol singing, meetings on the festival of Kupalo*) and of religious beliefs. They marry secretly in church and

* *Ancient custom before Christianity. The youth assembled on the river banks with the girls making wreaths of flowers and throwing them in the river. Depending in which direction the wreaths floated, was where their fate lay.*

baptize their children. Some search for truth in religious denominations etc. Copies of Oleksa Woropay's ethnographical outline "The Customs of our People" deserve to be disseminated in Ukraine. In addition, there is a great demand for good contemporary literature and historical works. There is a growing feeling that Ukraine is the first legal and direct heir of Kyivan Rus traditions and all of those previous pre-roots and strata which it poured into its state and cultural organism. Therefore, Russian scholars resort to falsification when they name everything belonging to Rus, "Russian", speculating that this nuance of such great importance will go unnoticed by the foreign reader and, thus, the identification of everything pertaining to Rus with that of Russian will be consolidated. The millenium of the Christianization of Ukraine-Rus creates a perfect occasion and can be exploited as the beginning of a new great upheaval of the consciousness and spiritual regeneration of Ukrainians in Ukraine and everywhere else. Already at this moment Ukraine is waiting for Ukrainian Bibles. It is interesting to note that on the black market, we are told, that the price of one Bible even reaches as much as a two-month salary, namely, several hundred rubles.

The newspaper "Schlach Peremohy" (emigre Ukrainian newspaper — Ed.) and others achieve a great deal by leading sharp, well-argued polemics with different falsifications, political lies and demagogy of Soviet political publications, when they correct the facts and reveal the truth. They do this well. This is very useful and should be continued, just as the chronicles about the repressions in the Soviet Union should. There is a great need for spreading the truth about the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) among the wide circles of the Ukrainian population, in particular among the youth and other nationalities, the showing of these heroic historical efforts as opposed to the version that they were "bandits" and served Hitler etc. The truth about them, as the military force of the nation which searched for its own way to a free existence, waging war against all its enemies, should be made available to the new up-coming generation.

Equally, purely historical works, memoirs — recollections of participants, eye-witnesses and inmates of the Hitler concentration camps could play a very important role.

To bring the truth to the Ukrainian reader also means the publishing of the works of all those prominent writers of the past and recent past, while there is a tendency to eradicate their traces in literature and in the literary consciousness of the nation, as well as the works of those unsubdued creators of the present, who do not fit in within the framework of the "ideological demands". Therefore, they are either physically persecuted or thrown outside the borders of literary life, their works are not printed and they are not able to take part in normal literary life."

The second document which correctly evaluates the situation within the empire, also evaluates the international situation and the role of the Ukrainian emigration:

"In our opinion, the political policy of detente and balance of power cannot be an alternative to a nuclear war because it threatens the destruction of the whole world. The only possible way to avoid a nuclear war and to bring into effect the UN Resolution on de-colonisation is to take advantage of the libera-

tion movements of the subjugated nations in their aim for the dissolution of the empire and the restoration on their territories of national, independent states. The Ukrainian emigration should play a particular role in this matter. It should spread these ideas among the nations of the Free World, as well as the concept of the ABN, for only through common endeavours of all the nations can this aim be achieved. There is no successful struggle for human rights in the subjugated nations, but there exists the problem of the struggle for independent, national states in which only then could the individual completely enjoy human rights.

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. We believe that the Free World will understand this and support our struggle for a Ukrainian independent State and for independent states of the other subjugated nations in the Russian colonial empire.”

As we can see from the above 2 documents by Ukrainian patriots in Ukraine, the Ukrainian nation, in spite of the severe conditions under Russian occupation, does not only refuse to succumb to the enemy, but also finds the strength for offensive actions in all spheres of life in Ukraine and generates great ideas and a strategical platform for the salvation of the whole world from the threat of Russian imperialism.

It is our sacred duty to completely and totally support this struggle of our nation until its final victory — the regaining of the Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State with a democratic order.

B. Ozerskyj

**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

August 22, 1984

I am delighted to extend warmest greetings to all those gathered in Cleveland for the Sixteenth Convention of Byelorussians of North America.

Since its founding in 1949, the Byelorussian-American Association has played a significant role in preserving and advancing the ethnic heritage of its members while simultaneously developing citizens dedicated to the ideals of liberty and self-government upon which this nation was founded. I commend organizations such as yours which contribute in so many important ways to the well-being of our communities and our society.

You have my best wishes for a productive and enjoyable convention and for every continued success in the years ahead.

Ronald Reagan

Developments in Europe and the USSR

Recent events and the current political and economic situation in Europe offer substantial evidence of the correct theoretical and practical positions of the European Freedom Council concerning Europe's future. This can be clearly seen in such recent Soviet Russian actions as the denial of permission for Pope John Paul II to visit Lithuania, that Soviet Russian commando visits are continuing to penetrate neutral Sweden's territorial waters, continued Soviet Russian attacks, not only at Chancellor Kohl's West German government, but also directed against Erich Honecker, the East German Communist leader, repeated protests by them of the strengthening of NATO through conventional and atomic weapons and, finally, by their boycott of the Summer Olympics in Los Angeles last year. Coupled with these actions are repeated attacks by the Moscow press, not only against President Reagan, but also against President Mitterand of France and the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. All of the above actions by the Soviet Russians clearly indicate the bankruptcy of their political and economic system and their xenophobic fear that it is on the verge of destruction.

To further clarify the EFC's position on these events, it is necessary to analyze them to a certain degree and place them in their proper perspective.

The reasons for the refusal to grant the Pope permission to visit Lithuania last year to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the death of Lithuania's Patron Saint, St. Casimir by the Soviet Russians are quite obvious. Firstly, the Lithuanian nation, which is predominantly Roman Catholic, and enjoyed national independence from 1918 to 1940, became a Soviet Socialist Republic in 1944 as a

result of occupation by the Soviet Russian Army. Contrary to the Yalta Agreement, no free elections were held, but a puppet government was formed which "voted" to be incorporated into the USSR. Lithuania has a proud historical, cultural and religious heritage. A visit by the Pontiff would severely undermine the 40 years of extensive effort at russification, cultural and national genocide. His participation in ceremonies commemorating their Patron Saint, could only strengthen the national aspirations of the Lithuanian people. This would in turn affect not only Lithuania, but the other subjugated nations as well. Secondly, a Papal visit inside the USSR would set a precedent for other papal visits to other religious commemorations in the other republics of the USSR. It should be noted that in 1988 Ukraine will be celebrating the 1000th anniversary of its Christianization. Such religious observances cannot be separated from the national, historical and cultural values of a nation and serve as a means of strengthening the resolve of the subjugated nations for national independence. Clearly Moscow, while allowing these observances to be celebrated in its satellite states, because its bankrupt policy of Sovietization, cannot pursue this within the USSR itself, where a s.c. "Soviet people" is forcibly being created. Finally, the refusal of the government of the USSR to grant permission for the Papal visit gives clear evidence of the failure of the Vatican's Ost-Politik.

This policy of attempting to reach agreement with the governments of the satellite states and the USSR was from its onset doomed to failure. The totalitarian government of the USSR, based as it is on atheistic, non-humanitarian principles can never enter into any binding

agreement with Christianity's most potent representative. There are many examples of this shattered illusion within the USSR. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, which was declared illegal in the USSR, has been forced to become a Church of the Catacombs. The Catholic Churches of Byelorussia and Lithuania have been subjected to similar persecutions as have other national churches of the subjugated nations. It should also be taken into account that the trial of Mehmet Ali-Agca in Italy which brought to light the Bulgarian, (de facto Soviet Russian) involvement in the assassination attempt on the Pope, could prove to be politically detrimental to the USSR.

The recent relations between Western and Eastern Germany, should be viewed in the broader context and especially as a result of the infamous Yalta agreement. The Soviet Russians, through the use of their vast military power, utilized this agreement to set up the present day satellite states and the artificial division of Germany. These puppet governments became mere extensions of the USSR's political and economic power. Geopolitically, these puppet governments also served the USSR as a "cordon sanitaire" between itself and the West, which they viewed as necessary to maintain their totalitarian regime. Although the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements clearly specified that the free elections were to be held in "satellite states", these elections were held under the auspices of Russian bayonets and cannot in any way be construed to be free, or that the officials chosen were elected by the majority of the people. President Reagan was correct in stating that "the US could not possibly accept the permanent subjugation of the peoples of Eastern Europe" and that "the US rejects any interpretation of the Yalta Agreement that suggests American consent for the division of Europe into spheres of influence".

The question of the re-unification of Germany has not been resolved and is one

of the burning issues concerning the political future of Europe. Similarly, the satellite states should not be condoned to continual Soviet Russian control, but should be given the opportunity to express their true national aspirations and not be submerged under a cloak of Marxist-Leninist phrases and catch-calls. Most significant, however, are the subjugated nations within the USSR itself. These nations constitute the Achilles heel of the Soviet Russian empire and should be given the fullest support and recognition by the West for their national and political aspirations. The Soviet Russians, quite naturally, consider the maintaining of the status quo in Europe as one of their major foreign policy objectives. The re-unification of Germany would disrupt not only the political power of the USSR, but its economic power in Eastern Europe as well. That the satellite states are not only the political but economical lackeys of the USSR is borne out by recent events in Poland. Faced with formidable economic problems and the danger of increased public unrest with the proposed raising of prices on economic necessities, General Jaruzelski's government, within the tacit approval of the Kremlin, granted amnesty in July to imprisoned members of the Solidarity movement. The purpose of this political move was twofold. The first, was by the granting of amnesty to secure from Western Europe and the United States the lifting of economic sanctions against Poland. This was necessary because the Polish government could not realistically rely on economic help from the USSR to alleviate its economic problems and to stabilize their economy. The USSR, itself unable to meet the consumption needs of its citizens, was in no position to economically assist Poland. This clearly shows the failure of the Soviet Russian economic system.

In addition, the USSR, in order to maintain its vast military complex is annually forced to supplement its meagre

agricultural production with the purchase of agricultural products from the West. To be able to do so, all transactions have to be made in hard currency, that is US dollars or British pounds. To obtain this hard currency, the USSR in the past resorted to selling part of its huge gold resources. Recently, however, the USSR has utilized a new *modus vivendi* to augment its dollar reserves. One method is through the Siberian-European gas pipeline, the returns of which are placed in special funds. The second method is to compete with OPEC on the world oil market. In recent years, the USSR has been able to consistently undersell OPEC on the world market especially to Western Europe. This is made possible by imposing artificial oil shortage on its partners in Comecon (in the satellite states), and secondly by accepting payment from Third World countries for arm shipments in the form of barrels of oil. This method of securing Western currency for its own purposes and to alleviate its failures, emphatically shows the inefficiency of the Soviet Russian economy, the colonial status of its satellite republics who are being denied the means to bolster their industrial capacity, and the economic benefits that are possible through continued subversion against the Western democracies. It should also be stressed here that the payments resulting from natural gas to Western Europe complete this cycle of a cumulation of Western currency.

The constant criticisms that appear in the Moscow press against President Reagan, Prime Minister Thatcher and President Mitterand are also indexes of the bankrupt policy of detente. The reasons for their criticisms are that each of these leaders adheres to the principle of a strong unified NATO in both conventional and nuclear armament. This principle is abhorrent to the Soviet Russians against Western Europe. The Soviet Russians call detente "the relaxation of international tensions", or to put it more

prosaically, that the USSR has become a genuine superpower. "Pravda" commented in August 1974: "The process of international relaxation is firstly the result of objective conditions, the changing correlation of focus is a world in favour of socialism, peace and social progress."

Simply stated, this means that since the USSR is now so much stronger, the West has to be nice to them. This quote perhaps best states the Soviet Russian view of detente and their reasons of pursuing it. However, with the strengthening of NATO, this position of equality between forces would be to the disadvantage for the USSR. For this primary reason, the EFC contends that the continual strengthening of NATO through a "high frontier" strategy, that is, a missile defense system based in the hemisphere, and a "low frontier" strategy on revolutionary warfare of the subjugated nations is the only viable approach to the current military and political situation and can eliminate the possibility of a nuclear holocaust.

The Soviet Russian inspired boycott of the Summer Olympics in Los Angeles last year is yet another example of the weaknesses of this colonial empire, its internal instability and its precarious international prestige. Ostensibly, the USSR claimed that its athletes would be the objects of terrorism and subversion and would not be able to compete effectively in Los Angeles. This was but another attempt at misinformation and the putting up of another smoke screen to disguise their serious defects. The primary concern of the Soviet Russians was that the athletes of the USSR would be exposed to the Western media, life-style, etc., and that there was a strong possibility of defections from members of the subjugated nations. A secondary concern, but one which was no less important to the USSR, was that many of their athletes would not be able to pass the Olympic physicals because of their use of steroids and other chemicals. Since athletes in the USSR are propaganda

pawns, both internally and internationally, this would be a serious loss of prestige.

The only viable solution is that the USSR Olympic team in future Olympics should be assembled so as to represent the subjugated nations, not the USSR as a whole. This appears to be the logical solution especially in the cases of Ukraine and Byelorussia which, while having separate representation and voting rights in the UN, do not have their own respective Olympic teams. This situation can readily be construed as a parody of international law and national recognition.

For all intents and purposes, it can be candidly stated that the USSR is current-

ly functioning under the sceptre of weakness. Its failure to block the positioning of missiles in Western Europe, the failure to block the increasing military effectiveness of NATO, to resume detente on its own terms, to establish order in Poland, to check Rumania's and East Germany's increasing independence and to satisfy the basic physical needs of its population, all stress the bankruptcy of the Soviet Russian empire. The subjugated nations within the empire continue to actively and passively resist Russification and Sovietization. Their national aspirations are increasingly being reported and documented in the Western media.

Gorbachev visits BL's Cowley car factories

Mr. Mikhael Gorbachev, the Russian leader visiting Britain, spent two hours in the Cowley car factories today seeing what Austin Rover hopes to instal in a car plant in Moscow.

As his 13-car entourage swept into the car body plant, seven Ukrainians staged a silent protest, part of a week-long protest by the emigré community in Britain against the imprisonment of their fellow countrymen.

One of the demonstrators was an Oxford student, Hanna Diuk, whose home is in Coventry, and who says she still dreams of returning to what she describes as her homeland, Ukraine. Austin Rover's capacity at Cowley is similar to the 250,000 cars a year turned out by the Moskvitch factory in Moscow. Austin Rover is among the front runners for a contract to modernise the Moscow plant.

The Cowley factory has some of the most up-to-date and sophisticated equipment and systems, including a battery of robots.

During his visit Mr. Gorbachev was shown the equipment and techniques which the Moscow plant could adopt if Austin Rover lands the deal. His visit to Cowley was arranged by the Department of Industry. The Russian leader's visit to Cowley was his only stop in Oxfordshire during his seven-day tour of Britain.

Members of the 35,000 strong Ukrainian community in Britain are staging protests wherever they know Mr. Gorbachev is appearing.

Miss Diuk, who is reading geography at St. Hugh's College, said they were campaigning for the release of political prisoners. Among their banners was one proclaiming the USSR as a Prison of Nations. She says that Ukrainian nationalism is causing the Russians far more problems than the war in Afghanistan.

"One day I hope to go to my homeland, but it would not be a wise thing to do at the moment," said Miss Diuk.

(Oxford Mail, December 20, 1984)

Dr. Andrija Ilic (Croatia)

CROATS ARE NOT YUGOSLAVS

The Croats all over the free world were very pleased with President Reagan's letter to the Croatian-Americans on the occasion of the celebration of 1300 years of the Catholic faith in Croatia. This letter reads as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington

October 17, 1984

I am pleased to have this opportunity to extend warm greetings to all Croatian-Americans who are celebrating the 1300th anniversary of the establishment of the Catholic faith in Croatia. Croatian-American communities and parishes and all other Americans can join together in pride in remembering this significant date in history.

The United States is proud of its citizens of Croatian descent who have made innumerable contributions to the greatness of this country, and pleased that you have continued their ethnic and cultural traditions.

You have added your intellect, talents, and your rich culture to this land of immigrants.

Once again, my best wishes as you celebrate this important anniversary.

Ronald Reagan

These are really great words of President Reagan who, as Governor of California, proclaimed the Croatian Independence Day — the 10th of April — as an official day. The Croats will never forget that and they will always appreciate this letter which acknowledges 1300 years of the existence of the Croatian people and their Catholic faith.

Contrary to this correct opinion and attitude of Mr. Reagan, who is definitely the greatest statesman of this troubled 20th century, there are some American

politicians who contradict this great man and the universal principles of freedom for all peoples.

We, Croats, are particularly unhappy with certain persons of the American State Department who propagate and defend the undemocratic and, for us Croats, genocidal Yugoslavia. This policy of the State Department has been followed by all American Administrations since the end of World War One, i.e. since the establishment of the artificial state of Yugoslavia.

During the past decade we had two prominent supporters of Yugoslavia in the State Department. One was Mr. Sonnenfeldt (well known for his "Sonnenfeldt doctrine") and the former American ambassador in Belgrade, Mr. Eagleburger. Now there is a third, Mr. R. E. Combs Jr., who is "Director of Eastern European and Yugoslav Affairs". The opinion of this director at the State Department about the Croats came to the expression in his reply to a letter from the Croatian-American, Mr. Jakov Burmaz. For a better understanding of the wrong attitude of this director I shall first quote both letters which appeared in the Croatian Weekly "Danica", Chicago, 9. 11. 1984.

The letter of Mr. Burmaz

September 28, 1984

Dear Mr. Denton, U. S. Senator,
and Mr. Smith, U. S. Congressman,

Even though I am very sorry, but as an American of Croatian descent, I am enclosing you here one cutting from the Croatian weekly newspaper "*The Morning Star*", as my answer to your *Taxpayers' presidential survey*.

It is also a reminder, that we, American Croats, many times appealed to the US Government and to every post-war

President, not to support the Communist regime in Yugoslavia.

However, up to the very present time, appeals are forsaken as a "voice for help in the desert", without any remorse.

I personally, as a victim of this regime, wrote several letters to our President Mr. Reagan, but I never got an answer or a single word of consolation, solace or hope.

It is worth remembering that the prominent English author *Herbert Vivian*, the expert on political affairs in Central Europe and the Balkans, called the creation of the first Yugoslavia "The greatest crime in history".

The creation and supporting of the second Communist Yugoslavia is a much worse *crime in history*.

Sincerely Yours,

Jakov Burmaz

The letter of Mr. R. E. Combs, Jr.

United States Department of State

Washington, D. C. 20520

October 9, 1984

Dear Mr. Burmaz,

President Reagan has asked me to reply to your letter of August 24, 1984, in which you raise a number of concerns regarding the current situation of Croatia and its people.

As you know, it has been the policy of the United States Government for many years to support and promote good relations with the Government and peoples of Yugoslavia. This policy began with the creation of the first Yugoslav state after the First World War. Recognition of that Government followed naturally from President Wilson's support for national self-determination. The nation-states that emerged after World War I were supported by the majority of their peoples, although many groups opposed their structures, boundaries, or, in some cases, their existence. This was the case with respect to Yugoslavia. The United States, however, recognized the legitimate desire of the majority of Yugoslavs to form an

independent state, and continues to do so. We do not support the view attributed to Mr. Vivian that creation of Yugoslavia was a crime.

American relations with Yugoslavia today are based on a long history of political, economic, scientific, and cultural exchanges between governments and individual citizens and embrace a wide variety of cooperation in many fields. Extensive contacts and cooperation exist in every region of Yugoslavia, including Croatia. I must, however, take issue with your statement that Yugoslavia's existence has been made possible only because of U.S. assistance during past 40 years. As with any country, Yugoslavia's existence, in my judgement, is based upon the strength and support of its people. You should also be aware that Yugoslavia is recognized by virtually all other countries and has received significant financial support from many nations.

The governments of the United States and Yugoslavia have had and continue to have disputes over bilateral and international issues which sometimes reflect the fundamental difference that exists between our political and social systems. Human rights concerns are discussed regularly in communications between the two governments. The United States has consistently supported Yugoslavia's independence and unity.

Richard E. Combs, Jr.

*Director, Eastern European
and Yugoslav Affairs*

Mr. Combs' arguments in defence of Yugoslavia are very poor and Croats could not accept them. It is not true that "the recognition of the Yugoslav government followed naturally from President Wilson's support for national self-determination" and that "the majority of Yugoslavs had a legitimate desire to form an independent state." The Croatian people were never a part of a non-existent and artificial so-called Yugoslav people, but

they have their own history and state right. In 1918 President Wilson's principle and support for self-determination regarding the Croatian people has been ignored and they were not allowed to exercise the right of self-determination. Yugoslavia was formed against the will of the Croatian people who never voted in any election or referendum to become a part of Yugoslavia. Therefore, in our opinion, Yugoslavia was formed against all the principles of democracy and self-determination.

Mr. Vivian was quite right stating that the creation of Yugoslavia was a crime because in it the Croatian people were condemned to death. Mr. Combs offends the Croatian people and other enslaved peoples and national minorities in Yugoslavia: Slovenes, Montenegrins, Albanians and Macedonian Bulgarians, calling them all "Yugoslavs". All serious historians from the Byzantine Emperor Constantin Porphyrogenitus to the renowned English historian Toynbee recognize the existence of the Croatian people and their right to live in their own independent State of Croatia. All these historians never call the Croats by the artificial name of "Yugoslavs" because these as a people never existed.

The height of Mr. Combs' complete ignorance and incompetence of Eastern European history and especially of affairs of so-called Yugoslavia is expressed in his words: "As with any country, Yugoslavia's existence, in my judgement, is based upon the strength and support of its people." The truth is that the Croatian people never supported either the former Royal Yugoslavia or this Communist one. For that reason in 1941 the Croats refused to defend Yugoslavia and proclaimed their own independent State of Croatia. This Communist Yugoslavia is disintegrating because the Croatian people do not support it and wait for the first opportunity to proclaim their State of Croatia.

The Croatian people did not forget the murder of their leader Stjepan Radić and two other Croatian national representatives in the Belgrade Assembly in 1928 and other murders all over Croatia of Croatian peasants, workers and intellectuals ordered by the Serbian King Alexander Karadjordjević. Moreover, the Croatian people will never forget that at the end of the Second World War the Yugoslav Communists massacred three quarters of a million Croats including old people and children. This crime is known as "the Bleiburg tragedy". About this crime Mr. Combs could consult the book by Lord Nicholas Bethel "**The Last Secret**".

Yugoslavia's existence is based upon the plans of Bolshevik Russian imperialists for world conquest and upon Western money in the wrong belief that Yugoslavia is a "Western Trojan horse" in the Communist ranks, because quite the opposite is the truth.

It is really very sad to read Mr. Combs' statement: "The United States has consistently supported Yugoslavia's independence and unity". It is sad because the USA which stands for freedom and self-determination of all peoples in this case is supporting a terrible Communist tyranny and denying the Croatian people their right to be free and live in their own State of Croatia.

Furthermore, Mr. Combs' statement is doubly sad and hypocritical because while the United States resolutely combats Communism and Russia's plans in Central America, at the same time it supports Communism and Russia's plans in Yugoslavia. This is wrong, because freedom is one and indivisible and belongs to all peoples and individuals.

The solution of to-day's world problems is not in just changing the Communist regimes but in defeating all imperialist State-structures like Great Russia, to-day called the USSR, and Great Serbia,

The Political Situation in Slovakia

Since the spring of 1945, Slovakia is, as everybody well knows, a Czech protectorate, created with the help of the Soviet Russian government. The Slovak communists also played a main role in the political capitulation of Slovakia, led by Dr. Gustav Husák, the present leader of the Communist Party of the CSSR and President of the CSSR.

The Slovak communists wanted to free Slovakia from the massive influence of Nazi-Germany and give national sovereignty to the Slovak nation. Without a doubt, no Slovak would have had anything against these "honourable motives" if this was in reality so. Unfortunately, the Slovak Communists fought not only against the influence of Nazi-Germany, but also renounced the existence and continuation of the Slovak Republic, at that time recognised internationally by 27 states. For this reason the Slovak Communists are justly described as traitors of the Slovak State and its national sovereignty.

This act of treason by the Slovak Communists began on August 29, 1944, when they started a military revolt against the Germans and the legal authorities of the Slovak Government. In Banská Bystrica, the centre of communist rebels, an open combat was proclaimed for the national independence of Slovakia, but the result

to-day called Yugoslavia. The Croatian people will never accept any Yugoslavia and therefore the hopes of all those who believe in a third so-called "democratic Yugoslavia" are in vain. The Croatian people want to live free in their own independent State of Croatia. This is not our dream, but our right and we expect everyone who speaks of freedom to respect it.

was that Slovakia as a central European sovereign state disappeared and, with the help of the Red Army, was annexed to the Czech Republic as a colony. In spite of this political degradation of Slovakia to a Czech Protectorate, the Slovak CP functionaries dare to proclaim that in this act lies the "freedom" and "liberation" of Slovakia and the date of August 29, 1944, is highly commemorated as the beginning of this liberation. On this occasion the CP functionaries organise great manifestations each year in Banská Bystrica, to which government delegations from Prague and Moscow appear.

This year, on August 29, 1984, the 40th anniversary of the Communist Party revolt, the Czecho-Slovak government headed by Dr. Husák and a Soviet Russian delegation with Dimitri Ustinov, the Soviet Minister of Defence came to Banská Bystrica.

Within this political scenario rages a systematic state-police control of all spheres of society in which the glorification of the socialist victories must be part of their political duty. In a similar manner, it is the duty of all authors, poets, composers and artists, scientists and even representatives of all the Churches to contribute to this glorification. The political terror in Slovakia thus receives praise and ovations in every sphere of public life for "freedom" and "liberation", which in reality are captivity and subjugation.

This grotesque scene was repeated this year for the 40th time and in the spring of 1985, 40 years will have passed since the beginning of this political misery in Slovakia. 40 years and the end is not in sight! This is the reason for my outcry over the deplorable situation in which the Slovakian nation finds itself.

The Forgotten Holocaust in Afghanistan

A most cruel and unique war is now in its fifth year in Afghanistan. Some 120,000 soldiers from the Red Army, fitted out with the most modern weapons, tanks, helicopters and some unique weapons never used before, oppose the freedom-fighters, poorly armed Afghan people and guerilla-commandos.

In a primitive and vast uncharted land like Afghanistan, a military victory by the Russians is not fully possible. Hence the Red Army is waging a war of total destruction against the civilian population.

The goal of the Russian aggression is obvious: open up an easy way to Pakistan and Iran, to reach warm water and thus to steal harbors which are ice-free year-round.

Part of the Russian aim is to possess the rich gas fields, the uranium deposits, the gold reserves and the rich sources of oil. These immense natural resources of Afghanistan are already, or soon will be, more than ample compensation for the seemingly costly war.

Eye to the future

However, there is another reason one rarely reads about: There are 90 million Moslems in the Soviet Union who have large families; these families — in contrast to the small, aborting families of the Russians — hold up the Russian birthrate of 1.9 children per completed family size (2.2 needed for good reproduction). Without the Moslems, the Russian birthrate would be as low as that of the affluent West. In eliminating a potential Islamic enemy from their borders, the Communists once more demonstrate that they are never without an eye to the future while so much of the West comfortably sleeps in its affluence.

In the light of the total situation, the population of Afghanistan is totally un-

important; in fact, the more empty it is of people, the better for the Russians.

Some 3.2 million Afghans have already fled to Pakistan while another million have escaped into Iran because of inhuman torture and terror against Afghan civilians.

Again and again the dangerous helicopter gunships sweep over the villages destroying with rockets the pitiful homes and above all the mosques. Then, when the people flee the burning villages, helicopters mow them down with machine guns.

Victimized

Dozens of witnesses insist that gas and biological weapons are purposely used, not to kill the helpless natives but mainly to wound or disable them. There are also millions of little mines and fragmenting bombs dropped from military planes for the same purpose.

There are countless wounded and incapacitated, victimized by these unique terror attacks from which there is no escape. Parents see their children's legs blown away and watch them bleed to death, themselves nauseous from gas or even incapacitated.

Even before the war, medical help was minimal, little more than first aid and folk remedies; now even that is unavailable. The sick and suffering must be brought hundreds of kilometers to Pakistan, over primitive roads and paths, or else they do what they can to help each other in a makeshift way in the hills and caves.

This inhuman treatment of helpless people in a unique war has been observed again and again by Western observers, but strangely, we hardly ever see even a glimpse of it in our daily papers. →

Ex-prisoner on Trial for Memoirs

Reliable sources in Lithuania report that the 63 year-old chemist and former Department Chairman of the Thermo-insulation Institute, Liudas Dambrauskas of Vilnius, was to be put on trial in October under Art. 68 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He faces up to 7 years imprisonment for authoring his reminiscences of prison life under Stalin. Dambrauskas was imprisoned from 1945 to 1955, after his death sentence, passed under Stalin, was repealed.

According to issue no. 63 of the underground Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, which recently reached the West, Dambrauskas' residences in the capital city of Vilnius and in Kaunas were searched on March 20, 1984.

Dambrauskas was stopped by Colonel Liniauskas of the KGB on his way to work that morning. Liniauskas ordered him to return home for questioning in another case. Four other agents were already waiting for him when he arrived. Liniauskas demanded that Dambrauskas disclose all anti-Soviet literature in his possession. When Dambrauskas explained that he had no such literature, the search began in Vilnius and concurrently in

Kaunas. The search in Vilnius lasted six hours. No anti-Soviet literature was found.

However, KGB agents conducting the search did confiscate his memoirs about life in prison and labor camp during Stalinist times. In addition to this, authorities confiscated his typewriter.

Dambrauskas was placed under house arrest and interrogated daily. Under the pressure of continuous interrogations and threats, Dambrauskas suffered a heart attack in April. The interrogations, nonetheless, continued even during Dambrauskas' hospitalization. While in the hospital, doctors discovered that he was also suffering from tuberculosis. Dambrauskas is reportedly still recuperating.

During one of the interrogations, Dambrauskas requested that his personal property, namely, the memoirs, be returned under the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. Colonel Liniauskas responded: "You do not live in Helsinki, but in the Soviet Union, and only the laws of the USSR, and not of Helsinki, apply here". The Soviet government has often stated that international agreements to which it is party take precedence over internal Soviet law.



Cowards hide

One hardly ever reads a word against this incredible and systematic genocide, especially from those who one would hope would speak out most: the peaceniks and certain bishops. Where are the leftists protesting? Where is that segment of American Catholic bishops who seem to have in their heads only Nicaragua and El Salvador?

We must always remember: the brave walk in single file while cowards hide in crowds. .

Down with Russian imperialism

"Despite the carefully scheduled programme, however, Mr. Gorbachev was not completely insulated from more contemporary aspects of British life. Hundreds of Ukrainians, Poles and Soviet Jews had mounted demonstrations at every stop, shouting 'KGB out' and brandishing placards inscribed 'Down with Russian imperialism'."

Sunday Telegraph, December 16, 1984.

VICTIMS OF RUSSIAN TERROR

Oleksa Tykhyj, Valerij Marchenko, Yurij Lytvyn, Oleksij Nikityn — these four, are the most recent victims, (fighters for freedom, for the independence of Ukraine and for Christian faith) known to the entire free world, who have been murdered by the Russian occupants in either prisons or concentration camps. And yet how many members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) have been tortured to death? The Andropov era is a continuation of the Stalin era, only with more refined forms. This era continues presently under the leadership of the former Cheka member Chernenko, who while in Ukraine, furtively committed mass murder on the fighters for the freedom of Ukraine for an entire decade. This period in Chernenko's life has been crossed out from his official curriculum vitae. However, his signature under the obituary of one notorious Chekist in Ukraine has been made public in the Free World. One Cheka member replaced by another.

The murders in Poland synchronize with the murders in Ukraine, as well as with the murders of freedom fighters outside Ukraine during deportations and in prisons in the whole of the USSR. The murders in Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia belong to the same common plan of terror, elaborated and realised according to the directives from the centre in Moscow. It is no wonder that the KGB chief Chebrikov was, for the first time after Beria, promoted to the rank of marshal! The hellish nightmare of Orwell's "Big Brother" hangs over the nations. Yet, in this hell there are men whose will and dignity, heroism and martyrdom, faith in God and Fatherland crush this terror. The spirit triumphs, the will of the individual created in God's image is stronger than any terror of the Cheka.

The martyr, Valerij Marchenko, wished to become a priest. He gained his strength from the Martyr and Confessor of the Faith, Saint of Ukraine — Patriarch Josyf, as well as from the great exemplary figure of the Martyr-Metropolitan Lypkiwskyj, whose memory also lives on in the hearts of all Ukrainians.

It is said that Yurij Lytvyn committed suicide. This has not yet been confirmed, but it is certain that he did not succumb to his torturers, but instead boldly faced the Russian devil, until his death. Oleksa Tykhyj, as well as Valerij Marchenko, were also tortured to death.

Numerous members of the OUN have recently been executed. This has been done in order to terrorise a country of martyrs and heroes, to stifle the people in order to prevent them from rising up against the regime, thus, in turn, causing them to succumb to the hangmen. President R. Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz mention the freedom fighters murdered by Moscow (by name) and thus, honour their memory and assert that they are witnesses of the invincibility of the spirit and an inspiration for the whole of mankind. Mr. G. Shultz clearly stated that while negotiating with the USA, the bolsheviks should not for a moment think that President Reagan's administration will not defend the human and national rights of the subjugated nations. In his historical proclamation of Captive Nations Week, President Reagan mentioned Yurij Shukhevych as the "lonely hero, Ukrainian imprisoned patriot".

The struggle in Ukraine continues. Moscow has once again launched an offensive with intensified terror, disinformation and defamation of fighters for freedom of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), of General Roman Shukhevych, Stepan Bandera and others, through the build-up and strengthening of international terror in the Free World, through political strikes organised by its agents in Western countries and through the so-called "peace movements", etc.

Moscow murders the incarcerated freedom fighters by creating a law, unheard of in the world, that incarcerated prisoners may be given additional new sentences by the administrative order for "unusual behaviour" in prison.

Millions of prisoners constructed gas pipelines. The West trades with the Soviet Russian nation killers, finances this prison of nations, this system of terror. The KGB murder of the Polish priest Rev. Y. Popieluszko brings the Polish anti-Russian front closer to that of the Ukrainian one within the complex of the ABN. This murder is a KGB crime committed by Polish traitors.

They murder our freedom fighters before our very eyes. The voices of Valerij, Yurij, Oleksa, Oleksij and hundreds of others call out to us in the diaspora to rise up in mass actions of protest as before in order to demonstrate our solidarity with those who fall in the field of battle. The world must be made aware that the exiled emigration lives on with the ideas of Ukraine, that it is united in its battle against the occupants of Ukraine — Russia. We must go out on to the streets once again to demonstrate and unite all of our communities and our friends against Russia for the dissolution of the empire and the destruction of the communist system, and stand up in defence of all political and religious prisoners. We must include everyone in a mass protest of action with regard to the murders of Lytvyn, Marchenko, Tykhyj, Nikityn and the numerous members of the OUN, demand the release of all political prisoners, fighters for freedom, independence of Ukraine, national and human rights and Christian faith.

B. O.

GORBACHEV'S VISIT TO GREAT BRITAIN

The Cowley factory has some of the most up-to-date equipment and systems, including a battery of robots.

When the Soviet party swept into the plant, seven Ukrainians staged a silent demonstration, part of a week-long protest by the emigré community in Britain against the imprisonment of their countrymen.

Members of the 35,000-strong Ukrainian community in Britain are staging

protests wherever they know Mr. Gorbachev is appearing.

The Times, 21. 12. 1984, London.

*

A youth was arrested for throwing a missile at Mr. Gorbachev's car in a demonstration by emigre Ukrainians when the Russians visited the Karl Marx Memorial Library in Clerkenwell, East London.

The Mail on Sunday, December 16, 1984.

Statement of the European Freedom Council September 29-30, 1984, Munich.

The conflict between the superpowers for spheres of influence is not the cause of today's global political crisis, since only one superpower — Soviet Russia — strives for world domination. To put the United States — the defender of liberty — on an equal footing with the communist, totalitarian, imperialistic Russian superpower is inadmissible. The result of such a judgement is a false definition of the 'enemy'. Without the protection of US arms and defence engagement all the rest of Europe, still free today, would have fallen under the bolshevik yoke. The greatest worry of the governments and parliaments of the free nations throughout the world is the question of how to avoid a nuclear holocaust. Clearly, emphatic opponents of a nuclear war are the nations subjugated by bolshevism in the USSR and the so-called 'satellite countries', as they would be the targets of destruction. This refers particularly to Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania, where Moscow has massively deployed its missiles.

Since World War II, Soviet Russia has pursued arms and trade agreements with the West while at the same time engaging in a massive military build-up that gravely threatens the West. Detente, 'peaceful coexistence' and disarmament are only part of Moscow's strategy to achieve military and political superiority. In a period of detente the Soviet Russian empire pursued a massive build-up of its offensive military weapons in order to dominate the world, a policy which it is systematically effecting through infiltration of African, Asian and Latin American countries, its direct aggression in Afghanistan, its intrigues in the Middle East and its encouragement of disunion in Western Europe.

Soviet Russia is today a totalitarian military empire, a historical anachronism in an era of the disintegration of empires. This empire can only exist by the use of psychological and political warfare, by disinformation, corruption of Western society from within and other 'active measures', by support of campaigns of terrorism in the West and politically instigated strikes outside its empire. Its strength, with the aid of the 'fifth column', also lies in the systematic disintegration and diminution in the West of the principles of national patriotism, eminence and courage, national defence, belief in God, morals, family tradition, the upkeeping of the historical roots of every nation, respect of individuality, human dignity and essential virtues of Man who was created in God's image. Internally, it can only survive by suppressing national liberation and democratic processes in Poland, Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Georgia, North Caucasus and other subjugated nations.

Inside the USSR, Moscow continues its policy of ethnocide, genocide, mass terror, psychiatric prisons and has 4-5 million prisoners in slave labour camps whose products are bought by the West. Religious persecution of the Ukrainian Catacomb Church, the Lithuanian Catholic Church and the faithful in Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, all Christian denominations, Judaism and Islam is prevalent in the Soviet Russian empire, as well as the destruction of individuality and national cultures. Moscow strives to create a fictitious Soviet people, that is, a Russian supernation. With the aid of a convenient system of disinformation

the Russian empire conceals its weaknesses, that is, the complete downfall of nationalities' policy, total economic bankruptcy rescued only by Western technology, financial support and credits, sales of grain, the creation of numerous fronts both within and outside the boundaries of the empire which is surrounded by a hostile bloc of powerful countries in Asia, Europe and any other country which experiences the harsh reality of its invading forces. The German problem remains unchanged and is left open. German unity in freedom is a constantly pressing matter.

The EFC supports the entry of Spain and Portugal into the Common Market and considers the political and military integration of Spain in NATO of great importance from a strategic, military and geopolitical point of view.

The significance of Italy in the geopolitical complex of the Mediterranean region is of particular importance. The EFC considers the strengthening of anti-communist forces there as necessary.

The five year-long war in Afghanistan serves as proof of the total weakness of the Russian empire. The EFC calls for greater support than has been given up to now to Afghanistan — a barrier on the route to the rich oil countries and a most important strategic position in Central and Southern Asia.

The EFC regrets the reluctance in the West to face the implication of Moscow's modern methods of conducting what in reality is World War III. In view of this, NATO should not neglect to strengthen its conventional weapons, thus raising the nuclear threshold and to support the liberation movements in the subjugated nations in the Russian empire, whose strength and effectiveness can only be a deterrent to any possible aggressive action by the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies.

While supporting a strong NATO nuclear shield the EFC demands a stronger political offensive by the alliance. A new dimension of collective security is needed, funded more equally by Japan, the United States and Western Europe. The EFC supports the US Government's strategic defence initiative. Space based defence systems (a "high frontier strategy") should be combined with a substantial build-up of conventional weapons, as well as by exploitation of the capabilities of non-conventional liberation warfare of the subjugated nations ("low frontier strategy") which would guarantee victory over Russian imperialism and communism and would eliminate the possibility of a nuclear holocaust.

The EFC in cooperation with other organizations will work for the initiation of a political-psychological freedom campaign against the USSR, based on such international covenants as the UN Resolution of 1960 on De-Colonization, the UN Resolution of 1976 on Namibia calling upon all UN member-states to render assistance to all enslaved nations in their liberation struggle against foreign colonial oppressors and the US Captive Nations Resolution (US Public Law 86/90) of 1959 in which the United States shows its support of the liberation struggles of the subjugated nations for their national independence and human rights.

The EFC supports Western aid to national and social liberation processes behind the Iron Curtain, such as those in Ukraine, the Baltic states, Byelorussia, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Croatia and many

other nations oppressed by Russia and communism. These processes can be regarded as the Achilles' heel of the Soviet Russian empire.

The KGB and the International Department of the CPSU are carrying out extensive operations to influence Western political decisions by many means including propaganda, disinformation, forgeries to back Moscow's line plus covert political activity using agents-of-influence. In Western Europe alone about 14,000 Warsaw Pact officials are stationed in embassies, trade missions, companies and press bureaus. All have a high ratio of intelligence officers trained for so-called 'active measures' against the West. To counteract Moscow's political warfare it is necessary that a Freedom Academy be established in the West to research Soviet political strategy and establish democratic responses and ways to support the liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples for their national independence, sovereignty and democracy.

Eric Brodin (USA)

'1984' for Over 25 Years in Cuba

January 1984 marked the 25th anniversary of the coup which overthrew Cuba's Fulgencio Batista, led by Fidel Castro and his "Bearded Ones". They traversed the Sierra Madre mountains in a long-prepared take-over. Fidel Castro, ostensibly of peasant origin, managed to become a lawyer and in 1953 began his activist opposition to the Batista government in Cuba until he was exiled to Mexico. It was from there that three years later, with his "guerrillas" skilled in subversive warfare and adequately financed and equipped through his public relations efforts in the USA as a "democrat and reformer," he was successful in ousting the Batista government. Castro's success was as much in terms of public relations in the USA, as among the populace of the Cuban countryside. In Herbert Mathews of the NEW YORK TIMES he had his most fulsome advocate who was able to convince a generation of American liberals of Castro's non-communist credentials

until he, himself, decided to reveal his political views and called himself a "Marxist-Leninist". In the ensuing quarter of a century, this identification has been left without any doubt. No vassal to the Kremlin (including the East European countries with Soviet troops within their borders) has more cravenly defended Soviet Russian imperialism in Poland, in Afghanistan, and elsewhere around the world than Fidel Castro.

Even though a million people have fled the sugar-island in the ensuing years and Cuba has probably the highest suicide rate in the world (27.5 per 100,000), Castro still has enough people that he can compel around the world as "ideological mercenaries" in the name of liberation movements in Angola (27,000), Ethiopia (12,000), Nicaragua (3,000), Mozambique, Yemen, and more lately, Grenada. Despite the presence of the mighty USA a mere 90 miles away, Castro seems ensconced in his island-fortress, being supported with

\$3.5 billion of Soviet Russian economic aid a year and another \$1 billion in military aid for Soviet-made armaments, adequate first to harass, then to occupy a major part of the Caribbean islands and Central America with the 400,000 armed forces and 500,000 militia among his 10 million population.

This quarter of a century also marks almost as much time of Cuba's subversion of neighbors throughout Latin America. It started with "Che" Guevara in the Bolivian jungles and was followed by the attempted overthrow of the government of the Dominican Republic, saved only by the decisive actions of US Marines ordered out by LBJ in 1965; eighteen years later, the people of Grenada were saved a Communist dictatorship by the Marines called out by Ronald Reagan. What indolence, fear, or indecisiveness has been responsible for allowing this festering sore in the American body politic to remain apparently unfettered in our own front yard? One newspaper account puts it this way: "In 25 years of self-restraint, misjudgment, lethargy, and sometimes sheer bungling we have really never dealt with the threat." To foster this insouciant tolerance toward Cuba, which still owes American businessmen \$3.5 billion in uncompensated losses due to nationalization, the American press has been in no small part responsible, from Herbert Mathews' rosy description of Fidel as an agricultural reformer to the détente seekers of today.. A typical example of the naive views many have of Cuba is taken from Salt Lake City's DESERT NEWS (December 22-23, 1983) in an unsigned editorial in which the following clichéd and roseate hopes of idealism were spewed forth as the chimera of wishful thinking on the eve of Christmas: "Under the circum-

stances the best bet for the US seems to be to seek better ties with Cuba and to be a friendly neighbor as far as possible without, of course, compromising our stand on Communism. (How in the world is that to be accomplished?) Some Marxist nations — given time and friendly treatment — eventually evolve away from hard-line communism into something more reasonable. (Give us one example). If that were to happen to Cuba, the Russians might tire of spending all those billions on the island and seek greener pastures elsewhere." (Abandon its most faithful proxy-fighter and an \$8 billion debtor?)

To the million people of all classes who have fled Cuba, to the people of Angola (where 25,000 Cuban occupation troops still remain), and those of, at least, another dozen nations around the world, such billk is a consummate insult.

"Cuba today resembles George Orwell's 1984. Communist propaganda has replaced the free press; the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) have provided neighborhood spying on a level unknown even in Nazi Germany; food has been rationed. Art is best described as Castro realism; the cars resemble something out of a local junk yard; people queue up for hours to eat out; the air conditioning in the hotels is constantly on the fritz; Cuban cigars are too expensive for the Cubans; Cuban rum is exported; beer is available only on occasion; the available books are basic Marxist-Leninist classics. The general atmosphere is as repressive as Moscow.

Castro's Communist government has ruined an island that once had the highest standard of living in Latin America." (from THE NEW IMPERIALISM by Phillip Abbott Luce.)

ABN ACTIVITIES

Continuation of ABN Report at the 17th WACL Conference

Tragic Anniversaries Are Remembered

The Ukrainian community throughout the world, commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine in Ukraine, artificially created by the Soviet Russians in which 7 million people were starved to death, with demonstrations, publications and resolutions in the Western World and its Parliaments.

During a mass demonstration commemorating the anniversary of the artificial famine in Ukraine, President Reagan in his greetings of May 20, 1983 to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, stated:

"The memory of the victims inspires our continuing commitment to a moral vision that expresses our humanitarian concern for all people".

President Reagan Proclaims Baltic Freedom Day

At a White House ceremony, before some 200 prominent Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian leaders, President Ronald Reagan signed the Baltic Freedom Day Proclamation. In the name of the 26 US Senators and 225 Congressmen who co-sponsored the legislation, the President reaffirmed his administration's moral commitment to the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia.

Congresses of National Groups

Throughout the year different national groups held their congresses mostly in the United States and some in Europe. These congresses were held by Albanians, Hungarians, Estonians, Latvians, Poles, Slovaks, Ukrainians and others.

Activities of the ABN Central Committee Members

The ABN Central Committee regularly held meetings and constantly tried to

establish new branches throughout the Western world.

During May, June and part of July 1984, ABN President, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko visited the USA and Canada. During their stay in Washington, Mr. Stetsko met some members of Congress and various representatives of the U.S. Administration.

In New York, Mr. Stetsko visited several UN Ambassadors and handed them a memorandum in which he drew the attention of the UN to the fact that Ukrainian and Byelorussian representatives are installed into the UN by Moscow and that they should be replaced by the true representatives of these respective nations, who are leading the movements striving for the liberation of their countries from Russian occupation.

In connection with the Soviet Russian announcement of their decision not to participate in the Olympics, Mr. Stetsko met the President of the American Olympic Committee and, after an exchange of opinions, gave him a Position Paper expressing the attitude of ABN on this matter.

In the previous Olympic Games, the athletes of the subjugated nations were not allowed to compete under the flags of their nations, but had to win medals for their occupant — Soviet Russia. The Olympic Committee should select and accept athletes from among the emigrés of the subjugated nations, since the athletes in their homelands have to obey the orders from Moscow.

In June and July 1984, Dr. Baymirza Hayit, a Turkestanian scholar and member of the Central Committee of ABN, visited the USA where he participated at the AF ABN Conference in New York and held

a seminar for Turkestani speaking representatives.

During the past year, ABN Executive Chairman, Mrs. Slava Stetsko visited England, Italy, Spain, France and Belgium. Mrs. Stetsko participated at the National Convention of "Alianza Popular" in Barcelona, Spain and in the WACL Executive Board Meeting in Ostend, Belgium.

Radio Broadcasts

Special attention was paid by the Central Committee of ABN to radio broadcasts at Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Several position papers were elaborated and forwarded to the various members of the US 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.

The ABN in the Free World

The ABN has been active outside of the Iron Curtain among the citizenry, governments and parliaments of the Free Western democracies, continuously pointing out that the only viable alternative to a nuclear holocaust lies in the West's support of the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations for the dissolution of the Russian empire into national, independent and sovereign states, each within its ethnographic borders, and for the destruction of the communist system from within by way of simultaneous national uprisings on the territories of the enslaved peoples. This alternative guarantees the ultimate victory of the forces of freedom and justice without a nuclear war and World War III!

ABN also publishes bulletins, books and leaflets for various occasions.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

The Soviet Union is a totally militarized empire. School children and university level students receive military train-

ing. On all levels of industry Moscow has applied a military principle of labour organization. Even the collective farms are run according to a military principle, without which Moscow would hardly be able to keep the lid on the national disaffection and unrest in the subjugated nations.

In spite of total militarization, constant application of terror, oppression of all religions except for Russian orthodoxy, russification in all spheres of life of the subjugated nations, they continue their struggle for the restoration of national freedom and state sovereignty. The constant trials in the "national republics" throughout the entire Russian empire are the clearest evidence of their struggle.

Four Georgians Sentenced To Death

The "Washington Post" of August 1984 writes about 4 young Georgians, Father Teymurza Chichladse, Kakha and Paata Ivereli — both doctors, and film actor Herman Kabakhidze, who were sentenced to death for hi-jacking an Aeroflot plane on November 18, 1983. The bodies of the four hi-jackers were not returned to their families for burial and nobody knows what happened to them. The parents of the four, — well-known Georgian academicians and cultural activists — have all lost their jobs and have been forbidden to talk on this matter.

Harsh Sentences Against Ukrainian Nationalists

In March 1984, Wasył Pidhorodecky was arrested and accused of "violating passport regulations". Pidhorodecky, aged 58, and a former soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, has already spent 32 years of his life in Soviet Russian prisons for serving his country.

Oleksa Tykhy, one of the co-founders of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki

Accords, died in late April or early May of this year in prison following stomach surgery. He was 57 years old. When last seen by visitors during late March, Tykhy, a large man, had withered to only 90 pounds and was severely malnourished. The immediate cause of Tykhy's death was a delayed surgery for stomach ulcers.

Yurij Shukhevych, now completely blind since 1983, due to suffering and torture at the hands of the KGB, is currently serving his sentence in Siberia. Due to his disability, he is in a hospital for the handicapped. Despite repeated offers by the KGB for amnesty, he continues to refuse to denounce his father's activities and beliefs as the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

On August 1, 1982 a new law came into effect in the Ministry of Internal Affairs under which persons who became invalids of the 1st or 2nd group, while imprisoned, are eligible for release from further internal exile. Whether this law will be applied to Yurij who, since the age of 14 has spent most of his life in prison, is not yet known.

This year, in his Proclamation on 'Captive Nations Week', President Reagan warmly expressed his sympathy and admiration of, as well as solidarity with the staunch and unyielding Yurij Shukhevych, as well as other countless victims of Soviet Russian tyranny, with the following words:

"During Captive Nations Week we must take time to remember both the countless victims and the lonely heroes; both the targets of carpet bombing in Afghanistan, and individuals such as imprisoned Ukrainian patriot Yurij Shukhevych. We must draw strength from the actions of the millions of freedom fighters in communist-occupied countries, such as the signers of petitions for religious rights in Lithuania, or the members of Solidarity, whose public protests require

personal risk and sacrifice that is almost incomprehensible to the average citizen in the Free World. It is in their struggle for freedom that we can find the true path to genuine and lasting peace".

"Deutsche Wochenzeitung" of June 1984 informs that Moscow fears the spreading of a Polish virus to neighbouring Ukraine and, as a result, harsh sentences have met many Ukrainians.

Poland

Since the announcement that elections to the Polish People's Councils were to be held in June 1984 and the passage of a revised law regulating such elections, the underground press in Poland has been waging a vigorous campaign aimed at clarifying the rules for democratic elections and, above all, at working out ways and means of invalidating bogus elections that have most probably been decided in advance by the authorities.

The proclamation that the deferred elections were to take place in June caused a great deal of activity on the part of the underground press, from the smallest leaflets circulated in factories to the major regular publications.

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

At present, all anti-communist organizations and groups, including "Solidarity", were forced to go into the Underground. There is an enormous radicalization of political programs. The underground "Solidarity" is now called the "Fighting Solidarity". This is a direct result of still growing importance and influence of the Confederacy of Independent Poland.

Trials of Estonians

In December 1983, trials took place of 3 Estonians: Lagle Parek, Heiki Ahonen and Arno Pesti. They were sentenced for writing open letters — suggesting that the Baltic countries be included in the Nordic atom-free zone — that were characterized as defamatory and malicious anti-Soviet propaganda.

Lagle Parek was sentenced to six years in a strict regime camp and three years internal exile. Heiki Ahonen and Arno Pesti each received five years strict regime and two years internal exile.

Johannes Hint, a Doctor of Technology, awarded several times for his innovations of construction materials and applications, was sentenced to ten years of strict regime for allegedly plundering state properties and abusing his administrative position.

Lithuanians Persecuted

On May 24, 1983, Jonas Sadunas, the brother of Lithuanian human rights activist Nijolė Sadunaite, was sentenced to 18 months of "deprivation of freedom". According to "Elta", Sadunas was convicted for "personal libel". He has been a victim of personal harassment by the Soviet authorities since 1980.

Another Lithuanian, Mrs. Jadvyga Bieliauskiene, a Catholic activist, was sentenced in 1983 to 4 years imprisonment and 3 years of internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". According to the report released by Reuters

on May 24, 1983, she was accused of conducting religious activities with children — an offence under Soviet law.

On December 7, 1983 the "Sovietskaya Litva" announced that Father Sigitas Tamkevicius was sentenced to 6 years of labour camps and 4 years of internal exile for allegedly having been found guilty of "malicious and premeditated anti-state and anti-Soviet activity".

Latvian Baptists Sentenced to Long Terms of Imprisonment

On December 7, 1983, the 34 year-old Latvian Baptist, Janis Rozkalns, was sentenced in Riga to 5 years' hard labour and 3 years of internal exile. At the same time the 28 year-old Latvian Baptist Janis Veveris was sentenced to 3 years of hard labour. Both Latvians were accused of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

During his period of arrest, from April 20 to the date of his trial in December 1983, Janis Rozkalns suffered a serious kidney ailment. His state of health would warrant admission to a hospital rather than transportation to a hard labour camp.

Unjust Treatment of Latvian Bishop

Latvian Bishop, Kazimir Dulbinskis, after serving years of imprisonment and exile on and off from 1949 to 1964, has not been permitted to perform his episcopal duties on his return to Latvia in 1964, but instead has been forced to perform heavy physical work. The ban on the execution of Bishop Dulbinskis' episcopal duties is a great injustice; it contradicts the UN Charter on Human Rights, as well as the Helsinki Agreements to which the Soviet Union was also a signatory and, moreover, it is not in accordance with the Soviet Constitution.

Afghanistan

The technological improvements of the Soviet Armed Forces over the years have

been of no avail to Moscow in Afghanistan, where the Afghan Mujahideen have been able to withstand a 110,000 strong Soviet army.

The presently attempted russification process of the Kabul Administration in the fifth year of occupation by the Red Army has not only been unsuccessful but has, in fact, back-fired. The russification process is limited to Kabul city only, and even there in the capital it is just limited to the Kabul Administration and Kabul University.

The Soviet propaganda machine and its subtle manipulation of the mass media, especially the propaganda from Kabul Radio and the Russian films on Kabul TV are constantly presenting the Soviet Union as victorious and invincible. The majority of the Kabul population is not affected by this propaganda, and the Afghan people are now becoming more politically conscious of their own national identity.

In spite of the total russification processes in the Afghan administration, the militia, education, mass media and family, the Afghan people continue their struggle for Afghanistan's survival as a sovereign nation.

President Reagan in 1981 corrected Frank Reynolds of ABC when he referred to the Afghan mujahideen as "rebels". "They are freedom fighters," President Reagan said, "who are fighting for their own country and who do not want to be a puppet state of the Soviets". Let us help make that battle for freedom a reality for the 17 million people of Afghanistan.

Moscow's Attacks on ABN

Due to its activities, ABN is constantly attacked by Moscow. On the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of ABN, Moscow organized a press conference in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, with a severe attack on ABN President, Yaroslav Stetsko, and

ABN activities in the Western world and behind the Iron Curtain.

This attack was echoed throughout the Russian empire. Over 30 major newspapers and journals published this attack, such as "Izvestia", with a circulation of 8 million, "Pravda", "Radianska Ukraina", "Robitnycha Hazeta", "Holos Rodiny", "Literaturna Ukraina", "Molod Ukrainy", "Silski Visti", "Perspectives in Poland", and others. Here are just a few quotations:

"In 1981, the US Congress gave a reception for a war criminal, leader of the terrorist foreign units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Yaroslav Stetsko, who, from his base in Munich, directs his OUN-ite terrorists in the USA. The sympathetic reaction from the Congress hawks to Stetsko's reproach about the West's weak spirit as a result of which the Soviet Union allegedly "skillfully exploits the Western fear of nuclear war".

"The feature of the week in 1982 was the reception given by the US President for a group of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. Raising this hullabaloo about the rights of the captive nations, about the liberation of socialist states, the US leaders do not limit themselves solely to propagating the cold, psychological or psychopolitical warfares."

"'The citadel of human freedom', as the United States was pompously named in the resolution of the US Congress, adopted in connection with the first proclamation of the Captive Nations Week, revealed to the entire world its true attitude toward the state sovereignty of other countries, toward freedom and human rights". ("Visti z Ukrainy" No. 29, 1983 (News From Ukraine). Radio Moscow in its "World Service in English" broadcasted the following statement:

"Yaroslav Stetsko won high praise from the Reagan administration... ..he now hails the foreign policy of the Reagan administration; a policy which, as he said in the

Washington Times interview, is favourably different from that of the former administrations. The recognition of the USSR by the Roosevelt administration was a mistake, said Yaroslav Stetsko. He calls for breaking off of all relations with the Soviet Union and for disbanding the UN as a forum for Russian and communist propaganda..."

Or for example the following quote taken from "News from Ukraine", No. 48, 1982:

"In April 1982, Banderite leader Y. Stetsko spoke at the congress of the North American section of the so-called World Anti-Communist League in Phoenix, Arizona". He "calls to the US Government to intensify the fomenting role of the stations' activities. Besides, Y. Stetsko called for a more extensive use of the nationalists in the anti-Soviet subversive broadcasts."

In addition, the communist authorities published a special brochure in English, German, French and Spanish entitled "Under the Cloak of ABN", which con-

tained severe attacks against the liberation movements united in ABN.

Similar attacks are repeated almost every month in different newspapers and magazines. This shows that if such an active underground activity did not exist, then so much attention would not have to be paid to it.

CONCLUSION

We have just mentioned a few more striking examples of unlawful repressions in some of the subjugated nations. However, it is our duty to remember also that nations such as Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovakia, Byelorussia, Albania, Bohemia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Cossakia, Idel-Ural and Turkestan are constantly engaged in the battle for their survival in defence of their national language and identity, culture, traditions and religion, for their national independence, human rights and state sovereignty.

"ULTIMATE TRIUMPH OVER TYRANNY"

I am very happy to extend warm greetings to all those who are gathered for the 14th Congress of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America Inc.

Your organization is part of the rich ethnic diversity that enhances our culture and is so essential to America's strength. Through your many worthwhile cultural programs, you help to preserve the rich heritage of your Ukrainian forebears while simultaneously encouraging dedication to the ideals upon which this nation was founded. The valor, dignity, and dedication Ukrainians have displayed in the pursuit of freedom reaffirm our confidence in the ultimate triumph of the free human spirit over tyranny. I applaud the efforts of organizations like yours which contribute in so many ways to the well-being of America.

Nancy joins me in sending best wishes for every success in the years ahead.

Ronald Reagan

News and Views

Communiqué of the Islamic Alliance of Afghan Mujahideen

In the names of those dear and committed brothers in the besanguined strongholds, who defend the tenets and boundaries of Islam, with patience and fortitude:

**Assalamu Alaikum Wa
Rahmatullah Wa Barakatuhu,**

(Peace be with you and Blessing
upon you)

At this critical juncture, when your breaking blows have brought the bloody enemy to its knees, it desperately resorts to frenzied and fierce reprisal attacks; trampling all human laws and norms, uses chemical warfare. Thus, it intends to terrorise the masses and vainly tries to perpetuate its despicable presence in our country.

The leadership of jihad, with total mutual trust and confidence, with a strong belief in the bright future of jihad, in order to bring about full solidarity, unity and cohesion among the ranks of the Mujahideen, draw your attention to the following points:

1. While desiring full cooperation, coordination, solidarity and cohesion among the Mujahideen all over Afghanistan, we order in particular the Mujahideen of the Hezb-i-Islami and Jamiat-i-Islami, who have the honour of being the vanguards of the Islamic revolution in Afghanistan, to closely cooperate, unite their forces and mobilize them unitedly against the common enemy.

2. The brave Mujahideen of these two organizations, while supporting the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen (I.U.A.M.), in line with their Islamic duties, for the establishment of an Is-

lamic Government and victory of the Islamic revolution, should invite all Muslim Mujahideen who are fighting against Russian imperialism, to an all-out Unity, should sincerely support them, and should concentrate all their forces against the common enemy i.e. the Russians and their lackeys.

3. While the blood-thirsty enemy is bent on crushing the major centers and strongholds of the Mujahideen and on the massacre of civilians and defenceless people, the Mujahideen should pound the enemy positions with tooth-breaking blows and should never allow the enemy to find a chance to crush a single stronghold and all Mujahideen should rush to help the centers and strongholds under Russian attack and should not spare them any supplies which they may possess.

4. While we are sure of the prudence and discretion of our brave commanders, we advise them to be vigilant and watchful against the enemy agents, the KGB and spies who may infiltrate your ranks; and should get rid of those elements that try to sow the seeds of discord among the Mujahideen's ranks.

5. All Mujahideen are advised, particularly the Mujahideen of Jamiat-i-Islami and Hezb-i-Islami to extend all facilities and hospitality to the Mujahideen, who are passing through your controlled areas and ensure their security while in your areas of control.

May Almighty Allah be your patron, redeemer and helper.

*Eng. G. Hikmatyar
Prof. B. Rabbani
29. 8. 1984*

THE CHILD STEALERS

Tears as Youngsters are flown to Russia

Afghan parents wept as their children were led on to Russian planes to spend up to ten years being brainwashed in the Soviet Union.

The only smiles on the tarmac at Kabul airport were from the wife of Afghanistan's Communist puppet president Babrak Karmal as she cheered the bewildered seven to nine year olds on their way.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday that 870 children were involved in the airlift to schools in Soviet Central Asia where they will be 're-educated'.

Thousands more are due to follow as the Kremlin faces up to its failure to win the hearts and minds of the Afghan people since the invasion four years ago.

With the original invasion force of 80,000 troops reinforced to a total of 140,000 men, the Russians have been sucked into a Vietnam-type situation which they will only be able to escape from if they can train a cadre of young Afghan Marxists to take over the country in the long term.

Attempts to 'Sovietise' the young by swamping schools with Russian teachers and setting up 'friendship societies' for Afghans to meet their Red 'liberators' were both scuppered by the Mujahidin freedom fighters.

The anti-Communist rebels launched a huge leaflet campaign, warning the people of the Russian drive to indoctrinate them. They also managed to expose a scheme of scholarships for Afghans to train in the Soviet Union as pure propaganda.

Karmal's government has hailed last week's re-education airlift as a 'magnificent friendly gesture by the Soviet Union toward the Afghan people.'

But one Western diplomat called it 'an attempt to employ new methods to in-

doctrinate Afghan children at an early age.'

He added: "Aware of the disdain with which young Afghans were treating the Communist indoctrination efforts, the Russians must have concluded that nothing short of a decade of Sovietisation inside the Soviet Union was likely to make a dent on them."

It is not known if parents willingly surrendered their children for re-education or if they were bribed or coerced.

• A Soviet officer ordered the massacre of 450 unarmed Moslem guerillas who surrendered their mountain fortress west of Kabul, it was claimed yesterday.

A Western diplomat in New Delhi said: "Four weeks ago, a rebel force held the mountain fortress at an undisclosed location in Hezarajot against a combined Soviet and Afghan regime force until their ammunition ran out.

"At that point they were forced to surrender. When the Soviet and regime force entered the fortress and disarmed them, the Soviet officer in charge gave the order that all the rebels were to be summarily executed."

*Daily Mail, Wednesday,
November 14, 1984*

M. ALAM ON AFGHAN MUJAHIDEEN

It was the foremost obligation of the Muslim states to extend help to the oppressed Afghan Mujahideen to enable them in combating the Russian intruders with full force and dynamism, said Pakistan's hero of the 1965 war, Air-Commodore (Retd.) M. M. Alam, while delivering a lecture on "Soviet aspiration in South-West Asia and Jihad-i-Afghanistan" at the Jamiyat-ul-Falah Hall at Karachi last week.

The Muslim World, Nov. 10, 1984

Khreshchatyk to be Renamed After Stepan Bandera

Twenty-five years ago this week Stepan Bandera, the Ukrainian nationalist leader, was murdered by a Soviet agent called Bohdan Stashynsky in Munich. Ukrainians from all over the world are gathering in Munich this weekend for a programme of requiems, concerts, processions and mass meetings.

For those who have forgotten about it, perhaps I should explain that Ukraine is a huge country within the Soviet Union, more than five times the area of England and with a slightly larger population. Under almost any system but State socialism, it would be a very rich country indeed. It was Ukraine which welcomed the invading German Army in 1941 with garlands of flowers — not through any ideological sympathy with Nazism, but as its liberator from Soviet imperialism.

There is literally nothing the Russians would shrink from doing to suppress Ukrainian nationalism, which terrifies them more even than West Germany and far more than all the dissident intellectuals ever born. But I should take a small bet that in 30 years the main street in Kyiv, now called the Khreshchatyk, will be renamed after Stepan Bandera.

Auberon Waugh's Column
Sunday Telegraph, Oct. 21, 1984,
London

AFGHAN REFUGEE CENSUS

According to official sources about 3.3 million Afghan refugees are residing at refugee villages and getting benefit from the Afghan refugee assistance programmes of Pakistan and United Nations.

The Muslim World, Nov. 10, 1984.

Dieter von Glahn

ABN from a German Point of View

Between 1946 and 1947 I came into contact with the work of the ABN through my good friend Dr. Julius Bracs who at that time was leader of the ABN's North German Regional Committee. On account of my political outlook and my experience in Russia I was and am a declared anticommunist. We soon came together to active political cooperation in the North German region. At the beginning of January in 1951, my journalistic work in the licenced American Radio Bremen enabled me to present a commentary about the work and goals of the ABN and in this way support their work.

During the Free Nations Congress which took place in the mid-fifties in the Düsseldorf provincial legislature and under the jurisdiction of the ABN and the committee against inhumanity, we demanded the immediate establishment of a political

general staff in the fight against communism in the free Western World.

An abundance of smaller and greater activities flanked our work especially in the North German region. I was, at this time, one of the first and few German co-workers in the ABN!

If one observes one's political work in such an organization soberly and honestly, then one must also be prepared to balance the books honestly and to describe the situation at that time.

In the 1950's the acknowledgement to anticommunism was a generally accepted political position and attitude. However, then came the period of political division which was introduced by the great coalition and the years of the socialist liberal government. The "New German Politics of the East" were introduced and were all discriminated against as "Cold

Warriors". Unfortunately, through the mafia of left-journalism much of this aspect today has not been altered in the mass media. Even though we once again have a conservative government, these left journalists continue to pursue their confusion. The declared and promised "Turning Point" in many political areas has not occurred yet. Apart from the economic policy, the government still owes us the "Turning Point". Therefore, in my opinion, it is of the utmost urgency that, with the aid of and in close cooperation with political groups like the ABN and other ideologically related organizations, we finally also bring about a political, spiritual and moral turning point in Germany and in the still Free West. Captivity and the lack of the right to self-determination of the subjugated nations and of our brothers and sisters in Central Germany must again be publicly denounced and named as such. False consideration is out of place!

We must again feel bound to our identity and to our national duty and support every endeavour which brings us closer to our goal. In my opinion, the ABN can play an important role here. The ABN could and must actively take over the coordination of all these forces and contribute to the West's reconsideration. In America Reagan's administration succeeded in conveying a new feeling of self-respect and national patriotism to the Americans. All national thinking people that are represented in the ABN should, together with their German friends, be

politically active everywhere and not only in their occasional Sunday speeches. We must promote and render support to all endeavours in the eastern countries which serve to bring about freedom, self-determination and human rights in these countries also.

Therefore, it is necessary to scrutinize whether the concession of credits and other economic agreements and contracts do not contribute to the stabilization of the system. All political and economic decisions should be made from only this point of view.

I believe that the ABN could inherit a great and important assignment and that it should certainly become more active in this area. All conservative and nationally conscious German citizens must not only feel bound to this assignment but also actively support it.

In the final analysis, this is a matter of concern not only regarding the freedom of all subjugated nations but also the preservation and defense of our freedom.

I deeply regret that my dear friend and co-fighter, Julius Bracs, died shortly before his 75th birthday and could not live to see the day for which he actively fought and worked for during his life: the freedom of his Latvian motherland from the Soviet Russian yoke.

All of us, Germans and our foreign friends in ABN should continue to work in the same spirit and mind at this important and necessary task.

Croatia Denounces

The Croatian Liberation Movement denounces to the public opinion of the free world the organized and systematic Yugoslav state terrorism carried on in Western Europe, by the Yugoslav Secret Police headed by Interior Minister, Stane Dolanc.

In the past 20 years over 100 Croatian

political exiles have been murdered by Yugoslav agents in the Federal German Republic, Austria, France, Switzerland and Sweden. Many of these political murders have been well documented. The police and courts of the countries where the murders took place have extensive and conclusive proof that the killings were or-

ganized by Yugoslav state officials or their agents.

The interior ministries of several West European countries have taken police measures aimed at stopping further political murders of Croats and have publicized their well founded conviction of Yugoslav government responsibility and involvement, but Yugoslav state terrorism in Western Europe has not been deterred by these measures.

On the other hand, the inability or seeming unwillingness of West European governments to take effective political and economic steps which would stop Yugoslav terrorism, has convinced the hundreds of thousands Croats living and working in Western Europe, that Western

governments are powerless to stop Yugoslav inspired political assassinations.

It is our view that the inadequate response of Western governments to Yugoslav terror activities has emboldened the Yugoslavs to continue their murderous activities in Western Europe.

Therefore, as representatives of Croats in the free world, we appeal, indeed insist, that West European governments take effective political and economic counter-measures against Yugoslavia and its communist regime which will convince Belgrade to respect the national and territorial sovereignty of the free and democratic countries of Western Europe.

*Delegation of Croatia
WACL Conference, San Diego, USA*

The Future of Hong Kong

(From a letter received from Dr. KU Cheng-kang, Hon. Chairman, WACL)

The WACL stand regarding Hong Kong, as spelled out in the Joint Communiqué of the 17th WACL Conference in San Diego, is that any settlement of the status of that British colony "should respect the wishes of the people there in the pursuit of their freedom and democracy".

On Sept. 26, however, British and Red Chinese negotiators ended two years of talks and initiated a draft agreement that will transfer the land and people in question to communist control in less than 13 years — by July 1, 1997. The wishes and rights of the Hong Kong people, now 5.5 million in number, are thus being ignored and jeopardized. In particular, there is no assurance for the life and property of the 4 million anti-communists who have over the years fled the Chinese mainland and settled in Hong Kong.

The Chinese communists speak of "one country, two systems" after Hong Kong

is made a "special administrative region" under Peking. They also speak of local autonomy for at least another 50 years after 1997 but, these are baits used by the regime to deceive outsiders. No communist has ever demonstrated sense of obligation to commitments; no accord in communist hands has escaped violation.

We of WACL are strongly for man's freedom, and the Republic of China is dedicated to the task of Chinese national reunification in freedom and democracy. I therefore earnestly hope that all those of the world who love freedom and respect democracy and justice will see to it that:

— The status quo of Hong Kong be maintained until after China's national reunification in freedom and democracy, and strong international assurances be secured for the freedom, democracy, and prosperity of the people there.

International Frankfurt Book Fair 1984

"Orwell 2000" was the theme of this year's International Book Fair held October 3-8 in Frankfurt, W. Germany. This theme suggested that the horrific visions which Orwell predicted for the fictitious year 1984 are heading towards becoming a reality. This reality, although as yet not fully realised, is, however, a great threat to us, especially if we take a look at world literature today where in many ways Orwell's predictions have, actually, come true.

Our aim within the context of the main theme of the Book Fair, was to show to the world public that the above mentioned horrific visions — informational colonialism, a fully controlled society administered by a totalitarian power, moral decline, conflict in creativity and total destruction — in Ukraine and other subjugated nations, in their cultures and literature — have, in fact, been a reality long before the world ever heard of Orwell.

At this year's International Book Fair, 92 nationalities and 6200 publishers participated. Among them Ukrainian publishers of the Ukrainian Liberation Front — Munich, London, New York, Toronto, Brussels — had their own stand and exhibited books in the Ukrainian, English, French and German languages.

One section of the stand, entitled "The Forbidden Language", acted like a magnet in attracting the public to the stand. Here plaques were hung with quotes from the Valuevsk and Ems Decrees — where the use of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine was officially forbidden by the Russian authorities. The public was also informed about the destruction of Ukrainian cultural activists under present-day Soviet Russian occupation.

On a separate wall, under the heading "Literature Behind Bars", large photo-

graphs of Ukrainian writers at present serving sentences in concentration camps or internal exile in the USSR, together with appropriate notices, attracted a vast international public and aroused great interest to these figures, their works and their plight.

A large icon and literature about the late Ukrainian Patriarch Josyf Slipyj which filled a third wall, brought to light another aspect of Soviet Russian policy, namely, the persecution and denial of all religious beliefs in the USSR.

In contrast, the USSR stand, while displaying a large selection of books and on the surface attempting to show that they leave room for so-called "sovereign republics", only exhibited a mere handful of books in the respective languages of these republics, thus showing the stifling by the Russian language of everything non-Russian.

There were also stands which exhibited Polish publications from Paris and London. "SOLIDARNOSC" had its own stand, and so did Croatia.

The Ukrainian stand which was set up and run by young Ukrainians from Munich and London, as well as a separate stand from Ukrainian Academic Institutions, made its mark not only on the world public and the Book Fair itself, but also on the Russian publishers and Russian public who could do nothing but clench their teeth in anger everytime they passed our exhibits. It brought home the fact that, in spite of mass russianisation national languages, literature, culture and history *do* and *will* in future generations continue to exist in the presently subjugated nations, and voice to the whole world the *real* horrific visions of Soviet Russian totalitarian rule.

I. K.

USSR Admits it Helped Chinese CP

Washington: The Soviet Union has openly admitted that it helped the Chinese Communist party (CCP) 40 years ago to seize power from the government of the Republic of China.

An article in the Soviet Communist Party doctrinal journal, *Partijnaja Zhizn* (Party Life), admits Soviet theoretical and material assistance to CCP helped it develop a "revolutionary movement" at an early stage and overthrow the Republic of China government at the end of the Sino-Japanese War.

A paragraph of the article, written by O. Drugov, says:

"In the period 1945-49, the center of the (Red) Chinese revolutionary movement shifted to the northeastern part of China, to Manchuria where active preparations were begun with the USSR's assistance for the final stage of the struggle for the country's liberation from colonial and social oppression. The People's Liberation Army was ensured a reliable rear and was given the opportunity to reorganize itself and improve its supplies and equipment using the Japanese weapons and equipment captured by Soviet troops."

The article says the Soviet railwaymen in Manchuria restored the destroyed communications to enable the People's Libera-

tion Army to concentrate and regroup for attacks to expell the Chinese government forces out of Manchuria, thus creating favorable conditions for the general offensive toward the south.

Moscow's assistance to CCP as admitted in the article came at a time when the Soviet Union and the Republic of China still maintained diplomatic relations.

Commenting on the article, the advanced International Studies Institute which is in association with the University of Miami says that "the unabashed admission underscores the flagrant duplicity which the USSR has practiced since the days of Lenin involving, on the one hand, lip service to the Marxist tenet that a revolution in any country must occur spontaneously as a result of the indigenous ripening of necessary precondition of their own accord, and on the other hand, unceasing efforts to foment revolution wherever and whenever there is promise of success, and even to force revolutions in areas deemed of special strategic importance for the USSR".

The article, entitled "Proletarian Internationalism: Traditions and Contemporaneity," appears in the June 13 issue of the publication.

*News Letter, August 31, 1984
Vol. XXXIX, No. 8.*

Pride of Ukraine

Washington, Sept. 17 (Special) — The Washington Post today carried the following article by Joseph McClean:

"Rise up," sang the chorus, "and break your heavy chains and water with the tyrant's blood the freedom you have gained". It was music for marching together; music to bring an audience to its feet. It was sung in Ukrainian, a lan-

guage whose right to exist has been denied, by people resisting a century-old effort to erase their national identity.

The occasion was both festive and ceremonial yesterday afternoon in the Kennedy Center Concert Hall. Before the concert and during the intermission, the atmosphere was almost like that of a family reunion involving a very large

family: an estimated 10,000 Americans and Canadians of Ukrainian descent who had come to Washington to shake their collective fist at the Soviet Union.

Many in the audience were dressed in the national costume, with richly embroidered, large sleeved blouses, and many conversations were being held in a language that, to foreign ears, might sound like Russian. It emphatically was not. "There never was a Ukrainian language," wrote czarist Minister of Education in 1863, "there is not now and never can be". It was a sentiment heartily echoed by Stalin, successor to the Czars, who killed more than 10% of Ukraine's population with an artificially induced famine, but the visitors to Washington were speaking in that language. They were singing, in that "non-existent" language, the unofficial anthem of a nation the size of France that cannot have an official anthem:

And in that great family,
The family of the free,
With softly spoken kindly word
Remember also me.

The author was remembered, with a concert dedicated to his memory. He was Taras Shevchenko, exiled from Ukraine in the mid 19th century because of his revolutionary poetry and honored now with a statue in Washington at 22nd and P Street NW. Before yesterday's concert, which was dedicated largely to music with texts of Shevchenko, the Ukrainian visitors marched from that corner to the corner of 16th and K, the closest they were allowed to come to the Soviet Embassy.

Nevertheless, this was not primarily a political demonstration it was a cultural statement that "we exist; we are different; we have a right to exist and to be different". For that purpose, a concert in the Kennedy Center may be more useful than a march on the Soviet Embassy.

Most of the music on the program would have been unfamiliar to American audiences. It was composed by men with names like Verbytsky, Stetsenko, Lysenko and Davydovsky, though two numbers were included by Giuseppe Verdi, whose music helped 19th century Italy to find its national identity. The Ukrainian music was sung by the excellent Dumka chorus with three outstanding soloists. Bass Ihor Zamiaty soloed with the chorus in "The Testament", by Verbytsky with words by Shevchenko, which is the unofficial Ukrainian anthem.

Soprano Renata Babak, a defector from the Bolshoi Opera and an amazing voice, sang in two folk favored songs, "The Poplar" and "The Nightingale", as well as "O Fatal Scritto" from Verdi's "Nabucco".

Andrij Dobriansky of the Metropolitan Opera soloed with the chorus in two brief cantatas deeply tinged with national sentiment and in excerpts from Konstantyn Dankevych's opera of national liberation "Bohdan Khmelnytsky". The musical highpoint of the program was a duet by Babak and Dobriansky in "Ciel, Mio Padre", from "Aida". The program was an artful blend of musical and political statements, and it gave a tantalizing sample from what seems to be rich tradition of solo, choral and operatic music.

"There is no question that Western imperialism existed. Similarly, it seems to me, that there is little question that it no longer exists. All the Western countries have given up their colonial possessions. The Soviet Union is the only remaining empire in the world — a country that has not only retained all the imperial conquests of the czarist regime, but has added to them."

Richard Pipes, Baird Professor of History at Harvard. 1981-82, director of the East European and Soviet Affairs section of the National Security Council of the United States.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



GEORGIA

Persecution of Georgian dissidents

1. *Merab KOSTAV* (age 45) member of Georgian Human Rights movement and of the Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group. Published a letter in defense of the deported Meskhetians (in the samizdat: *Georgian Herald*, 1976). Sentenced on 19 May 1978: 3 years strict regime (Perm, camp 32) and 2 years exile. Shortly before his term expired, charges were trumped up against him: re-sentenced by Taisheet Court (December 1981) to 5 years imprisonment.

2. *Valentina PAILODZE* (age 55) mother of 3 children. Member of the Church choir, the Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group, and of Defence of the Freedom to Worship. Lodged protests against the looting of valuable relics from the Georgian Patriarchate by KGB agents.

Sentenced in 1974: 1½ years in strict regime camp.

Re-arrested on 6 Nov. 1977; sentenced in Tbilisi on 6 October 1978 to 1 year imprisonment and 2 years exile (Art. 206-1 and 233 of the Georgian Criminal Code).

Re-arrested in Tbilisi on trumped-up charges and sentenced on 20 May 1983 to: 8 years strict regime and 5 years exile.

3. *Dr. Nikoloz SAMKHARADZE* (age 69) graduate in History and in Medicine. Teacher of History and headmaster. In August 1958, at a Conference of Georgian Teachers of History in Tbilisi made a powerful attack against the distortion of Georgian history and its attempted abolition in Georgian schools. Arrested in Oct. 1958, declared irresponsible, sent in January 1959 to a Psychiatric hospital for 9 months. Could not get employment for 10 years after his release.

In 1969: renounced Soviet citizenship and asked to be allowed to emigrate with his family, *Dr. Nikoloz Samkharadze* as local doctor. When on 20 Sept. 1975, *Zviad Gamsakhurdia* reported a KGB attack with a poisonous gas on him and his family, *Dr. Nikoloz Samkharadze* being with him in the car at that time testified on the poisonous effects of the gas: he was subsequently warned by the KGB and kept under surveillance by them. His home was searched in April 1978 and February 1980; after another search on 23 October 1980 anti-Soviet literature was found, he was arrested. He was ruled irresponsible in summer 1981 and interned in the Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital, in Orlov, where he has been ever since. He is in poor health, and a petition has been signed by Georgians in Tbilisi, asking for his release on those grounds.

4. *Leaders of the "ORGANISATION FOR GEORGIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION"*

a) *Zakariah LASHKARASHVILI* (age 30) a taxi-driver. Its founder in April 1979 and organiser. Wrote in early 1981 a samizdat book: "Truth, struggle and freedom" for the independence of Georgia. In early 1983 he printed leaflets, with a swastyka: "USSR-Fascism-Colonialism-Russification", and also the text of an "oath of allegiance" to the Organisation. On 26 July 1983 he gathered a meeting in Tbilisi, where he distributed the leaflets and collected 30 signatures for the oath, together with the flag and coat of arms of a future independent Georgia.

b) *Taviel GVINIASHVILI* (age 24): worker. His deputy; together they printed leaflets against holding celebrations of the Bicentenary of the Treaty of Georgievsk

(1783) which placed East Georgia under Tsarist suzerainty.

c) *Guram GOGBAIDZE* (35 years) Deputy Director of Rustavi Technical and Professional College.

The three of them established contact with students, who helped them to distribute leaflets against the Bicentenary celebrations of the Treaty of Georgievsk, calling for the liberation of Georgia (Distributions in Tbilisi, Gori, Rustavi and other Georgian cities.)

The three leaders of the Organisation were tried and sentenced by the Supreme Court of the Georgian SSR, on 15 February 1984, (under art. 71 of the Georgian Criminal Code):

— Zakariah LASHKARASHVILI: 5 years strict regime, 2 years exile.

— Taniel GVINIASHVILI: 4 years strict regime.

— Guram GOGBAIDZE: 4 years strict regime.

Trial of other members is expected.

5. Persecution and arrest of students who had gathered in the courtyard of Tbilisi University, on 18 May 1980, to present to Shervardnadze a petition "DEMANDS OF THE GEORGIAN PEOPLE" in 6 pages, asking:

a) To restore the Georgian language to a prominent role;

b) Stop the persecution of Georgians in the Abkhaz ASSR and in the Saingilo Province of Azerbaidjan SSR;

c) Allow the deported Meskhetians to resettle in Georgia;

d) Transfer elsewhere the artillery firing range, which is destroying the ancient Georgian monastery complex of David Garedja;

e) Stop the persecution of religious believers, and re-open the churches;

f) Release Nikoloz Samkharadze on medical grounds.

The following students who were carrying the petition were arrested: Tamara CHKHEIDZE, Marina KOSHKADZE,

Nana KAKABADZE, and school-leaver Marina BAGDAVADZE.



LITHUANIA

Increasing Persecution of Catholics

As if in rebuttal to optimistic reports from some visitors to the Soviet Union that freedom of religion seems to be increasing, Catholics of Soviet Lithuania are complaining of increased persecution. The latest complaints appear in the "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania" No. 63, which has just been received in the West after being smuggled out of the USSR. The underground publication has been documenting human rights violations in Lithuania by the Soviet authorities since 1972.

"Today, the atheists are trying to push back the religious revival of the nation more or less twenty years. The most zealous priests of Lithuania, Alfonsas Svarinskas and Sigita Tamkevicius, have been arrested and tried," the Chronicle reports. Both priests were handed ten-year sentences for religious activities last year.

"They are trying to crush the catechizing of children directed by the priests, to forbid children to serve at Mass and to make priests ask permission to invite this or that priest for religious celebrations. The KGB is trying to interfere in elections to Priests' Councils and especially to see that their own hand-picked candidates become consultors. It is trying in every way possible to reduce the effect of celebrations and commemorations at the great shrines of Lithuania.

For example, Commissioner for Religious Affairs, Petras Anilionis, is terrorizing Bishop Antanas Vaicius of Telsiai in an attempt to prevent the announcement of a priests' day at Zemaiciu Kalvarija, and to prevent the bishop and priests from making the Way of the Cross together with the people. Allegedly, this is

a branch of the law regarding Religious Associations.

"Priests are allowed to pray only in their own parishes, and they are strictly forbidden to make the Way of the Cross with the people. 'Let the people make the Way of the Cross themselves,' and when they do make it themselves, the atheists will be more encouraged to make use of extreme measures."



Yurij Badzio's Life at Stake

"I appeal to your scholarly conscience, to your professional virtue, to your social consciousness. The present historiographic situation of the Ukrainian nation, the present state of affairs in the field of Soviet historiography of Ukrainian history fully corresponds to such an emotionally elevated introduction. I am referring to the subordination and inequality of the Ukrainian nation in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics..."

With these words Yurij Badzio begins his "Open letter", written in February 1979, to Ukrainian and Russian historians in defence of the historical truth of the Ukrainian nation. Today, 6 years later, it is necessary in a similar way to appeal with passion and decisiveness to the conscience, virtue and consciousness of the world, to the responsible influential spheres of world public opinion in the defence and salvation of the author of the above quoted lines. News has reached the West that 48 year-old Yurij Badzio, a defender of human and national rights of Ukraine, a prisoner of Mordovian concentration camps is threatened by premature death.

Analogically to his words one can assert that the present situation of this Ukrainian political prisoner, his present state of health (contagious tuberculosis), "unjust", or rather negligent and brutal treatment of Ukrainian political prisoners

in the concentration camps and prisons in the USSR (the premature deaths of O. Tykhyj, Y. Lytvyn and V. Marchenko last year) — all correspond to the most ardent appeals and diverse actions in defence of Yurij Badzio.

In the German edition of Y. Badzio's "Open letter", which was published by the Ukrainian Institute for Education in Munich, the editors give the following description of his life:

"Yurij Badzio's name can be found on the long list of such representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia who, from 1972, have been victims of brutal persecution because of their scholarly work which contradicts the officially imposed directives and doctrines. Badzio, who is a literary expert in his scientific career, had already established himself as a scholar in the Institute of Literature at the Academy of Science in Kyiv and, as early as 1965 raised his voice in protest against arrests which had been politically motivated. Later on his life passes in accordance with the same immovable and stricken scheme, which is designated for all those people who dare to raise their voices against the arbitrary regime, against the subordination of education with political and ideological aims, against contempt of national, human and political rights of the individual and nations in the USSR, which result in: the expulsion from the Communist Party, loss of work, police search of one's home, arrests and interrogation, the fabrication of the trial accusation, a closed trial, sentence, penal camp or prison, deportation..."

One has only to add: And death! Premature and unnatural death in the concentration camp, as we have seen in recent cases of Ukrainian political prisoners.

"And once again" — we read in a Munich newspaper 'Die Süddeutsche Zeitung' — "another political prisoner finds himself in danger of his life because he has been refused all medical aid. The re-

ference here is to a Ukrainian literary historian and poet Yuriy Badzio, a honorary member of the International Pen Club, who is serving a 12-year sentence in the Mordovian camp of Barashevo 385/3-5. Here Badzio fell ill with contagious tuberculosis for which he is receiving no medical treatment. He is also suffering from a stomach complaint, cannot eat the bad camp food and as a result, by 1983 looked like nothing more than skin and bones. In 1979 he was sentenced in Kyiv for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda', as an extensive manuscript on the russification of Ukraine had been found in his possession.

Badzio did not only strongly reproach the russification methods in Ukraine. He openly spoke about the Russian occupation of Ukraine and stressed the right of the Ukrainian nation for a liberation struggle. He bravely revealed "Russian internationalism" as "Russian chauvinism, which, having created a horror-myth about so-called 'Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism', has already for several decades led a real psychological war against the Ukrainian nation, against Ukrainian national consciousness, which is accompanied by physical repressions against nationally conscious Ukrainians. If the separation of Ukraine from Russia and the demand for a Ukrainian state independent from Russia is called a nationalist idea, then what more can one say? Did not Ukraine separate itself from Russia? Has the Ukrainian nation no right for its own independent state?"

This is a clear, unequivocal and uncompromising stand by an individual, who regards the Ukrainian matter, not only from a position of an 'anti-regimist' or 'dissident', but clearly takes up a position of state. Neither a change in the regime, nor the democratisation or liberalisation of domestic relations in a colonial empire are capable of guaranteeing the subjugated nations in the USSR, and this

includes Ukraine, the right to existence and a life of freedom. This is only possible in a free and independent nation.

This same idea can also be found in Badzio's statement regarding the genocidal famine:

"This coming spring half a century will have passed since our nation experienced probably the most horrific tragedy in its recent history — the artificially created famine of 1933. It is believed that 6-8 million Ukrainians starved to death as a result of this famine. I say 'it is believed' because there is no mention of this in any Soviet literature, be it scholarly or publicistic... this event has become a political taboo... Let us note that the political logic for 'exposing' the 1933 famine does not formally create an obstacle, for Stalinism — the true executer of this tragedy — has already been condemned."

Badzio consciously provokes the present regime, being fully aware that Stalinism has indeed been 'condemned', yet continues to exist just the same, as we can see from Badzio's own fate. The present physical destruction of the Ukrainian nationally conscious intelligentsia or the present genocide in Afghanistan differs from the raging terror of the 1930s only in the craftiness of methods. However, the cynical contempt of the rulers in the empire for the right of the individual and nations to exist has in no way changed. The abnormal understanding of lawful relations in the state has not changed, where, be it in Stalin's, Andropov's or Chernenko's era, the individual and nations are forbidden everything which is clearly allowed by law, yet the state authorities are allowed everything which is officially forbidden and condemned. This relates in particular to the subjugated nations.

This is exactly what Yuriy Badzio is courageously fighting against, and therefore, not only is he being persecuted, but also physically destroyed.

Book Reviews

Muslims Under the Czars and the Soviets

In his book, Prof. J. G. Tiwari narrates the story of the conquest of countries inhabited by Muslim nationalities by the Czars, the political, cultural and economic life of these people under them, the efforts made by them to overthrow the Russian domination soon after the October Revolution and the conquest of their lands by the Bolsheviks. It deals extensively with the growth of political, social and economic institutions in Central Asia since the advent of Communist rule as well as the party set-up of the Soviet regime which go to show the means adopted by Russia for subjugation and Russification of these nationalities. It explores in depth the social composition of the Communist Party and Soviet administrative cadres to show how Central Asian Muslims have been deliberately kept educationally backward, away from the leverage of economic and political power, and have always remained bogged down in the collective

farms. The work, thus, exposes the colonial character of Communist Russia, its oppressive mentality and diabolical means adopted to deprive the oppressed of such human rights as to maintain social, cultural and spiritual life of its choice, freedom of conscience, expression and association, etc. It presents in detail the struggle of Islam as a faith and religious establishment against the Soviet government right upto the eighties, which began soon after the October Revolution. In this way, the work unfolds an important aspect of the long-drawn and, in the present context, the vitally important conflict between Moscow and Mecca which lies at the root of super-powers' conflict.

"Muslims under the Czars and the Soviets" by Prof. J. G. Tiwari, published by the Academy of Islamic Research and Publications, P. O. Box No. 119, Nadwatul-Ulama, Lucknow-226007, India. 1984. Price: Rs. 60.00.

Survival is Not Enough

Very few people in the West understand the true nature of the Soviet Union. Fewer still are aware of the threat that the Soviet Union represents to the world. In his book *Survival is Not Enough* Richard Pipes, a professor of history at *Harvard University* who in 1981-82 served as Director of East European and Soviet Affairs in the National Security Council, explains both the nature of the Soviet Union and the global threat it poses.

Pipes' work begins with the contention that the foreign policy of every country is related to its domestic conditions and an extension of its internal policies. In Pipes' own words: "The manner in which

a government treats its own citizens obviously has great bearing on the way it will treat other nations. A regime that does not respect legal norms inside its borders is not likely to show respect for them abroad. If it wages war against its own people it can hardly be expected to live at peace with the rest of the world."

Pipes then goes on to explain the communist system beginning briefly with a historical background pointing out the expositionist character of the Russian state which has always enhanced and preserved its might. In the second part of the chapter Pipes explains how a predominantly Russian communist party elite, which

he calls the "nomenklatura", rules the Soviet Russian empire much the same way the autocrats did before the 1917 revolution.

After describing the Stalinist economic system he moves on to the predominant theme of the book, the nature of Soviet Russian imperialism. Russian imperialism is unique in that it was never a temporary phase as in other countries, but constant. The second point is that these territorial acquisitions were always military in nature. Thirdly, the conquest of foreign lands was usually followed by the colonization of Russian settlers. Significantly, the author dismisses claims by other Russian "experts" that this expansion was really due to anxieties aroused by foreign invasions.

Pipes' observation is "...that far from being the victim of recurrent acts of aggression Russia has been engaged for the past three hundred years with singleminded determination in aggressive wars, and if anyone has reason for paranoia it would have to be its neighbors. In the 1890s the Russian General Staff carried out a comprehensive study of the history of Russian warfare since the foundation of the state. In the summary volume, the editor told his readers that they could take pride in their country's military record... between 1700 and 1870. Russia had spent 106 years fighting 38 military campaigns of which 36 had been "offensive" and a mere two defensive. This authoritative tabulation should dispose of the facile theory that Russian aggression is a defensive reflex."

The author continues to offer better explanations of Russian expansionism which take into account economic, geographic and political factors. It is the political factor which is central in understanding the essence of the book. The author contends that "Russian governments have always felt the need to solidify their internal position by impressing on the population the awe which they inspir-

ed in other nations... By inspiring respect in foreign governments, by bullying neighbors, by undermining them and distributing their lands and riches among her own subjects, Russian governments have historically enhanced their claims to legitimacy and obedience... The poet Lermontov expressed well this sentiment when he had a Russian tell a Muslim of the Caucasus, whose land the Russians were about to conquer, that he would soon be proud to say, "Yes, I am a slave, but a slave of the tsar of the universe." Communist ideology and interests of the "nomenklatura" have reinforced these expansionist traditions, making Russian imperialism more aggressive and more persistent than ever before."

The subsequent three chapters of the book which deal with the Russian threat, the economic and political crises, expand on this central theme of Russian imperialism and contain rather interesting sections on various Russian strategies, party corruption, intellectual dissent and imperial problems. Of particular interest is a subsection dealing with the nationalities problem: "...there is strong evidence of persistent nationalism (among Ukrainians and Byelorussians), especially among the Ukrainians. With fifty million people, 86 percent of them (as of 1970) Ukrainian-speaking, Ukraine is potentially a major European state. Its separation would not only deprive Russia of an important source of food and industrial products, but also cut it off from the Black Sea and the Balkans, for which reasons the 'nomenklatura' persecutes all manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism with especial savagery."

Further on the author states, "unless history is to make a unique exception for the Russian Empire, leaving it intact while all other European empires have fallen apart, its future cannot be bright. It is impossible to justify to the Ukrainians that Ireland, with three million in-

habitants, should be a sovereign country whereas they, with 50 million have been condemned to remain forever a Soviet dependency...”

Under the sub-section dealing with intellectual dissent the author points out that no kind of opposition is tolerated in the Soviet Union with only one exception — Russian nationalism. Pipes explains that although it might seem that Russian nationalism is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, the relationship is as Pipes explains, “neither new nor casual... already by 1920 Lenin began to make tactical advances towards rightwing, nationalist groups active at home and abroad”. Lenin had apparently realized that democratic pro-socialist and pro-Western forces in Russia were too weak to be counted on for any support, this was proved by the fact that the Bolsheviks had easily toppled the Provisional Government in 1917. However, the subsequent civil war with conservative and monarchist elements turned out to be long and costly. As the Bolshevik dream of the revolution spreading to other countries faded, Lenin decided to court his former enemies. Stalin too, realized the potential of appealing to Russian na-

tionalism and quite deliberately identified himself with it. As a result of this trend Russian nationalist “dissent” has been encouraged by the Soviet regime. The Russian nationalists are given their own publications such as “Pioneer Truth”, “Young Guard” and “Our Contemporary” which stress peasant life, Russia’s glorious past and the superiority of the Russian race.

In the final chapter of the book Pipes explains why the past policies of containment and detente were not effective. In their place he offers other alternatives in dealing with the Russian threat, which would have direct bearing on internal Soviet conditions. This, he argues, would effectively curtail the Russian threat to world peace without necessitating a major war.

In the end, the author quotes the advice given to the Western powers in the nineteenth century by Karl Marx: “There is only one way to deal with a power like Russia, and that is the fearless way.” *Survival is Not Enough, Soviet Realities and America’s Future. Richard Pipes, 1984, Simon and Shuster, New York. Hard cover, \$24.95. Yaroslav Fedenko*

Does Freedom Work?

Liberty & Justice in America

There’s a myth abroad that a free, democratic society isn’t fair.

Donald Devine examines that proposition in depth, and discovers that the traditional liberal society — free market, capitalist and republican — satisfies every facet of justice and fairness better than any other modern or historic society, free or authoritarian.

Devine amasses rich data to demonstrate that the poor and helpless not only have more rights and welfare, but also more opportunity, mobility, and chances to fulfill their private dreams under a free democratic regime where property and

persons are carefully protected. In politicized, authoritarian societies the poor along with other classes are unlikely to keep what they produce — rulers and their sychophants loot producers and workers, large and small. No possession is secure.

Point by point, Devine examines justice as it pertains to blacks, ethnics, women, all the poor, and others, and finds that the historical record of America sparkles with achievement and hope seen nowhere else on earth.

Here’s a book that warns America could lose the very *justice* it has achieved if its

economic and social *freedom* are further abridged.

Professor George W. Carey, Editor of *The Political Science Reviewer* writes:

"Professor Devine's approach is both refreshing and thought provoking. While pointing out the dangers of the welfare state to individual liberty and initiative, the data he marshals show unmistakably that the bulk of the American people still hold to those values and precepts essential for a free society.

"I recommend this book highly, particularly for liberals who have difficulty perceiving the relationship between freedom and the nature of the economic order, and for those conservatives who harbor a distrust of the 'masses'."

Donald Devine is associate professor of government at the University of Maryland. He is the author of *The Political Culture of the United States* (Little, Brown) and *The Attentive Public* (Rand McNally).

He resides in Wheaton, Md. with his wife and children.

Caroline House Books, Ottawa, Illinois 61350.

HONG KONG TIME BOMB

This book explains why the present policy is so wrong, short-sighted and doomed to disaster. It tries to be constructive in the interests of all concerned, not only the Hong Kong Belongers and the hundreds of thousands who have joined them, but also the interests of Britain and the free world. Take particular note of statements on page 58.

Copies of the book are available **ONLY FROM THE PUBLISHERS:**

The British Anti-Communist Council, 31 Seneca Way, Cheltenham, Glos. GL50 4SF. United Kingdom.

Price: U.K. £3.50 including postage. Elsewhere £4.50 or US \$6.50 By Airmail. Payment with order.

Proposal to Western Governments

Mr. Y. Vudka, at the end of his speech, "The Colossus with Feet of Clay", at the 17th WACL Conference (3-7 September, San Diego, California), made the following proposal:

It is well-known that the communists and nazis committed the same crimes on a mass scale against humanity. Moreover, the communists can be classified as Hitler's teachers, for they were the ones who first began using these methods of mass murder which were later, with some changes, taken up by Hitler. The communists began committing these crimes before the nazis, continued with them after the nazis, continue with them today and are responsible for more victims than Hitler ever was.

In spite of these generally known facts, the only ones who have until now been subject to judicial prosecution in the free

world have been the "butchers" of brown nazism, which no longer exists, whereas the "butchers" of the more "deserving" red nazism, which still exists today across half the world, have been treated as respectable citizens in the free world.

This is essentially a legalization and justification of the same terrible crimes, even if they are being committed under the red flag. This is a direct encouragement of criminals. Therefore, we must demand that the Western governments place the communist criminals against humanity on the same level as the nazi criminals, both resulting from two evil systems and both being equally eligible to judicial prosecution. This would be of a great moral significance and would create a revolutionary change to the whole atmosphere in the world today.

FULL SUPPORT FOR UKRAINE'S STRUGGLE

On Tuesday, January 22, 1985, President Ronald Reagan expressed full support for the struggle of Ukraine in a statement read at a ceremony in a Congressional Office Building marking the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukraine's independence on January 22, 1918. Several members of Congress came to express support for the effort of the Ukrainians to defend their rights and freedom. Don Ritter, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives paid tribute to Ukrainian dissidents, especially those who died last year in Soviet prisons. He mentioned Valerij Marchenko, Oleksa Tykhyj and Yurij Lytvyn. Congressman Ritter, a member of the U.S. Helsinki Commission on Security and Co-operation in Europe, said the commission is currently nominating imprisoned or exiled Soviet Helsinki monitors for the Nobel Peace Prize. He said this year the commission will nominate Mykola Rudenko, Yurij Orlov, Anatolij Shcharanskyj, Victoras Petkus, Eduard Arutunyan and Merab Kostava. Congressman Ritter said: "We feel that these six courageous men — symbolizing the best aspirations of their countrymen — have earned the special acknowledgement of the Nobel Institute: the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize."

Several Members of Congress paid similar tributes at the reception or placed statements in the congressional record on behalf of Ukrainians. U.S. Senator Alfonse D'Amato pledged his support for the Ukrainian cause and Senator Paul Sarbanes saluted the achievements of the Ukrainian people. Senator Sarbanes renewed, in a statement, "our commitment to speak out on behalf of those who suffer deprivation under a government which continues to deny basic human rights."

S T A T E M E N T

"I am honored to send my warm greetings to Ukrainian-Americans and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America as you gather to honor your traditions and to call attention to the plight of Ukrainians in the Soviet Union.

"This day is not an entirely joyful one for Ukrainians in America and abroad. There are constant reminders of efforts by the Soviet Regime to deprive the Ukrainian people of their national identity, culture, and religious traditions. Indeed, Ukrainians who speak out against this oppression, such as Yurij Shukhevych and others, have received especially harsh treatment and particularly long terms of imprisonment for espousing the principles of democracy and freedom.

"Nevertheless, I remain confident in, and give my full support to, the continuing struggle by Ukrainians everywhere to assert and preserve their cultural and ethnic identity. The Ukrainian spirit of freedom can never be quenched, as long as free Ukrainians continue to speak up for their oppressed brethren and give them the moral support they so desperately need.

"May God bless you all."

Ronald Reagan

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

AFGHANISTAN FIGHTS ON



Afghan Mujahideen with seized Russian weapons.

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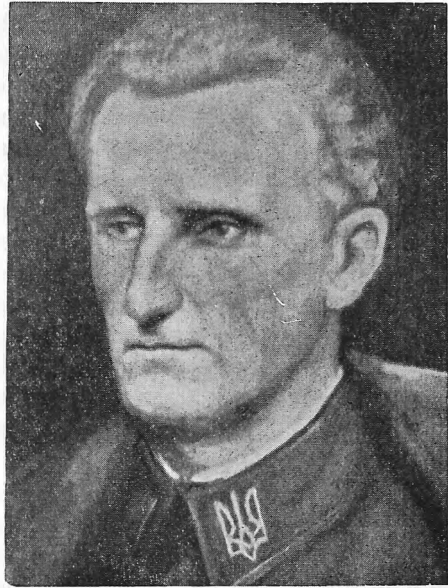
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The 35th Anniversary of a Hero's Death

**General Taras Chuprynka —
Roman Shukhevych**

Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), President of the General Secretariate of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) and Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the homeland fell fighting against the Russian-Bolshevist occupants on March 5th, 1950, near Lviv in Ukraine.

He was one of the founders of the ABN — the co-ordinating centre of the national revolutionary forces of the subjugated nations in their struggle against Nazi Germany and Communist Russia.



General Chuprynka's Order at the End of World War II.

Fighting Men and Commanders of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army!

Hitler's Germany has found its final and irrevocable destruction. The Ukrainian people will no longer fear death in gas chambers or liquidation of their entire villages by the Gestapo. No more will the German hit the freedom-loving Ukrainian peasant in the face, nor take away his land in order to turn him into a slave for the German master. No longer will the German be able to drive thousands and tens of thousands of peasants and workers into modern slavery in Germany. Nor will the Ukrainian intellectual worker have to wait his turn to be liquidated because he could become a future menace to the invader. The barbarian from the West will no longer dominate Ukrainian land.

A great contribution toward the victory over Germany was made by you, Ukrainian Insurgents. You prevented the German from freely exploiting Ukrainian soil and using its fruits for his aggressive designs. You prohibited his pillaging of Ukrainian villages, prevented the forced deportations to Germany. Your retributed hand repaid the German for mass executions and burning of villages. Our Ukrainian Insurgent Army become organized and went through its preliminary combat training in the struggle against Germany.

However, with the defeat and collapse of Germany an even worse occupier has returned to Ukraine — Russia. For centuries it has enslaved Ukraine — and Russia, regardless of whether under a tsarist regime or the "most democratic regime in the world", will never give up its imperialistic designs on our country. This so-called "socialistic republic", has finally decided to put an end to the aspirations of the Ukrainian people for liberty and independence. Having enchained all its people in a new social system of state capitalism, the ruling clique has created such unbearable economic conditions that under it the free-

dom-loving man has become a perpetually hungry beast with no problem on his mind but food. Having introduced a new culture, "national in form, but socialist in content", the Soviet government with the help of such terrorized Ukrainian slaves as Tychynas, Bazhans, Vyshnias and Vozniaks — forcibly injects Russian culture into Ukraine. To mislead the Ukrainian masses still further, the Soviet government creates Commissariats for Defence and Foreign Affairs, which have no other tasks or duties but to glorify Stalin. Through the most inhumane terror mankind has ever known and by insidious provocations the Ukrainian people are to be re-melted in a Russian pot, so that Ukrainians should forget that they once were free and independent, and without protest they will accept being eternal slaves of the "elder brother" — of the new and powerful Russia. For the freedom-loving people, this "most democratic republic" has the Siberian Taigas, the Solovetski Islands, mass executions, the burning of villages, artificial famines and other "modern" and "disciplinary" methods.

However, even now the Ukrainian nation has not capitulated to the aggressive enemy. In 1943 it gave you, Ukrainian Insurgents, weapons with the explicit order to defend to the last the ideal of Ukrainian freedom and independence. With superb determination and heroism, with unheard of faith and devotion, you have been fighting for this ideal for more than two years. Neither hunger nor privation, nor terror applied to your families has shaken your intrepidity and your belief in the final victory. In the face of all the deceitful approaches and addresses of the "Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic", you have strengthened your effort. You remember only too well that by such methods Russia tried to demoralize and weaken the brave soldiers of Mazepa; the same insidious propaganda was used in the years 1920-1923 by the Soviets in order to entice those from among us who were naive enough to believe them. All those who trusted the Russians were "rewarded" by being sent to slave labor camps or executed as soon as their usefulness to Russia came to an end. When you embarked upon the struggle with the Stalinist regime, you knew that we could not capitulate because the enemy that menaces the very existence of the nation, must be fought until victory or death. I am certain that the weapons given you by your people will not be covered in dishonor, and you will leave your names covered with immortal glory for posterity.

Ukrainian Insurgents!

The world has no peace as yet. The revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples as well as the antagonism between the Western democracies and the USSR will increase. People the world over will become increasingly aware of what the "dictatorship of the proletariat", formulated in and propagated by the Kremlin, means to humanity. In the struggle against the Kremlin you are by no means alone. The brave Serbs and Croats continue to fight Tito who is nothing but a tool of Moscow; the Bulgarians also are rebelling against the bloody terror brought to the country by the "allied" USSR. The mountains of Transylvania are overcrowded with those Rumanians who have refused to submit to Russia. Even little Slovakia conducts regular guerilla warfare against the invader. The Polish patriots by constant sabotage and armed struggle fight all the attempts of Stalin to enslave them. The ranks of fighters against

DECLARATIONS AND REALITY

The Yalta "DECLARATION ON THE LIBERATION OF EUROPE" of February 11, 1945 refers exclusively to the nations of East-Central Europe, but has no relation to the subjugated nations in the USSR. These nations were completely written off in the debates of the Yalta Conference, where Moscow dictated the final terms. As a result of the Conference, the Russian empire remained an untouched power. Today, the interpretation of the Yalta Agreements is somewhat different. At the end of 1981 and the beginning of 1982, for example, French President Mitterrand declared the necessity of annulling the Yalta Agreements and abrogating the division of Europe. He was repeating what President Charles de Gaulle of France had stated in 1968, namely that the entrance of the Warsaw Pact armies into the CSSR was a direct consequence of the Yalta Agreements on the division of spheres of influence. Former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt also has commented that "at Yalta, Europe was divided into spheres of interest to which the West fully agreed and it is in this light that today we have to view the events in Poland".

Only the USA upholds the position that in Yalta there were no fixed spheres of influence and the US Government neither approved nor agreed to that concept in Yalta. This was stated in 1968 by Dean Rusk, then US Secretary of State, who defined this interpretation of spheres of influence as absurd. He said that "the US did not conclude a treaty or an agreement on spheres of influence with anyone or anywhere in the world. There was never any talk of spheres of influence at the Yalta Conference". The present US Administration also maintains the position that there was never any agreement in Yalta on the division of spheres of influence.

The Yalta "Declaration on the Liberation of Europe" also refers to the Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941 which was signed by all three superpowers

←

the Oriental satrap are increasing daily. All this, of course, creates favorable conditions for continuing our struggle and brings nearer the moment of downfall for the USSR.

To be able to survive to that moment with weapons in your hands and to give leadership to all those fighting Stalin — this is your sacred duty. I have a firm belief that you will fulfill it with honor and determination as you have fulfilled all your previous tasks and duties. By using new methods of warfare, adaptable to new conditions, you will give a resolute answer to the challenging enemy.

Forward with unshakeable faith until victory!

Long live the Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State!

Eternal glory to those who fell fighting the invader!

Glory to Ukraine!

Taras CHUPRYNKA, General

Commander-in-Chief of the

Ukrainian Insurgent Army

Headquarters, May 1945.

— the USA, Great Britain and the USSR. “The Declaration on the Liberation of Europe” maintains the right of all nations to choose any form of government they desire and demands “the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those nations which were deprived of such rights by aggressor nations through force”. However, Russia, apparently, is not counted as one of these aggressors. The reference here is to Germany, Italy and Japan. The Yalta complex referred to Poland and to “East-Central” Europe in general, and not to Ukraine, Byelorussia and other nations subjugated in the USSR which was the promoter of all the treaties and agreements at that time. British and American statesmen did not protest the inclusion of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the USSR which had been done on the basis of the Russo-German Treaty of August 23 and September 28, 1939.

President Roosevelt was still pre-occupied with the war against Japan and naively believed in the eventual democratization of the tyranny of the Russian aggressors. France was not present in Yalta and, until today, considers that in Yalta Europe was divided into two spheres of influence. “The Yalta myth about the division of spheres of influence in Europe is still present in France”, writes Alfred Grosser in 1978, “in spite of the lack of documentation for such an interpretation; Yalta became a symbol of the domination of two superpowers over the world system”. However, facts have corroborated the French interpretation as correct: the uprising in Berlin in 1953, the Hungarian uprising in 1956 and America’s complete disinterest evidenced by Secretary of State J. F. Dulles’ secret message to Tito that Washington would not interfere in foreign spheres of influence, as well as the West’s silence during the events in Poland in 1956 and in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 (although in all of these countries it was a question of realising the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Yalta “Declaration on the Liberation of Europe”), the Berlin Wall in 1961, the uprisings of Ukrainian political prisoners in concentration camps and the constant silence from the West.

In the present United States Administration, President Ronald Reagan, Vice President George Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz all objected to the “myth” about the division of the world between the superpowers, as allegedly agreed upon at Yalta. Therefore, it is the duty of the USA and other western countries to constantly bring pressure upon the USSR because of its introduction of a tyrannical, totalitarian, undemocratic and occupational system in the countries of so-called East-Central Europe, including Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, for in doing this Russia has violated the agreement in Yalta. This attack has to be led by the USA and other western countries, which should stand up in defence of the subjugated nations and expose Moscow’s lies to the world.

It is clear that neither Roosevelt nor Churchill, being blinded by the alliance with the anti-Christ against the devil, with Stalin against Hitler, had in mind in their declaration either Ukraine or the other subjugated nations in the USSR, including the Baltic nations. Nor did they think about the freedom and independence of Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Armenia or North Caucasus and about the heroic army of the OUN-UPA and their two-front war. Churchill and Eden even divided into ratios the spheres of influence in some satellite countries between themselves and the USSR (Churchill and Eden in Moscow on the night of October 9-10, 1944). The

ratios of interest of the USSR to Great Britain and the USA: 90:10 in Rumania, 10:90 in Greece, 50:50 in Yugoslavia and Hungary, 75:25 in Bulgaria. We should emphasize that Greece and Yugoslavia fought on the side of the Allies. The USA rejected these ratios of interest.

Neither in Yalta nor in other Agreements and Treaties between the three powers was there any reference to Ukraine or the other subjugated nations in the USSR. Stalin dictated the course of action, although without the aid of the USA, the USSR would never have survived the war. The USA rescued the Russian empire, but the actual victor was Russia. In Europe, Stalin was fulfilling the plans of Tsarist Russia — of Nicholas II. In 1914, the Russian Council of Ministers set up its war plans and goals. One part of the Russian government planned the restoration of the Polish kingdom under Tsarist protection, the other planned the seizure of Halychyna (Galicia), Northern Bukovyna, Carpatho-Ukraine, Tsarhorod (Istanbul), the Dardanelles, as well as the seizure of Eastern Prussia and also part of Asian Turkey, the liberation of Slavs from Austrian rule, the weakening of Germany through the annexation of some parts of their territory to France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Denmark, the creation of small German states, etc., the reunification of Poland in its ethnographic territory under the protection of Russia. Stalin together with Molotov studied this Tsarist Russian plan and acted according to it whenever the situation arose. In fact, they realised many of the plans set up by the Council of Ministers in 1914. The general line of Bolshevik policy in somewhat modified terms, is identical to that of the Tsarist Russian policy of world conquest. Is present day Soviet Russia not executing the plans of Tsar Peter I, as stated in his "Testament", with regard to Afghanistan, Iran and access to the warm waters of the Indian Ocean?

Neither Churchill nor Roosevelt considered Bolshevik power as a continuation of Tsarist power, they did not see the permanence and continuation of Russian imperialism and messianism. And so, having won the war, they totally lost peace. They were not yet capable of understanding the sly devices of the Russians.

The Atlantic Charter was also a deception for the nations which fought either on one side or the other. It did not apply to Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia or the other subjugated nations. No one from Western governments referred to the subjugated nations in the USSR. This was a deceptive declaration in order to enable the soldiers of the different armies as well as the subjugated nations to live with the illusion that they would be free by fighting against this or that system of tyranny and colonialism in order to continue having them as cannon fodder for the imperialists.

The struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) were not mentioned at all in the Atlantic Charter discussions, so as not to "provoke" the bear of Moscow. Furthermore, it is indeed ironic that today in some American courts the OUN-UPA are considered enemies of the USA because they fought against the US Ally — Russia. They are well aware that the OUN-UPA also fought against Nazi Germany. The Western Allies did not regard Ukraine or the other subjugated nations in the USSR as a matter of importance at all.

Instead of relying on the subjugated nations to fight against both Russian and German tyrannies and rather than including them in a common front, thus destroying both totalitarian, genocidal imperialisms, the Allies sided with the anti-Christ against the Devil. This line of thinking was also taken up at Yalta, where there was no mention of Ukraine, a 50 million-strong nation which fought against both tyrannies. It was naive and self-delusive to consider that such an anti-Christ empire would respect the rights of nations and the individual, belief in God and the ideals of freedom. Declarations and Agreements are only pieces of paper to tyrants and atheists.

Even though the USA and other Western governments now offer a true interpretation of Yalta and the Atlantic Charter, one can see that they still refuse to take into consideration the subjugated nations within the USSR, they do not see Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and others, but only the "satellites", some of which are particularly privileged. For them the USSR is taboo. The liberation of the nations subjugated within the Russian empire — the USSR — are also not included in present actions for a true interpretation of Yalta and the Atlantic Charter.

Taking advantage of such an occasion as the Yalta Commemoration, it is necessary to shatter the narrow scope of the so-called "satellite" complex by broadening the action for the destruction of the Russian empire — the USSR — in general, and by the restoration on its ruins of independent, democratic states of the nations at present subjugated by Russian imperialism within their own ethnographic boundaries. Our action must be conducted with the aim of the dissolution of the entire Russian empire which is composed of the subjugated nations in the USSR, as well as the so-called "satellite countries". We have to refer to recent international law and acts, such as the UN Resolution on the Decolonisation of all the Empires in the World, the US Congressional Law on Captive Nations of 1959 (86-90), to the God-given right of every nation to sovereignty, and for human rights, regardless of its race, beliefs, size or wealth.

We must refer to those international legal acts which guarantee the rights of nations and the individual, and not to those "agreements" or "accords" which were dictated by Moscow. Only through force can we achieve the success of our struggle: the regaining of our sovereign and democratic states.

During the current review of the Yalta case, we have the opportunity of outlining our political position, the positions of our nations who are fighting for sovereignty on their ethnographic territories. We recognise this right for every nation.

The scope of our liberation concept offers the solution to the world political crisis which has arisen because of Russian imperialism and Moscow's worldwide aggression which is constantly on the increase, camouflaged in different forms, colours and shapes. Our aim is the dissolution of the Russian empire and the destruction of the communist system by a co-ordinated struggle of all subjugated nations in the Russian empire with the help of all other nations under the Bolshevik threat. Force is the only way of dealing with the Russians. Russia will only withdraw under the pressure of force.

On the 40th anniversary of the Yalta Conference, we appeal to the free world, in particular to those Western states which were party to the decisions dictated by Moscow, to conduct a modern type of war, namely, a psychological,

political and ideological offensive against the Russian empire and Bolshevism. This must be done by making the subjugated nations the focal point of this war, as well as bringing attention to their concepts of liberation and their political aims.

We can help those subjugated nations, which hope for some success in their actions as a result of a new and different interpretation of Yalta than the one which the world has had until now, not by isolated actions but by common action in a front comprised of all the subjugated nations, giving top priority to the essence of the matter, namely, the dissolution of the Russian empire through a united effort of all the subjugated nations and those threatened by Bolshevism. Not limiting ourselves to a narrow scope of action under the slogan of "Yalta" — which trampled upon the desires of freedom of the numerous presently subjugated nations, who were in effect fighting both Russia and Germany — we should also include in our action the liberation of *all* those nations which are victimized by the Yalta complex. We have a common fate. No one will help us unless we help ourselves. In 1943 the West chose to neglect the appeal made from the forests of Zhytomyr, Ukraine, by the Revolutionary Committee of the subjugated nations of Eastern Europe and Asia (The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) to the subjugated nations of Western Europe to create a common front against both totalitarianisms and imperialisms. Now the West is living with the consequences.

The only alternative today, which is the same as it was yesterday and will not change tomorrow, is to create a common front of all these subjugated nations and thus free the world from mankind's greatest threat — Russian imperialism of any kind and Bolshevism. Yalta offers no solutions whatsoever!

And finally, the Occident should be ashamed for having betrayed itself. In all its means of information or disinformation, Western governments and academic institutions betray their roots by agreeing to this dismembered Europe. In the US State Department there are both an "Eastern Europe" department *and* a "USSR" department. Since the "USSR" is a world in itself, for them, nations incarcerated in it have no European culture, spirit and history. Does this mean that in Washington, London, Bonn and Paris, East European history begins with Lenin...? When you read "Eastern Europe" department at the US State Department or elsewhere, do not think this includes Ukraine, Byelorussia or Georgia... They belong to another cultural or historical cycle, namely the USSR! Eastern Europe therefore ends with Warsaw. Is it possible that the US State Department will soon introduce a new name for the USSR (as George Orwell predicted) — Eurasia!?! Kyiv — the centre of European culture in the Middle Ages — is no longer part of Europe! It was not without reason that Spengler wrote so pessimistically about "The Decline of the West". Do the Europeans feel no shame when they write off European countries from European culture and history? If tomorrow Russian Bolshevik hordes were to overrun East Germany, Bulgaria or Hungary and include them into the USSR, would the frontier of Eastern Europe then be moved further to the West? Furthermore, if the Bolshevik hordes were to reach the Atlantic, would there then no longer be a Europe? Genghis Khan, Lenin, Stalin, Andropov, Chernenko will come and go, but nations, culture, spirit, history, individuality, respect of human dignity, freedom of nations, heroic Occidental Christianity all remain.

We should stop defining Moscow's "satellites" as Eastern Europe. We should stop accepting European frontiers as Moscow chooses to designate them. We should have some dignity and some European pride because the spirit of Europe also lives on in the United States — the everlasting spirit of Europe, regardless of whether the conformists at the State Department define us as "Soviets", or Poles and East Germans as Eastern Europeans. Is Lithuania, which is incorporated in the USSR and known as the LSSR, no longer part of Eastern Europe, but some strange creation within the framework of the USSR? How incredible it would be if tomorrow the Russians were to occupy Greece or Italy and incorporate them into the Soviet Socialist Republics of the USSR; would Western apologists for the USSR think that Greeks or Italians had renounced their roots, their own nation of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Phidias, the Iliad, the Stoics Roman law which became the basis for European law — would they no longer belong to Europe and instead become a "Soviet nation"? Would they become a faceless herd of servants to a supernation of barbarians aiming at the levelling of human individuality, or oppressed Orwellian robots within a cult of atheism; Lenin's mummy and Stalin the cannibal?!

A memento for those who have no respect for their roots!

However, there are some grounds for optimism because the Occident is beginning to realise its own values. Heroic Christianity, national-patriotic ideas, faith in one's own nation and in the eternal values of the individual, created in God's image, and of nations, created according to God's "plan", have been radiating from the underground movements of the East. This spirit of national patriotism and cultural tradition is reviving in the United States and Western Europe. In the USA, President Reagan has become a promoter of a renewed idealism, patriotism and a moral revival of the spirit of Christianity, faith in God and traditionalism, of strong family ties, of respect for human beings, national sovereignty and human rights within the framework of social justice. He has confronted the empire of evil with ethical ideals and national political values. Through President Reagan's initiation, a revival movement has developed in the United States filled with the spirit of heroism and patriotism, the raising of a young generation with faith in God and love of one's fatherland and respect of the rights of other nations for freedom and independence. The fact that the American nation has expressed its confidence in him with an overwhelming majority, proves that the ideas propagated by him are more than accepted.

In Great Britain there is a growing understanding among parliamentarians and important military theoreticians of the importance of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism, as well as a new understanding of Europe — not that which was mapped out by Moscow.

There is a growing realisation that those nations (be it so-called "satellites" or within the USSR) which constantly struggle to uphold European values and ideas *do* belong to Europe.

Finally, if we — the subjugated nations — do not become free and independent, there will be no lasting freedom and independence for any European nation.

This is the law of our era from which there can be no escape!

“On the Threshold of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine”

Homily Delivered by His Holiness Pope John Paul II at Sts. Volodymyr and Olha Cathedral in Winnipeg, Sun. Sept. 16, 1984. Translated from Ukrainian.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

It is a joy to be with you today in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Saints Volodymyr and Olha in Winnipeg. I greet you, Archbishop Hermaniuk, my other Brothers in the Episcopate, and all you assembled in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. With joy I note the representations of the Eparchies of Edmonton, Toronto, New Westminster and Saskatoon. Through you I extend cordial greetings to all the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite and to all the Ukrainian people in Canada. I greet you as a fellow Slav, sharing to a large degree in your spirit and heritage. I am especially happy to be with you as we draw near to the solemn celebration of the First Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine. In you I embrace in the charity of Christ all the people of your homeland, together with their history, culture, and the heroism with which they have lived their faith. SLAVA ISUSU CHRYSTU!

Being here with you, I cannot refrain from speaking about a great man, a confessor of the faith, Major Archbishop Cardinal Slipyj, whom the Lord has called to eternity.

His death has encompassed all of us with great grief. He was a worthy successor of the saintly Metropolitan Andrej Sheptytskyj.

However, bitter times have visited the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Not unlike Christ on Calvary, Cardinal Slipyj had to pass through the experience of the Cross. He was not allowed to exercise the duties of his episcopal office, for he was condemned to eighteen years of exile and imprisonment. However, he remained steadfast and accepted suffering like a hero, and having regained freedom, he did not rest, but with great dedication he laboured for the church and his people. The Major Archbishop visited Ukrainian communities throughout the world. He promoted learning; he built the St. Clement University; he published documents and books of learning.

In our prayers, let us ask the Lord to generously reward him for his sufferings, for his dedicated service to the Church, for all his labours. May his memory be eternal!

As Ukrainian Byzantine Catholics, you have inherited a great spiritual tradition, extending back a thousand years to the time of Saint Olha and her grandson Saint Volodymyr. Who could have known then, how that faith would grow so organically with your culture, and how it would have such a major impact on your history as it brought the grace of the Redemption into the lives of your ancestors? So much could be said about this history, which not infrequently was linked with that of my own native land, but since time presses on, I must limit myself to recalling only a few important moments of your difficult yet noble past.

Events of every time and place are directed by the loving plan of God, for God is the Lord of history. In a special way God's Providence has guided your development in Canada. The Archeparchy of Winnipeg, which is in fact the

third Metropolitan See in the history of the Ukrainian people, was erected in 1956, just forty-four years after you were given your first Bishop. This ecclesiastical province, like that small mustard seed of the Gospel, has quickly grown and flourished. When Ukrainian immigrants first came to this land, they brought with them a strong Catholic faith and a firm attachment to their religious and cultural traditions. They placed a high priority on the construction of their churches and schools, desiring to preserve this precious heritage and pass it on to their children. They sank deep roots into Canadian soil and quickly became productive and loyal citizens.

At the same time, a number of generous people greatly assisted the new immigrants. As soon as it was possible, the Metropolitan of Lviv, the servant of God Andrej Sheptyckyj, sent zealous priests to minister to their needs. He himself came on a visit in 1910 and prepared the way for the appointment of Bishop Budka, the first of your many zealous Bishops in this land. It is important, too, to remember the contributions made by many local Latin Rite Bishops and priests, some of whom dedicated as much attention and care to Ukrainians as to the faithful of their own rite. The presence here today of the Latin Rite Bishops is a sign of continuing harmony and collaboration. "Behold, how good it is, and how pleasant, when brethren dwell as one" (Ps. 133).

Your own Byzantine clergy, together with your monks and nuns contributed greatly to your adjustment and growth in this land. Religious orders such as the Basilian, Redemptorist and Studite Fathers, and the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate have staffed parishes, hospitals, schools, and many other institutions. All of these have served to protect and strengthen family life, offer assistance to the sick and needy, and contribute to the betterment of society.

Our meeting today, taking place as it does on the threshold of the solemn celebration of the Millennium of Christianity in Kyiv and the entire Ukraine, carries our minds and hearts back through the centuries of your glorious history of faith. We feel deep gratitude to God, in a special way, for the grace of fidelity to the Catholic Church and loyalty to the Successor of Saint Peter which was bestowed on your forebears. As Archbishop of Krakow I came to know and appreciate this precious heritage of the Ukrainian people, as seen particularly in the martyrs of Cholm and Pidlassia who followed the example of Saint Josaphat, a great apostle of unity, and as seen also in the pastoral zeal of so many of your Bishops, down to the present day.

These great men and women of Ukrainian history encourage you today to live your Catholic faith with equal fervour and zeal. They inspire you, too, to work and pray without ceasing for the unity of all Christians. In the many and varied ecumenical efforts of the Church, members of the Byzantine Rite like yourselves have a special role to play in regard to the Eastern Christians who are not in full communion with the See of Peter.

You are in a privileged position to fulfill that request of the Second Vatican Council which is expressed in the Decree on Ecumenism, namely: "Everyone should realize that it is of supreme importance to understand, venerate, preserve and foster the rich liturgical and spiritual heritage of the Eastern Churches in order to faithfully preserve the fullness of Christian tradition, and to bring about reconciliation between Eastern and Western Christians" (Unitatis Redintegratio, 15). Your Ukrainian heritage and your Byzantine spirituality, theology

and liturgy prepare you well for this important task of fostering reconciliation and full communion. May the hearts of all Bishops, priests, religious and laity be filled with a burning desire that the prayer of Christ be realized: "May they all be one. Father, may they be one in us, as you are in me and I am in you, so that the world may believe it was you who sent me" (Jn. 17:21).

But this desire for unity will only be realized if it goes hand in hand with a sincere fraternal love towards all, a love like that of Christ which is without limit or exception. Such Christian love will open our hearts to the light of divine truth. It will help to clarify the differences which still divide Christians, foster constructive dialogue and mutual understanding, and thereby further the salvation of souls and the unity of all in Christ. We must remember that this Christian love is nurtured by prayer and penance.

Dear brothers and sisters: it is good to be with you today. I rejoice to see your children dressed in your beautiful national costumes, and to know that your young people are growing up with a grateful awareness of their ethnic origins and religious roots. I join you in thanking God for the many institutions and traditions which aid and strengthen the bonds of your families, which are the foundation of the Church and society. May you always preserve with fitting pride the heritage of faith and culture which is yours. I place this intention, together with all your prayers, before the Immaculate Virgin Mary, Queen of Ukraine, asking her to protect you with her motherly love and lead you ever closer to her divine Son, Jesus Christ the Redeemer of the world. Beloved friends: in the words of the Apostle Peter: "Peace to all of you who are in Christ" (I Pt. 5:14).

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL (EFC) GREAT BRITAIN BRANCH HELD FEBRUARY 23, 1985, LONDON



Left to right: Hon. J. Wilkinson, M.P. — EFC President, Councillor R. Davies — outgoing Chairman of EFC Great Britain Branch, Mrs. S. Stetsko — EFC Vice-President, Hon. S. Terlezki — newly elected Chairman of EFC Great Britain Branch.

Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine

(Translated by Marta Oliynyk)

INTRODUCTION

Recently, the first eight parts of a new Ukrainian samvydav document — a journal entitled “Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine” — have reached the West.

This publication made its first appearance at the beginning of 1984, and documents the terrible plight of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the brutal persecution suffered by Ukrainian Catholics at the hands of the Soviet Russian authorities.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was outlawed by the Russians in 1946. Its entire hierarchy and a large number of the clergy were liquidated, and the 5-million strong adherents of the Ukrainian Eastern-rite Catholic denomination were forcibly incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church. Since then, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has continued its clandestine existence in “the catacombs”.

The “Chronicle” is published as a regular information bulletin by the unofficial “Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine”, founded in September, 1982, to spearhead the campaign for the legislation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and to publicise its persecution, and has, at long last given the Ukrainian Catholics a voice to the world.

This document reflects the recent resurgence of Ukrainian Catholic activity in Western Ukraine. Although it is mainly concerned with Catholics, the “Chronicle” also provides coverage of other religious and ethnic groups in Western Ukraine, as well as nationalist opposition.

PART I.

Arrests

In October, 1983, in the city of Stryj, the 71 year old Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest, Fr. Antin POTOCHNYAK, was arrested. This is his fifth arrest. Fr. A. POTOCHNIAK was arrested after a stomach operation and he was placed in Lviv prison with his stitches still in place. After two weeks a second operation was performed on him in prison. POTOCHNYAK was sentenced to 1 year in a strict-regime corrective labour camp. At the present time Fr. Antin is in the Lviv labour camp VL-315/30, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel V. POVSHENKO.

✱

In 1983 the Ukrainian Catholic, Ivan VYRSTA, was arrested. He is a resident

of the village of Perehinske, Rozhnyativ district, Ivano-Frankivsk region. Sentence: 1 year in a strict-regime corrective labour colony. At present he is being held in the Vinnytsya corrective labour camp IV-301/86.

✱

The Ukrainian Catholic, Ivan SMETANA, resident of the village of Salashi, Yavoriv district, Lviv region, was sentenced to two years in a strict-regime labour camp.

✱

On January 6th, 1984, Ivan KOPOLOVETS', resident of Dovhe, Zakarpattia region, was arrested. Reasons: I. KOPOLOVETS' participated in a “vertep” (Christmas play). He, together with the other participants, was arrested while singing Christmas carols, beaten up and

later sentenced. Term: 2 years of corrective work.

✱

Heorhiy POSTULATI was arrested. He is a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses Church. H. Postulati lives in the Chernivtsi region, Kitsman district. Term: 3 years in a strict-regime labour camp.

✱

NOTIFICATIONS.

On January 12th, 1984, a regular meeting of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Catholics took place in Mizh-hirya district, in the Zakarpatya region. Agenda:

- a) election of a chairman,
- b) Samvydav.

Yosyp TERELYA was re-elected chairman.

✱

In January, 1983, Pavlo KLYMUK, a poet and a Christian, was arrested in the city of Lviv. He was charged with violation of article 209-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR ('Infringement on the individual and citizens' rights under the guise of performing religious ceremonies'). P. KLYMUK had been published in the illegal Baptist journal 'Herald of Truth'. The trial took place in the district of Lviv. The court adjourned the case six times for further investigation, but KLYMUK was, nevertheless, sentenced to 5 years in a labour camp.

✱

In 1982, the monk, Brother ANDRIY (Anatoliy SHCHUR), was arrested in the Pochayivska Lavra. Sentence: 1 year in a strict-regime labour camp. In November, 1983, he was released from labour camp VL 315/30 in Lviv, but two months later he was re-arrested.

✱

In 1982, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest, Fr. IHNATIIY (Hnat SOL-

TYS), was arrested. That same year he was sentenced for violating article 209-2 to 5 years in a labour camp to be followed by 5 years of internal exile. Fr. IHNATIIY was first arrested in 1945, but released after 10 months. Within two months of his release he was re-arrested and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment.

From 1946 until 1956, Fr. IHNATIIY served his sentence in Kamchatka. After his release he participated actively in the Catholic underground. A humble and sensitive man, Fr. IHNATIIY headed the movement known as Ukrainian Catholic-Penitents. At this time the KGB began spreading rumours that this was a new sect and that its aim was to discredit the Ukrainian Catholic Church. KGB agents infiltrated the movement of Catholic-Penitents. They created provocations deliberately and continued to spread false information.

In 1959, Fr. IHNATIIY was once again arrested and released in 1962. That same year Fr. IHNATIIY (SOLTYS) was re-arrested and tried for violating article 62-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. ('Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'). He was sentenced to 7 years in a strict-regime labour camp. He served his term in the notorious Dubrovlag camp in Mordovia.

In 1967, following his release, Fr. IHNATIIY went underground again.

In 1979, he was re-arrested and tried. He was released in 1982, but within a month was again re-arrested. He had served his last term in the labour camp's cell-type premises and had spent over 400 days in a punishment cell.

✱

RAFALSKY was arrested. At the present time he is in the investigative section of the regional psychiatric hospital in Lviv.

✱

On January 6th, 1984, a group of Catholic youth gathered in the village of

Yalynkovate, Lviv region, in order to mark the arrest of the Ukrainian poet and Christian, Semen SKALYCH. At the gathering the poet's works were read, as well as the works of other banned poets. At the present time SKALYCH is serving a 10 year term in the Perm labour camps to be followed by 5 years of internal exile.

On January 18th, 1984, KGB officers conducted an inquiry in connection with the gathering in the villages of Volosyan-ka, Yalynkovate and Slavske stanytsya. Random searches were carried out.

During Christmas festivities in the mountain village of Lysychevo, Zakarpatya region, district officials, accompanied by the militia, arrived from the regional centre in three cars, in order to disrupt carol singing. The carol singers beat up the authorities and pushed their cars into a ditch.

✱

On January 12th, the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, received word that a new case was being prepared against Vasyly' SICHKO.

V. SICHKO is serving his term in the Vinnytsya labour camp IV-301/86. Pray for V. SICHKO.

✱

On Christmas Eve, the Ukrainian Catholic woman, Polanya BAT'O, a resident of the village of Dovhe, Zakarpatya region, was released from a labour camp.

P. BAT'O is very ill. During her one year term P. BAT'O had spent 271 days in a punishment cell.

✱

The Ukrainian Catholic Mykhaylo TRYKUR, is serving his fifth term in the Lviv labour camp VL-315/48. TRYKUR was arrested at the same time as Y. TERELYA, together with his wife Maria TRYKUR. Y. TERELYA was sentenced

to 1 year, and the TRYKUR couple to 2 years each. M. TRYKUR is serving her term in the village of Dobrovody, Ternopil region. Maria has spent 300 days in cell-type premises and punishment cells. Pray for the martyr, sister Maria.

✱

On December 26th, 1983, the chairman of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine, Yosyp TERELYA, was released from labour camp VL-315/30.

✱

NOTIFICATIONS.

The following prisoners are serving their terms of punishment in labour camp IV-301/59 in the village of Peschanko, Vinnytsya region. They are there because of their faith in Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Y. YASINSKY — 3 years — Baptist
V. PAUN — 3 years — Baptist

Albert VERBYAZH — 5 years —
Evangelist — Seventh Day Adventist
(resident of the city of Berehove, Zakarpatya region)

V. DAMASKIN — 3 years — Baptist

V. SHERBETS' — 3 years — Baptist

V. SERDYUK — 5 years — Baptist

Vasyly' TSAN'KO — 3 years — Jehovah's Witness (resident of the city of Svalyava, Zakarpatya region).

✱

As a result of KGB provocation a resident of the town of Kozova, Ternopil region, Mykola Stepanovych MAMUS, was tried. M. MAMUS was first arrested in 1948 in Czecho-Slovakia. He was falsely accused of being a messenger for the External Sections of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. The government of the Czecho-Slovakian S.S.R. extradited MAMUS to the Soviet Union where, following terrible tortures, he was sentenced to 25 years in Stalinist labour camps. M. MAMUS did not admit to any guilt or sign any documents.

At the present time M. MAMUS is in the notorious labour camp VL-315/30 in Lviv. The labour camp is located on the site of the former fascist "Yanivskiy concentration camp", where, during the war, more than 70,000 Jews, as well as more than 42,000 Ukrainians, French, Belgians, gypsies and Russians were tortured and shot.

Instead of a monument honouring the victims of fascism, the Soviet Union's communists established a concentration camp many times more terrible than the fascist one. It is those very communists who are attempting to build "a just communist society"; after the war they confirmed the right to life of the "Yanivskiy concentration camp" — tradition and example are infectious!

*

At the present time 300 Catholics, 29 Baptists, 2 Pentacostalists, 15 Jehovah's Witnesses, 5 Seventh Day Adventists and 39 Orthodox are being held in labour camp VL-315/30. They were all convicted as a result of KGB provocations, accused of violating various articles of the Criminal Code and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

*

At labour camp VL-315/40 in the city of Drohobych, repressions against Christians have intensified. The head of the labour camp applies 'corrective' measures. This means that a prisoner is placed in a punishment cell and if he does not ask to be pardoned or does not repent and relinquish his faith in Christ, he will be kept in the punishment cell until such time as he is transferred to the camp hospital.

The first to apply this 'corrective' measure was Major PLATONOV, in labour camp 128/30, in the village of Hubnyk, Vinnytsya region.

*

In labour camp VL-315/30 repressions against Christian believers have become more savage.

During a regular search of the Baptist believers, Serhiy MYRONENKO and Yuriy MESHKO, conducted by Captain SAVATIMOV, copies of the Bible and the Gospel were confiscated. The prisoners were punished by being deprived of the use of the camp shop. This is the fifth time that they are being 'punished' by hunger. KAMINSKY, a Jehovah's Witness, was transferred to hard labour and if one considers that all believers are consigned to hard labour, then it becomes clear why KAMINSKY has been punished.

His co-believer, DOBROVOL'SKY, was placed in a punishment cell for fifteen days for distributing the Holy Word.

*

The Ukrainian patriot, Petro KHMARUK, is serving his third term under difficult conditions. He was convicted on the basis of KGB provocations to 3 years in a strict-regime labour camp for allegedly forging documents.

P. KHMARUK is the organiser of an underground press in Kyiv. For this he was convicted and sentenced to 5 years in a labour camp.

*

The Ukrainian defender of human rights Pavlo KAMPOV, is serving his second term under difficult conditions.

P. KAMPOV was transferred from Ukraine to Russia. His new address is: R.S.F.S.R., Kirovsk region, Verkhnekamsk district, village of Rudnichny, P.O. Box OR-216/3, detachment 1.

*

On November 18th, 1983, Fr. Antin POTOCHNYAK, who was ill, was transferred from Lviv prison to labour camp VL-315/30, the head of which is Lieutenant-Colonel V. POVSHENKO.

The head of the Health division, Captain TALYZIN, refused to hospitalise the 71 year-old sick priest. Reasons: Fr. Antin has an alleged bad influence on the other prisoners. "And I want to sleep

peacefully”, stated TALYZIN. And so, on December 14th, 1983, Fr. Antin POTOCHNYAK was summoned to appear at the camp headquarters. Present at the meeting were the camp commander, Lieutenant-Colonel V. POVSHENKO; the head of the regime section, Major VOLOCHUGIN; Lieutenant-Colonel FILIPOV; and other camp officers.

His co-workers call the camp commander, POVSHENKO, “Pinochet”, behind his back. His favourite “activity” is to walk into a punishment cell and wait for a prisoner to beg forgiveness, after which he says graciously: “Now, see how you have offended our authority. Even in camp you have to be punished, therefore I am adding 15 more days”. Then he laughs savagely and moves on to his next victim.

POVSHENKO informed Fr. Antin that now there are instructions for dealing with Ukrainian Catholics. Therefore Fr. Antin should work and fulfill his quota. “We have the right to place all Catholics, up to the age of 90, in a punishment cell for fifteen days”.

“We will not allow another Poland”, shouted POVSHENKO on January 10th, 1984. Fr. Antin was placed in cell-type premises for correction.

Within 3 days Fr. Antin, the sick priest, suffered a haemorrhage and was transferred to the camp hospital. But Captain TALYZIN protested and on the second day he transferred the ill Fr. Antin back to the cell-type accommodation.

The Ukrainian Catholic, Ilya ULIHANYNETS’, a resident of the village of Tybava, Svalyava district, Zakarpatya region, was arrested on January 15th, 1984. A search was carried out in his home. During the search the following articles were seized:

- a) a catechism, dated 1908,
- b) a Bible published during the existence of the inter-war Czech State,

c) handwritten prayers — a prayer for the ‘Ukrainian nation’, a novena to St. Joseph and a prayer called ‘For All Needs’.

They confiscated 110 rubles from the arrested man. Reason: the arrested man allegedly sends money to prisoners and therefore this money is serving to create an ‘anti-Soviet atmosphere’ in the words of the head of the militia, Lieutenant-Colonel RYBAK.

We will add the fact that I. ULIHANYNETS’ lives very poorly, not like Lieutenant-Colonel RYBAK, who has a Volga car, his own house, not acquired on the salary of a militia commander, and a sizeable sum of money in his savings account.

✱

520 or more Ukrainian Catholics burnt their passports and refused to have anything to do with the authorities. Believing the authorities to be inimical to Christianity and offensive to God, they decided to accept all the tortures of the persecuted just so as not to have any dealings with the atheists. The authorities did not know what move to make for two months. At the end of February the repressions began. Ilya ULIHANYNETS’ was one of those who burnt his passport.

The chairman of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics, Y. TEREPLYA, believes that if this movement becomes stronger, more than 3,000 Catholics will destroy their passports. He stated:

“We are hunted and without rights. They have taken away everything from us — our Church and our schools. We are constantly persecuted — we only exist as a working force in the labour camps, in the eyes of the authorities. In this case, why do we need Soviet passports? After all, they put people into Soviet labour camps even without passports”.

✱

In December, 1983, the apartment of the secretary of the Initiative Group to

Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, H. BUDZYNS'KY, was attacked. The unknown "assailants" removed all the money in the house (270 rubles). They also demanded gold because, since he was a priest, he should have some. Then the new chairman of the Group, Vasył KO-BRYN, entered BUDZYNS'KY's apartment. He was searched; then he was asked why he had come there. "Do you have any money?" It is strange that the "thieves" were acting so openly, and were not afraid of the militia or the KGB charging in. Fr. BUDZYNS'KY's house was under constant surveillance.

PART II.

NOTIFICATIONS.

On the 16th of February, 1984, the local head of the volunteer militia, a teacher of military affairs at the high school in the village of Dovhe, Ivan BABYNETS', came in the night to the apartment of a member of the Initiative Group, the chairman of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics (Yosyp TERE LYA). BABYNETS' was in a drunken state.

He began by saying all sorts of nonsense learnt in advance. Then he got to the "point". I. BABYNETS' began demanding that Yosyp Mykhaylovych take his wife and children to his home, because he, BABYNETS', was going to blow up his (TERE LYA's) house. Then he showed him the package of explosives. Y. TERE LYA told him to go home because he was drunk; as for the explosion, he was not afraid of it since everything is in God's hands. Then the "teacher" said that if he did not do it, the others would...

It is difficult to say what this incident was — blackmail or a threat? Or was it both?

✱

On January 7th, 1984, the pupils of the local school hung out the national flag and the "Tryzub" ((Trident) in the village

of Dmytriv, Lviv region. The KGB authorities from Pustomyt and Lviv arrived to analyse the situation. The seventh graders are threatened with a prison term from 3 to 7 years for violating article 62, section 1.

✱

The executive committee of the Ukrainian National Front has resolved to create a "Black Book" to record the names of war criminals who committed crimes against the nation, her culture, economy, and so on.

Among the criminals who are subject to international courts, are doctors-psychiatrists who have particularly distinguished themselves by the destruction of dissent on the territory of Ukraine. "The entire emigration of Eastern Europe should strengthen the movement for passing the law concerning war criminals who committed crimes against humanity on the territories of the enslaved countries of Europe and in Afghanistan, Angola, Lebanon..."

✱

In labour camp IN-316/93 repressions against Christian believers have intensified. Without exception, all Christians have been consigned to hard labour. This includes even sick people. The camp commander stated that he has instructions on how to deal with Christians so everything he is doing adheres to the letter of the law. On Sunday, February 7th, a lecturer from Kyiv gave a lecture on an "international topic" in the labour camp. Part of the lecture was devoted to the subject of using prisoners for military duty in the event of war. This was not the first lecture on this subject. In November, 1983, a lecturer named HAVRYLENKO talked about the same thing, but in greater detail. In part he discussed the fact that China is a threat to the USSR.

✱

According to the latest information, the Ukrainian Catholic, Maria TRYKUR,

has been transferred from the womens' labour camp of Dobrovody to the Dnipropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital for examination. Within 2 weeks her husband, M. TRYKUR, was also transferred there. Professor Blokhina and the doctor—murderer A. KAVUNNIKOV conducted the examination. At one time KAVUNNIKOV participated in the murder of N. SOROKIN.

The Ukrainian Catholic, Fedir VYRSTA, was transferred from labour camp VL-315/48 to the Dnipropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital. They are demanding that he renounce his faith in Jesus Christ, that he convert to Orthodoxy and that he accept a Soviet passport. F. VYRSTA is one of the Catholics who refused a Soviet passport.

✱

Other members of banned churches of the USSR, on the territory of Transcarpathian Ukraine are refusing to carry Soviet passports. Until his trial, the Jehovah's Witness, Y. SHYMON, a resident of the Tyachiv district, refused to carry a Soviet passport for the following reasons:

a) persecution of his religious faith,

b) all Transcarpathian Rumanians who were born on regional territory have "Rumanian" listed in their passports; the price of moving to Moldavia would be the registration of "Moldavian" in his passport.

Y. SHYMON considers himself a Rumanian and does not want to be a Moldavian on Moldavian territory, whereas on the territory of his native region he is graciously allowed to be a Rumanian.

✱

Gypsies, the "pariahs" of Transcarpathia, are living in most difficult conditions. In all the territory of the region there is not a single national gypsy school. Eighty per cent of the gypsies have passed through the Soviet gulag. Not a single group of the regional population lives in such unsanitary conditions as the gypsies.

The regional militia calls the gypsies "the Indians of Transcarpathia". This catchphrase was coined by the chairman of the municipal executive committee of the city of Mukachiv. Some of the Transcarpathian gypsies have accepted the evangelical teachings and actively participate in the Christian life of the region. Some are Greek Catholics. The authorities would prefer all the gypsies to be thieves and bandits — then it would be easier to deal with this group that is deprived of all rights. They are venging themselves for the fact that the gypsies do not want to live the life given to them by the communists.

✱

On January 6th of this year, Rumanian national flags were hung on the territory of Moldavia — in the cities of Soroky and Kalarash, the villages of Lensheny and Hidihich as well as in the town of Komrat. For this action the KGB is accusing the Ukrainian nationalists and the Rumanian Revival Group.

✱

Christ is born!

Dear Brothers and Sisters!

One more year of imprisonment has passed. Thank God, once again I see the beautiful dear faces of my family and friends, my little children and my wife. We live on earth to praise the Lord and to attain everlasting happiness. Praise for the Lord is the aim of every being on earth. And therefore, I want to remind you: beware of evil, do good deeds. In these difficult times for our Church we must work ceaselessly. He who knocks at the door, it will be open for him. The Holy Apostle Paul says: "Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ, Jesus, shall suffer persecution" (II Tim. 3,12).

The entire life of a Christian is the cross and martyrdom, if he wishes to live according to the Gospel. The Holy Scriptures say: "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves" (Matt.

10, 16). I would also like you to remember this — the Lord God does not abandon him who sets his hopes on Him.

Christ is born!

Indeed, He is born!

(Greetings from the chairman of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics at a meeting held on January 12th, 1984).

The Tragedy of Stebnyk

On September 12th, 1983, in Lviv, the regional prosecutor ANTONENKO, read a kind of “speech — incantation” over local television. In parts of his speech he spoke of the following:

In recent times a gang has been kidnapping and murdering children on regional territory. Be vigilant and we ask that in the evening you not allow your children onto the streets...

At first glance it would appear that he is talking about some gang of criminals who are murdering children merely because they are children. But at the end of his “speech” the prosecutor began casting thunderbolts and lightning at Ukrainian nationalists.

On September 15th, the Stebnyk “tragedy” occurred. But within 2 days, and thereafter, articles began to appear, unmasking the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. The fabricated affair of I. ZELENA occurred.

On September 21st, there began a wave of arrests of Ukrainian officers in the Prykarpattia Military district. They were charged with allegedly plotting an attempt on the life of USTINOV. In this way the KGB wanted to forge an alliance between the army and the KGB. It should be noted that they succeeded.

And now let us turn to the matter itself.

Long before the described events, the Andropov leadership began planning a campaign against dissent in the USSR and partly in Ukraine. Not without reason did

the Plenum of the CC of the CPSU deal with the “Ukrainian Catholic Church matter” separately. Particular attention was devoted to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Transcarpathian Ukraine. Few people know that in Lviv in 1946 the Ukrainian Catholic Church was not liquidated during the so-called “synod”. This was done much later, in Transcarpathia, in 1950, but without any synods and without any notification whatsoever.

Quite simply, Bishop F. ROMZHA was murdered by the KGB. Some priests were killed, while others received 25 year prison sentences and the Church itself was forced to go underground. Officially the Church is alleged to exist, but... “the majority of the populace has gone over to the Russian Orthodox Church and there is no longer any need for the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the past”.

But in actual fact, this is not so. The strongest bases of the Ukrainian Catholic Church have been preserved in Transcarpathian Ukraine. Just in the last 3 years, 81 Catholic priests have been ordained in the Carpathian region. Among them only 9 have a high school or technical school education; some have higher education.

An underground three year monastery school is operating in Transcarpathia. Young boys and girls are studying the fundamentals of Christian teaching there.

This is why they need the ‘Stebnyk affair’!

The KGB’s hands had to be untied in order to punish the opposition. On September 11th, a meeting of members of army intelligence and KGB workers took place in the ‘Intourist’ Hotel in Lviv. It is known that the following were present at that meeting: Major HARKAVY and his future co-worker, Anatoliy BODRUKHIN, a senior lieutenant in the KGB. We would like to add that V. HARKAVY took part, at one time, in punitive operations against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army on the territory of Western Ukraine. They were

given instructions to blast the dam at the Stebnyk depot. At one time V. HARKAVY participated in the liquidation of H. KO-STELNYK. He was also directly linked to the murder of Yaroslav HALAN.

But this is a discussion for another time.

★

A campaign to learn the Russian language has begun in Transcarpathian Ukraine. And so, a number of teachers (KGB agents) — among them the vice-principal of the Pryborzhavsky high school, in the Irshava district, Zakarpata region, and a teacher from the Vynohradivsky high school, announced that one day a week people must speak only Russian.

★

Fifty-four men, among them 18 Jehovah's Witnesses, were convicted in Transcarpathian Ukraine for refusing to serve in the Soviet army. Five men had been sentenced previously.

At present Ukrainians live in the following territories of the USSR:

Russia	3,359,00	Latvia	29,000
Kazakhstan	762,000	Lithuania	18,000
Moldavia	421,000	Estonia	16,000
Kirgizia	137,000	Tadzhikistan	27,000
Byelorussia	133,000	Azerbaijan	26,000
Uzbekistan	88,000	Armenia	6,000
Georgia	52,000		

These are all the Ukrainians who are living outside their native land within the USSR.

Not in any of the aforementioned 'republics' do Ukrainians have a single national school or have the right to publish their newspapers and magazines. Strangely enough, even such an international organisation as UNESCO, has not raised the issue of this glaring breach of human rights. Then why does UNESCO exist in the first place? Is such an organisation really necessary? The leaders of UNESCO should remember that the Ukrainian SSR contributes its fair share of money to UNESCO...

Thus, in 1982, Yosyp TERELYA, the

chairman of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Catholics, sent Howard BRABYN and Amadou Mahtar M'BOY official letters. In them he stated that there is not one published magazine in Transcarpathian Ukraine. Whereas, before the arrival of the Russians, there were more than 15 different publications on the territory of Transcarpathian Ukraine. Y. TERELYA requested aid in publishing an ethnographical journal called 'Boykivshchyna' to be published by 'Karpaty' press. No reply was received...

On March 14th of this year, information was received that a new case was being prepared against Yosyp TERELYA.

Raoul WALLENBERG

In the last two or three years much has been said about the Swedish diplomat Raoul WALLENBERG. There are many versions and counter-versions but everything that has been written about WALLENBERG does not agree with reality. According to available data, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has information which has nothing in common with the facts being presently circulated. We are providing the following information:

In January, 1945, somewhere between the 8th and 14th, an event occurred in one of the sections of the Red army which apparently influenced the subsequent fate of WALLENBERG. The self-appointed first secretary of the Swedish embassy, WALLENBERG, said the following (all this was said in the presence of a translator and 5 other men):

"When the Soviet armies entered Budapest, my car was taken away from me, and I was offered a captured one instead. I categorically rejected this proposal. Please inform the highest Soviet command that I demand the return of my automobile and only my own. Also, I would like the Soviet command to arrange a meeting between myself and Marshal MALINOVSKY as soon as possible".

There is another not insignificant piece of information. Standing near WALLEMBERG was his personal chauffeur who has also disappeared without a trace.

R. WALLEMBERG's description: lean, black hair combed back. He conducted his conversation calmly, speaking to the translator in German. He was dressed in a black suit.

*

To the Head of the Presidium of the
Supreme Soviet of the USSR
Joint Declaration of the Rumanian Revival
Group and the
Ukrainian National Front

We, members of a group of Rumanian patriots, are raising our voices so that we will be heard in Moscow and other responsible circles in Europe.

— We are members of the great Rumanian family and consider ourselves Rumanians. We are striving not to allow any foreigners to intrude on our nation.

— We desire reunification with the age-long maternal body of MOTHER Rumania. We, Rumanians, who live on lands occupied by Moscow, are appealing at this time to all the peoples of the world, so that, in their own interests, they will solidarize with the desires of the Rumanians.

At a joint conference of the Ukrainian National Front and the Rumanian Revival Group, resolutions concerning the joint demands of both sides were passed. We are bound to achieve our freedoms jointly from under the boot of Moscow.

— We, the members of the executive committee of the Ukrainian National Front, demand that the leaders of communist Moscow cease all persecutions and the policy of genocide with respect to Ukraine; that they liquidate all concentration camps on the territory of Ukraine; we demand full Ukrainianisation of all government institutions, the establishment of tariff barriers between our republics, the printing of our own currency, the creation of a national

Ukrainian army; we demand full freedom for our Ukrainian Catholic Church and for the Autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The Rumanian and the Ukrainian peoples have been brought to a state of despair by Moscow's injustice; they see no way out of this situation. We are left with but one choice — an armed uprising!

27. 1. 1984.

Komrat, Moldavia — Lviv, Ukraine

PART III.

On March 18th, 1984, a working Sunday was established in the village of Bilky, Irshava district, Zakarpatya region. In the centre of the village a spot was cleared to erect a new monument to the hero of socialist labour, PITER, who was not present at the working Sunday, as he was at that time in a local tearoom. The authorities decided to erect a monument on the spot of a monument to the victims of fascism which they had destroyed.

In 1942, on this very spot, Hungarian occupying forces shot 14 Ukrainian workers, residents of the village of Bilky. Only in 1944 did the fascist authorities allow a monument — a cross — to be put up at the place of execution. The names of the men who were shot were engraved on the cross...

But in the 1970s this monument was destroyed. In this way the gradual union of communists and fascists becomes manifest.

*

On March 19th, 1984, a message to appear at the district prosecutor's office was relayed to the chairman of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Catholics, Yosyp TERE LYA. He was summoned to prosecutor BRAILA. The purpose of the summons was not stated.

A new "case" was prepared according to available data on Y. TERE LYA. The authorities wanted to lure TERE LYA into the district and arrest him there. They did

not dare arrest him in the village where many of his fellow believers live.

★

The following residents of the village of Dovhe, Zakarpatya region, have relinquished their passports: Anna TRYKUR, Maria BODNAR, Yuriy BODNAR, Polanya BAT'O, Mykhaylo TRYKUR, and Maria TRYKUR. They all belong to the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

★

In the Zakarpatya region alone, more than 290 people have surrendered their passports.

In all of Western Ukraine, beginning with January 2nd — 3rd of this year (1984), around 921-927 persons have surrendered their passports. All those who have given up their passports are potential prisoners... Pray for our brothers and sisters who face torment for the faith of their fathers and grandfathers.

★

In the village of Nelipyne, Svalyava district, Zakarpatya region, a search was carried out in the home of PANKO. The reason: the authorities were looking for evidence of Catholic "sedition" — a Bible, catechism, prayers...

For possession of a prayer written by Metropolitan Sheptytsky, entitled "For the Ukrainian People", the authorities give a sentence of 3 years (violation of article 209).

Catholic believers often do not know how to behave during a search or arrest.

First of all, as soon as the "Babylonians" enter a house, you should kneel down immediately and begin praying. The prayer should be recited out loud. You should pray for our enemies who are at this time tearing up and destroying prayers and similar literature.

Do not make any statements. Just pray and pray. This drives the investigator mad. Do not believe anything the KGB agent says until there is a confrontation. And, even then it is not worth talking to the

godless ones. A Christian should not sign any documents which the atheists may bring forward. Everyone should know himself.

★

On January 30th, the birthday of Volodymyr HORBOVY and also the birthday of Oksana MESHKO were celebrated in a circle of close friends. The latter is serving a 5-year sentence in exile in the Khabarovsk territory. O. MESHKO is 79 years old and V. HORBOVY is 85. (Died on May 21, 1984 — ed.).

★

A Church service was held in the village of Kelechyn, Mizhhirya district, Zakarpatya region, in memory of Avhustyn VOLOSHYN, the President of Carpathian Ukraine.

A. VOLOSHYN was born in this mountain village 110 years ago. He was the son of a venerable priest. A. VOLOSHYN was not only a political activist, but also an enlightener of our people. The best work written by A. VOLOSHYN was "Marusya Verkhovynka", published in 1931. In August, 1945, A. VOLOSHYN was arrested by agents of SMERSH and sent to Uzhhorod prison. From there he was transferred to Moscow, where he was shot in late October.

★

The only man who correctly described Raoul WALLENBERG was A. BOGDANAS, a Lithuanian Catholic, an officer of the Wehrmacht army, who was arrested by the Soviet counter-intelligence agency in 1945, and sent to a labour camp where only foreigners were held. BOGDANAS is a German subject.

Raoul WALLENBERG spoke no Russian, only German.

When the labour camps were being dismantled after Stalin's death, the remainder of the foreign prisoners who were still alive (numbering 150) were sent to psychiatric hospitals. Thus BOGDANAS and R. WALLENBERG landed up in the Ka-

zan Special Psychiatric Hospital. BOGDANAS saw WALLENBERG one last time in 1962. In 1963 BOGDANAS was transferred to the Sichevsky Special Psychiatric Hospital.

★

In 1983, Volodymyr PROKHOROVYCH, a believer, committed suicide in labour camp VL-315/30, in Lviv.

V. PROKHOROVYCH was born in the Mykolayiv region. While in a labour camp he converted to Greek Catholicism. He actively conducted religious activities in the labour camps. After his last term he began acting strangely. In his conversations he would say that LENIN was a good man, and so on, but he, PROKHOROVYCH was bad. On September 17th, V. PROKHOROVYCH, while he was in the work zone, cut his head off on a circular saw. The camp authorities hushed up PROKHOROVYCH's death...

★

On March 14th, the trial of Valeriy MARCHENKO, the Ukrainian human rights defender, took place in Kyiv.

V. MARCHENKO was charged with article 62, section 2. V. MARCHENKO was gravely ill, but during his trial he behaved in a dignified manner. He stated that he loved his people, believed in God and set his hopes on Him. On March 18th, a Mass was celebrated in Mukachiv for the health of V. MARCHENKO. After the liturgy a statement from the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics was read to the gathering of believers. (Marchenko died on October 7th, 1984 — ed.).

★

In the village of Verkhni Vorota, Zakarpattia region, during an evening gathering, a special Mass was served in memory of the Transcarpathian writer and ethnographer, Luka DEMYAN.

Luka DEMYAN was born in 1894 in this mountain village. It was here that he began to write and wrote his work en-

titled "The Devil at the Wedding". He first began to be published in 1915. After the arrival of the Soviets L. DEMYAN is rarely remembered. Luka DEMYAN was a staunch Catholic who devoted his life in its greater part to his people. He participated in the Catholic underground.

When the question of creating an underground library arose, DEMYAN transferred part of his library to the Catholic underground and part of his books to Y. TERELYA, his countryman. Luka DEMYAN said:

"As long as I can remember, we, Ukrainians, have constantly hidden books. I kept these books under lock and key throughout all the occupations of my country for more than 60 years... and it is difficult to say just how long we will have to continue hiding books written in our native language.

Ukraine has not experienced greater tragedy and grief than that of the Soviet occupation. We should not believe that liberty will come unless you, young people, will gain it".

★

On March 7th, 1984, Fr. Stefaniy HRYHOROVYCH, a Ukrainian Catholic priest, was arrested at the home of DERBAK, a Catholic, in the village of Nelipyne, Svalyava district. HRYHOROVYCH lives in Mukachiv on Kommunistychna Street with his wife and daughter, named Katrusya.

Fr. HRYHOROVYCH surrendered his passport to the authorities; his daughter, Katrusya HRYHOROVYCH, also surrendered her passport, for which action she was expelled from the fifth year of studies at the medical institute.

Fr. HRYHOROVYCH spent 3 days under arrest in a detention cell. Then he was released after being ordered, along with his daughter, to take back his Soviet passport within 3 days.

This will be Fr. HRYHOROVYCH's fourth term in prison, this time with his

daughter. The HRYHOROVYCH family, father and daughter, was arrested on March 18th.

★

On March 9th, Fr. Antin POTOCHNYAK, who was gravely ill, was transferred from the labour camp hospital to a prison hospital. He will be operated on. This is the sick priest's third operation. Fr. Antin is 72 years old.

★

Ilya ULIHANYNETS', a Ukrainian Catholic, refused to give evidence. The senior investigator for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, for the city of Uzhorod, HOSHOVSKY, sent I. ULIHANYNETS' for an examination to the Lviv Psychiatric Hospital.

On March 12th, he was despatched to the Lviv prison.

★

On March 23rd, Y. TERELYA's books were returned to him. These included: a Bible, a copy-book of verses, an address book, a notebook containing the manuscript of "Myths of the Sich" and a collection of poetry by Iryna SENYK. All this was confiscated from TERELYA, a member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, during his arrest in 1982.

★

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Declaration

After many years of an enslaved existence passed in prisons and labour camps in the USSR, I have reached the conclusion that it is amoral to be a citizen of this state. Accordingly, since May 3rd, 1984, I do not consider myself a citizen of the USSR. I could explain all the reasons which led me to this step in this declaration. But I believe there is no one to whom I could explain my motives.

With this declaration I am appealing to the republic of Israel to grant me citizen-

ship. Thus, I shall begin my newest term of imprisonment in communist labour camps as a citizen of the free republic of Israel, whom you hate so fiercely.

Yosyp TERELYA

Head of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics and member of the "Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine".

3. 5. 1984

★

Since March 1st, 1984, the new chairman of the Initiative Group has been Vasyl' KOBRYN.

★

Jerusalem, Republic of Israel
To the President and the Knesset
of the Republic.

Declaration

I, Yosyp TERELYA, a native of Transcarpathian Ukraine, born in 1943, am a Ukrainian. I am married with three small children. My wife, who is a doctor, is currently unemployed. We are Catholics. In my declaration addressed to the parliament of the republic and to you, Mr. President, I am requesting that you consider my application and that of my wife for citizenship of the republic of Israel.

In total I have spent 20 years in Muscovite occupation, prisons and labour camps. Neither my wife nor I had intended to emigrate — our place is with our enslaved people. However, after my most recent release, the authorities have intensified their repression and threats — they are threatening to murder me, to give me another prison term... In 1982 I became the head of a newly-created Helsinki group: "the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine", for which I was arrested in December, 1982, and sentenced to 1 year in a labour camp. A new trial is being prepared against me and I no longer wish to be a citizen of the USSR. I will live, working on behalf of Ukraine

or die, but I will not be a citizen, which the invaders have made me by force...

I think that I shall begin my next term of imprisonment in communist labour camps as a citizen of the free republic of Israel.

I would be deeply grateful if the government of your republic will consider my application in a positive manner.

Y. TERELYA,
*village of Dovbe, Irshava district,
Zakarpatya region.*

3. 5. 1984.

To Lech Walesa

A Letter from a Believer of
the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Dear friend and brother in Christ!

I am writing to you with feelings of respect and love. Your struggle, together with all the Polish people, is the hope that gives us the strength to resist. Everything is in God's hands and takes place according to the irrevocable decisions of the Lord — in love and in sacrifice. We must fight evil on behalf of Christ and our own people we must do good and strive ceaselessly towards the unity of all Christians. The Polish people are presently going through a great moral recovery after several decades of darkness and gloom.

The firmness and courage of the leaders of the workers' movement and the Catholic Church in Poland also lends courage to us, here in the very lair of satan...

Hard times have fallen upon Ukraine. Since the Stalinist repressions, our people have not had to suffer such oppression and distress as they do today. It is simply life or death.

Fighting is difficult. It demands great effort, exhaustion and expenditure of physical force. The struggle is a huge endeavour. The Lord gave man a free will and man can choose, and indeed does so — life or death; body or soul; strength or destruction. So it was, so it is, and so it will remain, as long as man will live on earth.

Our life is based on this — to fight or else to submit. Once we have made the choice to fight, then we have chosen to do good. But to do good is difficult. Firstly, it is necessary to defeat one's own egoism and to follow the teachings of Christ — to love everyone and to respect and protect what is your own. Secondly, we need the solidarity of all Christians — a solidarity which the present rulers of Moscow fear so much. When I was staying in the Moldovian camps for political prisoners, I made friends with a Polish patriot, Colonel Bronislaw ZHUKOVSKI. We were punished most foully and cruelly merely for being associated. We were also held together in the same cells, but faith in Jesus Christ and a common goal gave us the courage to resist — and we were victorious! The enemy was unable to break our will, and to sow mistrust and hate...

Therefore, we can never submit and form a union with evil; we can never cease to hope for good, never go along the lines of least resistance, or swim with the flow of water. We must be aware that fighting tempers our strength, and restores and consecrates our spirit. There is great hope in our hearts that we shall live to see better times. The meaning of the Solidarity movement, which was started by the Polish people to achieve its consolidation among the free peoples of Europe, is a great one.

The consequences of this have already let themselves be known — we, Ukrainians, have begun to suffer persecution of a particularly brutal and hateful nature. I am presently calmly awaiting my next arrest.

Thus, when the enemy persecutes you merely for being Christian, for loving your own people and God-given life — this means that he is lacking in strength and wisdom to rectify evil...

I sincerely wish you and your people freedom and love.

12. 4. 1984. *Yosyp TERELYA*

The Liberation of the Subjugated Nations is in the Interest of the Free World

Samvydav Document

During the 1980s and particularly in 1984, clandestine "samvydav" documents written by Ukrainian patriots have, once again, begun to appear in Ukraine. The importance and significance of these documents are immense, for they bear witness to the resurgence of the activity of the resistant underground movement, struggling for national, human and religious rights in Ukraine, and stress the vitality of this activity which, at times, includes even military action.

The first of the latest "samvydav" documents which has recently found its way to the free world is printed below.

This document is signed "Ukrainian Patriots" and dated July, 1984. It shows the great political maturity and understanding of its authors who present an analysis of the current world political situation and the strategic situation between the East and West, and in the end offers their own solution to some of the problems.

As a result of the Second World War, on the basis of the Yalta agreements, the world has been divided into two huge blocs. On the one hand there is the world of free national states, and on the other — the immense modern-day Russian colonial empire which is today called the USSR.

In the West, all the colonial empires have ceased to exist, and the formerly-subjugated nations have formed their own independent states. With a few minor exceptions, the democratic order, along with its inherent characteristics — freedom of thought and speech, and the freedom to organise free trade unions and political parties — prevails everywhere, and man's ingenuity and initiative have assured for most people, a high standard of living and welfare.

However, on the other side of the Iron Curtain which emerged as a result of the Yalta agreements, the greatest colonial empire in the history of the world — an empire which enslaves many different nations — continues to exist.

In order to combat the liberation movements of the subjugated nations, the Russian imperialists have set up a system of tyranny, based on police terror, on a scale previously unheard-of in the whole world, and continue to destroy all manifestations of free thought or speech, and all attempts to struggle for the right of nations to live on their own ethnic territories, in their own national states.

The empire is ruled by experienced old Russian chauvinists, who not only desire to maintain the status quo, in complete disregard for historical events and the internal economic crisis of their empire, but who also have begun to put into practice a policy of extending the Russian colonial empire on a global scale, all the time acquiring new bases, such as Ethiopia, South Yemen, Vietnam, Cuba, and many more. In spite of the raging internal economic crisis, caused by ineffective economic management, backwardness in technology, and a ruined agricultural system, the leadership of the empire does not spare any means to build up its armed forces and system of terror for new conquests, a fact which the Western world does not understand.

In addition, the leadership of the empire also employs all possible means to smash the strivings of all the subjugated nations to regain their freedom and to form their own states on their own ethnic territories. As an example, one can cite the most recent events in Afghanistan and Poland. Russian imperialism cracks down with particular severity on the national-liberation movement of the Ukrainian nation — a nation which has the oldest traditions of civilisation and statehood in that part of Europe, and which is the most persecuted nation in the whole empire. The same applies to the Baltic nations, the Caucasus and Turkestan. As a result, hundreds of thousands of nationally-conscious freedom-fighters are languishing in prisons, concentration camps and exile which is positive proof of the vitality of the struggle of the subjugated nations, for a free life in their own independent states. To cover up the continually-emerging new internal difficulties, the rulers of the empire try to pursue an external policy of *détente*. With the help of this external *détente*, the Russian leadership strengthens and improves its possessions, and then, having done this, proceeds to new acts of aggression, and what is more, proceeds also to prepare for the destruction of the West by a nuclear war.

In our opinion, the policy of *détente* and the balance of forces cannot form an effective alternative to nuclear war, for it threatens the destruction of the entire world. The only possible effective way of avoiding the dangers of nuclear war and to achieve the realisation of the United Nations Resolution on Decolonisation, is to make use of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations for the disintegration of the empire and the re-establishment of independent national states upon their ethnographic territories.

The Ukrainian emigré communities in the West should play a particularly important role in this matter. They should spread these ideas, and also the concept of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), among the nations of the free world, for the ultimate goal can only be attained through the common united effort of all nations.

There cannot be a successful struggle for human rights in the subjugated nations. There can only be the fight for independent national states. For only in his own independent national state will the individual be able to benefit fully from human rights.

The struggle of the subjugated nations for the disintegration of the Russian empire also gives the Western nations a great opportunity to avoid nuclear war and to preserve peace for many years to come. We believe that the free world will come to understand this and will lend its support to our struggle for an independent Ukrainian state and for the independent states of the other subjugated nations of the Russian colonial empire.

Ukrainian Patriots

Ukraine, July, 1984.

ANNEXATION OR RUSSIFICATION

by Mykhaylo I. Braichevskyi

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Turkestan as the Problem-Country of the Soviet Union

Turkestan (Soviet Socialist Republics: Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) which is about a fifth of the whole of the Soviet Union is a real problem for the Soviet leaders in Moscow and is at the same time the starting point for the whole of her politics in the Orient. This country has remained a problem for the Soviet leaders in Moscow because the family traditions and the cultural spiritual way of thinking of former times have effected the way the native people think. The Islam and the fact that Turkestan is surrounded and has contact with other Islamic countries of the Near and Middle East are the main problems that Soviet Russian leaders must deal with regularly. Also the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet troops in the year 1979 has caused mistrust among the population in Turkestan with regard to Moscow's politics.

The Present Structure of the Population of Turkestan

From the result of the census taken in 1979 it was clear that in that year 40,167,390 persons lived in Turkestan. This is more than 15% of the whole of the population of the Soviet Union.¹ This means that the inhabitants of Turkestan have increased by 7,367,948 persons² within 10 years (1970-1979). In 1979 there were 26,409,931 Turkestanis (Uzbeks — 1,997,971; Kirghiz — 1,829,564; Kara-Kalpaks — 297,788; Uighurs — 210,512; other groups — 51,694). The Tatars (1,154,203), Azerbaijanis (156,772) and Daghestanis (11,555) also the Beludjis (18,584) etc., can be classed as Turkestanis, because they have historical and present day cultural and ethnical connections with them. They feel that they have ties to the

population of Turkestan. The basic population of Turkestan (Turkestanis) has increased in the last 20 years (1959-1979) by 13,405,869 persons.³ By the census in 1979 it was discovered that 785,617 Turkestanis do not live in Turkestan but are scattered about in other regions of the Soviet Union and have no possibility to take part in their own cultural life (language, customs, religion and no school in their mother tongue).

The Russians are the second largest population-group in Turkestan and feel superior to them. In the year 1979 9,312,825 Russians lived here (in the Soviet Republic Kazakhstan alone it was 5,991,205 persons). Although they do not make up more than 20,1% of the whole of the population of Turkestan they are the main stay of Soviet power (leading officials of the state-administration, of C.P. administration, the Army and economic life). They mostly live in the towns of Turkestan and carry out Moscow's politics from there. Their numbers increased within 10 years (1970-1979) by 804,340 persons, a situation which was mainly due to the resettlement policy of the Soviet Russian leaders.

In Turkestan in 1979, 1,185,791 Ukrainians, 1,040,117 Germans, 181,491 Byelorusians, 205,810 Koreans and 1,705,665 representatives of other groups of people (Georgians, Armenians, Latvians, Estonians etc.) had to live as displaced persons. These non-Russian groups are more under the influence of Russians because they have no possibility to keep up their own culture, and because of this, although they perhaps do not want to, or are looking for privileges (language, customs, education, leading positions) they work in the Russian culture. The Soviet leaders have changed Turkestan

into a country experimenting with the assimilation of uprooted people. We can see this by the influence that the Russian language had on two groups of people (Germans and Ukrainians) in Kazakhstan. Of the 900,207 Germans living here in 1979, 318,039 said that Russian was their mother-language. Of the 897,964 Ukrainians 526,424 said that Russian was their main language.⁴ The Russification on the non-Turkestanis and the non-Russian people of Turkestan will, of course, make the process of Russification on the people of Turkestan easier. The Turkestanis and the other non-Russian groups have not made any progress with regard to getting closer or understanding each other better culturally. So for example, in the year 1979 only 422 Germans and 95 Ukrainians considered that the Kazakh-language was a native language.

Whereas the number of Russians and deported people increased by the resettlement policy (the opening up of new regions and industrial workers) Turkestan's basic population increased because of a natural increase in birth rate. The love of children and the close connection to Islam played a special role. For example in 1979 in Turkestan there were 1,760,000 families (of which 852,000 were in Uzbekistan) with 7 persons or more.⁵ In 1970 there were about 645,000 indigenous families of 10 or more persons in Uzbekistan.⁶ Such a characteristic increase had not been taken into account by the central planning of the government and didn't fit into the Soviet concept. The increase of the indigenous inhabitants can easily hamper the influence of the Russian people on the Turkestanis and can force the Soviet Russian authorities to reorganize the economic planning. According to Soviet officials, for example Sharaf Rashidow, the population of Uzbekistan could increase to 22 million people until 1990.⁷ According to the latest views of Soviet demography experts, the population of Uzbekistan could reach 25 million

in the year 2000.⁸ Most Turkestanis live in villages. The people in the country, even within the territories of their own Soviet Republic, do not have any desire to move into towns. The people from the country in Turkestan are a bulwark, so to say, against the steady intensive intrusion of the communist ideology and Russian influence, and furthermore, they are the ones to treasure the national customs and traditions. The Soviet Russian government, however, wants to reduce this quality of Turkestan. The statement of account presented by Brezhnev at the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (February 1981) plainly showed that Moscow is in the process of changing the demographic structure of Turkestan under the pretext of mobilising the workforce of Turkestan (i.e. Central Asia) in Siberia and the Far East. Brezhnev states that there appears to be a lack of work force in Siberia and the Far East. The Soviet government intends to solve the problem according to Brezhnev as follows: "...in Central Asia and in various regions of the Caucasus, especially in the rural areas, there is an abundant work force. That means, that the population of these regions has to be mobilized for the new territories of the country (the Soviet Union) in particular for the development of these areas. Undoubtedly, the new means of production which are necessary for the economy have to be developed, and measures have to be taken on a big scale for the education and training of skilled workers from the "basic nation" (tub millatdan), mainly from the youths of the villages".⁹ This aim in fact means that many Turkestanis will have to leave their country because of the wish and regulations of the Soviet Russian government and the Communist Party headquarters. This, again, means that the Turkestanis will be uprooted and taken away from their national cultural environment. Being far away, in a strange environment and under Russian

influence they will gradually lose their national identity. On the other hand, the Russians will advance into Turkestan and accelerate the total colonisation. It is indeed possible, that the Prime Minister of the Republic of Uzbekistan, N. Khudayberdiyew, was unaware of the intention of the Polit-Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to transfer the rural population to Siberia. Before Brezhnev, he had announced at the XXVI Congress of the CP of Uzbekistan that the population of Uzbekistan will reach 22-23 million around 1990. Measures should be taken to integrate this coming production force, in order to increase the economic potential in Kara-Kalpak ASSR and other areas.¹⁰ The Communist Party, then, announced a tragic economic aim for Turkestan with the above mentioned statement. At the moment it is impossible to judge whether the republic's bosses who are closely connected to the Soviet communist doctrine are going to take part in the realisation of this plan, whether they will give their consent, or whether they will try to prevent this target followed by Moscow. From this plan to mobilise the work force from the basic part of the population of Turkestan and the Caucasia in order to develop Siberia, the Far East and the North of the Soviet Union, one can see that the increase of the Turkestani population does not lie in the interest of the leadership. With these measures the Soviet government tries to fight the claim of the Turkestanis concerning their homeland.

Situation of the Communist Party

The communist leadership aims at increasing the number of members. At the beginning of 1977 there were 1,566,524 communists in Turkestan, 761,103 were Turkestanis.¹¹ Consequently the Communist Party of the Soviet Union consisted of 4,9% Turkestanis in the year 1977.

At the end of 1980 the so-called five Communist Parties of Turkestan consisted

of 1,628,456 members and candidates who were mentioned in the party congress of the five Soviet Republics.¹² In the statement of accounts of the Central Committee of the Communist Parties in Turkestan the composition of the national members of the Communist Party has not been defined. At a rough guess one can say that more than half of these are Russians, not Turkestani communists, because the Russians have the absolute majority in the party, for example in Kazakhstan. In terms of figures the Communist Party of Kazakhstan is particularly predominant. At the end of 1980 there were 729,498 communists.

The leadership of the Soviet Union does not only have the right to control the five offices of the Central Committee of the Communist Parties of Turkestan and also the right to conduct its course, but also to direct instructions to the district offices. Because of that, the lowest level of the party leadership is under direct control of three party offices (Moscow, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Soviet Republics and the Area Committee of the Communist Party).

The Communist Party Congress of January/February 1981 of Turkestan voted for the new leading officials of the Communist Party with hardly any alterations in the various Soviet Republics. Altogether 73 Bureau-members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the five Soviet Republics were elected. Of those 27 are Party-secretaries. 27 non-Turkestanis are members of the Bureaus. The first secretary is a Turkestani and the second secretaries are Russians, so no change here. The second secretaries mentioned are coordinating the work of the party and therefore they have an overall picture of the complete party activity. The commander of the Turkestani military area, General I. P. Maksimow, became a member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, and the

commander of the central Asian military area, General D. T. Yazow, member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. Regarding the membership of the Bureau the presidents of the Committee for the state security service (KGB) of the different Soviet Republics are of course not missing. Up to now it has been most mysterious why the bosses of the secret service always seem to get the regular job as Bureau-members. One also does not have to forget, that, in order to understand the Communist Party leadership, the leaders of the party organizing affairs are Russian and that the leaders of the propaganda and agitation departments are Turkestanis. For the first time in the history of the Communist Party in Turkestan a department for information and relations with foreign countries has been organized by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. The Turkestanis, Mr. H. Rahimow, has been appointed for this department. A number of important positions, especially the departments for agriculture and irrigation, have been taken over by Russian communists, for example, T. G. Sinen (dpt. of agriculture) and W. I. Suskin (dpt. of irrigation). There are no indications, why these, for this region, vital sectors, have not been given to indigenous communists?

Soviet Russian Economic Policy

Turkestan remained *the* raw material producer of the Soviet Union. The main stress lies on the production of raw materials for industry. The extraction of raw materials was intensified. The actual industry in Turkestan though, remained on the level of a preparing branch and status of the end manufacturing industry of the Soviet Union. The extraction of mineral resources was intensified. At the same time the transport of industrial raw materials like coal, gas, crude oil, iron ore, cotton and the like in other regions of the Soviet

Union has been increased. As one can see from the proclamation of the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the latest economic target was that Turkestan was, for the government of the Soviet Union, an alternative which offered enough possibilities for the development and improvement of the economic situation of the Soviet Union.

Apart from the industrial raw materials, the Soviet agrarian politics play a major role. Grain in the north and cotton in the south are central items of agrarian politics. The Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan produced 27,5 million tons of grain in 1980 alone.¹³ This region counts, at the moment, as the third grain region of the Soviet Union. In the year 1983, 29 million tons of grain were produced.¹⁴ The demand for cotton has found no end so far. Moscow has requested all cotton producing regions to increase the production with all their means, 9,9 million tons of cotton were produced in 1980 and of that, Azerbaijan produced 883,000 tons and Turkestan 9,017,000 tons.¹⁵ In 1983 the Soviet Union produced 9,2 million tons of cotton altogether.¹⁶ The Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan still remains the base of cotton production for the whole of the Soviet Union. 6,237,000 tons were produced here in 1980, at a rough scale, and this is commonly called "white gold".¹⁷ The Soviet Union aims for a production of 9,2-9 million tons of cotton between 1981 and 1986. Cotton politics created a new modern form of slavery. Despite mechanisation in the cotton industry the people themselves remained the suffering factor in the insatiable appetite of cotton production of Moscovite politics because the Turkestanis (men, women, teenagers and even old people) have to work 18 hours a day, from dawn to dusk. Irrigation plays a major role in Soviet agrarian politics in order to increase the production of wool and other agricultural products. 7,2 million hectares of land were artificially irrigated in Turke-

stan in the year 1979 (3,148 million in Uzbekistan; 924,000 hectares in Kirghizia; 1,7 million in Kazakhstan; 846,000 hectares in Turkmenistan and 582,000 hectares in Tadzhikistan).

In the year 1983 the total irrigation area was around 8,6 million hectares.¹⁸ It goes without saying that agriculture in these areas largely depends on artificial irrigation. Land development and enlargement of farming areas automatically mean a bigger demand for water, i.e. irrigation. The two rivers Amu Darya and Sir Darya have mainly contributed to artificial irrigation. This, however, resulted in a decrease of water influx into the Aral Sea. Consequently, this lake is in the process of drying up. For years now, Soviet irrigation specialists have been trying to find solutions to this problem.¹⁹ Nevertheless, no measures have been taken to stop the drying out of the Aral Sea which lies in the centre of Turkestan. Within the last 15 years the water level has gone down by nearly twenty feet.²⁰ During the year 1960, the Aral Sea received around 56 km² of water. In 1966 it was only 36 km² and in 1978 only 8-10 km² were left. Round about 12,000 km² of the Aral Sea have dried up by now.²¹ Two party officials, Kunayew and Rashidov brought the subject up at the XXV Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The resolution had also stated that part of the water of the northern rivers and those of Siberia should be diverted to "Central Asia, Kazakhstan and to the oases of the Wolga River". As a result the "Soyuzvodproject" (Water project of the Union), an organisation of the Ministry for irrigation and water economy of the USSR, including 66 project organisations and institutions, had worked out a project to divert part of the Siberian water to Turkestan. In the year 1978 a conference of the Union had been organised in Tashkent to discuss the question of diverting Siberian water to Turkestan. All participants agreed that these

measures were of vital economic and social importance. Although this problem was presented at the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by the above mentioned official, up to this very day, no opportunity has been taken to actually start with the construction work. One of the most important projects was the "Turgay-Variante", which should have been the beginning of the diversion of Siberian water to Turkestan. This project had been approved of by all project organisations and had been classified as being a realistic measure. According to this variant, part of the River Ob is being diverted into the River Irtysh. At this point the actual canal starts where the River Wargay meets the River Irtysh, near the town of Tobol, and eventually the water reaches the Turgay Depression between the rivers Irtysh and Sir Darya. At first the Tengis Reservoir is to be filled up, then the canal is being prolonged from south to west and near the town of Djusali it is to be connected to the River Sir Darya. The project of this canal will be 2,500 km long, roughly 12 m. deep and 120-170 m. wide. In some areas there will be locks which will enable the users to pump the water up to a height of 100 m.²² The intention is to pump 25 km³ of water to Turkestan through this canal. The cost of the canal project lies around 22 milliard rubles. After completion it is estimated that the canal will bring a profit of about 4,5 milliard rubles per year and should be completed between 1995 and 2005.²³

According to the calculations of the irrigation specialists, there will be 25 million hectares of irrigable land in Turkestan alone (excluding Kazakhstan).²⁴ As far as calculations go there will be 3 million hectares of land to be opened up especially for cotton farming in the Amu Darya area.²⁵ The water diverted from Siberia should enable the people to develop this agricultural potential. Although, according to specialists of the irrigation field, for

example, K. Lapkin, E. Rahimow and E. L. Zolotorow, the diversion of the water from Siberia cannot stop the drying up of the Aral Sea. Most probably the sea will dry up completely because the water is in reality projected to irrigate the farmland.²⁶ As a matter of fact, the project of the diversion of the Siberian water does not take the water needed to supply the Aral Sea into consideration.

Water and irrigation specialists believe that water reserves of the River Sir Darya will be exhausted in 1990. Nevertheless the Soviet Russians want to proceed with the project regardless of the fate of the Aral Sea and its climatic conditions, only to utilize the southern regions of the Aral Sea.

The Soviet Russian government wants to utilize the southern Aral Sea area and build 14 Sovkhozes for rice, 11 for cattle rearing, 16 for lucerne and vegetable farming and 2 for horticulture. In order to realise this project 400 million rubles are needed. The cost is amortizable within 6 to 7 years.²⁷ If, at the end of the day, the Soviet Russian government will realise this vast project, then this will have an intensive colonisation effect, triggered off by the Russians and especially by some European ethnic groups in the Aral Sea area. Soviet economic politics in Turkestan have been of a somewhat exploiting nature, as has been proved. There is no use struggling just to maintain a minimum survival status, even if the communist doctrine preaches a "new building up phase of an economic base for communism?" It is a fact and no exaggeration that the people in Turkestan have to pay, for instance in the Fergana area, the equivalent of 7 U.S. dollars for 1 kg of mutton, 2 dollars for 1 kg of grapes, 2,5 dollars for 1 kg of apples and 8-9 dollars for a chicken.²⁸ People have to wait in queues here for ages, just in order to get the most necessary items for daily life or to wait for a luxury item they have yearned for, for a long time even if it is on the black market. This, in

fact, is everyday life. The grain producing kolkhozniks in the Soviet Union received 2,13 rubles per hour, but the cotton producing kolkhozniks only got 0,29 rubles per hour and the ones in Uzbekistan only got 0,26 rubles per hour.²⁹ It is also a fact, most extraordinary though, that the so-called working productivity earns considerably less in the agricultural field than in the industrial area. The kolkhoz members in Uzbekistan earned 24,7 rubles per month less in 1982 than the sovkhos members. The kolkhozniks earn 47,8 rubles less than the industrial workers.³⁰ The actual sense of this discrepancy should be obvious to anybody. If the industrial and agricultural products of this country do not primarily supply the inhabitants, one can easily figure out that the system is of a colonial nature.

Ideological Activities as a Means to Secure Existence of Soviet Regime

The communist leadership regards its ideological activity as part of its general policy in order to secure the regime. Education of the people within "the spirit of communism" plays a major role in Turkestan, because the intention of the Soviet leadership is to activate the people in continuous measures, to mobilise them to political and economic participation. These ideological activities are intended to make the people believe in the politics of the Soviet Union and in that way, that they feel absolutely dependent on the people who run the state, on the communist leadership and the regime of the Russians. The ideological activity has the additional task to suppress and fight ideas which are contrary to the ideas and politics of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Russian regime has also learned that communism has no chance without continuous propaganda and this is true especially in the Turkestan region. According to the words of the first secretary of the communist party of Uzbekistan, Rashidow (who died on 31. 10. 83) the "power of the communist belief consists

of the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism".

Many well organised propaganda specialists from Russia are to be found in Turkestan. Apart from the usual means of spreading their ideology (radio, television, journals, newspapers, posters, films, literature and so on) these propaganda specialists work amongst the people as so-called "mediators for the ideas of the Communist Party to the work force". There are 270,000 propaganda specialists in Uzbekistan and 6,500 lecturers of the Communist Party Committees.³¹ There are around 234,000 agitators and about 102,000 informants in Kazakhstan.³² In Turkmenistan there were more than 16,300 teachers as agitators, apart from their teaching; more than 3,300 as political informers and 2,300 as propaganda specialists.³³ In Kirghizia there are about 27,000 propaganda specialists.³⁴ This "Army of Propagandists" work according to their orders as a "brain-washing machine" within the population. It is obligatory for the population to listen to the lectures of the propaganda specialists, after working hours, according to the demand of the Soviet authorities (Party organisations, Soviet executive committees, Young-Communist-Organisations, collective farm committees and trade unions).

The sectors for ideological activities are extensive. One of the tasks is to fight against the national traditions of Turkestan, if they are not in keeping with the communist way of thinking. According to the 1st secretary of the C.P. of Kirghizia, Usubaliyew, special steps were taken to get rid of the remainder of those dangerous traditional customs, especially religious.³⁵

The Communists are trying intensively to get rid of the influence of the "bourgeois ideology". In recent times the scientific and journalistic treatment of the Soviet Russian Turkestan-politics in the West and the infiltration of western critical thoughts about Turkestan has made Soviet ideologists panic. Up till now the Communists have tried to show that all foreign thoughts inasmuch as they are against Moscow's

Turkestan-politics, are simply a "falsification of the history of Middle Asia and Kazakhstan, and of the Leninist nationality policy". The Communists defend themselves up to the present day by their numerous publications, and reports on the radio in the Soviet Union and also abroad against the "bourgeois, imperialist, anti-Soviet, nationalist reactionary and hostile ideological diversions", especially concerning Turkestan. It is a task of the future for the West to do research work on Soviet ideas about "Falsification".

However, it appears to be necessary to remind everybody that in the seventies of the 20th century an "All-Union-Council for the problems of foreign ideological tendencies" has been formed by the Academy of Science of the USSR. Afterwards the "scientific council for problems of foreign ideological tendencies" was formed by the Academy of the Soviet Republics in Turkestan. These so-called "Scientific Councils" have the task to register all forms of ideologies from abroad, including Anti-Communist-Movements and the different opinions about the "Soviet Central Asian and Kazakhstan regions". Additionally, they have the task to defend themselves and to produce various materials for the authorities concerned with ideology for the "revealing of bourgeois falsifications of the history of Turkestan". On April 26th 1972 the first conference of this "council" took place in Ashkhabad where the speakers tried to refute all opinions foreign countries have about Turkestan.³⁶ On December 21st 1978 another conference took place in Ashkhabad, the topic was "some questions concerning the present ideological fight" (Nekotorye woprosy sowremennoy ideologitscheskoy bor'by). The object was to criticise, again, the questions of the so-called bourgeois falsification of the Leninist nationalities politics of the communist party. The participants tried to interpret the Soviet Russian policy in Turkestan, subject to their own view. The result was

that the Soviet Union did not even want to hear about the foreign ideas about russification, the fate of the national culture and the colonisation of Turkestan. It was demanded to keep on fighting the "bourgeois falsifiers of the history of Central Asia".³⁷

On December 27th 1979 the Academy of Science of Uzbekistan and the Ministry for High Schools and the Special Middle Schools of Uzbekistan in Tashkent organised a conference with the topic: "Questions of immediate interest concerning the ideological fight at the present stage and the task of the Science of Society in Uzbekistan". 13 lectures were held which have already been published in Russian.³⁸ From these publications one can see that the Soviet Russians wanted to justify all their statements and actions concerning their interventions in Turkestan, without regarding facts which had been criticised by western authors. "The problem of falsification of socialist realities in Central Asia and Kazakhstan" was expressly mentioned at the Communist Party Congress in Turkestan — January/February 1981 and suitable resolutions have been put forward. The Soviet Russians regarded the handling of the Turkestan problem by foreign countries, as enemy propaganda. The secretary of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, Gapurow, said amongst other things, in his statement of accounts, that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan had declared measures against enemy propaganda, in order to uncover these enemy actions. This was in January 1979. In the resolution of the congress it was mentioned that "our ideological enemies have to be actively uncovered".³⁹ During one item of the resolution of the XV Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, it was mentioned: "The fight against the bourgeois and maoistic ideology must be enforced".⁴⁰ Rashidow said in his statement of accounts at the XX Congress of the Communist

Party of Uzbekistan amongst other things: "It is necessary to uncover the lies and defamations of the bourgeois falsifiers, and to convey the truth about the Soviet Russian way of life to the people of this earth".⁴¹ The Congress resolution of the Communist Party of Tadzhikistan demanded: "All political ideological workers of the Communist Party have to fight a decisive battle, against the imperialist and ideological diversions and against the anti-soviet-chiki".⁴² The Soviet Russians have the intention to fight on against the so-called "falsifiers". This one can see from the resolution of the meeting of party activists of Uzbekistan (all party and government officials as well as all university teachers took part) on March 11th 1981: "The work to uncover all bourgeois falsifications has to be increased, with all means of propaganda and agitation".⁴³

In the year 1983, this demand reached its climax after February 16th/17th 1983 when the "scientific" conference in Tashkent had taken place. The conference was about "*The fraternal solidarity of the peoples of the USSR in the period of developed Socialism*". There was a work section; "the development of national relations and the present ideological fight" where 12 lectures were held concerning the "falsification of the Soviet Nationality-Politics, Islam-Politics in general, and of Turkestan particularly".⁴⁴ The main stress of the Soviet activities does not only lie in the fight against the ideology from abroad, but also the fight against nationalism in Turkestan. It is no secret to anybody, not even to the Soviet Russians, that there is a great national movement in Turkestan. The main aim of the national movement in Turkestan, is at present, the fight for the existence of the people as such, the resistance against russification and the conveyance of pre-tsarist and pre-Soviet national intellectual culture to the young generation, preservation of national customs and religious beliefs as well as intensifying tradi-

tional family life. The Soviets regard this as a "national separation" or as "limited".

Concerning this it said in the resolution of the XXII Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan: "We must criticise any national limitation.⁴⁵ By the way, according to the Soviets "nationalism is the weapon of ideological diversion of the western powers".⁴⁶

(to be continued)

¹ *Naselenie SSSR* (Population of USSR), Moscow 1980, pp. 10-11.

² See: *Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naselenia 1970 goda. Natsionalny sostav naselenia SSSR* (Results of the overall Union census of the year 1970. National distribution of the people of USSR, Moscow 1973, pp. 202-210, 223-31, 284-89, 295-98, 306-310.

³ For more see: "Westnik Statistiki", Journal, Moscow 1980, No. 9-10.

⁴ "Westnik Statistiki", 1980, No. 9, p. 65.

⁵ "Westnik Statistiki", 1980, No. 2, p. 20.

⁶ "Woprosy Ekonomiki", Journal, Moscow 1978, No. 8, p. 39.

⁷ "Sowet Ozbekistany", Newspaper, Tashkent 4/2/181, p. 5.

⁸ *Turkmenistan Ilimler Akademiyesining Habarlari. Jemigiyetchilik Ilimlerining seriyesi*, Journal, Ashkhabad 1984, No. 2, p. 91. Concerning the problem of the demographic development of Turkestan see also: Baymirza Hayit, *Some thoughts on the problem of Turkestan*, Cologne 1983, pp. 9-19; W. I. Kozlow, *Natsionalnosti SSSR. Etnodemograficheskiy obzor* (Nationalities of USSR. Ethnodemographical survey), Moscow 1982, 303 pp.

⁹ "Sowet Ozbekistany", 24/2/1981, p. 6.

¹⁰ "Ozbekistan Kommunisti", Journal, Tashkent 1981, No. 2, p. 72.

¹¹ "Osteuropa", Journal, Aachen, 1979, No. 9, p. 715-6.

¹² "Kazakhstanskaya Pravda", Newspaper, Alma-Ata 4/2/1981; "Turkenskaya Iskra", Newspaper, Ashkhabad 17/1/1981; "Sowet Ozbekistan" 4/2/1981; "Sowetskaya Kirgiziya" 23/1/1981 (Newspaper, Frunze); "Kommunist Tadzhikistana", Newspaper, Dushanbe, 26. 1. 1981.

¹³ "Kazak Edebiyati", Newspaper, Alma-Ata, 6/2/1981.

¹⁴ "Kazakhstan Kommunisti", Journal, Alma-Ata 1984, No. 4, p. 40.

¹⁵ "Khlopkowodstvo", Journal, Moscow 1981, No. 1, p. 4.

¹⁶ "Sowet Ozbekistany", 29/1/1981, p. 2.

¹⁷ "Ozbekistan Kommunisti", 1981, No. 2, p. 21.

¹⁸ "Khlopkowodstvo", 1984, No. 4, p. 2.

¹⁹ For more see: Baymirza Hayit, *Die Wirtschaftsprobleme Turkestans* (The Economical problems of Turkestan), Ankara 1968, pp. 109-110.

²⁰ "Ozbekistan Kommunisti", 1979, No. 2, p. 16.

²¹ "Ozbekistanda ijtmal fanlar", Journal, Tashkent 1978, No. 10, p. 1.

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²³ "Ozbekistan adabiyati va san'ati", Newspaper, Tashkent, 1/4/1983. See also: Philip P. Micklin, *Soviet Water Diversion Plans for Kazakhstan and Central Asia*, in "Central Asian Survey", Oxford, 1983, No. 4, pp. 9-43.

²⁴ "Ozbekistan Kommunisti", 1979, No. 2, p. 14.

²⁵ "Khlopkowodstvo" 1981, No. 3, p. 14.

²⁶ "Ozbekistanda ijtmal fanlar", 1981, No. 1, p. 63.

²⁷ "Ozbekistanda ijtmal fanlar", 1981, No. 2, p. 64.

²⁸ "Die Welt", Newspaper, Bonn, 2. 12. 1980, p. 1.

²⁹ "Khlopkowodstvo", 1981, No. 3, p. 15.

³⁰ "Ozbekistan Kommunisti", 1984, No. 6, p. 45.

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³³ "Turkmenistan Kommunisti", Journal, Ashkhabad, 1980, No. 11, p. 82.

³⁴ "Sowetskaya Kirgiziya", 21/1/1981, p. 7.

³⁵ "Sowetskaya Kirgiziya", 21/1/1981, p. 6.

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³⁷ For more about this conference see: *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Turkestanskoy SSR. Seriya obshchestvennykh Nauk*, 1979, No. 2, pp. 93-94.

³⁸ "Ozbekistanda ijtmal fanlar", 1980, No. 3, pp. 9-92.

³⁹ "Turkenskaya Iskra", 30/1/1981, p. 2.

⁴⁰ "Kazakhstanskaya Pravda", 8/2/1982, p. 2.

⁴¹ "Ozbekistan Kommunisti", 1981, No. 2, p. 43.

⁴² "Kommunist Tadzhikistana", 30/1/1981, p. 2.

⁴³ "Ozbekistan Madaniyati", Newspaper, Tashkent, 13/3/1981, p. 3.

⁴⁴ See also: "Sowet Ozbekistany", 17/2/1983, p. 1-3; 18/2/1983, p. 1-2.

⁴⁵ "Turkenskaya Iskra", 30/1/1981, p. 2.

⁴⁶ See: O. Redzhepowa, *Nationalism-orudie-ideologicheskikh diwersii* (Nationalism as an ideological diversion), in "Turkenskaya Iskra", 27/1/1981, p. 2.

Yurij Lytvyn's Alleged Suicide: The Final Protest of an Indomitable Ukrainian Freedom Fighter

On October 22, 1984 a U.S. State Department spokesman announced the suicide of the Ukrainian political prisoner Yurij Lytvyn.¹ A poet, publicist and active member of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group, the 50-year old freedom fighter had been sentenced no less than five times and spent a total of 21 years in Soviet prisons and labor camps.

Although Lytvyn is reported to have taken his own life in August, news of his death has only just filtered out of the notoriously harsh Kuchino special-regime camp in Perm oblast where he was held. He is the third prominent Ukrainian political prisoner to have died in the past six months. In May, Oleksa Tykhyj, a long-standing human and national rights campaigner serving a 15-year sentence for his membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group died after years of being denied proper medical attention for his various ailments.² Just over two weeks ago, Valerij Marchenko, a former journalist who had also been given a maximum 15-year sentence for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" even though he suffered from a kidney disease, died within months of being placed in the same camp as Lytvyn and Tykhyj.³ Furthermore, in the spring, the death was reported of the leading Soviet worker's rights campaigner from the Ukrainian Donbas region and victim of the political abuse of psychiatry, Oleksij Nikityn.⁴

Yurij Lytvyn was a staunch Ukrainian patriot who was committed to the principles of democracy and social justice. He was a firm believer in the need to broaden the social base of dissent in Ukraine by both activating the politically inert working class and establishing a common human rights platform with the republic's sizeable

non-Russian population. Although he was imprisoned before he could complete his contribution to the development of Ukrainian dissenting thought, his manifesto of April 1979, entitled "The Human Rights Movement in Ukraine, Its Positions and Perspectives" is one of the most important programmatic documents to appear in Ukrainian *Samvydav*.⁵

Like numerous other Ukrainian human and national rights campaigners, Lytvyn's biography is a veritable history of courage, suffering and perseverance.⁶ Born into the family of village teachers in the Kyiv region, at the age of seven he lost his father during the Second World War. He was first arrested in 1953 when he was only eighteen and sentenced to twelve years imprisonment on the basis of a trumped up criminal charge. In 1955 he was amnestied but within two months was arrested again, this time for allegedly organizing an anti-Soviet group in a labor camp where he had served his sentence. The political charge earned him a ten-year period of imprisonment which he served in full in the Mordovian camps.

Lytvyn emerged unbroken from the ordeal, but his health had taken a toll. Henceforth he was to suffer recurrently from stomach ulcers. In 1967 he became the father of a son.

Information is scanty about Lytvyn's period of freedom. He is known to have written both literary and publicistic works which, unfortunately, never reached the West. In 1973 he wrote an open letter to Leonid Brezhnev in defence of Andrei Sakharov. The following November he was arrested and charged with "anti-Soviet slander". The incriminating evidence consisted of the letter defending Sakharov, a collection of poems entitled

"The Tragic Gallery", a novel called "Notes of a Worker" and an article, "Theses about the State". Lytvyn was given a three-year sentence and placed in a camp for ordinary criminals in the Komi ASSR. In the camp his health deteriorated and he had to be operated on for a perforated ulcer.

By the time he was released, Lytvyn's wife had left him. Although living in difficult conditions and under administrative surveillance, he soon established contact with members of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group that had been formed in November 1976 to monitor human and national rights violations in Ukraine. In May 1978, despite the obvious risks involved, Lytvyn joined the group.

With the membership of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group being depleted by continuing arrests, Lytvyn became one of its leading activists. He applied himself to developing the group's positions and in April 1979 produced a seminal human rights manifesto formulated to suit the requirements of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR.

In his document "The Human Rights Movement in Ukraine, Its Positions and Perspectives", Lytvyn viewed the multifarious human rights movement as an ex-

pression of society's self-defence against "the constant encroachment on its rights by the party-state bureaucracy", and dissent as something that inevitably emerges in any country where "the state usurps and controls all aspects of social life". He was particularly concerned with emphasizing that while Ukrainian human rights campaigners are for the closest possible "alliance and solidarity" among all the human rights groups in the USSR, they regard the question of national rights as inseparable from the notion of human rights.

Lytvyn pointed to the "democratic" and "liberal" traditions of Ukrainian dissent and the historical overlap between the struggles for national and social emancipation in Ukraine. He stated that the Ukrainian human rights movement, while defending individual's and society's rights, is opposed to both Moscow's "official policy of great-state chauvinism" and to any display whatsoever of national enmity within the Ukrainian SSR. Advocating a territorial, rather than an ethnocentric criterion, Lytvyn considered membership of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group open to all those committed to upholding human and national rights in Ukraine, regardless of their national or social origin.

Needless to say, Lytvyn's next arrest was not long in coming. In July 1979 he was detained and beaten up by the militia in his home town of Vasyl'kiv. The following month he was arrested and cynically accused of having "resisted the authorities" while he was being ill-treated by the militia. In protest Lytvyn went on hunger strike and eventually had to be force-fed before finally abandoning his protest. After undergoing a psychiatric examination, he was ruled sane and fit to stand trial. In December the Helsinki monitor was sentenced at a closed trial in Vasyl'kiv to three years imprisonment.



**Afghanistan, September 1984.
A child injured during a Soviet
Russian bombardment.**

Lytvyn is known to have recognized the importance of devising an alliance between Ukrainian dissidents and workers, and shortly before his arrest in August 1979, his unfinished manuscript of a study entitled "The Soviet State and the Soviet Working Class" was confiscated during a search of his home.⁷ Perhaps it is not entirely coincidental that in November 1980, Mykola Pohyba, a hitherto unknown Ukrainian worker who was for a while imprisoned in the same labour camp as Lytvyn, wrote an open letter containing an enthusiastic appraisal of events in Poland and their lessons for Soviet workers.⁸

Although Lytvyn had not fully recovered from a recent operation on his ulcers, in the labor camps he was made to do hard work and denied proper medical treatment and an adequate diet. By the summer of 1980 the state of his health was so alarming that his mother began to petition for his early release. When she visited him in August of that year he was suffering from peptic and duodenal ulcers, his teeth were falling out because of vitamin deficiency and he was losing his sight.⁹

In the autumn of 1981, barely a year before Lytvyn was due to be released, a new charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" was brought against him. He was subsequently given a maximum ten year sentence in the harshest category of Soviet corrective labor colony and five years internal exile.¹⁰ The last brief item of information about Lytvyn came last spring when it was reported that he and

two other prisoners in the Kuchino special regime camp had been taken to a prison hospital for unknown reasons.¹¹

The precise circumstances of Lytvyn's suicide are not known. In view of the general gloomy climate for Soviet dissent and the greater cruelty with which prisoners of conscience in the USSR have been treated during the 1980s, an ailing Lytvyn may well have finally reached the end of his marathon endurance. Whatever the actual reason, his final protest was an unmistakable signal for the entire world.

*Radio Liberty, Munich,
October 24, 1984*

¹ AFP and DPA, October 22, 1984.

² See RL 213/84, "Oleksa Tykhyj — The Martyrization of a Ukrainian Patriot", May 28, 1984.

³ AP and Reuter, October 9, 1984. On Marchenko see RL 125/84, "Ukrainian Dissident Given Maximum Sentence", March 22, 1984.

⁴ See RL 166/84, "The Death of Soviet Workers' Rights Activist Oleksij Nikityn", April 25, 1984.

⁵ Yuriy Lytvyn, "Pravozakhysnyj rukh na Ukraini, ioho zasady ta perspektyvy", *Suchasnist*, no. 10 (October 1979), pp. 98-104.

⁶ For concise biographical details see the booklet *Yuriy Lytvyn (Portrety suchasnykiv)*, compiled by Nadia Svitlychna and published in New York in 1980 by the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. See also the various materials on Lytvyn in Osyp Zinkevych, ed., *Ukrains'ka Helsins'ka Hrupa 1978-1982, Dokumenty i materialy*, Toronto and Baltimore, Smoloskyp, 1983, pp. 365-404.

⁷ Lytvyn gave a detailed account of the harassment he underwent during his brief period of freedom between October 1977 and August 1979 in his uncompromising final statement before the court in Vasyl'kiv at the end of 1979. The text is provided in the booklet *Yuriy Lytvyn (Portrety suchasnykiv)*, pp. 9-27.

⁸ AS 4321.

⁹ See *Yuriy Lytvyn (Portrety suchasnykiv)*, p. 6.

¹⁰ *Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief*, no. 6/83, March 31, 1983.

¹¹ *Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief*, no. 3/84, February 15, 1984.

THE AGONY OF A
NATION
by Stephan Oleskiw
Foreword by Malcolm
Muggeridge

Facts Behind the Death of Oleksij Nikityn

A report on the tragic fate of the Ukrainian political prisoner Oleksij Nikityn by Mr. Bohdan Nabaylo from Munich which appeared in the 'Ukrainian Weekly', May 13, 1984.

The death of the leading activist for workers' rights in the USSR and political prisoner Oleksij Nikityn was the subject of wide-spread reports.

Oleksij Nikityn was a victim of long years of political abuse in Soviet Russian psychiatric wards. It is said that the 47-year old former coal mine engineer in Ukraine was released from his forced incarceration in a mental institution a few weeks before his death to die at home. He died as a result of a stomach ulcer illness. Nikityn spent 10 years in psychiatric wards for having stood up in defence of workers' rights. He fought for independent (workers') trade unions and exposed the deplorable and dangerous working conditions in the coal mines of Donbas. Everyone, (including Volodymyr Klebanov, also a coal-miner from Donbas) will remember Oleksij Nikityn as a courageous fighter for free trade unions even long before the Polish free trade union 'Solidarity' appeared on the scene.

Towards the end of 1977, when Klebanov started to organise the independent trade union in Ukraine called "The Association of Independent Trade Unions in the Ukrainian SSR", *Nikityn was the first among Soviet trade unionists to bring Western journalists to one of the largest Soviet industrial centres so that they could see for themselves the conditions in which Soviet workers are forced to live and work.*

Although in the past few years Nikityn had almost lost his sight (as a result of an excess dosage of medicaments which he was forced to take), he still refused to capitulate and remained faithful to his

convictions till the bitter end. As Nikityn himself told Soviet psychiatrist Dr. Anatolij Koriagin, he was born into a peasant family and was the youngest of ten children. One of his sisters perished during the notorious famine of 1933, and two of his brothers were killed during World War II. He was an exceptionally gifted pupil in school, a natural leader, and he took up prominent posts in the komsomol. He graduated in electro-mechanics at the Donetsk School of Technology and completed his service in the army in the Northern Fleet. In 1962, he returned to his full-time job as an electrical engineer in one of the coal mines in the Donbas region.

During this time, Nikityn started to be very active in improving the fate of the workers: he strongly opposed the unjust distribution of bonuses, apartments and other privileges. He also became a member of the "Initiative Group of Workers and Communists". This group did not only succeed in procuring the dismissal of the chief director of the coal mine, but also his expulsion from the Communist Party.

In 1965 Nikityn married and under the influence of his wife he joined the Communist Party. At this time he was already a brigadier in the coal mine, but continued to support the workers in their conflict with the coal mine administration. This is why he was persecuted and forced by the coal mine authorities to accept a lower salary and an unsuitable apartment. However, all of these grievances in no way stopped him and he continued the talks on behalf of the workers and managed to procure the dismissal of several directors who embezzled state money (funds).

In December 1969, Nikityn headed a workers' delegation protesting against the coal mine director in Butivtsi. This director

refused to pay the workers their entitled bonuses. This time the workers were met with stubborn obstinacy and anger by the employers, so they appealed to the CC of the Communist Party of the USSR. There were 130 workers in all: Nikityn and 129 other miners. However, the matter was reverted to the Donetsk Regional Party Committee. As a result Nikityn was expelled from the Party and in February 1970 he was dismissed from work. In spite of many arduous attempts, he could not get any employment. Furthermore, the authorities demanded that his wife renounce him. This finally led to their separation. In 1971, Nikityn re-called the Party Congress to no avail. When more than a year had passed and he was still refused employment, he decided to publicise his case outside the borders of the USSR. Already in April 1971, Nikityn succeeded in *entering the Norwegian Embassy in Moscow and handing over relevant documents*. His attempts to contact the American Embassy were unsuccessful. He was retained by the KGB for some time, and then sent back to Donetsk.

In December 1971, an explosion occurred in the coal mine in which Nikityn had once worked. Many people were injured and seven were killed. Nikityn had already previously warned against the danger of such a catastrophe; any sort of precautions had been completely neglected in this coal mine, and there was a lack of the usual security for coal mines.

Now, at a time when the grievances among the coal miners were escalating, they recalled Nikityn's warnings and loudly voiced the injustice which had been inflicted on him. In April 1972 Nikityn was once again imprisoned, this time having been accused of "anti-Soviet slander"! Without any psychiatric examination whatsoever he was declared mentally insane and incarcerated for an indefinite period in a psychiatric hospital designated

for "extremely dangerous patients". Nikityn was transported to the notorious Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital. His family and relatives were not allowed to visit him under the pretext that "he is incapable of recognising people and beats the walls during his relapses". In reality, however, he was made to work on the building site in the hospital grounds and eventually work as a medical orderly! During his incarceration in Dnipropetrovsk, Nikityn met up with Volodymyr Klebanov, another fighter for workers' rights, who was also being 'treated' in the same psychiatric hospital. After spending 2 years and 9 months in this psychiatric prison, Nikityn was taken to an ordinary psychiatric hospital in Donetsk, from which he was released in May 1976. *Being unable to obtain employment, Nikityn once again managed to get into the Norwegian Embassy in February 1977, this time with the hope of receiving political asylum*. However, upon leaving the embassy building, he was arrested and once again taken for psychiatric examination in the Donetsk psychiatric hospital. Nikityn managed to escape, but after one and a half months of freedom he was caught and once more sent to the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital. As he later revealed, he was 'treated' for two years with large doses of narcotic drugs causing stupefaction; he was later taken back to Donetsk and released in March 1980.

After his release, Nikityn managed to get in contact with the banned *Workers' Commission for the Investigation of Psychiatric Abuse for Political Aims*. In September 1980, he was examined by the professional consultant of the above commission, Dr. Anatolij Koriagin, who, after careful medical examination, declared Nikityn mentally fit.

On November 3, 1980 Nikityn appealed in writing to British trade unions asking them to support "the active group in the USSR, which is attempting to organise

an independent trade union". In his appeal, Nikityn mentioned the "praiseworthy tradition of trade unions..., which developed during the struggle for workers' rights". He also called on the organised British workers to help Soviet fighters for workers' rights by giving "guidance, practical advice and solidarity". Unfortunately, this passionate appeal by Nikityn did not bring the desired response nor any sort of reaction.

After the medical examination carried out by Dr. Koriagin, Nikityn met up with Western correspondents in Moscow. These were: David Sater of 'The Financial Times' and Kevin Close of 'The Washington Post'. Perturbed and interested by his accounts, these two correspondents accepted an invitation to travel to Donetsk and investigate the conditions in the Donbas coal mines themselves. Within three days of their leaving Donetsk, Nikityn was once again arrested. On January 6, 1981, Nikityn was once again incarcerated by court order in the Dnipropetrovsk hospital for psychiatric criminals. Approximately one month later, Dr. Koriagin was also arrested in Moscow, where a meeting with Western correspondents had taken place. During this meeting Dr. Koriagin had raised the

case of Nikityn. As a result, Dr. Koriagin was put on trial in Kharkiv in June 1981, and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He was sentenced to seven years of hard labour and five years of internal exile. Meanwhile, Nikityn had been kept in complete isolation in the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital for two whole months. As a result of having been injected with unknown medicaments, he suffered from severe headaches and lost his sense of orientation. Sometime in November 1981, news reached the West that he had been given greater doses of drugs which was probably the reason why his state of health had deteriorated and why he started going blind. According to further reports, at the beginning of 1982, Nikityn was for some reason transferred to a psychiatric prison in far-off Shalgar in Kazakhstan. This in turn, made it very difficult for Nikityn's family to keep in touch with him. He was then transported to some unknown place; it finally came to light that he had in fact been released in order to be able to die at home. During the last years of his life his sister, Liudmylla Poludniak, was the one who protected and took care of him the most. He left behind one daughter. Several of his brothers are still alive.

"His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf — Confessor of the Faith"

Commemorative volume on the Life of Patriarch Slipyj, published by the Ukrainian Central Information Service, London, 1985.

The UCIS of London has just released a commemorative book about the life of Patriarch Slipyj. The illustrated 64-page volume contains a brief biography, the Patriarch's testament, eulogies by Pope John Paul II and the Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P., President of the European Freedom Council, "A Last Farewell" address by Yaroslav Stetsko, Prime Minister of Free Ukraine, the statement of the Lviv Krylos, the advisory and administrative body of the Lviv Metropolitanate, the Sermon by Father Werenfried van Straaten, the founder of Aid to the Church in Need, condolences from President Reagan of the USA and Prime Minister Mulroney of Canada, as well as obituary articles from the prominent media of the West.

News and Views

Ontario Approves to Commemorate Independence Day Anniversaries

Yurij Shymko's (M.P.P. for High Park-Swansea) Private Member's Resolution calling for the Ontario Government's official recognition of Independence Day Anniversaries, was unanimously passed in the Legislature on November 15, 1984.

It is not often that the Members of all three parties unite to support one Member's initiative, but in this case, the universal appeal of Mr. Shymko's Resolution warranted such unanimous action.

November 15, marks a historic step since Ontario is as yet the only government in Canada issuing an official proclamation on the Anniversary of Independence Day celebrations. Mr. Shymko stated in

his speech to the House, that these proclamations:

"...would not only keep alive the spirit of freedom and independence... as a beacon of hope but would also remind all Canadians, irrespective of their origins, that to be preserved, freedom must be valued."

Mr. Shymko also stated that, in keeping with his resolution, Ontario will be requesting that the Federal Government in Ottawa also commemorate these Independence Day Anniversaries with an Official Proclamation. Mr. Shymko is most confident that the request will be met by a positive response from Ottawa.

Resolution moved by Mr. Shymko, seconded by Mr. Kolyn

That recognizing the universality and indivisibility of freedom and the adherence to the principles of political liberties and national sovereignty as fundamental elements of our free and democratic society and recognizing in this Bicentennial Year the significant contribution to Ontario and Canada made by peoples who have settled on our shores as political refugees escaping persecution in their former homelands where national independence and political liberties had been lost as a result of foreign occupation and domination and acknowledging our Government's traditional recognition of the independence proclamations enshrined in the course of history by the sovereign will of the nations with whom these Canadians are related by ancestry, language and culture, this House invites all Ontarians to commemorate these special independence anniversaries on the respective dates that they are celebrated by the various communities and suggests that the Premier sign, upon request and at his discretion, appropriate proclamations on these occasions and allow for any other appropriate recognition on the Commemorative Day and asks this Government to urge the Government of Canada to institute a similar practice in Ottawa.

PRESIDENT REAGAN EXPRESSES HIS SOLIDARITY WITH UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

New York — On January 12, 1985, President Ronald Reagan joined in commemorating the Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners. He expressed his support for Ukrainian prisoners, such as Yuriy Shukhevych, who languish in Soviet Russian prisons and concentration camps in the following telegram message to TUSM National President, Peter Shmigel.

"I am pleased to join with the members of the Ukrainian Student Association in commemorating this Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners. This occasion is a reminder of the Ukrainian prisoners' of conscience devotion to the noblest aspirations of the human spirit: the desire for freedom and the resistance to the imposition of inhumane political ideas and systems. The valor, dignity and dedication Ukrainian prisoners have displayed in the pursuit of freedom, prisoners such as Yuriy Shukhevych, reaffirm our confidence in the ultimate triumph of the free human spirit over tyranny. The brave political prisoners of Ukraine will remain a source of inspiration for generations to come."

Ronald Reagan

The Ukrainian Student Association of Mykola Michnowsky (TUSM) undertook a series of nationwide protest actions to further amplify the plight of Ukrainian political prisoners. In New York City, six TUSM members were arrested outside the Soviet mission to the United Nations for singing the Ukrainian national anthem. Police made the arrests after having received an official complaint from Soviet authorities. Charged with disorderly conduct and unnecessary noise, the six students are expected to challenge the legal basis of their arrests when they appear in court on February 15.

In Cleveland, TUSM members conducted a 24-hour silent vigil and hunger strike. The city's mayor, George Voinovich, proclaimed the Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners.

Mr. Shmigel, in response to the President's greeting, stated: "The President's greeting shows us two things. First, the Ukrainian-American community can and does influence the American government to act on behalf of Ukrainian political prisoners by combining effective lobbying and public protest. Thus, we have to further develop our campaign in defense of Ukraine's human and national rights. Secondly, by his words, President Reagan reasserts his commendable stance vis-à-vis Ukraine and his receptiveness to Ukrainian-Americans. This is of crucial importance in light of the new effort to ease East/West relations."

The Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners was declared by Vyacheslav Chornovil on January 12, 1972. On that date, the Soviet Russian regime attempted to destroy the Ukrainian human and national rights movement with one drastic measure — a massive sweep arrest of hundreds of Ukrainian activists. Chornovil himself was arrested and sentenced.

The Ukrainian Student Association of Mykola Michnowsky (TUSM) has consistently acted in the spirit of Chornovil's appeal and will continue to do so.

Soviet Russia on Trial

The Baltic World Conference is accusing the Soviet Union of criminal actions in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania at a public "Baltic Tribunal against the Soviet Union" during July 23-25, 1985, in Copenhagen. The Baltic World Conference, based in Washington, represents the World Federation of Free Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians.

An Inquiry Board, consisting of prominent, internationally known persons will act as investigating jurors. Among the witnesses, will be former high ranking Soviet officials.

The Soviet Union is accused of:

- the illegal, military occupation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania;

- altering population proportions and forcing demographic changes in these three countries through deportations and re-settlement plans;

- russifying the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian languages, educational systems and cultures;

- the violation of human rights and the denial of fundamental freedoms through

the detention of a democratic way of life;

- the installation of military and naval bases thus forming a military zone along the Baltic Sea;

- the conscription of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians into the Soviet armed forces and compelling them to serve outside their territories, e.g. in Cuba, Vietnam, Afghanistan;

- deliberately placing impositions on conditions of life that are designed to rob Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania of their juridical and factual potential to resume their status as sovereign nations.

Baltic organizations in exile fear that their countrymen in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are fast becoming endangered peoples as a direct result of Soviet policies.

Estonian and Latvian youth congresses will precede the tribunal. Starting immediately after the tribunal, representatives of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Youth Associations have organised a Baltic Peace and Freedom Cruise in the Baltic Sea.

Mail to Prisoners of Conscience Intercepted

Soviet authorities have escalated the blockage of mail to prisoners of conscience in the USSR, as documented by the most recent underground Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania.

In a letter from Perm labour camp, reprinted in issue no. 64 of the Chronicle, Father Alfonsas Svarinskas writes that his letters have been returned. "Inquire at the post office why that happened", he asks, "since otherwise, we all suffer. You don't receive the letter, and I waste my quota... After all, they only allow me two letters a month." Father Svarinskas is one of two Lithuanian Catholic priests serving a 10 year sentence for pastoral activity. A third is awaiting trial.

The most recent evidence of Soviet mail

interference is exhibited by the scores of Christmas greetings to Lithuanian prisoners of conscience in the USSR which were returned to their senders in the US. Despite the fact that the letters were personal, clearly not of any political nature, 90% of the cards sent last December by Catholics from greater New York, were not delivered. Most of the returned mail was stamped "retour inconnu" (addressee unknown), reports the Lithuanian Information Center in Brooklyn, N.Y.

"This is a deliberate attempt to cut the lifeline of communications between those living behind the Iron Curtain and friends or relatives on the outside," said Mrs. Emilija Sandanavicius of Brooklyn, whose cousin, Father Sigitas Tamkevicius, is im-

prisoned in Perm labor camp. "The issue is an emotional one in our ethnic and religious community, because the Soviets are attempting to completely isolate our friends and family from us."

Julius Sasnauskas' pen pal in Italy has just informed the Lithuanian Information Center that personal correspondence with the prisoner has ceased altogether. Sasnauskas is completing a 6-1/2 year sentence in exile for underground publishing activity. Responses are not forthcoming and the return receipt no longer bears the signature of the addressee, reports the pen pal. According to the testimony of former prisoners, registered letter receipts are methodically signed by Soviet agents and letters are never forwarded to the addressee.

The nondelivery of mail which is properly addressed is an interference by the Soviet Union with internationally recognized human rights agreements. The systematic exclusion of certain persons from international mail service also violates the general regulations of the Uni-

versal Postal Union and the Constitution of the USSR.



Mujahideen Commander in Chief Ahmer Shah Massoud in the Panjshir hills at an altitude of 4,600 feet at the beginning of September 1984.

RESPONSE TO A MEMORANDUM OF THE ASSN. OF UKRAINIANS IN GREAT BRITAIN

Dear Sirs

Thank you for your long and detailed letter of 12 December to the Prime Minister about the visit of Mr. Gorbachev. I have been asked to reply.

The Prime Minister raised the question of human rights with Mr. Gorbachev and drew his attention to the deep feeling in this country on this issue. The Foreign Secretary drew Mr. Gorbachev's attention to the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and underlined the widespread concern in Britain at the plight of the many individuals in the Soviet Union who are denied these basic rights.

In response to these remarks, Mr. Gorbachev referred to existing Soviet legislation and pointed out that a considerable

number of Soviet citizens had been allowed to emigrate over the years.

For their part, Ministers made it clear that they would continue to raise these matters until there was a significant improvement in the Soviet human rights performance.

Meanwhile please accept this assurance that points raised in the petition prepared by the Wolverhampton Branch are being taken into consideration. The case of Mrs. Meshko is already well known to us and will not be forgotten.

*Yours faithfully, P. J. Hurr
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH*

27 December 1984

Black Balloons Highlight Plight of Latvians

A black cloud hung over Toronto City Hall yesterday to remind people that prisoners of conscience in Latvia are being denied basic human rights.

The cloud consisted of 600 black, helium-filled balloons stamped with a message that today is International Human Rights Day. The balloons also carried the names of 10 Latvian citizens who are being held in Soviet jails, prison camps and psychiatric hospitals.

"We want to remind people that the fundamentals of human rights are not observed in the Soviet-occupied Baltic states," said Dace Veinbeigs, 23, the president of the Latvian National Youth Association of Canada.

She said the names and addresses of the 10 prisoners of conscience — nine men and one woman — were included to show Canadians that more than 300 Latvians are being held for speaking out against the Soviet Union.

People who find the balloons are being

asked to send Christmas cards to the prisoners as a show of support.

The prisoners include Lidija Doronina-Lasmane, a woman who helped people who were released from Latvian jails, and Zanis Skudra, who was sentenced to 12 years of hard labor for taking pictures of the deterioration of churches in the country.

Ms. Veinbeigs said the balloons were black to symbolize the tragedy of the Baltic people.

"It would be too frivolous to have them in bright colors because this is not a happy occasion," she said.

Elma Miniats, 59, a member of the Canadian Committee for Human Rights in Latvia, came from Guelph, Ont., to participate in the event.

"We have to remember this, and maybe someday something will be done," said Mrs. Miniats, who left Latvia in 1944.

*The Globe and Mail,
Monday, December 10, 1984.*



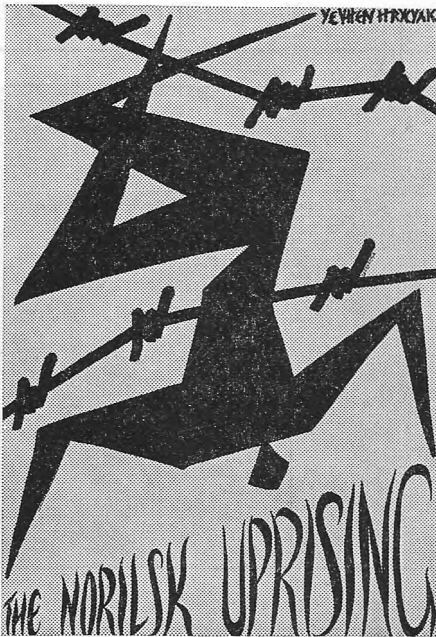
Group photo at the Annual Conference of the European Freedom Council (EFC) Great Britain Branch, London, February 23, 1985.

Book Review

The Norilsk Uprising by Yevhen Hrycyak

*Ukrainian Institute for Education, Munich,
1984.*

These memoirs of the uprising in the Norilsk concentration camps in 1953 are a riveting piece of reading. They are a testament to the undying spirit of people, no matter how oppressed they may be! Playing a leading role in the uprising, the fact that Hrycyak escaped death, can only be seen as an ironic twist of fate. Especially when considered in the light of the descriptions of brutality and unbelievably cruel excess to which the prison guards resorted. His cautions to himself, during the most intensely difficult moments of the events which took place over some twelve months, from August of 1952 until September of 1953, are gems of wit and humanity. That



he could summon the courage and level-headed calm to deal with all the difficulties which he faced must rank with other survivors of the GULag, as one of the miracles which came out of that depressing tragedy. The feats of Solzhenitsyn's memory in his recording of the life in the GULag, can offer no better description of the conditions and spirits of those who suffered there! We have, in Hrycyak's work, the unmasking of communist Russian tyranny in all its beastiality! This book should be required reading for anyone who believes there are merits in the Bolshevik system which justify "certain errors". The callous disregard for the most basic of human rights is stamped on every page, every paragraph and every sentence of this memoir. It is almost beyond belief that such an insistent and unending torment of human beings could be possible; and, more importantly, it serves to remind us, that this incredibly cruel and oppressive system continues to function, in EXACTLY the same way, to this day — every day! If those who would negotiate with and be apologists for the Kremlin could see into the GULag of today with the clarity and insight, revealed in Hrycyak's book, they would certainly have to acknowledge the shame of their actions! It is books such as these which are the weapons of truth capable of destroying the Soviet disinformation campaigns, based as they are, on lies and distortions. A. R.

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ABN Correspondence

immediately!

Appeal to the Free World to Help the Afghan Freedom Fighters

For over five years, the heroic Afghan nation together with its freedom fighters, the mujahideen — Knights of the Holy Cause — has been engaged in an uneven liberation war against the Russian superpower, equipped with the most modern weapons, which spares neither women, children, old people nor a defenceless population in its aim of conquering one more country on the road to world domination.

Afghanistan is defending its freedom, independence, faith in God, national traditions and at the same time protecting the Free World from inundation by Communist Russia which brings ruin and destruction to everything that is holy for nations and the individual.

Tsar Peter I had already marked out the road for Russian imperialist expansion through Afghanistan as a key country in the domination of this geo-strategical area, as well as providing open access to the Indian Ocean. Today the communists are executing the will of the tsars.

For five years now, the Russian-communist aggressor has been slaughtering these courageous and staunch fighters.

The conscience of the Free World remained unmoved when seven million Ukrainians died in the genocidal famine siege organised by Moscow and in the same way, the tragedy of the Afghan nation, covered in blood, is silenced today. The West refuses to supply any modern-type of anti-aircraft or other weapons to the national liberation war of Afghanistan in its fight against the Russian invaders.

In the shadow of renewed detente at the Geneva or Vienna talks, behind the futile hopes that Moscow's aggression in Latin America, Africa or Asia, can be halted, Moscow, while disintegrating Western Europe, is preparing a total general offensive in order to finally crush the national uprising and liberation war of the Afghan people. The mujahideen commander, Massoud, informs us that the Russian offensive is due to begin on March 15 — a few days before the Afghan New Year which falls on March 21 and for us, the first day of spring.

The Afghan freedom fighters are urgently appealing and asking the free nations of the world to send them supplies of shoes, food, medicine and, in particular, sleeping-bags which should be light but warm for sleeping in, in the mountain snows.

Before the eyes of the whole world, a genocide is being practised on a freedom-loving people. Moscow's emissaries — Gorbachevs, Gromykos and Shcherbytskys — travel to all the capitals of the world bringing with them their peace-loving lies, deceiving politicians and the mass media, while simultaneously innocent women and children of a massacred nation are dying in Afghanistan. Our prisoners — patriots and freedom fighters, nationalists and believers in God — are also dying in the concentration camps, psychiatric wards and prisons in the USSR.

From the blood-stained mountains and valleys of Afghanistan, where a defenceless population is dying, a desperate cry for help can be heard: "HELP US BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE FOR THE WHOLE OF WESTERN SOCIETY WHICH HAS BECOME INDIFFERENT IN ITS COMFORTABLE LIFE".

Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

March 6, 1985.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

CONGRESS OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS, MAY 18 AND 19, 1985, NEW YORK, USA



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Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

The national Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was convened on May 18 and 19, 1985 in New York on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the AF ABN.

243 delegates from 18 nationalities (Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, China, Croatia, Cuba, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Poland, Rumania, Turkestan, Ukraine, the United States and Vietnam) and 14 AF ABN branches in the USA (Albany, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Miami, New Jersey, New York, Phoenix, Rochester, Syracuse and Washington), representatives of the ABN from Canada (Toronto and Montreal) and Europe (Great Britain and West Germany), as well as about 500 invited guests participated in the Congress and at the Congress banquet which was held at the Vista International Hotel on Saturday evening.

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 (Executive Chairman of the ABN, Munich, West Germany), "Aid to the Captive Peoples" — Mr. Robert Morris (executive member of the US Council for World Freedom), "Unchanged Russian drive for world domination" — Dr. Jack Stukas (Professor at Seton Hall University, So. Orange, N.J.) and "The ABN and the 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 today — in the Free World and behind the Iron Curtain", with panelists representing the USA, Canada, Europe, Rumania, Ukraine, Afghanistan, Cuba and Vietnam; a panel on "National liberation processes behind the Iron Curtain", with panelists representing Albania, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Hungary, Poland and Ukraine; and a panel on the "Armed struggle of the subjugated nations for their survival", with panelists representing Afghanistan, Vietnam and Nicaragua.

In the evening of Saturday, May 18 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 Ukraine and ABN President. Guest speakers were US Congressman Mario Biaggi, Mr. Wayne Merry — US representative to the UN, Advisor Political and Security Affairs, and Mr. John Nikas — representative of Governor Mario Cuomo and chairman of ethnic groups, State Legislature. The banquet program also included the reading of the New York State Senate Resolution and greetings from Senators and Congressmen. Dr. B. A. Zikria, who had just returned from Peshawar, Pakistan, greeted the banquet participants on behalf of the Afghan mujahideen. The banquet included cultural entertainment.

The Congress ended on Sunday, May 19 with the election of the governing bodies and passing of the Statement and Resolutions.

Telegram from President Ronald Reagan to the AF ABN Congress

I am very happy to extend warm greetings to the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations as you gather for your Congress in New York.

Your organization is part of the rich ethnic diversity that enhances our culture and is so essential to America's strength. Through your many worthwhile programs, you help to preserve the rich heritage of your Eastern European forebears, while simultaneously encouraging dedication to the ideals upon which this nation was founded. I applaud the efforts of organizations like yours which contribute in so many ways to the well-being of America. You add substantially to the efforts to foster self-determination and independence. I applaud your endeavors and assure you that this administration and the American people share your continued dedication to the principles of international justice and freedom.

Nancy joins me in sending best wishes for every success in the years ahead.

Ronald Reagan



AF ABN Congress Banquet at the Vista International Hotel, New York, May 18, 1985.

Greetings to the AF ABN Congress from Vice President Bush

Barbara and I extend best wishes for a successful Conference of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations on May 18-19.

Your association is a vital one, insisting that the world remember that there remain nations still held captive by an unwanted occupier. By remembering, we strengthen our conviction never to stand silent and defenseless in the face of forces that would extinguish the light of freedom.

Sincerely,

George Bush

Freedom is a flame that can never be extinguished

On behalf of The City of New York, I am pleased to extend greetings to the members and guests of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations on the occasion of your Congress Banquet.

Freedom is a flame that can never be extinguished, not even by the military and political tyranny of the Soviet Union. One day that flame will burn brightly again for all nations and individuals. My warmest good wishes to everyone present as you convene this important conference.

Sincerely,

Edward I. Koch, Mayor
The City of New York

Greetings Telegram from Archbishop Constantine (Ukrainian Orthodox Church) to the AF ABN Congress

My dear friends,

I greet you as you meet to discuss your current activities and formulate future plans. I pray that Almighty God, who knows all, will bless your continued efforts to expose to the world the horror story of the Bolshevik occupation of so many of your homelands. May those efforts bear much fruit in the attention given them by the nations of the Free World.

Yours sincerely,

Archbishop Constantine,
Ukrainian Orthodox Church

May Almighty God help us cast off the terrible yoke of colonialism

For many years now I have been well aware of the work of the ABN, to which all the subjugated nations, including the Ukrainian nation, contribute, sharing the same cause and standing up in firm and organized unison against godless Bolshevism, which has held freedom-loving nations captive in the most appalling way for over 60 years, after having forcibly occupied them through invasion or by means of deceitful propaganda.

The ABN continues to courageously resist all communist encroachments on these nations, not only by active resistance, but also on an international level, by informing the free, democratic states about the horrific situation of these unyielding nations.

I pray that Almighty God may help us cast off this terrible yoke of colonialism and that our nation may soon be able to enjoy freedom, surrounded by free peoples, and this, I strongly believe, will soon come about.

I deeply regret that I will not be able to attend your Congress in person, as I shall be away from my diocese on another important matter.

I wish you much success in your future work and pray to God to render his protection over you and all of our peoples.

May peace and the love of Christ be with you.

I remain, Yours sincerely,

† Wasył, Bishop of Stamford
Ukrainian Catholic Church

Strength in Ourselves to Continue the Struggle

Thank you for your kind invitation to attend the Congress Banquet of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. It is with much regret, because of a long standing prior commitment, that I am unable to attend.

The struggle against communism has been long and difficult. Still, understanding the ugliness of oppression and totalitarianism, we find in ourselves an awesome strength to continue that struggle. We who are able to enjoy our lives in freedom and in liberty feel for our fellow men and women who must persevere against the brutal system they are trapped in.

Who among us knows better of the torment of these people than those whose brothers and sisters endure in the darkness of communism? We in the United States and our friends in the Western world are keenly aware of "our strongest allies," as we join together, unswervingly, in the struggle for freedom everywhere in the world.

I know of the contributions of your organization in the pursuit of freedom for the subjugated nations of the world, and as a United States Senator and Chairman of the Helsinki Commission, my devotion to the cause of liberty and human rights is resolute.

Again, thank you for your invitation, as I extend my best wishes for an enjoyable banquet, and much success to the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Sincerely,

Alfonse M. D'Amato
United States Senator



Honorable Mario Biaggi, US Congressman, addressing the AF ABN Congress, May 18, 1985

To Strengthen the Light of Freedom

It is indeed a great honor and pleasure to greet the AF ABN Congress on the occasion of its 35th anniversary, in the name of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. The AF ABN has continually done its utmost to aid the liberation struggles of the nations suffering under the brutal regimes of Russian imperialism and communism.

The AF ABN has a particularly significant role in the entire ABN complex of member organizations. The AF ABN functions within the context of American liberty. It stands firmly supporting the torch of freedom held in the hand of the Statue of Liberty. It shines with the light of that torch, the light that gives hope to the millions awaiting that spark in their own lands.

Today, we see a world in crisis. Hunger, genocide, imperialism flourish throughout the globe, the shadow of nuclear missiles looms over the heads of the peoples of the world, while the leaders of the free world desperately search for an answer to the civilization-threatening crisis. Policies of co-existence, of detente, of the balance of power, of mutually assured destruction are ineffectual grasping of straws. It has become clear to all individuals who confront this problem, that such policies do not eliminate the threat. Unfortunately, many of free world leaders have come to believe that only a miracle can save the world from destruction.

If it is only a miracle that can assure the world's survival, it is a miracle which mortals can create. It is the miracle of freedom.

The role of the AF ABN is to strengthen that light of freedom by enlightening the American public to the liberation concept of the ABN. It is only through the process of liberation of the subjugated nations that the world will be freed from the threat of a nuclear wasteland.

The miracle of freedom is the ideal that inspires the political mobilizations of the oppressed nations. It is their liberation struggles which will tear apart the seams of Russian imperialism and communist domination. The subjugated nations will, by freeing themselves, free the world. The threat will be eliminated. The ABN asks the free world for its friendship, its political support and understanding that the concept of the ABN is the "miracle" which will free them. And he who helps us, helps himself. If the Free World will not help the subjugated nations, then the least it can do is not help our enemies.

I would like to take this opportunity, on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the AF ABN to honor the Co-Founder of this organization, a great idealist who has departed from us, Dr. Nestor Procyk. May the great work which he began, continue to flourish.

"We must recognize that the Free World's most reliable allies are the enslaved peoples within the Russian Communist empire. The real Achilles' heel of the whole Soviet Russian system is the unrest and disaffection of the peoples within the Soviet Russian empire."

Major General John K. Singlaub

Greetings to the AF ABN Congress, May 18, 1985, New York

As a representative of the New York State Legislature, I understand the importance of maintaining public concern for the fate of subjugated East Eurobean nations and their peoples.

Please extend my warmest greetings to the members and delegates of the Congress of American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations on behalf of my concerned constituents who reside in the 119th Assembly District which I represent. Your members who reside in Central New York, have played a leading role in fostering the knowledge of the inherent evils of Communism and the danger that the USSR presents to world peace and basic universal human freedoms.

With all best wishes for a successful conference.

Sincerely,

William E. Bush
*Member of Assembly,
State of New York, Albany,
119th Assembly District*

Please express to the members of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc. my best wishes for a productive and successful National Congress.

As a representative in the New York State Legislature of a large Ukrainian community, as well as many people with origins in other subjugated East European nations, I fully understand the importance of maintaining public concern for the fate of these nations and their peoples. The continuing terrible events in Poland, and the Soviets' continuing efforts to conquer a free Afghanistan, clearly demonstrate the value of this work, and this National Congress.

In the past, I have continually supported efforts by the Ukrainian community, and other East European communities to keep alive the promise of freedom for those now living in the Russian Empire's captive nations. You can be assured of my continued support, and the support of all Central New Yorkers, who are extremely proud of these efforts on behalf of freedom.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Tarky Lombardi, Jr.,
*State Senator
State of New York*

Thank you for the invitation to attend the AF ABN Congress. Unfortunately a previous engagement prevents me from joining you.

Please accept my best wishes for a successful event. I fully support your great organization and sincerely regret that I will not be able to be with you.

Sincerely,

Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub,
*Chairman,
United States Council for World Freedom*

State of New York

Legislative Resolution Senate No. 791

BY: Senator Knorr

MEMORIALIZING The Honorable Mario M. Cuomo, Governor, to proclaim May eighteenth and nineteenth, nineteen hundred eighty-five, American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations National Congress Days in the State of New York.

WHEREAS, The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was founded in November of nineteen hundred forty-three at a gathering of representatives of thirteen subjugated nations called together by the leadership of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army; and

WHEREAS, These nations and those who represented them were engaged in a bitter struggle for liberation against both Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia; and

WHEREAS, The fight they waged for national independence and human rights still continues against Soviet Russia which holds them as repressed prisoners of an intensely imperialistic regime; and

WHEREAS, The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations has grown to represent twenty-eight nationalities today and its battle for freedom has not shown any signs of weakening; and

WHEREAS, The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is dedicated to achieving a just international order by strengthening the principles of national independence, sovereignty, statehood, democracy and basic human liberties against all forms of imperialism and totalitarianism; and

WHEREAS, Political efforts to achieve the liberation of the subjugated nations can eventually help to lessen the threat of nuclear war; and

WHEREAS, Citizens of those subjugated nations still yearn for their countries' freedom, and their relatives and countrymen around the world spiritually support them. One such support organization is the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc. (ABN); and

WHEREAS, The American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations will hold its Congress on the eighteenth and nineteenth of May, nineteen hundred eighty-five in New York; and

WHEREAS, Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine and presently the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, will address the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations at the Congress dinner; and

WHEREAS, The main theme of the Congress will be "The West's Strongest Allies"; the program will include speeches by renowned experts of the free and subjugated nations on the following: "Unchanged Russian Drive for World Domination", "The Importance of Political-Psychological Warfare" and "The Tragic Consequences of Yalta"; and

WHEREAS, There will also be three panels with the participation of national representatives under the headings of: "National Liberation Processes in the USSR and so-called 'Satellites'"; "Armed Struggle of

the Subjugated Nations for their Survival"; and a youth panel on *"The Ideas by which the Young Generation is Inspired Today in the Free World and Behind the Iron Curtain"*; and

WHEREAS, Peter Wytenus, National Chairman, will be the host of the two day event; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Legislative Body pause in its deliberations to memorialize The Honorable Mario M. Cuomo, Governor of the State of New York, to proclaim May eighteenth and nineteenth, nineteen hundred eighty-five as American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations National Congress Days in the State of New York to call attention to needed new federal foreign policy based upon the principle of national independence for all nations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution, suitably engrossed, be transmitted to The Honorable Mario M. Cuomo, Governor of the State of New York.

*ADOPTED IN SENATE ON
April 30, 1985*

*By order of the Senate,
Stephen F. Sloan, Secretary*



Honorable Y. Stetsko addressing the Banquet of the AF ABN Congress.

Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko
Former Prime Minister of Ukraine,
ABN President.

The Lessons of History

**Banquet Address delivered during the AF ABN Congress, May 18 & 19,
1985 in New York**

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Forty years ago the roar of guns finally ceased on the European fronts. The end of World War II brought about a shattering defeat of Nazi Germany and the victory of an unnatural coalition between Western democracies and the totalitarian Soviet Russian Bolshevik regime. Western Europe would once again enjoy peace, freedom and justice. Yet at the same time, on Eastern and Central Europe there descended the dismal shadow of the Iron Curtain which to this day continues to separate the free from the enslaved. Instead of liberty, the nations in the USSR and the satellite states were burdened with new chains; instead of justice and the right to assert their national identity, they faced continuous national enslavements and violations of human rights; instead of peace, they face an escalating arms race and the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

National liberation struggles are being fought continuously. The intimidating and agitating uprisings and strikes of Ukrainian and other national prisoners throughout the 1950's, the 1953 Berlin workers' uprising, the Poznan rising in Poland, the Hungarian revolution in 1956, the Prague Spring of 1968, the Ukrainian renaissance in the 1960's and 1970's, the liberation war of the Afghan people against brutal Russian aggression and the recent developments in Poland demonstrate the fact that these subjugated nations yearn to break away from Moscow's colonial bondage. Yet the barbarous and cruel methods used to crush these individual uprisings also indicate that the Soviet Russian empire can be toppled only through the united efforts of a common front of subjugated nations. This liberation strategy based on the concept of a common front of the Free World and the subjugated nations against both totalitarianisms — the Nazi German and Bolshevik Russian — was proposed as early as 1943 at a conference of subjugated nations in the forests of Zhytomyr, Ukraine.

In June 1941, Ukraine and Lithuania proclaimed the renewal of their independence.

In Ukraine, an armed struggle was led by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (UPA-OUN), aimed at both the German Nazi and Russian Bolshevik occupiers. The Lithuanian armed struggle was spearheaded by the Lithuanian Liberation Army. Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians and other peoples organized similar resistance movements. The heroic freedom fighters of these and other East European nations constituted significantly to the decisive defeat of Nazi Germany.

According to Russian sources, only seventeen per cent of the territory of the RSFSR (which also includes non-Russian ethnic territories) was occupied by the Germans. At the same time Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Poland were completely occupied by Hitler's armies.

A large part of World War II was fought on Ukrainian territory for the possession of the country and its vast material riches. Ukraine suffered more

human losses than any other European country, including Germany. There were 7 million casualties amounting to 16.7 per cent of the entire population. Of these 7 million, 2.5 million were military casualties and 4.5 million civilian casualties. Thus, Ukraine suffered the greatest number of losses out of all the nations in the Soviet Union. Poland lost 5 million people, while Byelorussia's war time losses amounted to about 33 per cent of its population. By contrast, during the war, the RSFSR endured approximately 5-6 million civilian and military casualties. Thus, the 20 million losses so often attributed to the "Russian nation" include the total losses of all the nations in the Soviet Union.

The Germans instituted a mass destruction of the civilian population and prisoners of war in Ukraine. The world is well aware of the fate of Lidice (Bohemian village) and the French village of Oradour-sur-Glane, but the world does not know that Ukraine suffered c-a 250 Lidices and Oradours.

Today, as we commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany, the freedom fighters who defended their homelands against *both* tyrannical regimes are paradoxically branded as Nazi collaborators, anti-Semites and persecutors. What their accusers do not understand is that a massive KGB-devised disinformation campaign is the source of these defamatory, malicious accusations. The accusers and prosecutors are ready to repeat these fabrications, yet they forget that it was Stalin himself and the entire Bolshevik leadership with the Communist Party (CPSU) who collaborated with the Nazis by signing the non-aggression pact in 1939. With their co-operation Hitler unleashed the Second World War and all its horrors.

The accusers also forget about Katyn, Vinnytsia, Lviv and countless other places where the Russian communists murdered tens of thousands of prisoners; they forget about the tens of millions who died in the Gulags; they forget about the mass deportations, and they forget about the artificial famine in Ukraine in 1932/33, organized by Stalin and the Russian imperialists in which 7 million people died. Nor are these events of an apparent interest to the Western media. Instead, they are willing to unhesitatingly accept the falsified evidence supplied by the perpetrators of these horrors behind the Iron Curtain as an accurate presentation of the events of the Second World War.

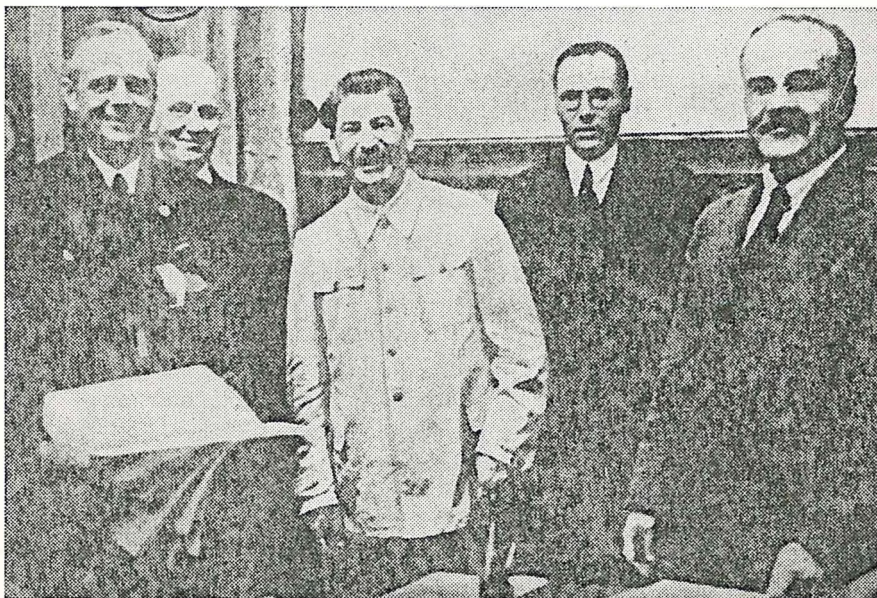
Nazi Germany and Nazism are dead and buried and will never rise again. Russian Bolshevism, on the other hand, is very much alive and poses a continuing threat to the Free World. Yet, country after country falls its prey with no interference or concern on the part of the Free World and with practically no recognition in the Western media. It is absurd and foolish to focus their attention only on the extinct and obsolete principles of Nazism. They should also concentrate their efforts towards rousing world public opinion on the dangers that presently confront the Free World, and they should rise in defense of the liberty of the nations presently enslaved or threatened by Moscow. It is indeed puzzling and disconcerting that the Free World is so unwilling to stand in defense of the national and human rights of the persecuted Afghans, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Croatians, Cubans, Czechs, Estonians, Georgians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Nicaraguans, Poles, Rumanians, Slovaks, Turkestanis, Ukrain-

ians, Vietnamese and those of other nations within the USSR and its satellite states throughout the world.

The lessons of history and the benefits of hindsight show that although the Allies were militarily victorious in May 1945, the political fruits of the triumphant victory over Nazism were unilaterally reaped by Moscow. Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam divided the world in two. Furthermore, the West's failure to counter the countless acts of Russian aggression since World War II demonstrates the West's implicit acquiescence in the perilous events that have since led to immeasurable human suffering. On the occasion of this fortieth anniversary we are also sadly reminded of the misguided post-war policy of the Allies which led to the tragic forced repatriation of hundreds of thousands of refugees and prisoners who were deported to the USSR to face hard labour and almost certain death in Stalin camps.

The present dangerous situation that confronts the Free World could have been avoided had the Western democracies listened to the voices of the liberation movements of our nations during World War II. We proposed a simultaneous two-front war against German National Socialism and Russian Bolshevism. At the Conference of subjugated nations in 1943 in the forests of Ukraine representatives of thirteen enslaved nations called upon Western nations to support them in a joint anti-imperialist and anti-totalitarian front. Unfortunately, their appeal fell on unreceptive ears. Even without Western support, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists were nevertheless able to wage an heroic fight against Moscow for 10 long years.

For more than four decades now the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) has been advocating a joint front of the freedom-loving nations of the West



Collaborators, provocateurs and genociders of World War II. Far left: Ribbentrop; centre: Stalin; far right: Molotov.

with the liberation movements of the enslaved nations of Eastern Europe and Russian-dominated Asia against Russian Communist imperialism and Bolshevism.

A Third World War is being waged at this very moment. While its tactics change continuously, Moscow's strategy remains the same: it seeks to divide the free world, to juxtapose the underdeveloped Third World from the developed democracies of the West, to break up NATO by sowing discord among the Allies, to corrupt Western morality and undermine its will to resistance, to subvert public opinion by every possible means of disinformation and propaganda, and to destroy the liberation organizations of the captive nations by discrediting leaders of the emigre groups and to silence them by a campaign of lies, fabricated accusations and intimidation.

We raise our voices in warning the leaders and people of the Free World against falling into this trap. In the name of God, in the name of the highest ideals of truth, freedom and justice, we demand that in its own interests of survival and as the only realistic alternative to nuclear war, the West support the coordinated national liberation movements of the nations enslaved within the Soviet Russian Empire and in the countries dominated by its puppet regimes.

We demand:

- unequivocal recognition of the rights of all the Captive Nations to full national independence within their own ethnic territories;

- full moral and material support for the liberation struggle of the underground movements behind the Iron Curtain;

- encouragement and support of government and privately sponsored information and publicity campaigns employing all available media resources to enlighten the public of the Free World on the situation of the enslaved nations and Moscow's expansionist policies;

- international recognition of the central liberation organizations of the enslaved peoples as the only genuine spokesmen of their nations, providing every opportunity for them to voice the aspirations of their nations at representative international forums;

- we demand that Western governments, the United Nations and other international organizations condemn Russian imperialism, communism and totalitarianism, and Moscow's Russification policies as genocidal and colonialist; that they similarly condemn Moscow's persecution of religion;

- we demand the liquidation of the concentration camps, the psychiatric asylums and all instruments of oppression and terror;

- we demand that Western governments exert pressure on Moscow by all possible means to withdraw its troops from all the subjugated countries;

- we demand the adoption by Western countries of the U.N. Resolution on Decolonization to the USSR, as the last remaining colonial empire; and

- we demand the dissolution of the Russian empire into national, independent, democratic states of all the subjugated nations.

These are the lawful, unwavering demands of our proud nations. As there can be no compromise with evil, the Empire of the Great Lie must fall! And we will do everything in our power to hasten its demise; its ignominious downfall.

The ABN and Political-Psychological Warfare

(Speech delivered at the AF ABN Congress, May 18 & 19, 1985 in New York)

There is a theory of a Western professor, James Burnham, that World War III started in 1945. "At this time the Soviets started a unilateral war against the rest of the world. This war is fought by proxy, by political and psychological war, by terrorism and subversion and by other covert techniques."¹ The main means of this warfare was disinformation when evil was pictured as good, and good as evil.

The Soviet Political World War III has its own strategy: to weaken and destabilize their potential future opponents today. This main strategy has a lot of smaller directions. The psychological warfare is fought in diplomatic circles, in Western parliamentary institutions, in mass media, in the circles of anti-communists, in religious movements, among all political, religious and national groups in the West. One of the goals of this warfare is the stirring up of hatred among different groups and in the first place the stirring up of national hatred.

It is known, for instance, that certain national prejudices are living among some leaders and members of Jewish organizations in the West. One such prejudice is related to East-Europeans who allegedly were Nazi collaborators. These East-Europeans and, in particular, the Ukrainians, are described by some Jewish sources as the most anti-Semitic peoples. Here is the point where the Moscow communistic mafia can derive benefit. Their goal is to reinforce this prejudice, to develop it to the level of national intolerance. How do they achieve this?

Soviet laws do not allow anybody in the USSR to express their anti-Semitic views or perform anti-Semitic actions. But the Soviet propaganda invented a substitution for anti-Semitism — anti-Zionism. Soviet citizens are allowed to condemn Zionism, as well as any other nationalism and racism with the exception of the Soviet-Russian one. Therefore, in the USSR, publishing anti-Zionist books and accomplishing anti-Zionist scientific research are allowed. And where, do you think, such research and such publications take place? Nowhere else but in Kyiv, in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Everyone who lived in the USSR as a rank and file man, knows that not one academic institution in the USSR can elaborate its own objectives of study. All the scientific activity in the USSR is planned and centralized, just as any other activity. And the center which supervises these centralized activities is the Politburo of the CPSU (Communist Party of the USSR). This very center plans and establishes everything that is happening in any place

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The Russian empire must be destroyed! Freedom and justice will prevail. Victory will be ours. May the day of liberation come soon for Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Byelorussia, East Germany, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Ukraine, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cuba, Slovenia, Albania, North Caucasus, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkestan, Idel-Ural and other subjugated nations. May the armed struggles of Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Cambodia and Angola be triumphantly victorious!

of the Soviet Union. So, it is the Politburo of the CPSU in Moscow which decides that the anti-Zionist research should be done nowhere else but in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. It is the Politburo of the CPSU in Moscow which decides that the anti-Zionist publications should be published nowhere else but in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv.

Do they gain some benefits from their perfidious decisions?

Yes, they do. Some Jewish public figures conclude that the activity of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences is the result of the incurable anti-Semitism of Ukrainians. Says Simon Wiesenthal: "Anti-Semitism in the Ukraine is stronger than anywhere else in the Soviet Union. Even the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences has published a number of anti-Semitic books."

This is what the Moscow psychological warfare has been expecting.

Another example: Two Frenchmen visited the USSR. They came to meet some Jewish refusniks in Moscow. No reaction from the side of the KGB. After that, they went to Kyiv and tried to do the same there. However, in Kyiv they were arrested, searched, interrogated and held under arrest for three days. The conclusion they drew was: Jewish people in Ukraine are most depressed. But can it really be true that the KGB in Kyiv acted independently from the KGB in Moscow? Before any measure toward any foreigner was taken, Kyiv KGB-officers referred to Moscow. And the order came from Moscow to arrest the Frenchmen in Kyiv.

These examples show the cunning techniques of the psychological warfare, and the results it achieves. The whole country, the whole administrative and Party staff is involved in this warfare. It is indeed, hard to recognize the political warfare in some actions of the Soviet authorities, since even the participants of these actions are not aware of the meaning and the goal of their doings. They only carry out orders from above.

The Nazi hunting in the free world, initiated by the KGB, has the same goal: to split the Western freedom forces and stir up national hatred among them.

It is true that the Soviets have some information about war criminals. But it is also true that in addition to the true information they will add a lot of false and slanderous evidence in order to discredit the emigrants from East Europe. And this was proven at some trials of war criminals in America. It was revealed in the course of these trials that Soviets:

1. Falsified documents,
2. Used perjurious witnesses,
3. Limited the right of defendants for cross-examinations,
4. Authorized doubtful documents.

Unfortunately, the Soviets have succeeded in their psychological initiative. Some American lawyers of Jewish origin, especially the officers of the OSI (U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations), blindly believe in Soviet evidence. This is strange enough, because the OSI itself possesses evidence of Soviet falsifications.

It is pertinent to mention here the case of Hryhoriy Cebriy (17-31 Grove St., Ridge Wood, N. Y. 11385, USA; tel: 212-456-0823). Mr. Cebriy was accused by the Soviets of killing Jews. The KGB provided videotaped depositions of witnesses who affirmed that they had seen Mr. Cebriy shooting Jews.

But Mr. Cebriy placed persuasive evidence at the OSI's disposal that at that very time, when Soviet witnesses had seen him shooting Jews, he was in a German concentration camp. The OSI was compelled to stop the case. This case and a lot of other closed cases might have opened the eyes of OSI officers on the nature of Soviet evidence. But nevertheless, the OSI continues to use Soviet evidence without any due verification.

On the other hand, in the case against Frank Walus from Chicago, 11 witnesses from Israel stated that Mr. Walus was a SS-hangman 40 years ago. As it turned out their evidence was false because Mr. Walus, as a fully innocent man, was acquitted. So, the OSI has evidence that it is impossible to believe witnesses after 35-40 years. But nevertheless, OSI investigators continue to use and approve such witnesses.

The main reason for the OSI violation of the due process is the lack of impartiality in the majority of OSI officers because of their ethnic origin. The participation of impartial persons in justice procedure is the direct violation of due process.

Beside this, some intolerant public figures used the OSI trials for the stirring up of national hatred. Here is what Israel Singer, executive director of the World Jewish Congress says: "Hitler's annihilation of 6 million Jews was carried out not by the Germans alone, but rather with the extensive collaboration of Lithuanians, Latvians, Ukrainians, Estonians and other Europeans."³

First, why did the stateless nationalities that were forcefully occupied and cruelly deprived of their national independence by the Soviet Union come to the list of the main collaborators? Can it really be true that Lithuanians, Latvians, Ukrainians and Estonians were responsible for 6 million victims of



Session of the AF ABN Congress, May 18, 1985, New York

genocide, including victims in France, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Rumania, Austria and Germany itself?

Secondly, why does Israel Singer not speak about "Lithuanian, Latvian, Ukrainian, Estonian and other European collaborators" but about "Lithuanians, Latvians, Ukrainians, Estonians and other Europeans"? By using such wording all the Lithuanians, all the Latvians, all the Ukrainians, all the Estonians and all the other Europeans are reckoned among the collaborators, which borders on the direct stirring up of national hatred. Such a stirring up is of great benefit to the KGB and the Kremlin mafia, but it is of no benefit to the cause of peace and cooperation among the peoples. The accusation of entire nations of the deadly sins was practiced by Hitler and Stalin, but it is hard to believe that Israel Singer shared their views.

It should be mentioned here in connection with Israel Singer's accusations that during World War II The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) acted in Ukraine. The armed resistance movement was also active in the Baltic republics. These forces fought against both German and Soviet occupants. Hundreds of thousands of insurgents packed the Soviet concentration camps in the post-war years. On the other hand, is it conceivable that the soldiers and officers of Ukrainian nationality in the Soviet Army, who were fighting not for Stalin and the Soviet Russian empire, but against Nazism, lent Hitler their exclusive support?!

There is much talk now about Allan Ryan's book "Quiet Neighbors". This book is directly aimed against East-European emigrants and in particular against Ukrainians, as a nation. To achieve his goal the author deliberately concocted and misrepresented the facts and quotations. This was very clearly shown in an article by Professor Taras Hunczak, published in The Ukrainian Weekly No. 7, February 17, 1985 entitled "A Disquieting Book: 'Quiet Neighbors' by Allan Ryan, Former OSI Director."

All these facts are the result of the political-psychological warfare initiated by the Soviets. Their goal is, besides the stirring up of national hatred, to prevent the reciprocal warfare started by some Western politicians through Radio "Liberty" and "Free Europe" and, by shifting Nazi crimes on the East-European freedom-fighters, discrediting them and their organizations in the West.

Soviets used their influence in the media, in Jewish organizations and everywhere where their confidential persons have access. They may have influence even among some extremely right-wing circles. It is hard to fight this unseen army, but there is no other way for the members of the AF ABN except to start a counter-attack against it.

What can the ABN do in this situation?

The AF ABN can and should reveal the manoeuvres of the KGB. Here is the list of possible activity:

1. Inform the public about all known facts through the press by writing letters, articles and commentaries. If it is hard to publish such material in the "great" press, one should try the county and small town press.

2. Some revealing material may be published as brochures and even as leaflets and pamphlets. Here the most recommended material should be the article by Prof. T. Hunczak.

3. ABN branches may also convene conferences, panels and debates to discuss political warfare where some known public figure may be invited, let us say, Prof. T. Hunczak, lawyer Mark O'Connor and others.

4. There are many sober voices in the American press that protested the violation of the due process by the OSI. It is the task of the AF ABN to gather this material and publish it as a book.

5. It is necessary to involve in the dialogue the members of Jewish organizations.

6. Support all the public bodies that oppose the Soviet political-psychological warfare and, in particular, the violations of due process in American courts.

7. Demand the control of OSI practice.

8. Inform members of the Congress and Senate about all the facts and engage them (members) in the movement for the due process.

9. Use every occasion where it is possible to express your views and to condemn Soviet political-psychological warfare.

10. Send all the published material to the mass media: newspapers, magazines. etc.

¹ Bertil Häggman "The Need for a Western Political-Psychological Offensive Against Russian Imperialism and Communism as an Essential Element of Modern Warfare" (The speech delivered on September 25, 1982 at the ABN/EFC Conference in London, Great Britain). Q.v. "The West's Strongest Allies," Press Bureau of the ABN, Munich, 1985, pp. 78-81.

² Simon Wiesenthal "Bulletin of Information No. 25," Vienna, January 31, 1985, p. 8.

³ The Star Democrat, April 3, 1985. "Baltic groups blocking Nazi collaborator probe," (Associated Press Information), p. 2.



Oksana Dackiw moderating the youth panel during the AF ABN Congress, New York, May 18, 1985.

Unchanging Russian Drive for World Domination

Remarks by Dr. Jack J. Stukas, of Seton Hall University, So. Orange, N.J., and Vice President of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, delivered at the AF ABN Congress, May 19, 1985

Good morning ladies and gentlemen, united in the fight against Russian imperialism. At the outset may I thank Dr. Nicholas Chirovsky, my colleague at Seton Hall University, for inviting me to address this august gathering, on the "Unchanging Russian Drive For World Domination".

May I first, as Vice-President of the Supreme Committee for The Liberation of Lithuania, based in Washington, D.C. greet you on behalf of our President, Dr. Kazys Bobelis, and the entire Council and Officers of this organization. We sincerely hope and pray that our common efforts to restore freedom and independence to the nations held captive or subjugated by the USSR will bear fruition in the not too distant future.

The Soviet Union today, with 8,599,000 square miles of territory, is the largest state in the world, nearly 40 times the size of France, three times as large as the United States, and twice the area of China. From north to South, it measures more than 2,750 miles, from west to east more than 5,500 miles — almost one quarter of the earth's circumference.

The USSR is presently, as you know, a federation of so-called 15 "autonomous states", which are: the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and the Ukrainian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Byelorussian, Moldavian, Armenian, Kazakh, Georgian, Azerbaijanian, Tadzik, Kirghiz, Turkmen and Uzbek Soviet Socialist republics.

Let us glance, now, all the way back to the year 1328, when Ivan I moved his capital to Moscow. He was the originator of the centralized administrative system, which prevailed until the reign of Peter the "Great". In 1480, the Tartars were expelled by his successor Ivan III, surnamed the Great, who ruled from 1462 to 1505.

The reign of Ivan III, and his successor Vasily III, 1505-1533, marked the expansion of the Muscovite state and the growth of Moscow's absolutism. The principality of Yaroslav was annexed in 1463, and Rostov in 1474; Novgorod was conquered in 1471, Tver in 1485, Pskov in 1510 and Ryazan in 1521. The peoples of Mari, Yurga and Komi were subjugated at the end of the 14th century and the Pechora and Karelians at the end of the 15th century. Ivan ceased to pay tribute to the Tartars. In 1547, at the age of 17, Ivan IV, surnamed the Terrible, was crowned Tsar of all Russia and reigned until 1584. He conquered the Tartar khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan, establishing Russian rule over the huge area of the middle and lower Volga, thus laying the basis for the colonization and annexation of Siberia, begun after the conquest by the Cossack Yermak. The conquered border territories were colonized by Russian settlers and defended by the Cossacks.

In 1613, a zemsky sobor chose the boyar, Michael Romanov as tsar, and this began the Romanov dynasty, which ruled Russia until 1917. Michael was succeeded by Alexis Michailovitch, whose chief acquisition was that of Eastern Ukraine and Byelorussia from the Poles. In the meantime, the Cossacks of Ukraine were compelled to recognize Russian supremacy.

The consolidation of central power in Russia, was effected not with the help of the almost non-existent middle class or by social reforms, but by forcibly depriving the nobility and gentry of their political influence. The nobles were compensated with grants and with increasing rights over the peasants. Thus, serfdom engulfed growing masses of people and approached the form of slavery.

Russia's greatness may be said to date from the accession to power of Peter the "Great", in 1689, who revolutionized Russia politically and culturally. Peter, who assumed the title "emperor", created a regular army and navy. In abolishing the patriarchate of Moscow and creating the Holy synod, directly subordinate to the emperor, he deprived the church of the last vestiges of independence.

Seeking to make Russia a maritime power, Peter acquired Livonia, Ingermanland, Estonia and parts of Karelia and Finland as a result of the Northern War, 1700-1721, thus securing a foothold on the Baltic Sea. He made St. Petersburg the capital of Russia, as a symbol of his new conquests. Peter also began the Russian push to the Black Sea, taking Azov in 1696, but his war with Turkey in 1711-1713 ended in failure and loss of Azov. He even sent out Vitus Bering to Alaska, which was later to become a Russian colony.

The Russo-Turkish wars of the following two centuries resulted in the expansion of Russia at the expense of the Ottoman Empire and in the growing influence of Russia on Ottoman affairs. Russia also took an increasing part in European affairs. Empress Elizabeth Petrovna, daughter of Peter the "Great", successfully sided against Prussia in the Seven Years War, but her successor, Peter III, took Russia out of the war.



Participants of the AF ABN Congress, New York, 1985.

On his mysterious death, 1763, his wife assumed power as Catherine II, also known as Catherine the "Great". Under her rule, Russia became the chief continental power of Europe. She continued Peter's policies of absolutist rule at home and of territorial expansion at the expense of neighboring peoples. The three successive partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth, in 1772, 1793 and 1795, the annexation of Crimea in 1783, and of Courland in 1795, also two treaties with Turkey gave Russia vast new territories in the west and south, including Byelorussia, Ukraine West of the Dnieper, and the Black Sea shores.

In her memoirs, Catherine II wrote as follows: "To join the Caspian Sea with the Black Sea and link both of these with the North Sea, to allow commerce from China and Oriental India to pass through Tartary, would mean elevating the Empire to a greatness far above other Asiatic and European empires."

Russia became involved in the French Revolutionary Wars under Catherine's successor, the demented Paul I, who was murdered in 1801. His son, Alexander, reigning in the period of the Napoleonic wars, led Russia through many campaigns, and effected far reaching changes in her borders. A meeting between Alexander and Napoleon at Tilsit resulted in an agreement between the two rulers, in accordance with which Alexander received a promise of non interference in Sweden and Turkey. Finland and the Aland Islands were thereupon wrested from the former in 1809, and the territory lying between the Dniester and the Pruth was ceded by Turkey in 1812, after six years of war. The accord with France foundered, however, and in 1812 Napoleon launched his ill-fated invasion of Russian soil. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the newly established kingdom of Poland came under Russian Suzerainty.

Alexander had, also, begun the subjugation of the Caucasus, bringing Georgia under Russian rule in 1801. In wars with Turkey and Persia, Alexander gained Bessarabia and the Caucasian territories of Daghestan, Baku and Shivan.

Nicholas, a younger brother, succeeded Alexander I. Nicholas waged war successfully against Persia, adding Armenia to Russia's spoils in 1828. The tribes of the Caucasus were brought further under Russian rule by the successful conclusion in 1829 of a campaign against Turkey, and Moldavia and Wallachia were established as protectorates of the tsar.

Alexander II, 1855-1881, son of Nicholas I, continued to make great territorial gains for Russia. China ceded Amur to Russia in 1864. Alexander completed the subjugation of central Asia, begun under Peter the Great over a century before. Samarkand came under Russian rule in 1868, and Bokhara became a vassal state in the same year. The transcaspian region was fully conquered by 1881. Russia has thus reached the frontiers of Afghanistan and China and the shores of the Pacific.

The Civil War, between the Reds and the Whites in Russia, ended in 1920, with the victory of the Soviet regime. Poland, Finland, and the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia emerged as independent countries. Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasian countries of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia also proclaimed their independence, but by 1921, were conquered by Red armies.

Yes, we all well know what has happened since World War II, the war that was to end all wars, and to restore independence and freedom to all peoples and states... The West, especially Western European countries, and the United States, has done its share in giving its former possessions the privilege of self determination and freedom... But what of the last remaining imperialist power, the USSR, which, as I have just outlined, through the centuries has conquered various peoples, subjugated and oppressed them, and taken their lands... Just to mention a few — the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia — have led through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Czechia, Croatia, Cuba, East Germany, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Nicaragua, North Caucasus, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkestan, Ukraine, and other countries.

In his work, on the "Soviet Empire — the Turks of Central Asia," Olaf Caroe writes: "More people in history have managed to keep a flame burning against oppression of body, mind and spirit, and even against generous treatment at the hands of those to whom they have been subject... The burning light at the heart of a people depends on qualities of spirit, either revealed or bequeathed to them through heredity and upbringing, and a torch of that kind will be extinguished if there are not those who come to trim it or to supply fuel to keep it alight."

And that is why we are here this morning, ladies and gentlemen. To keep alive the aspirations for freedom and independence of the captive and subjugated nations, by brutal Soviet bolshevism, to encourage them to survive the immense pressures set in force to muffle them.



Haroon Wardack (Afghanistan) addressing the AF ABN Congress during the youth panel.

We recognize the fact that Soviet Russian imperialism is a threat to the peace and security of the world, and we are doing what we can to help the oppressed peoples regain their human rights which are denied them.

We must continue to support the right of each people to govern themselves and to shape their own institutions, which, coincidentally, has been an important principle guiding United States foreign policy.

The oppressed peoples are struggling within the USSR for their right to freedom, justice and self-determination, as their Soviet masters attempt to destroy them with violence and force. We in the Free World must use diplomatic and other pressures in order for the Soviet Union to withdraw its military forces and secret police apparatus that even functions in the West, especially in the United States, often with government approval. The USSR must release from its jails and concentration camps and psychiatric wards people who struggle for human rights and freedom for their country. The sad fate and memory of the victims of ruthless and godless Communist persecution must never be forgotten.

The Communist tyrants continue to brutally suppress our freedom fighters, degrade our national movements, distort our political and cultural leaders, and deride the activities of our immigrants in their adopted homelands. However, the Soviet Russians may conquer the lands, take the possessions of our peoples, but they can never conquer their *souls*! They will never surrender to an aggressor or compromise with evil... You may pacify these countries on the surface; make them a solitude, and call it peace; you may exterminate or deport populations, but the volcano, the undying spirit of freedom will always be there. We will all win this fight for freedom, ladies and gentlemen, for Almighty God is on our side. Let us continually call on Him for assistance, and let us keep our heads high for our peoples, tortured and desecrated, and alive and resistant. They will not remain Soviet vassals... The future is in *their* hands.

Thank you kindly for your attention.

From Yuriy Shukhevych's Letter Recently Received in the West

"...Fate has not been very kind to me. As you well know, it all ended in my losing my eyesight. Yet, I have no regrets, nor do I hold any grudges. For I was fortunate enough to see such an elation in my people, such an elevation of spirit, which is worth more than losing one eyesight. Perhaps God deprived me of my sight because I had seen that which, by far, not everyone is fortunate enough to see. Another reason why I do not have too many regrets about losing my sight is that after seeing all that sublime beauty, I have no desire to look at all the vileness and baseness germinating around me today."

"...It was just the same with Edison. When he was already famous, one correspondent asked the old man whether his deafness in any way impeded him in his achievements? Edison replied that on the contrary, thanks to his deafness, he did not have to hear all that superfluous advise which people kept giving him. And it's the same with me, I do not have to see what I do not want to see..."

The West's Strongest Allies

Statement of the AF ABN Congress on the occasion of its 35th Anniversary

In 1985, on the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, civilization finds itself at a perilous crossroads in its history. The threat of an impending thermo-nuclear Armageddon continues to haunt the free world. Its source: Moscow's expansionist drive to establish its Soviet-Russian imperialist hegemony over the entire world.

Forty years ago, in May 1945, the Free World finally rid itself of the Nazi threat to freedom at the expense of incalculable loss of life and immeasurable human suffering. Despite Hitler's military defeat, however, the end of the Second World War was politically inconclusive. The menacing specter of Bolshevism, of Soviet-Russian imperialism and communism, arose on the ruins of Nazism and cast its ominous shadow over the Free World. Ironically, this perilous turn of events transpired with the implicit acquiescence of the Western Democracies which pursued a political and military strategy designed to eliminate only one of the two imperialist powers of that time, Nazi Germany. Bolshevik Russia, the other imperialist power, was left to pursue its own objectives with virtual impunity.

At the same time, the East European nations subjugated by Nazism and Bolshevism led a concerted and undaunted two-front war of liberation under the revolutionary aegis of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) against *both* imperialist, totalitarian powers. Unfortunately, ABN's appeal to the West fell on unreceptive ears.

Since 1945, every new act of aggression undertaken by Moscow to implement its imperialist, expansionist goals — whether overtly or through means of covert subversion of democratic societies and whether directly or through one of its "proxy" satellites — has reconfirmed the validity of ABN's concept of liberation along with its underlying political and military strategy.

Although the Allied victory in the Second World War can be attributed directly to the military superiority of the United States, the political fruits of this victory were almost unilaterally reaped by Moscow. As a result, the West has relegated to an increasingly ambiguous defensive strategy. In the context of balance of power politics, for example, the West, in unilaterally carrying the burden of averting a nuclear war, has been continuously forced to redefine existing spheres of influence in accordance with each new Soviet-Russian act of aggression.

The Subjugated Nations — An Untapped Reserve of Strength

With virtually no support from the governments of the Free World, the liberation movements in Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Hungary, Poland, North Caucasus, Turkestan, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Serbia, Czechia, Croatia, Slovenia, East Germany, Cuba, Idel-Ural, North Korea and other subjugated countries, have demonstrated their commitment to cast off the Russian colonial yoke. These liberation movements and the liberation wars of Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Vietnam and Cambodia should be a cornerstone for a policy of rolling back and ultimately dissolving the last remaining colonial empire in the world into nationally independent and sovereign states.

An inherent flaw in the West's politico-military strategy toward the Soviet Union is the West's failure to utilize the potentially paralyzing force of the national liberation struggles behind the Iron Curtain and elsewhere; to recognize that these subjugated nations yearn to break away from Moscow's colonial bondage, and that they constitute the West's strongest and most reliable allies.

NATO's military strategy, based on the concept of "mutually assured destruction" (MAD), is perhaps the most striking example of the West's failure to appreciate the crucial role that subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union and the satellite states can play in its strategy toward the Bolshevik regime. In furtherance of its strategy of deterrence, the U.S. military command has targeted the bulk of its strategic nuclear force at Soviet SS-20 missiles located on the territorial homelands of the subjugated nations. In the event of war, this translates into almost certain devastation of a large portion of these territories by American missiles.

The United States and its NATO allies should instead pursue a Grand Entente with the subjugated nations, and as a sign of good faith and support for their liberation struggles the United States should target its ICBMs, GLCMs and "Pershing" missiles at the power base of the Soviet-Russian empire, the Russian ethnographic territories. The aim of such an alliance would not be to deter a threatening nuclear confrontation, but rather to eliminate altogether its only potential source, the presently existing *causa belli* of World War III: Soviet-Russia's imperialist drive to conquer the world.

The subjugated nations reject any policy or military strategy which targets their own homelands in the event of nuclear war. The ABN has chosen instead to develop its own strategy based on the dissolution of the Russian empire and communist system from within by means of coordinated national liberation revolutions. Indeed, this is the only sensible alternative to nuclear Armageddon.

Through its resolutions, the Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF ABN), held in New York City on May 18-19, 1985, reaffirmed its support for the national liberation struggles being waged by the nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the satellite countries. The Congress has pledged its continued support for the leadership of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations as the only force in the international arena today which represents the genuine aspirations and interests of the subjugated nations. Furthermore, the Congress fully embraces the policy and strategy formulated by the ABN as the only means of achieving a lasting peace and an international order based on justice, freedom and independence for all nations.

The Alternative

The subjugated nations outnumber ethnic Russians by a ratio of 2:1, and this same breakdown is reflected in the national composition of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces. As a result, Moscow is forced to arm young men of the subjugated peoples in order to achieve its imperialist-expansionist objectives. Ironically, however, this provides the subjugated peoples with the implements necessary to hasten the empire's inevitable demise.

The evolving, revolutionary processes of national liberation will lead to the internal dissolution of the Soviet-Russian empire and to the rise of independent and sovereign, democratic nation-states, each within its own ethnographic borders. As these processes intensify, the already acute internal contradictions within the empire will become even further exacerbated culminating in a series of simultaneous and coordinated multi-national uprisings on the respective territories of the enslaved peoples.

A political and military strategy of insurgent-liberation warfare, designed to strike at the very core of the Soviet-Russian empire, offers a viable alternative to the threat of nuclear war. These liberation movements in order to be successful, however, must be forcefully effectuated by the revolutionary underground movements in the subjugated nations with the external assistance of the NATO member-states. In recognition of the danger inherent in the MAD doctrine, President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) is a step in the right direction. However, the SDI "High Frontier" program, once implemented, can prove to be effective only if it is supplemented with an offensive "Low Frontier" component, a strategy of insurgent-liberation warfare which would paralyse the Soviet Union from within.

Only with the unqualified support of the West for these national liberation processes can such a "dual track" strategy prove effective. Most importantly the subjugated peoples need to be strengthened and mobilized. Western radio-broadcasts are crucial in this regard. Radio broadcasts are listened to on a daily basis by the subjugated peoples and by their underground revolutionary leadership. The content of these broadcasts must reflect the intrinsic values of the subjugated nations and support their yearning for national independence and statehood. To adequately further this goal, the emigre representatives of the liberation movements in the West should be consulted in the process of formulating policy directives at Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, Radio Marti, and other similar institutions. In addition, the NATO-member states should help establish an autonomous ABN radio-broadcasting station, so that the flow of information to the underground leadership of liberation movements will not be affected by the periodic fluctuations in the foreign policies priorities of Western Democracies.

We should remember that the Communist Russian empire was built by Russian armed forces under the guise of false internationalism of the Russian October Revolution and with the help of some international bodies, and it can be destroyed by the national revolutions of the subjugated nations, with the help of the free nations in a common political front.

One day the subjugated peoples WILL be free. They will not be denied the right to live in their own national, independent and sovereign democratic states. In advancing ABN's alternative to a nuclear Armageddon we caution the Free World not to sit back passively and wait for the subjugated nations to rescue it from the throes of the Soviet-Russian imperialist threat. Our alternative is meant to help only those who actively seek to help themselves by coming to the aid of the enslaved peoples in their national liberation struggles. These nations are indeed the West's strongest allies.

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS! FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL!

AF ABN Congress Resolution

On the 40th Anniversary of the end of World War II.

The AF ABN Congress states that:

The provocateurs and warmongers of the Second World War were both Hitler and Stalin, Berlin and Moscow, as a result of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. For two whole years Moscow gave all-out aid to Hitler during his aggressive war against so-called "plutocrats" (Nazi terminology) and "capitalists" (Bolshevik terminology).

The Russian Bolsheviks, who supported Hitler's war of aggression and divided the prey amongst themselves, are responsible with the Nazis for the Nazi concentration camps, the liquidation of Jews and the mass extermination of people of other nationalities. The Bolsheviks supplied the Germans with natural resources, grain, oil for the German tanks and bomb carriers which, in turn, were used to bomb France and Great Britain. The AF ABN Congress demands that Molotov and his co-gerontocrats — the authors of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and, in particular, the Communist Party, the Government of the USSR, the general staff who, to this day invariably endorse this agreement made by aggressors and genociders — be placed before an international tribunal for their part in the provocation and unleashing of World War II.

The AF ABN Congress states that the smear campaign — Moscow's psychological war of today, intensified after 40 years since the end of the war, in particular, against nations which had waged a two-front war against National Socialism and Bolshevism, e.g. Ukraine, Lithuania and others, including the liberation formations of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and the Lithuanian Liberation Army, as well as against the Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians and other nations — aims to negate

their will to sovereign existence, to realize Moscow's own political strategic concept and to defame the heroes of this war as Nazi collaborators and criminals. Moscow's main intention is to render it impossible for the USA to rely on the subjugated nations and to pursue a policy of their liberation.

Simultaneously, Moscow wishes to avert the attention of the West and that of the Third World from the annihilation of many millions of Ukrainians — 7 million in only one year (1932-33) during the collectivization and organized famine, — from the mass murders by the NKVD of tens of thousands of political prisoners in 1941, from the crimes executed in the prisons and concentration camps today, from the mass genocide in Afghanistan, from the international tribunals on Moscow's crimes against humanity which are now being prepared by the Balts and Ukrainians. The AF ABN Congress demands that the nations of the Free World put before a new Nuremberg Trial the CPSU, the government of the USSR, the KGB, the general staff of the Soviet Army and all the Bolshevik organizers of terror for their crimes of genocide, the violation of national and human rights, for their wars of aggression, for the holocaust and mass murder of at least 60 million people, in fact, the same crimes for which the Nazi genociders were being convicted in Nuremberg and which the Bolsheviks have been perpetrating to this day for over 65 years.

The AF ABN Congress states with indignation that certain circles in the West, including in the United States, are deceived by the Bolshevik disinformation campaign and, detrimental to their own nations they join in the defamation campaign against Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians and

other nations subjugated by Bolshevism, accusing them of crimes committed against the Jewish population. Among the accused are the liberation organizations, such as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which saved many Jews from Nazi extermination. There were also Jewish-Ukrainian citizens in the ranks of the UPA. The joining of Jewish circles into the defamation campaign (the World Jewish Congress and Wiesenthal Center) is detrimental to the Jews themselves and does not gain any sympathy for them. Moscow also accuses Zionists for crimes against the Jewish population who, together with nationalists of other nations, are struggling for their rights.

The AF ABN Congress demands the conviction of all war criminals, not only those of dead Nazism, but the more dangerous Bolshevik war criminals. However, the AF ABN Congress rejects the trustworthiness of witnesses controlled by

the KGB, as well as KGB documents, similarly as it would reject the testimony of the Gestapo against the Jews.

The AF ABN Congress urges members of the United States Senate and House Judiciary Committees to call for immediate congressional oversight hearings to investigate the Office of Special Investigation's activities regarding constitutional issues and national security.

The AF ABN Congress demands the investigation of entrance into the United States of Communist Party members and KGB functionaries as émigrés, just as there is an investigation of Nazi party members, which is now no more than a rotten corpse.

The AF ABN Congress considers that only in a common front with other anti-Bolshevik nations can the Jewish nation achieve its aim to safeguard the Israeli State and secure the rights of the Jewish population, with whom all nations subjugated by Bolshevism desire to maintain good relations of friendship.



Speakers at the Press Conference held at the Vista International Hotel in New York during the AF ABN Congress. From left to right: Col. G. Wardack (Afghanistan), Mr. H. Mayar (Afghanistan), Mr. P. Wytenuš (outgoing AF ABN Chairman), Hon. Y. Stetsko (ABN President), Mr. B. Fedorak (outgoing AF ABN Chairman of Nationalities), Dr. V. T. H. Tsuan (China).

The Nations Are Rising Up

Resolutions Adopted at the AF ABN Congress in New York

WHEREAS, the national liberation processes inside the Soviet Russian Empire are growing in strength and undermining the empire and its communist system; and

WHEREAS, the Bolshevik tyrants confirm this in their emphasis on the necessary struggle against so-called bourgeois nationalism and against religion; and

WHEREAS, the Chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine and the Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, the armed struggle of the Afghan mujahideen and the struggle of the Polish people testify to this fact with regard to all other nations; and

WHEREAS, the young generation raises the flag for the struggle in defense of national dignity and traditions, the cult of national heroes, religious values, inherent national ideals, institutions and cultural treasures and courageously and fearlessly combats an imposed Russian communist way of life based on total terror; and

WHEREAS, the nations are rising up in a struggle against the empire and its system, with the youth as its vanguard and Yuriy Shukhevych — named by President Reagan as the 'lonely hero, imprisoned Ukrainian patriot' — as its symbol; and

WHEREAS, this struggle is invincible because the nations defend their very existence as separate organic spiritual entities; and

WHEREAS, this endeavor will reach its zenith through the armed struggle against the occupant — the Russian imperialist colonial yoke; and

WHEREAS, armed clashes against the occupant are already taking place, as it was revealed by the Chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; and

WHEREAS, the bankruptcy of the economy of the USSR is confirmed by its own leaders when they state that this

system is only at the beginning of the first phase of so-called developed socialism, emphasising the necessity of introducing individual initiative into the economic process; and

WHEREAS, the constant shortage of bread in the USSR is proof of complete disorder;

THEREFORE, our demands to the Free World are:

1. to cease to supply grain, technology, credits and arms to the Soviet Union and its "satellites". Western trade has only served to sustain the tyrannical Russian empire.

2. The AF ABN Congress condemns the systematic Russification of all subjugated nations by Russian imperialism, a process which seeks to create a Russian supnation — the so-called "Soviet people". Russification is not only linguistic, but also culture- and ethnocide, namely, an attempt to kill the inherent spirit of a nation, its national culture, its own image of God, and its social and legal institutions. The mosaic of national cultures is the richness of world culture.

3. The AF ABN Congress condemns Soviet Russia for its total denial of religious freedom and the persecution of religious leaders and believers in general.

4. The AF ABN Congress unwaveringly stands for the dissolution of the Russian empire and the subsequent re-establishment thereof of national, independent, democratic states in their ethnographic territories, freedom for all subjugated nations, and the elimination of the communist system.

5. The AF ABN Congress demands the application of the 25-year-old UN Resolution on Decolonization to the last existing empire — the Communist Russian Empire — in order to bring it to its final dissolution. On the 40th anniversary of

the creation of the United Nations, the USSR and its satellite countries should be excluded from this international body, for the USSR is a colonial empire which continues to violate the UN Charter and conducts mass genocide and wars of aggression.

6. The AF ABN Congress demands full respect for the human rights of national minorities in accordance with the UN Declaration on Human Rights, the Declaration of the European Parliament, the Atlantic Charter, and other international agreements which guarantee the rights of nations and the individual.

7. The AF ABN Congress appeals to the US Government to make use of the UN forum for initiating psychological warfare against the tyrannical Bolshevik empire. The UN must cease to be a forum for disinformation campaigns conducted by the USSR and its henchmen which are aimed at discrediting the freedom-loving world, particularly the USA.

8. The AF ABN Congress demands the development of an overall global strategy by the free world against the global attack of Russian imperialism and communism which seeks to conquer the entire world.

9. The AF ABN Congress appeals to the US Government, on the basis of existing legal precedents, to demand the acceptance of the national liberation, revolutionary, anti-Bolshevik organizations, their centers and spokesmen, into the framework of the UN as the true representatives of the nations subjugated by Bolshevism.

10. The AF ABN Congress demands that the UN Resolution on Namibia referring to an international legal obligation to render military aid to the people fighting colonialism also be applied to the nations subjugated in the Russian empire. We also appeal to the US Government

and Congress and to all free nations of the world to offer military support to nations which are conducting military struggles against Bolshevik tyranny and invaders (i.e., in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Vietnam, Cambodia, Angola, and others).

11. The AF ABN Congress demands that the International Red Cross Convention on the legal equal treatment of insurgent armies as regular armies, be respected in the struggle against Bolshevik invaders.

12. The AF ABN Congress appeals to the nations of the Third World, many of which liberated themselves during the last decade, to support the anti-colonial liberation struggle of nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism as a modern form of neo-colonialism. We call on the Third World to stand in a united front with them and the Afghan mujahideen against the aggressive armies of the Russian communist invaders who spread their colonial rule through proxy wars in Asia, Africa, and Latin America under the guise of "national or social liberation" and false communist ideology. We appeal to the countries of the Third World to support the freedom, justice, national independence, and human rights against the evils of tyranny, despotism, colonialism, and totalitarianism.

13. The AF ABN Congress supports the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) program of the Reagan Administration which aims to liquidate weapons of mass annihilation and to establish a defense for human beings against Bolshevik aggression. The Congress emphasizes, however, that the Russian Empire cannot be dissolved and victory for the Free World against communism cannot be attained without the use of offensive forces. The offensive weapon which can achieve this is the liberation struggle of subjugated nations. Without a Low-Frontier strategy,

a High-frontier defense is but a variant of the balance of power system.

14. *The concept of balance of power does not take the third superpower — the subjugated nations — into consideration and is anachronistic to an epoch experiencing a global rise of national liberation struggles against Russian communist imperialism. The only alternative to a thermo-nuclear holocaust is a co-ordinated national liberation revolution by nations subjugated by Bolshevism thereby destroying the empire of evil from within and abolishing the communist totalitarian Orwellian-type system. The AF ABN Congress recommends this strategy as the only reliable means of saving mankind from thermo-nuclear destruction.*

15. *The AF ABN Congress appeals to the West to break the Orwellian-type totalitarian system of terror which, by modern means of technology as well as barbarism, attempts by all possible means to transform the human spirit into a slave of the communist system. The United States and other nations of the free world must work towards the liquidation of slave labor concentration camps and psychiatric prisons, the cessation of genocide, and the liberation of political and religious prisoners. The means to achieve this is through economic boycotts of the USSR, its exclusion from international organizations, and the development of powerful psychological warfare.*

16. *The AF ABN Congress appeals to the U.S. Government, the U.S. Congress, and to all free nations to establish a center for psychological warfare within NATO or the Pentagon which would include spokesmen for the national liberation organizations of the subjugated nations. We ask that a Freedom Academy be created specializing in the analytical study of the problems of the subjugated nations and the training of cadres as a counterpart to the Lumumba University in Moscow.*

17. *The AF ABN Congress appeals to the U.S. Congress to condemn the USSR and its Bolshevik aggressors for the violation of international treaties, for wars of aggression, the use of chemical and bacteriological warfare against women and children, for the famine siege of Ukraine, for the deportation of whole populations, for mass genocide, the liquidation of churches, and for the terror which this evil empire brings, including international terrorism. The Congress appeals to the U.S. Government to include these issues on the agenda of the next UN General Assembly.*

18. *The AF ABN Congress notes that the centuries-old traditions and cultural values of the great Chinese nation, the teachings of Confucius and the reformatory ideas of Sun Yat-sen are being increasingly upheld by the Republic of China. These ideals are gaining more and more support on the mainland and are inspiring the younger generation with the hope and promise of the victory of democratic ideas over communism; a system which is alien to inherent Chinese values.*

19. *The American Friends of ABN fully support the demands of the Central Committee of ABN to Western nations announced before the Belgrade Conference to proclaim officially the Helsinki Accords null and void. The said accords affirm the status quo of Russian Communist expansionist occupations and thus render a priori the issue of human rights of the subjugated nations unattainable. Human rights cannot be attained or enforced without national independence. The defenders of national and human rights in the Soviet Union, who were hitherto clandestine fighters, made themselves vulnerable to persecution by publicly appealing to the Helsinki Accords. As the West did not come to their support or even offer a token of pressure on the Soviet Union, these heroic fighters are being exterminated by the Moscovite despots.*

Afghanistan: yet another victim of Russification?

In the first part of this article, which appeared in ABN Correspondence No. 3/4, 1984 p. 7, Dr. Sarzamin Kaimur pointed out several areas of attempted Russification in Afghanistan. He detailed these attempts in the areas of military, educational, mass media and family affairs. The efforts to russify traditional Afghan family structure, in particular the reorganization of classroom curriculum and the replacement of non-sympathetic teachers and staff with Marxists — leads naturally to the next aspects we should consider. An extension of the Soviet/Kabul Regime's efforts to alter the traditional family structure of necessity, required corresponding efforts to alter traditional tribal structures in Afghan Society. Russification was also imposed on the clergy and finally, with the most telling results, on the economy as a whole.

Part II

Russification of Tribal Affairs

On June 11, 1981, the Council of Ministers of the Kabul Government, under the Chairmanship of Babrak Kamal, took a further step in the russification of Afghanistan and decided to reorganize the Ministry of Tribes and Nationalities. The new terminology "tribes" indicates that more attention is being paid to the specific characteristics of Afghan tribal society, while the term "nationalities" shows the intention to develop the whole Kabul administration according to the Soviet model for "divide and rule" among the different Afghan groups. That specific ministry had been upgraded to an extent that whereas prior to the Communist Regime, one deputy was foreseen, now eight deputies are appointed to this Ministry which operates as a state within a state and receives half of the Kabul administration's budget.

Retrospectively, it should be mentioned that during the reign of king Zahir Shah, in 1934 an independent "Department of Tribal Affairs had been created. It was to deal with the tribal belt stretching along the border from Chitral in the Northeast to Seistan and Baluchistan in the Southwest. This Department of Tribal Affairs was later upgraded to a Ministry and opened up regional offices in Kunar, Ningra, Paktia, Zabul, and Kandahar. The Pashun tribes it dealt with living on both sides of the border were: Mohmand, Safi, Utmankhel, Terkani Cham in the east, Shinwari, Afridi, Zadran, Zazi, Mangel, Wazir, Masud, Popalzai, Akzai, Achakzai, Sadozai, Alokozai in the south, and Nuvzai, Tarin, Aliz, Ishaqzai tribes in the west.

The main functions of the Ministry were as follows:

- to watch the socio-political developments among the tribes,
- to obtain information about intra and inter-tribal relations and conflicts,
- to gain and maintain spheres of influence in the tribal area.

Influential leaders of the tribal belt were always received by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs as official government guests at provincial towns or in the capital and lived regularly in government guesthouses. These tribal leaders usually received very high salaries and valuable gifts. The budget of this ministry was exempted from usual fiscal and government control. It should also be noted here that Pakistani political agencies, since the British imperial era in the Indian Subcontinent had been following the same pattern. The reason for many tribal leaders receiving such high salaries and payments was their habit of shuttle diplomacy between both sides.

Generally, the main objective of the Ministry's policy was defensive — designed not so much to use the tribes against Pakistan as to prevent them from being used against the interests of the Afghan government.

The present policy line of the Ministry

Since the flagrant invasion of Afghanistan by the Red Army, the majority of the people of this country, according to their code of honour, the so-called "Pashtunwali" (a binding but unwritten law) appears to have forgotten all old ethnic, linguistic and religious conflicts.

According to the "Pashtunwali" Code of Honour, if ever any of the "Three Z's" are violated by invaders, then all Afghans must unite immediately against the invaders.

Generally speaking, although among the different tribes and peoples of Afghanistan, sometimes feuds and conflicts bring about big clashes, and they are generally missing a clear national consciousness, and in spite of the ideological conflicts inherent in the many political groupings inside and outside Afghanistan, once they face a common enemy, a strong feeling of belonging to one country, Afghanistan, arouses in them and a sense of fighting for a common cause emerges among the people, as is experienced again now, after the April 1978 Revolution.

In an effort to break this emotional solidarity wherein lies the main strength of the present resistance of Afghanistan, the old Ministry of Tribal Affairs was reorganised as the Ministry of Tribes and Nationalities.

With the word "tribes" the Russian-backed Kabul regime and the concerned authorities define the Pashto-speaking area, or the Pashtuns of the above-mentioned strategical tribal belt from Chitral (the border to China) via the Khyber Pass,

as the springboard to the Indian sub-continent and to Baluchistan as the key to the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. They are denied the right of nationality, and this Pashtun community is treated as a mosaic of fragmented tribal elements by Moscow and Kabul. The reason for this strategy is because Pashtun nationalism is a great danger to Russian imperialism in that particular part of the world.

According to the principle of "divide and rule", fully backed by the Kabul regime, the Pashtun tribes should first be isolated and then played off against each other.

Besides, this treatment reflects the resentment of the Parcham fraction of the PDPA installed by the Red Army and which is based primarily on Persian-speaking urban elements traditionally opposed to the Pashtu-speaking rural elements which were historically dominant in Afghan.

The term "nationalities" includes the other Afghan minority groups considered in the Soviet style as separate entities, such as the Hazaras, mostly from the central part of Afghanistan, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkomans, Nuristani, Baluchi, who are also all heavily engaged in the country's resistance forces. Official propaganda promises them internal autonomy and the promotion of their local languages, cultures, etc. The real objective is the fragmentation and, in the end, the disintegration of Afghanistan as an independent national entity.

PAKTIA PROVINCE as a case study

Generally speaking, Afghanistan can be described as an essentially rural society, and it is mainly the rural population who resist the Soviet occupation and its installed Kabul regime.

More or less, half of the Afghan society has a tribal structure and most tribal com-

munities speak Pashtu. Paktia, a southern, Pashtu-speaking province of the country is the part of Afghanistan where there is the strongest tribal structure with the strongest resistance against the invaders.

Efficient and strong resistance and struggle against the PDPA takeover started in the Paktia province in early 1979 when after the invasion by the Red Army's overwhelming military strength, was not able to break the will of the people to resist.

Economically speaking, the Province of Paktia is poor. The inhabitants of the mountainous region comprising the largest part of the province have no land to cultivate. They live on the export of firewood and construction-wood to Kabul or Pakistan; they breed cattle and more often goats. On the plains around Khost and Gardez a limited amount of irrigated land existed, but mostly dry farming is practiced.

The struggle for the liberation of Afghanistan is being fought along two different lines:

- 1) on the basis of tribal structure as internal resistance, and

- 2) according to political organizations only as external resistance, which are stationed outside of the country, i.e. mostly in Peshawar or in Quetta/Baluchistan.

Among the Afghan external resistance organizations based in Peshawar or in Baluchistan, some — especially the so-called moderates or traditionalists (Islamic organizations) — are adapting themselves to tribal conditions and recruit their followers accordingly.

The fundamentalists (or "Ikhwanis") — especially the "Hesbe-Islamis" — are imposing their own party structure (as the Kabul Communists tried to do several times). However, in order to take root in Paktia, they need to break, or at least weaken, the tribal structure of those communities. To some extent, they have suc-

ceeded in weakening this structure, but they have not gained extension of their own influence. This means also that by analyzing the tribal structure of such communities these two aspects of resistance should be considered.

The tribal instincts and the way of life of the population is constantly working against the fundamentalists. The only influential and efficient commander of Maulawi Younis Khalis's Hezb-Islami party is the popular Maulawi Jalaluddin, and his influence is largely due to his belonging to the strong Zadran tribe of Paktia.

Sociologically speaking, if we are talking about the Pashtun tribal system of Paktia, it can be described as a regulated anarchy.

It is anarchic because no single authority is recognized by all the tribes, and their relations with the central government of Kabul have always remained loose and distant. When in 1929 King Nadir Shah took over Kabul from Bacha Saqao (the water carrier's son) with the help of Paktia tribes, this population was given some privileges. One was that they would not be directly answerable to the central administration. Another, that they were exempted from military service. It is "regulated" because within a tribe all social and economic aspects of life are strictly regulated by unwritten customs and norms of behaviour like the "Pashtunwali", a code of honour, mentioned.

The well-known large tribes of the Paktia Province by order of numeric importance are: Zadran, Mangal, Zazi, Tani, Gorbez, Manduzai, Ismakhel, Sabari, Lakan, to name only the main tribes of this province. Each tribe is sub-divided into clans, sub-clans, households, etc.

The highest decision-making body within the tribe is the "jirga" or tribal council, generally composed of elders who are the leaders of their respective clans

or sub-clans. The decisions of the Jirga are carried out by a sort of tribal police called "arbaki".

According to a traditionally established order, each clan and sub-clan of the tribe has to appoint to the "arbaki" force five to ten out of 100 or ten to twenty out of each 1,000 of their fighting-age men. When, according to a jirga resolution the arbakis punish someone by, for instance, burning down his house or even executing him, no-one has the right to oppose them or to take personal revenge. Sanctions for offenses and crimes are: fines paid in the form of cattle or cash, burning of houses, and executions.

In order to make this point more clear, we will give here the example of the Tani tribe, one of the large tribes of Paktia.

As the complete structure will be too long for this chapter and too complicated for the reader, we will trace only one of the numerous subdivisions.

— Tribe (Qaum) "Tani": Clans (Qabila: Three. 1. *Marikhel*, 2. *Sikni*, 3. *Arizi*.

Example: *Mari-khel*: Sub-clans (khel):

1. *Khabi-khel*, 2. *Tazi-khel*.

Example: *Tazi-khel*: Ancestry (Tabar)

1. *Ibel-khel*, 2. *Tor-khel*, 3. *Ati-khel*.

Ati-khel: Lineage (Pesha) 1. *Masti-khel*, 2. *Sparki*, 3. *Hessaraki*.

Hessaraki: Household (kahol) 1. *Charey*, 2. *Pakhey*, 3. *Andas-khel*.

Andaskhel: Extended family (Kor):

1. *Iajmar-khel*, 2. *Shazad-khel*.

More or less, the same number of clans and sub-clans, etc. with different names exist in the other branches.

The last two are the extended or the clanic families; the small family cell of western society does not exist. One of the clanic families has about 100 to 110 men of fighting age; the other has about 200. The whole Tani tribe is estimated to have some 1,500 adults able to fight.

The idea of fighting ability is not new;

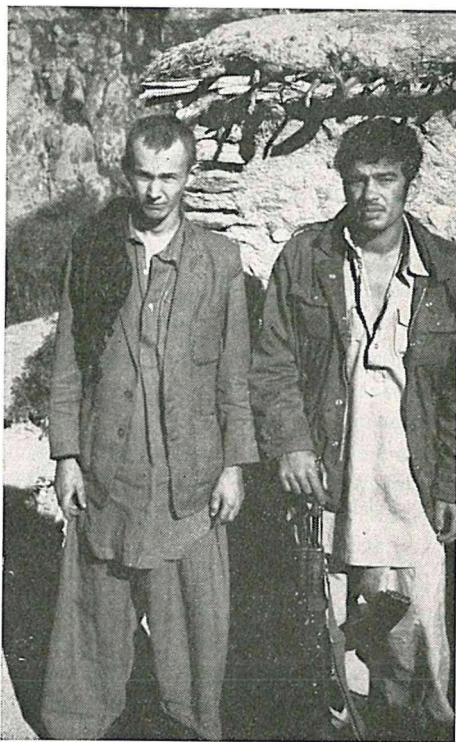
it is the traditional norm of a tribe's strength and importance.

Russification of the Clergy System

The majority of the people of Afghanistan is, as in most other similar Muslim countries, connected with the Sunnite confession and one or the other of its several "Sufi" orders ("tariqa"), the two strongest being the "Naqehbandi" and the "Qadiri" clergy systems.

Accordingly, the Soviet planners, from the beginning, had in mind the screening and selection of the desirable clergymen from different Islamic institutions, known secretly as "red Mullahs" for PDPA membership.

These "Mullahs", mostly of a poor calibre from the "Shariat" (Islamic law) Faculty of Kabul University and other Islamic schools (Madrassa, Darulolum)



Byelorussian prisoner-of-war with Afghan mujahideen.

often came from poor families in the provinces with a low standard of living.

Prior to the Sawr Revolution of 1978, secret Soviet projects went very smoothly in Afghanistan. Key posts and different jobs were found for these people in the ministries, universities, "madrassas", "Auqafs" (a department within the Ministry of Justice responsible for overseeing Islamic matters such as 'pilgrimage'), as well as in mosques. These infiltrators along with Soviet advisers today belong to the cadres of the Kabul administration and its ruling party.

Shortly after "Khalq" came to power, things started to go wrong for the Soviet policy makers and its puppet Kabul regime.

The Soviets and its created PDPA cadres thought that they could easily run Afghanistan through such "red Mullahs" (so-called Islamic Marxists), who had been carefully selected for political and propaganda reasons as well as other proxy government departments staffed by their own people.

Apparently, the Soviets even believed that the devout Muslims of Afghanistan would be satisfied with such a proxy regime staffed by some "red Mullahs" recruited by Soviet advisers, as they had practised those tactics in the other Soviet Asian Republics.

It probably had not even occurred to the Soviet experts that these "red Mullahs" and other party cadres would be rejected by their own people and even deserted by their own families.

Although these Soviet-recruited party cadres obviously fed the Soviet authorities with misleading reports on the people of Afghanistan and their culture and traditions, the Soviets continue to staff the Kabul-installed regime, who carry out the instructions of their advisers, while putting their Afghan countrymen to death, in

order to find some breathing space in their own country.

Nevertheless, as it happens, both within and outside the country the very fathers, brothers, sisters and even mothers of these people have risen against them and the Soviet Red Army forces.

Russification of the Afghan Economy

The Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reform

Although the Soviets and their installed Kabul regime continue to suffer setbacks in all sectors of their fruitless attempt to reshuffle and re-organize a Kabul Communist civilian and military infrastructure, key posts and relevant departments of the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reform have recently been once again reshuffled.

The Minister of Agriculture and Land reform, Fazl Rahim Mohmand, was replaced by his deputy Minister and he himself was appointed Director of the Central Statistical Organization, which was detached from the State Committee of Planning, (the former Ministry of Planning), and now directly linked to the Council of Ministers.

It should be mentioned here that already within a few weeks of the new Communist regime several reform decrees were promulgated, e.g. Decree No. 8 a policy of land reform. Since such reforms were not adapted to the conditions in the country they too were bound to fail. In addition, it should be stressed that this specific Land Reform Law was not a new concept but taken over and modified from the former Daoud regime, where it had also been drafted by the Soviet advisers in different committees.

The decree on Land Reform (Decree No. 8), which brought misfortune to the whole country, was announced and imposed when Taraki and Amin were still

in power. They were both very proud of having distributed three million acres of prime agricultural land among almost 300,000 farmer families. The majority of farmers, who received land ownership titles have either fled the country, been killed, or imprisoned, or have hidden in places where the government does not have any control, or they are fighting against the Russians and its installed Kabul regime.

Hence, the agricultural output of the country is badly affected and reduced by more than half of its normal level, and serious food shortage is threatening the country and the prices of consumer goods are soaring higher.

The Land reform and its catastrophic consequences has disrupted almost all agrarian projects and reduced property tax as an important source of public revenue.

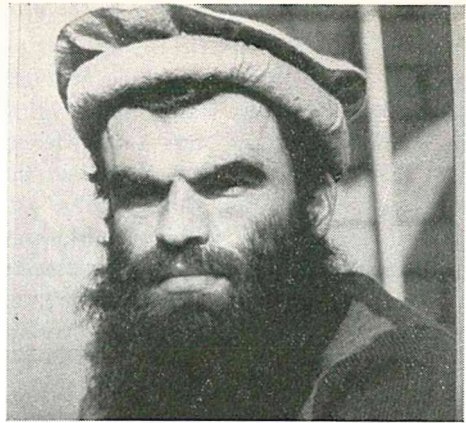
It has also affected the financial positions of concerned banks of the country because those who were indebted to these banks never appeared to repay their debts.

Last but not least the creation of farmers' societies, which in fact was the renaming of Farmers' Cooperatives established in 1968, was announced after the April 1978 Communist takeover, and thereafter the government, in less than one year, was claiming that about 1,200 farmer cooperatives had been registered.

A shortage of qualified cooperative personnel, as in most other government departments and agencies, was not considered significant by the authorities concerned. No attention was paid to the lack of facilities required for the operation of cooperatives and the unawareness of the illiterate farmers about the voluntary concepts of cooperative organization.

Hence, almost all the registered cooperative societies collapsed in a short period of time.

In the middle of 1982, the Babrak Karmal government announced that



Mujahideen Commander Abdul Wahid captured and killed by Russian soldiers in the spring of 1984.

slightly more than one hundred active cooperative societies throughout the country were registered, but such cooperatives exist on paper only.

Afghanistan's natural resources

Russian influence in the field of Afghan natural resources can be traced back to the end of the 19th Century and the start of the 20th century.

After the end of the third Anglo-Afghan war and after the declaration of Afghanistan's independence (1919), the first Russian mission arrived in Kabul and, thereafter, eight years later, the first Soviet publication on "Mineral Riches of Afghanistan" was published by Soviet geologists, a sector previously dominated by British experts.

Because the Afghans had long been the victims of this Anglo-Russian competition, and in spite of many diplomatic rebuffs from Washington, they chose American Inland Oil to develop their resources in the 1930s. Although important resources were quickly confirmed, the company abruptly terminated its exclusive 25-year concessions because of transport problems and the imminence of World War II. The ill will generated by this was offset by

secret American Aid during wartime and by subsequent substantial development efforts.

In the late 1950s, the Afghan Government asked France to support the petroleum and natural gas development projects. But the Soviets successfully forced out this NATO member country.

Especially, at the time when Daoud was Prime Minister (1953-1963) under King Zahir Shah, relations between Afghanistan and the USSR improved and the Russians were actively penetrating the whole Afghan economy, especially almost all natural resource development projects, e.g. the petroleum and natural gas development projects as well as the different mines projects, and therefore Afghan natural resources came under the Soviet advisers' influence.

By the late 1950s early 1960s, extensive Soviet geological explorations took place and, last but not least, the Afghan natural gas project of Sheberghan (northern Afghanistan) was developed by the Soviets and since then it has been exporting its output to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was from that time on until now the sole customer for Afghan natural gas exports.

Prior to 1973, Moscow was paying the Afghans prices for gas significantly under world price levels (approx. \$6 per 1,000 cubic meters) and less than what they were paying to other suppliers (e.g. Iran).

Shortly after Daoud came to power in 1973, prices were increased by the Russians (i.e.: abt. \$16 per 1,000 cubic meters), but that was still under world price levels.

After the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, prices were increased several times by the Soviets, following severe criticism from Afghan freedom fighters and different Third World nations, principally China and now are believed to be around \$5.25 per 1,000 cubic feet which represents annual total export earnings of about

\$307m for 1982 (272.8m for 1981; \$216m for 1980; \$76m for 1979). During the four years prior to April 1978, they fluctuated between \$39m and \$46.5m a year.

The dollar value of Afghan gas exports to the USSR cannot be considered too significant because the Afghans are not paid in hard currency. Rather, the nominal gas export earnings are offset against imports of goods and services from the Soviet Union under a barter trade system. In short, Afghan's natural gas production at Sheberghan, which had long been piped to the Soviet Union as the sole customer country at well below world prices, was increased about 65 percent after the Russian invasion of Afghanistan.

By the late 1970s, extensive geological Soviet research and exploration resulted in different reports and the identification of over 1,400 mineral showings or occurrences as well as 70-odd commercially feasible deposits.

The Russians then committed over \$652m, in aid for further resource exploration and development, including a half million ton oil refinery, a 1.5 million ton per year copper smelter and many other projects.

On the other hand, Daoud's government asked the French Total Oil Company by the mid-1970s to further petroleum development in Katawaz area (southern Afghanistan). The Russians forced out this French oil company and took over the monopoly of the Afghan natural resources.

The Hajigak iron deposit said to be the third largest in the world, as well as the Ainak copper ores, which could capture two percent of the world market, were explored and evaluated by the Soviets.

Other important mineral deposits available for Soviet exploration are Chrome, lead, zinc, molybdenum, tin, rare earths, gold, barite, celestite, fluorite sulphur, asbestos, magnesite, muscovite, turmalin, lapis-lazuli, concet, and other precious stones.

After the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, an additional 200 Soviet geologists were brought into Kabul.

Afghan Industries

The industrial sector, mostly textile industries, which was established and developed prior to the 1978 coup, and several development projects in this sector as in most other economic sectors, are now on the brink of collapse.

Almost all textile industries (i.e. The Afghan Textile Company of Gulbahar, the various textile factories of Balkh, Pul-i-Chumri Kandahar, Herat, to name but a few), and other such industries in rural areas of the country, as well as the cotton processing industries like, the Spinzar Company in Kundz, Geno-Press Factories, and the Fertilizer Factories in Mazar-i-Sharif, etc. are closed down.

Only the textile industries in Kabul are working under very bad conditions and below the capacity level. Thus, the total output of industries operating under such condition has tremendously decreased, and prices of such manufactured goods and services have risen to very high levels.

The Banking System and Public Finance

All Afghan banks (Afghanistan Bank is the Central Bank; National Bank, Pashtani Tejrati Bank, both commercial banks; Agricultural Development Bank; Industrial Development Bank; Export Promotion Bank, all specialized banks, and last but not least, the Construction and Mortgage Bank) have their headquarters in Kabul, the capital of the country.

Existing heavy fighting inside Afghanistan has brought the banking system of the country to the verge of collapse and even its transaction activities in Kabul city have been minimized. Bank lending and credit policy has broken down. This fact encourages black market activities, as is

usual in the USSR, and the traditional lending practises in the countryside i.e. the moneylenders. Even though Taraki's decree Number Six outlawed usury, local moneylenders are performing their job successfully, charging exorbitant rates of interest (25-30%).

The loans and credits distributed by the above-mentioned banks of the country in the years before April 1978 cannot now be collected. Because, all those who have borrowed and took credit from these banks have either fled the country, or been killed, have hidden in places where the government does not have control, or they are loyal party members refusing to repay their debts for reasons of privilege or because the credits were taken before the Communist take over in 1978.

The foreign trade situation, which is based on barter arrangements with the USSR, is almost on the brink of collapse. Thus, the revenue figures of the Customs Department of the Ministry of Finance, for instance, which before 1978 played an important role in the GNP and the Budget Policy of the country (in the three years prior to 1978, customs duty revenues showed the amounts of approx. 5,5 billion Afs., 6,0 billion Afs., more than 6,0 billion Afs.) have fallen to their lowest level, and since 1978, revenues have shrunk by 95% over four years.



Massoud, Commander-in-Chief of the Afghan freedom fighters, holding a Kalashnikov.

The country's budget now is completely based on a deficit-spending policy, and the Central Bank only knows how to print and distribute paper money, which encourages the process of inflation in the country, with prices soaring, so that low wages earners face financial obstacles and have to resort to local moneylenders. The existing situation has brought the system of banking and public finance to the verge of collapse, a shortage of hard currency prevails and the revenue figures of the public finance have been deeply disrupted. Hence, government and private investment activities have been badly affected, while prior to April 1978, US dollars were found in surplus as a result of export manpower earnings in the neighbouring OPEC countries.

Afghan Commerce

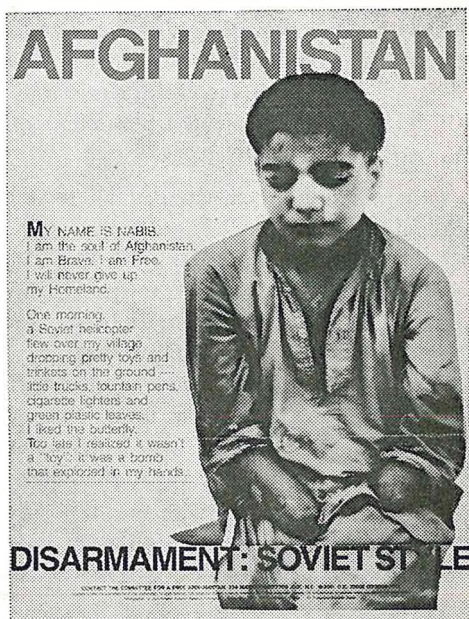
The foreign trade difficulties which Afghanistan has faced since the Russian invasion can be summarized as follows:

— traditional trade routes to neighbouring countries like Iran and Pakistan have been deeply disrupted by the fighting of the people of Afghanistan against the Soviets and its installed regime.

— Ever since the invasion by the Red Army, Afghanistan has been changed into a promising market for Soviet manufactured goods and services (clothing, footwear, sweets, vehicles, stationery, medicine, canned food, dairy products, vodka, etc.) which are distributed all over Kabul. Canned food and vodka are brought primarily for the Soviet Red Army troops' consumption, but high-ranking military officials reduce each soldier's ration offering the rest for sale. Afghan domestic manufactured goods and local Afghan services such as, carpets, hides, skins, casings, agricultural products such as, fresh and dried fruits, cotton, wool, nuts, oil seeds, medical herbs, and natural gas, are exchanged for Soviet manufactured products on a barter trade criteria.

In Conclusion

These comments are very much in the style of background material to an understanding of Afghan resistance of the Afghan people to the Russification policies of the Kabul puppet regime and its Soviet advisers. The inventiveness of the Afghan resistance relies mainly on the traditional, religious, tribal, community and family structures which have not been integrated into the "new" Marxist Afghanistan. Long-standing codes of behavior have been proven over the years whereas the so-called "new" ideas of the Soviets and their Kabul puppets do not fool the average Afghan person. As their struggle against the barbaric tyrants continues, we in the Free World, should understand that while they are using their traditions as a successful weapon to disrupt the attempts being made to forcibly Russify their society, they are constantly in need of all our support and aid because their enemies, the Soviet Russians, are only bound by one tradition — the tradition of murder and genocide.



Poster issued by Contact — The Committee For A Free Afghanistan, Washington DC, USA.

Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka

On the 35th Anniversary of the Death of a Hero

"Still a moment and your voice will roar mightily over the ruins of the Kremlin, and the unchained mother-earth will write a song of praise in honour of the fighting-columns."
M. Boyeslav¹

The leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, General Taras Chuprynka, Tur, Lozovsky — his real name was Roman Shukhevych — died the death of a hero in the village of Bilohorshcha, near Lviv, 35 years ago on March 5, 1950.

Roman Shukhevych became known to all Ukrainians as Taras Chuprynka, the surname he adopted from the distinguished Ukrainian patriot, poet and writer who was arrested and executed in 1922 in Kyiv by the Bolsheviks. At that time, just after the Ukrainian War of Independence, 1918-21, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement was establishing itself underground and the All-Ukrainian Guerilla Centre in Kyiv, discovered and annihilated in 1922, was the first of its kind. It is fitting that the name of an outstanding figure in this first centre of underground resistance should have been used by the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which was the mature outcome of that earlier initiative.

General Shukhevych-Chuprynka served with Ukrainian guerilla detachments during the second World War, and his men were among those tens of thousands who gathered in the forests of Polissia and Volynia in 1942-3 to carry on their common struggle against Nazi cruelty and repressive occupation and also against those Bolshevik partisans who were parachuted into lands occupied by the Germans.

The suspicion of Nazi intentions which had sprung up amongst Ukrainians with the arrest of members of the Provisional Ukrainian Government² in 1941 had rapidly grown into a clear-sighted recognition of the diabolical plans of Hitler with regard to Ukraine: national enslave-

ment; terror; complete destruction of many small towns and villages accompanied by inhuman acts at times surpassing those of the Bolsheviks; deportations; incarceration, and wholesale plunder of the Ukrainian peasant. No wonder that large numbers of these long-suffering and unconquerable people formed groups for resistance in the marshes and forests, arming themselves as best they might, and inflicting every possible hindrance and embarrassment on the German occupation forces.

A number of commands combined in October 1942 to form the UPA. A high command was set up with Major Dmytro Klachkivsky as Commander-in-Chief and General Leonid Stupnytsky as Chief-of-Staff. These officers were soon to give their lives in the struggle, and in 1943 General Roman Shukhevych — henceforward Taras Chuprynka — became Commander-in-Chief.

From this time Chuprynka's whole life and energy was devoted to the UPA. His personal sacrifices were great: after the Russian re-occupation his parents and his wife were sent to Siberian slave-camps, and his children taken away — so far as he knew — to be brought up under Bolshevik influence in Russia. But these disasters only served to strengthen the determination of Chuprynka to free his country from the vile oppressor who, replaced for a few years by an equally vicious and deadly foe, now once more threatened to complete the work of the annihilation of Ukraine which began in 1921.

Towards the close of 1943, the UPA, (which had itself been helped into being

by the OUN³), set up a commission which, after many months of negotiation with representatives of political parties and centres all over Ukraine, convened a Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council — SULC. This Council held its first Session on the eve of the Russian re-occupation of Ukraine in July 1944, and revised and adopted a draft constitution by which it became the underground Parliament of Ukraine and the organ of political leadership of the Ukrainian people until the country was liberated.

General Taras Chuprynka became the Chairman of the General Secretariat of the SULC and was appointed Supreme Commander of the UPA, which now became subject to the SULC. His position as C-in-C of the Ukrainian forces was thus greatly strengthened.

As a development of this political work, the General, in response to requests by representatives of other nationalities having revolutionary organisations within the UPA, called a Conference of the Oppressed Peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia. The Conference, representing 13 nations and with thirty-nine delegates, adopted the slogan "Freedom for nations, freedom for the individual" and drew up an agreed-upon platform. So, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was born in the very cradle of resistance to aggressive occupation.

As a military force, the UPA was by this time recognised as a formidable element in the European war both by Germans and by the returning Bolsheviks. As the Germans retreated somewhat rapidly, the UPA was able to help itself to large stores of German arms for use against the Russians. Wisely, General Chuprynka had expressly forbidden any pacts or negotiations with the retreating Germans, and soon Red Army soldiers were streaming back into Ukraine.

For a time, however, since these Red Army units consisted chiefly of Ukrain-

ians, the UPA refrained from armed action and aimed at contacting and spreading propaganda amongst their compatriots, incorporating into their own units those Red Army soldiers who decided to fight for their own country. Administrative centres were raided, and NKVD agents attacked; preventive action was taken to deter re-establishment of collective farms; the transport of grain out of Ukraine was impeded in every possible way, and so also was the deportation of Ukrainians to the Donbas and to remote regions of the USSR.

Seeing the devastating effects of UPA hostility, the Russian leaders began, in the spring of 1945, to arrange the deportation of Western Ukrainians to Siberia and Kazakhstan, and this forced the UPA into open and armed conflict. The Russian leaders then sent in an army under Khrushchov and General Ryassny which fought the UPA — especially in the Carpathian region — for several months until it ceased its action, having been prevented from wiping out the UPA by the determined and well-trained resistance of the latter, and also by the defection of many of its own soldiers in response to UPA propaganda.

And so the fighting has continued during the years of the second Bolshevik occupation. Those who have read Major S. Khrin's account of the battle at Lishchava Horishnya⁴ in 1944 and of the raiding parties into Carpatho-Ukraine, South-eastern Poland, and Slovakia in 1945⁵ and other papers and reports coming from Ukraine, need little imagination to picture the incessant complexities and difficulties inherent in such a campaign for liberation as that waged since 1943 by the UPA. Such a variety of hostile actions, the constant need for concealment of quarters, of ambulance stations, of supply dumps, and so on, calls for exceptional attention to and memory for detail in the Supreme Commander, and also for a

personal example that can serve as an inspiration to subsidiary leaders throughout the whole army and field of fighting. In face of the reverses that must daily be reported, the constant accounts of the strength and resource of the enemy-occupant, the sudden raised hopes that end in tragedy, the personality of the leader must present intrepid courage and faith in the final outcome, together with a patience that to the uninitiated might appear as a coldness of temperament or an aloofness of spirit.

Such a man was General Taras Chuprynka. The manner of his death — within a few miles of one of the largest strongholds of the enemy — bears its own witness to his interpretation of his duty. The Bolsheviks so feared and hated the influence and the implacable example of this man that they spent lavishly on manpower and equipment in their incessant effort to find him. Finally, during the struggle of UPA detachments against the renewed drive for collectivisation and “consolidation”, his H.Q. bunker was located at Bilohorshcha near Lviv by M.G.B. troops. In the ensuing skirmish Taras Chuprynka was killed. The news of his death, however, was not announced to the world until October 21 of that year.

Chuprynka combined the qualities of military leadership with a creative political insight that has enabled the Ukrainian people to find the means to forge an instrument of political expression even under the continuing rigours of Bolshevik occupation.

Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka was an idealist. He was a revolutionary nationalist, soldier, strategist, political leader and statesman. He led the OUN and the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council in Ukraine during the hardest days of the underground fight. Under his command the OUN engraved its name in Ukrainian history as the only Ukrainian liberation-political organisation which dared to face the enemy in an open fight at a time of national crisis.

General Taras Chuprynka, the initiator and organiser of the UPA, the SULC and the ABN, faithfully and firmly guarded the highest ideals of the nation and of God until the last moment of his life. He will remain in the heart of the Ukrainian people as an unforgettable symbol and as the embodiment of the spirit of the Ukrainian nation. In our hearts, the hearts of the present generation, his brilliant figure will always be the personification of leadership, military command, and the supreme political authority of the state.

R. M.

¹ Marko Boyeslav, poet and writer who fought with the Ukrainian underground; author of *Wayward Verse*.

² On June 30, 1941, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) called a National Assembly in Lviv, which elected a provisional government and re-established the independence of the Ukrainian State over the radio.

³ Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, which was formed in 1929 under the leadership of Colonel Evhen Konovalets.

⁴ *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom*. New York 1954, p. 189 ff.

⁵ *The Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Modern Times*. Oleh R. Martovych, 1951, p. 151 ff.

“Among the UPA’s military successes in the initial period, worth mentioning are the destruction of S. Kovpak’s Red partisan band (which had planned to station itself in the Carpathian Mountains) and the assassination of General Victor Lutze, the Chief of the German SA. The UPA forces destroyed the personal staff

of Marshal M. F. Vatutin, commander of the 1st Ukrainian Front (who himself was fatally wounded). In a battle with Polish forces, K. Swierczewski, Poland’s Vice-Minister of Defence, was killed.

Alexander Feldman
The Ukrainian Review,
II, 1985

Turkestan as the Problem-Country of the Soviet Union

(conclusion)

Tendencies of the Russification Policy

Measures to intensify the influences of Russian culture have been, for a long time, disguised as appearances of internationalism. Here the role of the Russian language in the Soviet society had priority. From the early fifties this language had been declared as the second mother tongue for non-Russians and had been dealt with accordingly. In the seventies, however, it became quite obvious that the Soviet Russians regard internationalism as russification, but because of the behaviour of the Turkestanis, this word is not used, instead the following parole is used: "The Russian language is the language of friendship and solidarity of the peoples of the USSR". At the Russian language conference in May 1979 in Tashkent it became clear that the Soviet regime demanded that the Russian language must be used more and more by non-Russians. The Soviet leadership has shown that, at the present time, the question of learning the Russian language is managed in an even more radical way than was done in the Stalin era. In May 1938, Stalin gave the order that non-Russian children had to learn the Russian language from the third school-year onwards. This was a law. At present, the children of Turkestan have to learn the Russian language from the first school-year onwards.⁴⁷ Knowing that today more than one million Turkestanis children are educated primarily in Russian and not in their mother tongue, and that participation in lessons held in their mother tongue is voluntary, it is easy to conclude that the present Soviet leadership has made considerable progress with regard to the cultural policy of the Stalin era. At present, there are even efforts to

educate children in kindergartens, in Russian.

This policy of russification annoys the people of Turkestan, including party officials, and many national intellectuals. Many visitors to Turkestan have reported that the every day language in busses, offices, trains and aeroplanes inside the country is Russian amongst the inhabitants themselves.

According to a declaration of Sharaf Rashidow "the ability to speak Russian means that this is not only the way to master the top echelons of science, technics, culture and art, but also an important need of life as a whole, an important economic and political task, and a guarantee of success in the ideological field".⁴⁸

The increase of Russian elements in the towns, in industry and the administration can be recognised just as the overall increase in use of the Russian language. According to the Soviet government this subject is being falsified in other countries. The Russians are trying to prevent the disclosure of their policy of russification.⁴⁹

Islam and Anti-Islamism in Turkestan

It is a proven fact that the Islam, despite widespread persecutions and regular anti-Islamic agitation and measures by the Soviets is as viable as ever. A large number of Soviet publications reflect this as well.

According to the lawyer Abdullah Nurillayew who is an atheist communist, Islam specialist and member of the council of religious affairs in the council of ministers of the USSR, "the Islam is interwoven with the national element... Islam rules every aspect of life. The Christian religion has become more and more a pure religion, Islam on the other hand rates

more as a lifestyle. It does not only control the relationship between man and God but also, and even more so, the relationships between people".⁵⁰

One of the most important reasons for the viability of Islam and its present efficiency, is the close connection of Muslims to their historical tradition. It goes without saying that the Soviet Union forced the Muslims to stop their historic life-style (mosques, regular praying, fasting, religious ceremonies, pilgrimages, Islamic literature, religious schools and so on). This, however, caused the Muslims to conserve Islam within themselves. In addition to this, Soviet measures against the Islam lead to a pretence to deepen the Islamic thinking and actions. Two factors played a major role. Firstly, the existence of a religious administration of Muslims in Central Asia and Kazakhstan (=Turkestan) founded for purposes of foreign policy and control of religious life of the Muslims, which has revived Islamic religious life. The other factor was the process of the anti-Islamic and anti-Koran movements in atheist propaganda campaigns. This can be seen in publications of party magazines in Turkestan: "The attacks of atheists against the Islam and the Koran have not only been unsuccessful, on the contrary, they brought positive results for the Islam".⁵¹ The Soviet regime intended to fight the Islam. However, it became quite clear that the atheists who wanted to fight the Islam used to quote from the Koran and were not in a position to give sufficient proof against the Koran doctrine.

Strangely enough the propaganda of the atheists was, in the end, an instrument for the revival of Islam. Because of this, there are two tendencies concerning the Islam question within Soviet ideology. The first one says that "if there is no God, atheist propaganda would not exist", the other one demands a continuation of atheistic propaganda.⁵² There are lots of examples which prove that the Islam plays a major

role in the present day life of Muslims, even amongst party officials. The government representative for religious affairs, for instance, Mr. Bayjabaginow, state-commissar for Religious Affairs in the Dshezkazgan area, asked his head office in Alma-Ata to send a Mullah to the funeral of his parents. This incident is not an exception and it was confirmed by the Party Secretary of Kazakhstan, Kunayew.

This two-faced tactic has been used by the Soviets and it is a major factor of the fight against the Islam. The fight against the Islam in the Soviet Union is a daily task and at the same time Soviet propaganda fights against relationships with the pro-Islamic movements of foreign countries.

According to Soviet propaganda Muslims have freedom of conscience concerning the Islam. There even appear to be two schools for religious education in Bukhara and Tashkent.⁵³ The religious school in Bukhara has 30-40 pupils and at the same time there are around 100 lecturers, who make propaganda against the Islam.⁵⁴

The Soviets even permitted a conference on the occasion of the commemoration of the beginning of the Islamic era in the 15th century. This conference took place in Tashkent, in May 1980. The Russians tried hard to get as many delegates from Islamic countries as possible. There were no delegates from Indonesia, Pakistan, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco and India. The Soviets also tried to create an anti-American atmosphere at this conference. The only practical suggestion, which came from the Sudanese delegation, to found an Islamic-Cultural-Centre in Tashkent, was not accepted by the Soviets.⁵⁵

The multitude of publications concerning the situation of the Islam in the Soviet Union after the Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan created a nervous atmosphere amongst the officials of Soviet propaganda. The Soviets were again on the lookout for confederates from Islamic countries

in order to defend themselves. They even found some clergymen from abroad who stated that the Soviet Union was a protector of the Islam. One of them was Maulana Muhammad Isak Sambheli from India. The Soviets tried to achieve credibility regarding the Islamic question with the help of some of their friends from the Middle East. Concerning this, Muhammad Al-Masri states for example in his book "Moslems in the Soviet Union" (*Al Muslimin fi Ittifakiya Sovetiya*), which was published at the end of 1980 in Damascus, that the Islam is totally free in the Soviet Union. Mr. Al-Masri comes from Syria. He also agreed that "the Soviets had proved that they were the real friends of the Arabs and Islamic peoples."⁵⁶

On the other hand the Soviets intend to increase their fight against the Islam. Concerning this, Rashidow, for instance, declared in his statement of accounts at the Communist Party Congress of Uzbekistan: "We have to increase our efforts to educate the population in the spirit of atheism."⁵⁷ Numerous anti-Islamic publications and articles of the Soviets prove that the Islam still remains an opponent of communism.⁵⁸ The Soviet regime is trying hard to pursue believers in legal ways in the context of anti-Islamic actions. 13 Muslims were prosecuted in Tashkent and given prison sentences between 4 and 7 years (for example: Abduzakir Rahimow seven years of hard labour), for publishing a brochure under the title "The religion of the Islam" (*Islam dini hakinda*).⁵⁹ They were found guilty of distribution of Islamic propaganda. Islam has even remained influential over children and youth. The pupils of the higher grades for example, who belonged to school no. 124 in Tashkent took part in regular Islamic meetings with their families. These meetings were supposed to be entertainment evenings. However, it was found out that these pupils were being educated in religious affairs.⁶⁰ After this had come to the attention of the secretariat of the

central committee of the Komsomol of Uzbekistan strong measures were demanded against such Islamic movements.⁶¹ Now the Soviets want to use historical monuments against the Islam. In Uzbekistan there are more than 5,000 historical monuments which are under protection. The Soviets have the opinion that "a number of architectural monuments of the past have religious motives. By the restoration of these monuments, we will, however, prove the senselessness of the Islamic religious doctrine."⁶²

Turkestan as Centre for Russian Expansion

The Soviet leadership has never made a secret about Turkestan being a centre of infiltration for communism and a "basis of liberation" for the peoples of the Orient. This means the integration of the suppressed peoples within the communist power of Moscow. The geographic and strategic position, the economic potential and the cultural connection and relationship of Turkestan with other countries of the Near and Middle East gave the Russians the possibility to realise their planned actions in the Orient. Turkestan acted as an example for Soviet foreign propaganda in Asia, Africa and Latin America as an "economic and cultural idol of socialism and communism". It became a centre for the use of intellectual influence in transforming the so-called Third World within the meaning of communism. On the other hand it also became a military arsenal for the Soviet Union. Rocket bases, depots of nuclear and other weapons, as well as bases for the space rockets in Turkestan rate as the most formidable in the military field of the Soviets in the Near East. This explains why the Russians dared to launch the occupation of Afghanistan in December 1979 from Turkestan.

The military operation plan — in different variants — of the occupation of Afghanistan had for a long time been

worked out by the headquarters of the Turkestan military area. From this area followed the initial marching in of the Soviet troops into Afghanistan. The Soviet leadership had already concentrated their expansionist troops in October 1979 at the Amu-Darya-Line. The entry into Afghanistan started from the Soviet garrison *Kushka* in the direction of Herat, from *Termez* in the direction of Mazar-i-Sherif and from *Scherkhan* in the direction of Kunduz. The mountain, airforce and air defence troops stayed in reserve, in order to be able to support the operational troops if necessary. The Soviets have occupied the important towns of Afghanistan since December 27 1979, with a number of one-sided and non-credible arguments. Because of this, fighting between the Afghan people and Soviet troops has been unavoidable and continues until the present day.

The Russian military leadership used mainly Muslims from Turkestan (from military zones in Turkestan and Middle Asia) in their initial actions in Afghanistan. The Soviets thought that the Afghan religious brothers of the Turkestan Muslims with whom they had a close relationship would be easily influenced by these to think in the Soviet way. However, this was a miscalculation of Soviet psychological warfare, and by using the Turkestan Muslims in Afghanistan they suffered their first defeat. In Turkestan it is a strong custom that when Turkestanis are mobilised to go to war, they have to say good-bye to their families and stay with them for a whole evening. At this family meeting the mobilised soldiers receive the blessings from the head of the family and get certain instructions. When the Turkestan Muslims were sent to Afghanistan it was a rule for them that no Muslim would use his weapon against an Afghan. About three weeks before the march into Afghanistan, there had been rumours of the movement of the Soviet army into Afghanistan. The Turkestan Muslims did not fight as the Soviets

wished them to. On the contrary they traded Korans for medicine and money. Sometimes for a few Koran books the war password was disclosed to the Afghans or even weapons handed over. Future historical writings will show how the Afghan freedom fighters got their weapons from the Soviet occupation army (except the real booty). The Turkestan soldiers of the Soviet army often helped seriously wounded Afghans with medicine and food, although they themselves had to ration their food considerably.

After the Soviet government had announced that Soviet troops were sent to Afghanistan in order to save Afghanistan from the influence of imperialism, the people of Turkestan started to despise the policy of the Soviet Union. The following question was asked everywhere: "Is it really necessary that a great power like the Soviet Union occupies a feeble country like Afghanistan with the help of military action?" Many people tried to find an answer to this question. Deserting Soviet soldiers (including a number of officers from Turkestan) who had stayed with the Afghan freedom fighters stated that the Muslim people of Turkestan did not agree with the actions of the Soviets.

A Sudanese delegation member asked a top official of the religious administration of the Muslims in Turkestan the following question on his visit to Tashkent in May 1980: "Why do the Muslims of Turkestan not go on a protest march against the policy of aggression of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan?" His answer was: "If we do that, a third Afghanistan will happen." The visitor did not quite understand the meaning of this answer and asked to have it explained. The religious celebrity from Tashkent said: "Turkestan was subjected by the Soviets for the first time in 1918-35. At this time the Russians were fighting the war under the disguise of the Basmachi Movement (The Movement of Robbers). If we go openly against the Russians in Afghanistan,

a total military occupation will follow here. This means that we will experience the same fate as Afghanistan and there would be a lot of bloodshed". (The minutes, consisting of 30 pages, are kept at an international Islamic organisation. For security reasons, the responsible people asked not to publish the name of the organisation or the contents of the minutes).

Eye-witnesses have reported that there are a number of people of different social status who silently protest against the Soviet Afghan policy. A lot of people are presently discussing whether or not the national freedom movements of Turkestan and Afghanistan would be able to form a fighting alliance. When the Soviet government talks about the "threat to the southern border of the Soviet Union" it does not mean the threat of an outside power from Afghanistan, it actually means much more that they feel threatened by the national fight of Turkestan and Afghanistan amongst themselves, which could easily set off an explosion for a national struggle in Turkestan. Because of this, the Soviets call the national resistance movement of Afghanistan against the Soviet troops, Basmachi-Movement (The Movement of Robbers). By the way, the Soviets have not yet shaken off the spirit of the Basmachi-Movement in Turkestan. Concerning this, a publication of the Soviets says: "International imperialism was the initiator of the Basmachi-Movement in Turkestan".⁶³

According to the Soviets, the freedom fight of Afghanistan against Russia which also ran under the title "Basmachi-Movement" was allegedly organised by "international imperialism".

The Western and Oriental public though, has learned more than usual about Turkestan since the beginning of the tragedy in Afghanistan. Turkestan is supposed to be the laboratory of Soviet-Russian imperialism. The Russians have herewith enlarged their expansion basis in the Orient to include Afghanistan. It is too early yet to

answer the question: "Now that the Russians are in Afghanistan, what is going to happen in the future?"

⁴⁷ *Ozbekistan Kommunisti*, 1980, No. 11, p. 50; *Turkmenistan Kommunisti*, 1980, No. 11, p. 80.

⁴⁸ *Sowet Ozbekistany*, 4. 2. 1981, p. 5.

⁴⁹ Full text is in "Sovetskiy Soyuz", Journal, Moscow, 1980, No. 12.

⁵⁰ *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Newspaper, 4. 5. 1979, p. 9.

⁵¹ *Ozbekistan Kommunisti*, 1980, No. 6, p. 52.

⁵² *Kazak Edebiyati*, 6. 2. 1981, p. 6.

⁵³ *Ozbekistan Madaniyati*, 13. 1. 1981, p. 1.

⁵⁴ *Ozbekistan Kommunisti*, 1977, No. 7, p. 62.

⁵⁵ *Die Welt*, 15. 9. 1981, p. 3.

⁵⁶ *Sowet Ozbekistany*, 10. 1. 1981, p. 3.

⁵⁷ *Sowet Ozbekistany*, 4. 2. 1981.

⁵⁸ As an example for Soviet anti-Islamic activities we can refer to the following publications:

B. N. Konowalow, A. I. Abdisamatow, *Hazirgi baskichda ateistik tarbiya* (Atheistic education at the present time), Tashkent, 1981 (a Book); M. Borikhodjaew, *San'at wa ateistik tarbiya* (Art and atheistic education), Tashkent, 1980; S. Kurbanow, *Marifat wa Din* (Education and religion), Tashkent, 1980; S. Dorzhonow, *Ateistik tarbiyaning farmendiligi* (Effects of atheistic education), in *Kazakhstan Kommunisti*, 1983, No. 4, pp. 63-69; P. Samoylenko, *Ateistik nasikhatning ilmi negizdiligi* (Scientific foundation of atheistic propaganda), in *Kazakhstan Kommunisti* 1983, No. 11, pp. 46-50; D. Hadzhimiradow, *Ilmi-ateistik propogandani guychlanderiling* (The scientific atheistic propoganda must be strong), in *Turkmenistan Kommunisti*, 1983, No. 12, pp. 49-53; E. Dollaewa, *Ateistik tarbiyaning natijeceliligi* (Results of atheistic education), *Turkmenistan Kommunisti*, 1984, No. 6, pp.49-53; O. Palwanowa, A. Khaidow, *Swyatye mesta-perizhitok proshlogo* (Sacred places — the remains of past times), in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Turkmensoy SSR. Seriya Obshchestvennykh Nauk*, 1983, No. 4, pp. 37-41; O. Palwanowa, *Rol trudowogo kollektiva v preodelenii religioznych perezhitkov sredi zhenshin* (The role of working collectives in trying to overcome remainders of religiousness amongst women), Ashkhabad 1983; I. Djabbarow, *Leninning ateistik merosi wa hazirgi baskichdagi Din* (The atheist inheritance of Lenin and religion at the present time), in *Ozbekistan Kommunisti*, 1983, No. 4, pp. 47-55; Sh. Mardiew, *Aila wa maktab-ateistik tarbiy ochaghi* (Family and school — the centre of atheist education), in *Okutuwchilar gazetasi*, Newspaper, Tashkent, 25. 1. 1984; Sh.

The 44th Anniversary of Ukraine's Restored Independence Commemorated in U.S. Congress.

Hon. Thomas J. Manton of New York
in The House of Representatives

Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, June 30 Ukrainian Americans in the Ninth Congressional District of New York, which I have the honor to represent, will join with Ukrainian Americans across the United States in celebration of the 44th Anniversary of the Act of Proclamation. This important proclamation declared the independent Ukrainian State for a brief period during World War II.

The proclamation came at a time when Soviet troops were withdrawing from Ukraine in the face of an invasion by German Nazi troops. The brave leaders of Ukraine proclaimed the independence of Ukraine and prepared to defend their land against Hitler's tyranny.

The Nazis responded to the Ukrainians' declaration with mass arrests and a war of terror. Over 2000 Ukrainian freedom fighters fought valiantly against the German troops. The leaders of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera and Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko, rejected Hitler's demand that the proclamation be rescinded. As a result, on September 15, they were sent to the

concentration camp of Sachsenhausen. However, throughout World War II the Ukrainian nationalists continued their fight against the Nazis, and later the Ukrainian Insurgent Army continued to resist the illegal Soviet occupation of Ukraine. Many of these brave fighters are living in the United States today.

Mr. Speaker, to this day the people of Ukraine struggle for their freedom. Under Soviet occupation the Ukrainian people are denied their basic human rights. The proud culture and heritage of the Ukrainian people is threatened. Their families here in America continue to work, hope and pray that one day soon Ukraine will be free again. It is appropriate that we in the Congress remember the plight of the Ukrainian people. As a people privileged to live in a Democracy where our freedoms are protected, we have a duty to remember those not as fortunate as we. As the Ukrainian people commemorate the 44th Anniversary of the Act of Proclamation, I pledge my support to the Ukrainian people and join my voice to theirs in their efforts to restore freedom to Ukraine.

Congressional Record,
June 27, 1985

Keldie *Maktabda ateistik muzey* (Atheist museums in schools), in "Yash Leninchi", Newspaper, Tashkent, 3. 1. 1984; D. Shalgynbaew (Director of House of Atheism in Alma-Ata), *Ateistik nasikhatti ortaligbi* (The centre of atheistic propaganda), in "Kazakhstan Kommunisti", 1984, No. 8, pp. 62-66; T. Izimbetow, *Islam va milli an'analar, marasimlar hamda urf odathar* (Islam and national traditions, ceremonies, customs), in "Ozbekistan Kommunisti", 1984, No. 9, pp. 70-76.

Concerning the tendencies of the Soviet Islamic policy see also: Alexandere Bennigsen, *Soviet Islam since the invasion of Afghanistan*, in "Central Asian Survey", Vol. 1, 1982, No. 1, pp. 65-78; Timur Kocaoglu, *Recent reports on activities of living Muslim Saints in USSR*, Radio Liberty Research, Munich, 346/83; "The Central Asian Newsletter", Oxford, Vol. 3, No. 4/5, 1984, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁰ "Sowet Ozbekistany", 26. 9. 1982, p. 4.

⁶⁰ "Yash Leninchi", 7/4/1984.

⁶¹ "Yash Leninchi", 25/4/1984, p. 1.

⁶² "Ozbekistan Kommunisti", 1980, No. 11, p. 61.

⁶³ For more see: A. I. Zewelow, *Mezhdu-narodnyi imperializm — wdokonniwitel Basmachestwo* (International imperialism — instigator of the Basmachi-Movement), in "Woprosy Istorii", Journal, Moscow, 1980, No. 12, pp. 82-91; A. I. Zewelow, A. I. Chugunow, J. A. Polyakow, *Basmachestwo. Wozniknowenie, Sushchnost, Krakh* (Basmachi-Movement Origin, aim, failure), Moscow 1981, 243 pp.; Yusupow, E. *Basmachestwo. Sotsialno-Politi-cheskaya Sushchnost* (Basmachi-Movement. Social-Political essence), Tashkent 1984; K. E. Zhitow, *Basmachestwo, wrag sozidalnogo truda naroda* (Basmachi-Movement — enemy of the creativity of the people), Tashkent 1984, (book).

Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania No. 63

Published in English Translation

The Lithuanian Catholic Religious Aid Organization in the USA has published a new booklet entitled, "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania No. 63". It was released in 1984 as an English translation of the Lithuanian language original which was dated July 1, 1984. This is the latest in a continuing series of "samvydav" from Lithuania. It has been appearing almost regularly since 1972.

The issue contains the following ten articles:

To His Excellency, Bishop-Designate Baltakis; Catholic Lithuania Commemorates the Fiftieth Anniversary of its Consecration to the Sacred Heart of Jesus; Echoes of the Jubilee Year of Saint Casimir; Are There Any Grounds for accusing Msgr. Olšauskas of Murder?; Letter of Father Jonas Danyla to the Editors of the Rayon Newspaper, "Pirmyn"; We Are Grateful for the Sacrifice; Our Prisoners; Raids and Interrogations; News from the Dioceses; In the Soviet School.

The translator's introduction is a very well-written capsule study of the History of the Lithuanian Catholic Church and speaks with the power of first-hand experience. It is included here in its full text.

The articles of particular interest to us are "Echoes of the Jubilee Year of Saint Casimir", "Our Prisoners", "Raids and Interrogations" and "In the Soviet School", all of which attest in detail to the increasing oppression of the Lithuanian Catholic Church and its followers.

We include below reprinted fragments from each of the afore-mentioned articles.

Eds. ABN Correspondence

INTRODUCTION

In 1940, when the Soviet Union occupied Lithuania by force, 85.5% of the country's more than 3 million inhabitants were Roman Catholic, 4.5% Protestant, 7.3% Jewish, 2.5% Orthodox and 0.2% of other persuasions.

In the two archdioceses and four dioceses were: 708 churches, 314 chapels, 73 monasteries, 85 convents, three archbishops, nine bishops, 1271 diocesan priests, 580 monks, of whom 168 were priests. Four seminaries had 470 students. There were 950 nuns.

Nuns cared for 35 kindergartens, 10 orphanages, 25 homes for the aged, two hospitals, a youth center, and an institute for the deaf-mute.

On June 15, 1940, the Red Army marched into Lithuania; the independent government was replaced by a puppet regime.

On July 14-15, rigged elections were staged. On July 21, with the Red Army surrounding the assembly house, the new People's Diet "unanimously" declared Lithuania a Soviet Socialist Republic.

On June 25, 1940, the Church was declared separate from the state, and the representative of the Holy See was expelled.

Parish lands were confiscated, clergy salaries and pensions were cut off, and their savings confiscated. Churches were deprived of support. Catholic printing plants were confiscated, and religious books destroyed.

One June 28, 1940, the teaching of religion and recitation of prayers in schools was forbidden. The University's Department of Theology and Philosophy was abolished, and all private schools were nationalized. The seminaries at Vilkaviškis and Telšiai were closed, and the seminary at Kaunas was permitted to operate on a

very limited scale. The clergy were spied upon constantly.

On June 15, 1941, 34,260 Lithuanians were packed off in cattlecars to undisclosed points in the Soviet Union. After World War II, the mass deportations resumed and continued until 1953.

Vincentas Borisevičius, Bishop of Telšiai, was arrested on February 3, 1946, and condemned to death after a secret trial. Before year's end, his auxiliary, Bishop Pranas Ramanauskas, was also arrested and deported to Siberia. Bishop Teofilius Matulionis of Kaišiadorys and Archbishop Mečislovas Reinys of Vilnius were deported to a Siberian labor camp. Archbishop Reinys perished in prison at Vladimir, November 8, 1953. By 1947, Lithuania was left with a single bishop, Kazimieras Paltarokas, of Panevėžys. He died in 1958.

In 1947, the last convents and monasteries were closed, their communities dispersed, and all monastic institutions were outlawed.

After Stalin's death in 1953, there was a slight improvement in the religious situation. Bishops Matulionis and Ramanauskas were allowed to return to Lithuania, but not to minister to their dioceses or to communicate with the clergy or laity.

Bishop Ramanauskas died in 1959, and Archbishop Matulionis in 1963.

In 1955, two new bishops were appointed by Rome and consecrated: Julijonas Steponavičius and Petras Maželis. Steponavičius has never been permitted to administer his diocese.

Bishop Vincentas Sladkevičius, consecrated in 1957, was kept under severe government restrictions until 1982. In 1965, Monsignor Juozas Labukas-Matulaitis was consecrated in Rome to head the Archdiocese of Kaunas and the Diocese of Vilkaiviškis. Two new bishops were consecrated in 1969: Bishop Romualdas Krikščiūnas was appointed Apostolic Admini-

strator of the Diocese of Panevėžys, and Bishop Liudvikas Povilonis was appointed auxiliary to Bishop Labukas, and succeeded him after his death in 1979.

In 1982, Bishop Sladkevičius was permitted to return to his diocese as Apostolic Administrator of Kaišiadorys. Father Antanas Vaičius was named bishop and Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Telšiai and the Prelature of Klaipėda.

Relaxation of pressure on religious believers soon revealed that the Lithuanian people were still deeply religious. It was decided in the mid-fifties to resume the attack. The principal means of attack would be unlimited moral pressure, since physical terror seemed only to strengthen and unify the faithful.

In 1972, the CHRONICLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN LITHUANIA, clandestinely published in that country, began to reach the free world at irregular intervals. Primarily intended to keep Catholics in Lithuania informed of the situation of the Church there, these Lithuanian SAMIZDAT also serve as a constant appeal to the free world not to forget the plight of a people struggling against overwhelming odds to defend their religious beliefs and to regain their basic human rights.

Rev. Casimir Pugevičius
(Translator)

ECHOES OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF SAINT CASIMIR

Kaunas

On March 4, 1984, a small group of young people gathered from various places in Lithuania at the tomb of Saint Casimir in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Vilnius to pray, read verse and sing hymns.

At the beginning of June, 1984, the interrogations began in KGB offices, at work and in school, for participation in the commemoration of the Jubilee of Saint

Casimir, and in the program which took place on that occasion.

From Kaunas Middle School 7, KGB Agent Jonas Matulevičius took primary grades teacher Miss Laimutė Truskauskaitė to KGB headquarters for interrogation. The chekist was displeased because Miss Truskauskaitė had participated in the Saint Casimir celebration in Vilnius, and he scolded her for writing letters to prisoners, some of which lay undelivered on a desk in the office. Matulevičius tried to pressure Miss Truskauskaitė into writing a statement promising to mend her ways. The subject of the interrogation, explaining that according to her beliefs it was the duty of every Catholic to do so, refused to write any assurances. Angered, the chekist warned Miss Truskauskaitė that he could throw her into the cellars and keep her there with the rats for three days. After two hours of interrogation, promising that there would be another meeting between them soon, in which "the tone of the conversation would be quite different," Chekist Matulevičius let Miss Truskauskaitė go.

Miss Vilė Masytė, of Kaunas, was sternly reprimanded by the administration of the Mažylis School of Medicine in Kaunas for her participation in the celebration of the Jubilee of Saint Casimir.

Antanas Žilinskas was interrogated and lectured by persons authorized by Sanauto Ukis (the Rescue Vehicles Office) of Kaunas.

Jolanta Grebliauskaitė had a talk with representatives of the Kaunas Meat Combine.

The administration of the Kaunas Clinics expressed concern about Miss Giedrė Ci-bauskaitė and Miss Ilona Šupenytė.

The KGB and teachers were especially displeased by the poems recited at Saint Casimir's tomb, and especially the following:

*The nation promises you, Saint Casimir
On the graves of the heroes and by the
blood of the martyrs!*

*On all the fortress-hills we will kindle
a new fire —*

*Lithuania will never submit to any
oppressors!*

*The Nemunas was silent, constrained
by the centuries*

*The Nemunas longed for freedom and for
storms...*

*Let lightening rend the sky black with
troubles,*

*Let it burst into tears of torrential rain
and wash away accumulated faults!*

*The nation promises you, Saint Casimir,
To stand beneath the cross and await the
dawn.*

OUR PRISONERS

From the letters of Father Alfonsas Svarinskas:

This was a good month. I received several letters. (The faithful write abundantly, but Father Svarinskas does not receive their letters — Ed. Note) I am very, very sincerely grateful to everyone for their Cyrenian assistance, and I pray for all kinds of blessings for everyone... I am very grateful for the Masses in January (The anniversary of his arrest was commemorated in Viduklė — Ed. Note), God alone is our hope and protection... I thank Bishop Julijonas (Steponavičius) and all who remember me and send greetings...

Everything could be tolerable, but I deeply regret being unable to offer Mass, to go to confession and Holy Communion. May God accept that sacrifice also.

You ask about my health. Psychologically and spiritually, I feel well. I believe in the triumph of good, but I would like to do so much more work in my homeland, and this torments me. Physically, I do not feel bad: I am alive and well. ...Every month in the store, I can buy 5 to 7 rubles worth of margarine, cheap candy, vegetable fats and onions. That's enough! They extracted two teeth — periodontal disease! I exercise every day... so my health is good... Please forgive the simple thoughts,

there is so much I would like to say. (It is thought that he is allowed to send letters only on everyday topics — Ed. Note.)

March 18, 1984

My Spirits are good. Everything that happens is the will of God. I am not complaining of my health, only working every day I get a little tired, so I rest more (2-3 hours) on Sundays. Then the following week is better. In my spare time, I read newspapers and magazines received from Lithuania, I work on my French, I have learned Italian and I am preparing to study Spanish. I think that in our lives, everything can come in handy. The prospects are poor. The world has lost God and sunk in darkness... There is so much more I would like to write...

May 20, 1984

RAIDS AND INTERROGATIONS

Kapčiamiestis (Lazdijai rayon)

On July 22, 1983, the pastor of the parish of Kapčiamiestis, Father Ignas Plioraitis, was summoned to the Lazdijai Rayon

Prosecutor's Office to see Prosecutor S. Žiautys. Since Father Plioraitis refused to write a statement, arguing that he felt himself to be innocent, Prosecutor Žiautys himself drafted it. Basing himself on material collected by Vice Chairman Liudas Vanagas, of the Lazdijai Rayon Executive Committee, Prosecutor Žiautys, in his statement, touched on the following questions:

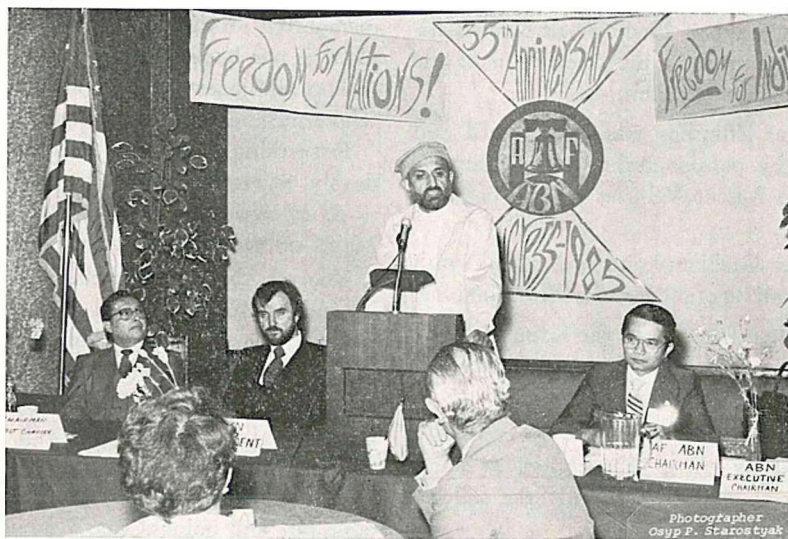
“Why do you not get along with Vice Chairman Vanagas of the Rayon Executive Committee?”

“How does material from talks with government representatives get into the Chronicle; for example, your interview with Vanagas?” (See Chronicle No. 58 — Trans. Note).

“Why do you not submit information about religious festivals to the rayon government?”

“Why does your church committee not enter into a contract with the Rayon Executive Committee? Perhaps you, as pastor, are interfering in this matter, and causing the delay?”

“How and when were you elected Vice



Panel — “Armed Struggle of the Subjugated Nations for their Survival” — during the AF ABN Congress. From left to right: Hon. A. Cajellas (Nicaragua), Prof. W. Zarycky (moderator), Mr. H. Mayar (Afghanistan), Mr. Truong-Quang Si (Vietnam).

Chairman of the parish church committee, since you are forbidden to be on the committee? Perhaps you coerce committee members?"

"Do you speak against the government and against atheists in your sermons?"

"Maybe you collect or organize the collection of signatures to various petitions?"

"Why do you organize young people to serve in church?"

Father Plioraitis would not read the statement drafted by the prosecutor, and did not sign it. "Even though you deny all the allegations, I am still obliged as prosecutor to warn you in writing" said Prosecutor Žiautys, and handed the priest a warning reading as follows:

"I warn you about systematic preaching against atheism, interference with compliance with contract law and the organizing of youth. For failure to carry out the law regarding contracts, you will be fined, and for any organizing of the youth, you will be taken to criminal court."

Father Plioraitis would not sign the warning. Prosecutor Žiautys would not allow the priest to make a copy of the warning addressed to him. The conversation lasted more or less two hours.

Telsiai

On July 23, 1983, on the eve of the Feast of Saint John the Baptist, (Joninės) a group of young believers from the City of Telsiai was singing and dancing at a bonfire on a hill near the forest's edge. After the Joninės celebration, an investigation of the participants began. Mrs. Jadvyga Ignocienė and Mrs. Genutė Jurevičienė were summoned to KGB headquarters. The Dambrauskas family, whose children had participated in the St. John's Eve bonfire, was visited several times by the KGB. The chekists were anxious to find out who had organized the celebration, who had actively participated, that is, sang, spoke and to their knowledge, had sung the Lithuanian National Anthem (No one had sung the

anthem. — Ed. Note), and who had prepared and distributed the snacks.

Skuodas

On July 26, 1983, Skuodas resident Miss Bronė Navickaitė was summoned to the rayon KGB. Without introducing himself, a KGB agent blamed Miss Navickaitė because the story of her discharge from work had gotten into the Chronicle (Chronicle No. 57, 58 — Trans. Note). The chekist was interested in discovering who could have given the information to the underground publication and to which of her acquaintances she had given copies of her letters to Tiesa (Truth). The KGB agent stated that in the Chronicle there is an excerpt from her letter to the editors of Tiesa:

"Even the director's request that I say nothing to anyone sounded strange. After all, if everything was being done justly, why such an announcement or demand? And if it was being done unjustly, then why must I keep quiet?"

— and the number of a reply sent her by the Ministry of Education, which no one but she could have given to the Chronicle.

Miss Navickaitė said that she was not concealing anything, that she had told everyone publicly about her dismissal; how all that got into the Chronicle, she did not know. Miss Navickaitė asked how she had done wrong by writing to the editors of Tiesa. The chekist affirmed that she was entitled to write and seek justice, and that she could appeal to the editors, not only of republic newspapers, but those of the Soviet Union.

"Then why was I summoned to speak with Zalepūga and Pocevičius?" Miss Navickaitė insisted. The chekist remained silent.

Concluding the interrogation, the KGB agent mentioned a few articles according to which Miss Navickaitė could be punished for false statements, failure to disclose a crime, and sending information abroad.

IN THE SOVIET SCHOOL

Krakes (Kedainiai Rayon)

On December 17, 1983, Mrs. Šepaitienė, principal of the Krakės Middle School, stated during a parents' meeting that in the future, children who attended church would have their conduct mark lowered, regardless of whether their scholastic marks were perfect.

Rokiskis

In December, 1983, Mrs. Vaičiūnienė, a teacher at the Rokiškis School of Culture, summoned Jolanta Jurgelevičiūtė, a pupil of hers who is a religious believer, and explained to her that cultural work was incompatible with religion and church attendance. On January 4, 1984, Miss Jurgelevičiūtė was summoned to the principal's office where a stranger waited to speak with her. After questioning Jolanta about her studies and her family, and learning that the pupil is a believer, goes to church and therefore has not joined the Communist Youth League, the man offered to have a similar talk with her every day. Jolanta would not agree, saying that there was no need for empty talk.

When Miss Jurgelevičiūtė specifically demanded that the stranger introduce himself and explain why he was concerned about her, and after she stated that if he did not introduce himself, she refused to speak with him any further, the stranger tried to tell her that Jolanta was speaking not her own words, but coached by someone, until finally after some silence he introduced himself as a representative from the Communist Youth League. Miss Jurgelevičiūtė did not respond to any further explanations or advice from the stranger.

In February, the school principal spoke with Miss Jurgelevičiūtė about religion. She explained that Jolanta was very bright, but regarding religion, she was mistaken, so everyone wished to help her.

"Principal, it is not I who am mistaken, but you. Generally speaking, I am an adult,

and so I am fully responsible for my actions. Thank you for your desire to help me, but I don't need your help," Jolanta Jurgelevičiūtė told the principal.

Jolanta's parents came to school to speak with the principal about their daughter. The principal, agreeing with the parents that their daughter was bright and studied well, and that this was why the school had increased her subsidy, then began accusing the parents of going astray themselves, and said that this was why the daughter was poorly reared. In the principal's words, "When anyone mentions religion, Jolanta gets her back up like a porcupine. Cultural work is atheistic work."

On March 4 (A Sunday — Trans. Note), all students of the School of Culture had strict orders not to go home. (That day, in all churches of Lithuania, the 500-Year Jubilee of the death of Saint Casimir was commemorated. — Ed. Note). On March 5, Jolanta Jurgelevičiūtė was summoned by Vice Principal Sinkevičienė and told to explain in writing why she had disobeyed and gone home March 4, without participating in a scheduled concert.

When Jolanta explained that she had run out of money, the vice principal could not restrain herself. "You went to church!" she said. This was followed by an atheistic diatribe, during which Miss Jurgelevičiūtė remained silent. That very evening, the school principal, summoning Miss Jurgelevičiūtė, told her that as of March 6, she was expelled from the Rokiškis School of Culture.

Kapsukas

On February 2, 1984, Lina Merčaitytė, a pupil at the Kapsukas School of Culture, residing at Alyvu 1a, was summoned to the Kapsukas Prosecutor's Office. The assistant prosecutor asked whether militiamen had broken down her door on January 28, who had the key, had she really been in the bathroom when the militia knocked on the door, and did they really try to break into the bathroom?

On February 7, 1984, Miss Jolanta Kalvaitytė, a pupil at the School of Culture, was asked the same questions. Principal Jonuška of the School of Culture, arguing that the owner of the apartment, Miss Genovaitė Navickaitė, was too young, and could draw them into "the black market", demanded that both girls check out of Alyvu 1a as quickly as possible, and move into a student dormitory.

Lina Marčaitytė's mother, Mrs. Genė Merčaitienė, came to the School of Culture to inquire why her daughter was being forced to check out, and told Principal Jonuška that no one was interfering with Lina's studies at her place of residence, and that she did not agree to allow her daughter to move to the dormitory.

Varena

In 1984, as the Easter holidays approached, pupils in the Varena city schools were warned not to participate in services. On Easter Day, specially assigned officials watched pupils participating in the services and procession. After Easter, the "education" of those seen in the procession and participants in the services began. The

schoolchildren were pressured to betray their friends who had participated in the services or procession, and they were warned not to go to church. One of the schoolchildren was warned that if he continued to participate actively in services and would not betray his friends, his aunt who took care of him would be discharged from work as a streetsweeper.

Dubičiai (Varena Rayon)

Dubičiai Middle School students, on directions from rayon officials, are obliged on the more important religious holidays to participate in various affairs. On the first day of Easter, a sports festival was organized, scheduled to begin at 8:00 AM, when the resurrection services begin in church. Only later, when the teachers became convinced that the students would never gather so early on Sunday, the rayon government allowed the track and field meet to begin a couple of hours later.

On Pentecost, solemn Forty Hours devotions take place in the church of Dubičiai. On Pentecost Sunday, the school was ordered to organize an obligatory field trip.

*Jack Anderson
And Dale Van Atta*

Ukraine: Restive Again

The republic most vital to the Soviet Union's economy, aside from the Russian Republic itself, is Ukraine. And in recent years the rich and fertile region has become a hotbed of nationalist fervor that is causing concern for the Kremlin.

CIA cables have noted a series of anti-Soviet (and anti-Russian) protests in Ukrainian cities in the past two years, evidently fueled by the Solidarity movement in Poland.

The man who has put down these outbreaks is Ukrainian Communist Party

chief Vladimir Shcherbitsky, the same man who lectured President Reagan on the dangers of "Star Wars" when he headed a Soviet delegation to Washington in March. Shcherbitsky quickly learned that the local Ukrainian militia could not be depended on to quell the protests unless there were KGB troops on the scene to "encourage" them. So Shcherbitsky now tends to call in the reliably ruthless KGB troops at the first hint of trouble.

A special CIA report concludes that the Ukrainian nationalist movement has

small chance of success. Though it points out that Ukraine has the mineral and agricultural wealth to sustain a self-sufficient economy, the report explains that Soviet leaders will never willingly relinquish the 50 million people in this region the size of France because it "serves both as a granary and a major mineral producer for the Soviet Union."

But it has also been fertile ground for dissent. "A sociological breakdown of Ukrainian dissidents reveals, not unexpectedly, a heavy preponderance of writers, linguists, historians, journalists, teachers and lawyers," the CIA report says. But it is the scientists and technicians "whose opposition is (most) troublesome for Soviet authorities." The CIA says about one-fourth of arrested dissidents are in this category.

"Perhaps even more alarming for the regime," the report adds, "are signs of nationalism among lower strata of the population. A great fear of the central authorities may be that, at some period of great strain for the government, such as military attack by China or a (struggle) among top Soviet leaders, Ukrainian intellectual dissidents could tap a reservoir of latent mass discontent." But, the CIA cautions, "it is difficult to know whether the peasantry would rally to a future Ukrainian nationalist movement in time of crisis in Moscow."

The Ukrainian peasants have been oppressed and betrayed by both imperial and communist Russians for centuries. They won their independence for a brief period in the turmoil after World War I, but Moscow-directed Bolsheviks quickly suffocated the infant Ukrainian republic in 1920.

A dozen years later, Stalin's brutal "land reform" — forcing the peasants into collective farms at gunpoint and starving those who resisted — cost Ukraine more than 7 million lives, according to some estimates.

The survivors of Stalin's oppression made another understandable mistake in 1941, when they welcomed Hitler's armies as liberators from communism, only to learn that the Nazis were able to match Stalin's executioners body for body.

Why should Ukraine be restive again? More than other minority republics, it is "susceptible to East European influence, due to the historical association of West Ukraine with bordering East European countries, and the polyglot character of the affected populations. If discontent in Ukraine mounted sufficiently to create a 'revolutionary situation,' a revolt in Eastern Europe could have a catalytic effect."

But the CIA recalls that this did not happen in 1968, despite widespread Ukrainian sympathy for the Czecho-Slovakians.

Two hard facts of life militate against the Ukrainian dissidents. One is the fact that, unlike the satellite countries, Ukraine has no national army of its own. The second is that Ukrainians in the upper echelons of the Soviet regime are party loyalists first and Ukrainians second. Everything they have achieved personally they owe to the central government, and they know it.

But even though "a serious separatist effort is not in sight," the CIA experts say that "nationalism in Ukraine appears to be waxing rather than waning."

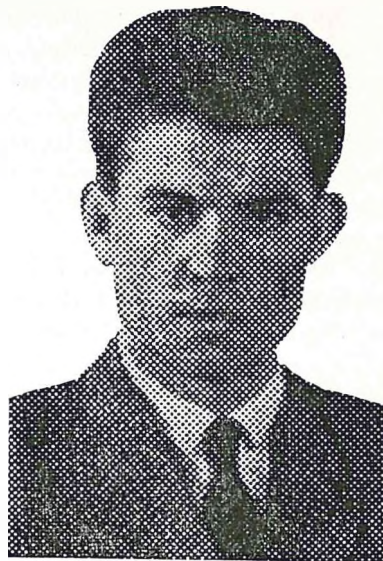
The Washington Post,
June 9, 1985

The Norilsk Uprising
by
Yevhen Hrycyak
Copies can be obtained from:
ABN, Zeppelinstr. 67,
8000 Munich 80,
West Germany.
Price: \$8.00

Vasyl Stus Gravely ill in Prison

Reports have reached the West that Vasyl Stus, 46, a prominent Ukrainian political prisoner and poet, is critically ill with neuritis. He is running a constant temperature and experiencing chronic pain in his arms and legs. Already in 1984, Vasyl Stus was so seriously ill that he had written a farewell letter to his wife.

Vasyl Stus was arrested in May, 1980, and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in a strict regime labour camp and 5 years' internal exile. He is presently reported to be in labour camp No. 36-1 in Perm, where the medical facilities, indispensable to one so seriously ill, are very limited. Despite his poor health, Vasyl Stus is forced to perform strenuous physical labour. He was recently denied a visit from his family, whom he has not seen for 4 years, apparently for refusing to conduct his conversations in Russian.



Other sources state that prior to his arrest in 1980, Stus was offered a teaching post at La Salle University in Philadelphia (USA). The offer was made by the President of La Salle, Brother Patrick Ellis, FSC, and Stus accepted by sending a telegram. However, subsequent repressions by the Soviet Russian authorities negated all these plans.

We appeal to Ukrainian compatriots and the people of the Free World to stand up in defence of Vasyl Stus, who is dying in a Russian prison camp, and prevent the death of another prominent Ukrainian political prisoner.

Vasyl Stus was born on January 8, 1938. He is a poet, publicist and literary critic by profession. In 1964 he entered post-graduate studies at the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR, after completing his studies at the Donetsk Institute of Pedagogy.

In September, 1965, Stus was expelled from his second post-graduate course at the Institute of Literature for his active participation in a protest meeting in defence of repressed Ukrainian writers and cultural activists. Simultaneously, his collection of poetry was rejected by the publisher.

In June, 1966, Stus was relieved of his post as senior academic assistant at the State Historic Archive. He had to seek employment on a building site.

From 1965 to 1968 Stus sent out protest letters to high-ranking members of the CPU and CPSU, as well as the editorial boards of various magazines and newspapers, in which he protested against the repression and persecution of Ukrainian cultural activists and literary figures.

In 1969 he exposed Russian chauvinist reaction and terror in Ukraine and stood up in defence of Ivan Dzyuba. In 1970 he stood up in defence of Valen-

tyn Moroz. On January 12, 1972 the KGB conducted a search of Stus' apartment in Kyiv and on January 13, 1972 Vasyl Stus was arrested. On January 14, 1972 another search of his apartment was carried out by the KGB. All his poems, articles and other materials, as well as all his books, were confiscated. On September 7, 1972 the Regional Court of Kyiv sentenced Stus to 5 years imprisonment of strict regime and 3 years of exile, in a closed trial.

He was accused of Ukrainian nationalism because of all his literary work, oral statements and various forms of protest against the Russian repression of Ukrainian national and human rights, as well as his constant use of the Ukrainian language on every occasion.

Vasyl Stus was released in 1979. However, soon after his release, he was re-arrested on May 14, 1980 and sentenced according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR, to 10 years imprisonment of strict regime and 5 years' exile.

Vasyl Stus is presently gravely ill. He is deprived of badly needed medical attention and facilities.

Ukrainian Central Information Service

Ukrainian Resistance Fighters Call for Increased Support

In a document of July 1984, a number of Ukrainian Patriots call for Western aid to liberate the subjugated nations. The Russian empire, they state, is ruled by OLD Russian chauvinists. They have "begun to put into practice a policy of extending the Russian colonial empire on a global scale, all the time acquiring new bases, such as Ethiopia, South Yemen, Vietnam, Cuba and many more."

"In our opinion, the policy of détente and the balance of forces cannot form an effective alternative to nuclear war, for it threatens the destruction of the entire world. The only possible effective way of avoiding the dangers of nuclear war... is to make use of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations for the disintegration of the empire and the re-establishment of independent national states upon its present territories.

The Ukrainian emigré communities in the West should play a particularly important role in this matter. They should spread these ideas... There cannot be a

successful struggle for human rights in the subjugated nations. There can only be a fight for independent national states... The struggle of the subjugated nations for the disintegration of the Russian empire also gives the Western nations a great opportunity to avoid nuclear war and to preserve peace for many years to come. We believe that the free world will come to understand this and will lend its support to our struggle for an independent Ukrainian state and for the independent states of the other subjugated nations of the Russian colonial empire."

It should be one of the most important tasks of the EFC (European Freedom Council) to spread understanding for increased Western political warfare in support of the liberation of the subjugated nations. The Ukrainian document shows that the resistance fighters of the different nationalities in the Russian empire know this and look to ABN, EFC and other organisations for support.

(From a Ukrainian underground document)

Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine

PART IV

Autobiography

I, Vasył Antonovych KOBRYN, was born in 1938 in the village of Tuchne in the Peremyshlyany district of Lviv region, into a peasant family. My father, Antyn KOBRYN, and mother, Olha KOBRYN worked their own land until the introduction of collective farms in our village in 1949. Knowing that they could leave nothing to my sister and me as an inheritance after the terrible pillage by the Russian invaders, my parents made great efforts to bring us up and give us an education. But it did not turn out as they wished...

My sister Mariya was expelled from school in the ninth form for refusing to join the Komsomol; after this she took a job. But I was persuaded by the teachers to break with my parents, because my mother wanted to raise us in belief in God. I was fourteen years old when I left my parents' house. That which was sacred and of God I hated, and I fought it in others. Because of this, I did much harm and evil. In 1957, I was persuaded to go to the Voroshilovhrad region on a Komsomol excursion pass to join in the construction of the Kherson Komsomol mine. From there I was called up to the army. It was in the army that I experienced an inner breakdown; I re-evaluated everything that had been dear to me up to then... In 1960 I openly declared to my officers that I believed in God; for this I was criticised and condemned by the military authorities. Upon my demobilisation I returned to my parents; I hardly need say what a joy this was for them.

After the army I completed technical school and worked at a television plant in the city of Lviv. In 1972 the plant management found out that I was a believer, and then, they ordered me, against my conscience, to read an anti-religious lecture

before the workers of the shop. I read a lecture before the workers of the shop, but not in the way the authorities wanted — the lecture was to the benefit of the Church and religion. After this they transferred me to another shop as a disloyal person. In 1975, when the Council of Ministers issued the cannibalistic order not to celebrate Easter, but to report to work, I did not report to work and wrote a protest addressed to the head of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, for which I was fired from my job under the statute. In 1979 I received a 15-day penalty for visiting the grave of the Sich Riflement,¹ after which I was placed in a psychiatric hospital.

In 1983, after the arrest of the head of the Action Group for the Defence of the Rights of Believers and the Church, Yosyp TERELYA, I temporarily assumed leadership of the Action Group and became a member of it. From the first of March 1984, in connection with the poor state of health of our head, I assumed leadership of the Group for the Defence of the Rights of Believers and the Church.

Easter Talk

Today the Church of Christ is celebrating the radiant Resurrection. A great injustice arose in its time, as happens today as well. Jesus Christ, the saviour of the world, the only son of God, was condemned at one time by human enmity to indignity and suffering by the entire Jewish people,² and was condemned to death and crucified, and took away death for us in order to redeem the human race from its sins...

In the affairs of God the redemption of the human race, the death on the cross, which took place on Golgotha, was the last act which brought about the centre of our faith and moral renewal. We are Christians! As in the earliest times of persecu-

tion of Christians, we are experiencing the same decline as once did Rome before its fall. With pressure and physical destruction today's Communist rulers are waging a mortal struggle against Christians. What is this about? What is the reason for this?

When social life is undermined at its foundation, when general disintegration nears its end, when there is no [strengthening]³ by any fruitful idea, a human being has before him no calming thought, not the slightest ray of hope which would free a human being from virtual perdition — the only light of the sun of truth upon humanity is the idea of Jesus Christ, who suffered on the cross for us. What must we do? The time when our people has fallen under the blows of the Communist warriors against God is also a time of great trial. The Church's task is to give the correct orientation in the given situation, to explain the threat of the moment, to teach the people how to conduct itself in this difficult hour, how one must not lose spirit and how to develop the greatest energy in order to turn back the perdition that is threatening us...

Today the nation needs people who could find within themselves the courage and the strength to cry out aloud about our predicament, which is full of tragedy.

Today's Russian rulers like to separate the concepts of "Catholic" and "Ukrainian". Why do the rulers emphasise so much the separateness of the Catholic from everything Ukrainian — from everything by which a Catholic lives and in the name of which he struggles? Jesus said, "Blessed are you when they will dishonor you, when they will persecute you, when they will falsely say all kinds of evil words against you, for my sake. Rejoice and be glad: for great shall be your reward in

heaven" (Matthew 5, 11-12). For he who shall suffer death for the faith will be called a MARTYR; to bear the cross for the faith means that you bear the cross also for your own captive people. At all times when one or another people would fall into ruin and captivity, its leaders would emphasise morality and ethical culture. When the Poles fell into captivity, they founded societies for moral renewal — the Philaret Society, the Szubrawcy, and in the final years before they achieved freedom, the Ethical Society. For us, such an ethical-moral society is our Church, and it is therefore not strange that the authorities persecute the Ukrainian Catholics with such severity. We must remember that the strength of a people lies in its mass, not in its territory. But this mass must be healthy, not de-nationalised and lacking its own desire — for life...

Today we are divided between different nations, and each one of them gives us good fortune only if it wishes to. Let us remember that not one of the occupant nations will give us any freedom, any moral correction, for to them we are worse than slaves. Therefore only we must carry through the reform — only we!

The time has come to see the light and, not sparing our strength, to arise for the sacred right to live.

12. 4. 84

Yosyp TERELYA

The Story of One Life

On 2 December 1944 in the mountain village of Dovhe in Transcarpathia (Zakarpattia) a girl named Polanya was born. Could this girl know then that with the arrival of the occupants from beyond the great chasm, her life would be filled with a tragedy and pain that no one had ever seen? Polanya was born into a family of Ukrainian Catholics who understood with mind and heart what great woe our people had encountered. Woe. In 1947-48 an undeclared war is waged against the

¹ Ukrainian military unit during the Ukrainian war of independence 1917-21.

² The syntax is unclear.

³ Original "*skryvlenyya*," "*distortion*," may be typographical error.

Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is perishing in an unequal struggle, but no one will kneel before the true Satan. The first to bow their treacherous hearts before the Russian occupants were the old enemies of everything Ukrainian — the local Russophiles. They delight in Russian Orthodoxy, they go to work in the occupants' establishments, they become Judases and Pilates... The BATYO family did not take evil for truth, and they taught their children likewise.

Polanya grew up to be a lively girl, wise beyond her years.. Our children used to grow up quickly. The Stalinist terror taught our children to be quiet and fearful.. School. The first repressions, the first insult... But all the same, the girl would not put the red scraf around her neck. From the age of 12 she becomes an active member of the Catholic underground. The years pass, and all these years, a Ukrainian suffers persecution... On July 21, 1976 Polanya BATYO is arrested in the town of Kalush and is sentenced to a term of one year in the camps. On May 21, 1982 Polanya BATYO is sentenced to two years of camps under strict regime...

The trial took place in the town of Irshava. The composition of the court: Presiding judge — H. V. MAKSYM; People's assessors - V. N. PAPYNCHAK; D. FEDORYCHKO; Prosecutor — P. M. SPIVYCH; Secretaries — I. FUSHCHISHCH; Attorney — Y. Y. KADAR. Here is what the court puts forth as the basis for the indictment and guilt of Polanya BATYO:

“At the session of the court the accused, P. Y. BATYO, altogether refused to provide explanations, did not answer the questions of the participants in the trial, but herself posed questions of a religious nature.”

“Under these circumstances the court is of the opinion that the actions of the defendant P. BATYO have been fully proved and that the measure of punishment has,

in relation to the defendant, been correctly chosen.”

Commentary, as they say, would be superfluous. Today the enemies of the people are fuming and raging to the point of frenzy, but tomorrow the hour of reckoning shall come...

P. BATYO spent nearly the entire time of her punishment in punishment cells and cell-type premises. 271 days in punishment cells! Extremely weakened and ill, she was released, only for a new case to be initiated...

As if that was not enough, the head of the village council, A. Y. NOD', issued a savage order — not to sell bread to the ill Polanya BATYO. There is nothing strange in this — Communists not giving bread to a Christian. After Polanya returned her passport⁴ to the authorities, new repressions rained down upon her... Why do Catholics give up their passports?

First, it is because they do not want to have anything to do with the devil; second, it is because these passports do not correspond to reality. We Ukrainians should have passports of the Ukrainian SSR, not of the USSR.

Brothers! Pray for Polanya BATYO.

*

On Thursday, April 5 in the village of Martyniv, Rohatyn district, the local administration together with the militia destroyed a chapel.

It began when three militiamen came to the village with some citizens' voluntary police auxiliaries and demanded the keys to the chapel. The keeper refused. Then the militia began to break down the doors; people came running, and a brawl ensued. The next day 40 militiamen and innumerable citizens' auxiliaries arrived in the village — the brawl continued late into the night. Seeing that they could accomplish

⁴ Soviet citizens are required to carry identification papers, known as internal “passports,” at all times.

nothing, the militia turned to deceit — they said, let the people disperse, everything will remain as it was...

But during the night a crane drove up and the chapel was destroyed.

*

F. VYRSTA has returned from Bolshevik captivity, after extreme torments. He spent his term of imprisonment in the concentration camp in the city of Vinnytsya together with Vasylyl' SICHKO.

*

On February 16 Ivan BABYNETS', a teacher in the local secondary school, came to the apartment of Yosyp TERELYA, member of the Action Group for the Defence of the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine and head of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics, and began to threaten that he, BABYNETS', would blow up the house. I. BABYNETS' was drunk. One can only guess who had sent this chief of the citizens' voluntary police auxiliaries for this deed...

Our DUKHNOVYCH

On April 24 we, Transcarpathian Ukrainians, Ukrainians all over Ukraine and far beyond the sea, in the USA, and wherever our Ukrainian brethren are to be found, celebrate a great holiday, a sacred day! It once was that on April 24 in all the churches of Carpatho-Ukraine the requiem would end and the priests and faithful would pray for the blessed memory of our immortal Oleksander DUKHNOVYCH. And our children would sing our national prayer, which DUKHNOVYCH wrote for us, with special elation:

Subcarpathian Ruthenians
Abandon your deep slumber!
The people's voice calls you:

Do not forget, what is yours!

But it is not so today. A deep fog has settled upon our cultural life. The Rus-

sian occupants have destroyed nearly all memory of our past, of our freedoms... But no! Oleksander DUKHNOVYCH shall live in our hearts as long as even only one Ukrainian lives by the Carpathians! Ukrainians, be proud that you have famous and great people who are of your blood, who sacrifice their entire lives for the people's good. "The poorer my people, the more I love them" — so spoke DUKHNOVYCH.

Nature's power calls me,

Love for the people [draws me],⁵

I have sacrificed myself for it as a gift.

O. DUKHNOVYCH had the honour of being called the father of his people during his lifetime — he was not only a man of letters, but also a builder of the temple of our culture. He was one of the greatest persons to be born of a Ukrainian mother for the Carpathians.

The future poet and enlightener Oleksander DUKHNOVYCH was born into a priest's family in the village of Tovolya, which is in Western Transcarpathia, in 1803. Often his mother would say to little Oleksander: "Don't forget God, pray to Him and love your Ruthenian people and if you don't get rich that way, all the same you'll be happy." DUKHNOVYCH followed his mother's behest. In 1822 he completed the Uzhhorod secondary school, after which he studied philosophy at Kosice and completed the course of theology at Uzhhorod. Bishop TARKOVYCH named the ordained Oleksander DUKHNOVYCH as chancellor in his chancery.

The poet writes thus about his life in court service:

I lived long at luxurious courts,
I tasted sweetness' bitter glory,
Always faithful I served the lords,
I tasted good and bad...

⁵ The meaning of the original word, "istornet," is not clear. "Istorgnet" would mean "casts out."

In 1830 DUKHNOVYCH, ragged and half barefoot, came from Pryashiv⁶ to Uzhhorod, where the bishop refused to accept him in his eparchy. At that time DUKHNOVYCH made the acquaintance of PETROVAY, the *pidzhupan*⁷ of Uzhhorod, who took a liking to him and made him tutor to his children. In this post DUKHNOVYCH remained exactly three years. Then came service at Bila Vezha; from 1838 to 1844 DUKHNOVYCH worked as consistorial notary for Bishop Vasyl' POPOVYCH, an old friend of the poet. Much of DUKHNOVYCH'S creative work dates from this period. In 1844-1865 DUKHNOVYCH was canon of the Pryashiv eparchy. DUKHNOVYCH died in Pryashiv, the "city of DUKHNOVYCH;" he gave his remains to the earth, but his spirit is among us...

April 12, 1984 *Yosyp TERELYA*

✱

Mr. Reagan:

One often nears the truth through mistakes, for we rarely discover the contradiction between the truth and a mistaken idea. My letter to you is a letter from a Catholic to a Catholic. From a believer to a believer.

I am forced to be a prisoner in my own country, which is itself imprisoned... For some reason, our rulers have put forth an unwritten rule for Christian believers in the USSR: Politics is up to the Party, while we, the believers, are left only to pray, and that only in our own houses, lest anyone see us...

Sometimes one can hear this from the lips of fairly serious and enlightened people. Can a Christian stand apart from today's events taking place in today's world? When the fact of humanity is being decided, can we Christians fail to participate in the general discussion — would this not testify to our indifference to the social

good? Jesus taught us an active life among the wolves of this world. Therefore I consider that today's great debate about human rights, both in its content and in its effects, concerns everyone who calls himself a human being.

I was born into a family of Catholics; before the arrival of the Russians my father was a Communist. Prisons. Concentration camps... and a new regime. The U.S. army liberated my father from a fascist concentration camp. For a time, my father worked as a translator in the U.S. army, and after a while returned home to Transcarpathian Ukraine, which was already in the hands of the Russian occupants. The officers of the American army warned my father not to return home, for at home, prison awaited him... My father spoke a good ten languages fluently; after completing the Ruthenian secondary school in Prague he had studied at the commercial academy in the city of Mukachiv. A week after his return home my father was arrested and sent to the Uzhhorod prison, this time by his comrades... After seven months my father was freed, and occupied the post of chief of the district executive committee in the community of Volovets'... then they arrested my father again — this time because after having escaped from a fascist concentration camp he had fought in the army of Tito...

I was brought up at my grandmother's house. The liquidation of our Church took place before my very eyes — the first sacrifices, the first pains... From earliest childhood I knew that we had to conceal our prayers, our word... Grandmother always asserted that only the Gospel of Christ is capable of making us happy here on earth. The new regime was armed with other principles, other dogmas.

The Helsinki Accords tore the mask from the face of the Communist rulers — was this not the first time that the world experienced, at close quarters, uneasiness and

⁶ Prešov, now in Czecho-Slovakia.

⁷ A position in the royal administration.

alarm for its future, for its survival...? We have seen the savagery and the coarse, lawless instincts which rush in a frenzy after pleasure and narcissism. All at once, real Communism has blossomed before us in all its hues.

During my last investigation the investigator from the Ukrainian SSR Internal Affairs administration Lt. Maj. HO-SHOVS'KY kept asking me with all sincerity and seriousness when and where I had joined a Masonic lodge... Amusing? Not altogether, for behind all this lies concealed their lack of culture and their hatred for everything that is not theirs... It came to this: that I, carrying out the orders of the Masons and of the head of all the Masons of the world, John Paul II, created the Action Group...

I think that there is nothing strange in this.

When one is unable to undo one's own mistakes, then myth comes to one's aid — any myth will do, as long as it draws the citizens' attention away from reality. The image of a human being is distinguished by his behaviour, customs, courtesy, patriotism, kindness and sincerity. But what Communist in the world can pride himself on all these human virtues? Where is that Communist? It, therefore, at times seems strange that there, where it would be necessary to show firmness and strength, we Christians capitulate before the brutality and lack of principle of the latter.

Afghanistan lies upon the conscience of Western civilisation. We Christians have no right to ignore what is being done in that mountainous country. For only a military defeat can force the rulers of Moscow to change their attitude to the non-Communist countries. Only then will some kind of liberalisation be possible here, too, in this gigantic prison of nations.

We live in a time when the world has come to understand and sense what "real Communism" is. Communists can never understand the solidarity which unites peo-

ple of good will throughout the world. Our fate is in our hands. But this does not mean that we should make concessions to the devil in any way. One can make concessions to the wise, to children, to the weak — but to make concessions to the USSR would mean giving them the opportunity to behave even brutally, even more infamously. Christ says: "Therefore everyone who listens to My words and acts according to them, him shall I liken to a wise man who built his house upon a rock." Therefore let us build our life upon the rock of our Christian convictions and let us not forget about our brothers who need our attention and aid.

With respect for you, your Christian brother,

Yosyp TEREIYA

9. 1. 1984



The authorities in Ukraine are hinting at the idea of the creation of an "autocephalous Ukrainian Catholic Church". What is this? For it is well known to all that the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church is forbidden... Then why has the Communist regime in Ukraine become so enthusiastic about the idea of creating a so-called "autocephalous Ukrainian Catholic Church"? Simultaneously the KGB is spreading rumours that the Action Group for the Defence of the Rights of Believers and the Church was created by instructions of the KGB, that supposedly the head of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics, Yosyp TEREIYA, is an agent of the KGB... Simultaneously there has begun a raging campaign to intimidate the rank-and-file members of the Church, persecutions in the press, at meetings, etc.

On March 14, 1984 a delegation composed of official representatives of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR appeared at the apartment of the secretary of the Action Group, Fr. Hryhoriy BUDZINS'KY. And so the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR

for the L'viv region told BUDZINS'KY that it was time to enter into a dialogue with the authorities, and [asked] what exactly does the group want, what are its demands? After which he declared, let the Catholics go and register... This clear provocation on the part of the authorities cannot be considered either by the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics or by the Action Group.

Already on March 17, a functioning church in the village of Korosno in the L'viv region was closed; supposedly, it had been removed from the register back in 1962, has not been used up to now, and therefore it makes sense to close it and to create a museum there... The fact of the matter was that villagers would not accept a Russian Orthodox priest for their parish; and so the authorities decided to destroy a Catholic Church through a technicality.

A meeting took place on the premises of the village club at which spoke the secretary of the Party district committee Y. I. HIRNY and the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, Y. Y. RESHETYLO. All the speakers smeared the Ukrainian Church and its hierarchs with furious hatred, and this at a time when the authorities are supposedly seeking some sort of "dialogue" with representatives of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — comment, as they say, would be superfluous... The newspaper "Victory" was sprinkled with an article about the meeting described above, where there took place a "condemnation" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and a vote of the villagers on whether the Church was to exist in the village or not. This is what the newspaper says: "Village residents Kateryna OLENCHUK, Mariya MARYCH, Hanna HVOZDYK and Kateryna MARMULYAK spoke at the village meeting. Those present were indignant at the remarks of individual citizens who unfoundedly demanded that the church function. Shamed by the audience, Mykhay-

lyna KOSTIV, Kateryna ZELINS'KA, Kateryna KADAY, Yevdokiya SHYKH, Kateryna PROTSYSHYNA and other unenlightened elements quickly fell silent..." Thus the newspaper, contradicting itself, describes legalised Soviet destruction.

*

The following persons have been entered on the lists of criminals responsible for crimes committed against the Ukrainian nation:

a) BUTKEVYCH, Nelya Mykhaylivna — Born 1936, N. BUTKEVYCH was born in Mongolia into the family of a concentration camp director. She completed the tenth form in Mongolia, after which she went to the USSR and entered the Dnipropetrovsk medical institute for studies, which she completed in 1958. N. BUTKEVYCH'S husband, a colonel in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, worked in the Ministry of Internal Affairs administration of the city of Dnipropetrovsk. Since 1970 N. BUTKEVYCH, a captain in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has been working at the Dnipropetrovsk special prison, where she has shown herself to be a sadist and a criminal.

b) BADYRA, Valentyna Andriyivna — Born 1945, a major in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, director of concentration camp ET-322/63, which is in the village of Dobryvody, Ternopil' region.

c) BODNAR, Roman Yosypovych — Born 1934. He was born in the Vinnytsya region; after medical school he worked in the Rakhiv area; in 1964 he graduated from the Uzhhorod University faculty of medicine. At present he works as director of men's department No. 2 of the regional psychiatric hospital in the city of Berchiv.

d) BARYSHEV, Vasyl' Ivanovych — Colonel in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, director of Uzhhorod prison.

e) BABENKO, Mykola Ivanovych — Colonel in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of

Internal Affairs, director of the special prison in the city of Dnipropetrovsk.

f) BOCHKOVSKA, Olena St-yna⁸ — Born 1930, a major in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, director of department No. 7 of the Dnipropetrovsk special hospital.

The information centre of the Ukrainian National Front has scrupulously studied the materials which relate to the persons indicated above. For every person a file has been opened including a photo of the criminal, his brief biography and the principal crimes which the given criminal has committed.

For the month of April, materials have been collected on 91 persons who are subject to trial for crimes committed against the Nation. All the above-indicated persons are in the category of the international criminals who committed crimes against humanity during the last war.

Another 311 persons have been entered in the lists of criminals on whom materials have not been collected in full.

Appeal to the Ukrainian Emigration

Brothers and sisters!

Recently the repressions against Christians in the USSR have increased, especially in Ukraine. And this is not strange, for Ukraine has always been a cataract in Moscow's eye. In recent times, namely, beginning with the end of the 1970's, a certain segment of the Russian intelligentsia has begun to take a favorable attitude to our struggle for our independence. This aroused anger in the rulers of Moscow — repressions immediately showered down upon this group of the intelligentsia; for the KGB they became "Judaizers".

A certain portion of the Russians have accepted the Catholic faith. I had a good friend from among the Russian Christians, Yelena SANNIKOVA. Today O. SANNIKOVA is under arrest; she is suffering

⁸ Probably "Stepanivna."

in the KGB dungeons in Lefortovo Prison. Faith is a gift of God and therefore let it not seem strange to you that a sincere and genuine Christian is arrested and put away in prison. This is the lot of all sincere and un-hypocritical souls. How did O. SANNIKOVA arouse such anger in the authorities? Her guilt is proven — O. SANNIKOVA supports the Ukrainians and other captive nations of the Communist empire.

I think that when a true brother or sister suffers misfortune, we should all rise as one in her defence. As we can see, he who truly keeps the teaching of Jesus Christ constantly exposes himself to persecution on the part of the Church's enemies. O SANNIKOVA is a true Christian — and behold, threats and persecution have rained down upon her. For this reason a good Christian has nothing to fear — neither a fool nor the devil. For when God is with us, who can be against us? And truly, what and why should we fear? The greatest fear is loss of faith, and where there is no faith — there is no hope.

Ukrainians! Let us stand up in defence of the Russian Christian O. SANNIKOVA. This is a matter of our Church as well — we are debtors... Eternal debtors before our Father Jesus Christ.

2. 1. 1984 *Yosyp TEREIYA*
(Translated by Andrew Sorokowski,
Keston College, March 1985.)

Decree of the Communist Party

(published in the clandestine *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*).

This document is a secret Communist Party decree of July 3, 1984, on how to improve the methods of combatting nationalist activity in Ukraine. While attacking the activity of Ukrainian nationalist groups and complaining of the ineffectiveness of the local Party and KGB's methods of fighting it, the document lists a series of actions by the Ukrainian underground movement, including the derailing

of a train carrying vital military equipment — an action which held up Russian operations in Poland, in 1981, for many months — and the removal of a large quantity of ammunition and grenades from a Russian army base, by members of the Ukrainian underground.

The document also mentions the resurgence of the activity of the outlawed underground Ukrainian Catholic Church and outlines the solutions of Party bosses to the problem of the continued nationalist and religious activity. For instance, two-thirds of the activists of the Ukrainian Catholic Church are to be forced to undergo compulsory psychiatric treatment in the near future.

The importance of this document lies in the fact that as a secret intra-Party decree it verifies the high level of underground activity in Ukraine and confirms that the various individual actions did in fact take place.

DECREE

of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine of the Zakarpatya region and the Regional Soviet of the People's Deputies on the improvement of methods of combatting manifestations of nationalism and zionism.

Uzhhorod, July 3, 1984.

Recently Western mass media and political rhetoric have increased their anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. In the first place, US imperialism is placing its stakes on the remnants of the Banderite movement¹ and the underground so-called Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Unfortunately, the Party organisation of the region has so far conducted an ineffective struggle against the manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and zionism on the

¹ The name given to the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), under the leadership of Stepan Bandera.

territory of our region. This applies equally to the anti-Catholic propaganda and militant atheist education of the youth in the spirit of Lenin's internationalism and loyalty to the Party.

During the last six months, the Catholic underground has revived its endeavours towards the so-called legalisation of the Church. Under the guise of faith, the activists of the Ukrainian Catholic Church have increased their anti-Soviet agitation which was utilised by our foreign enemies.

The KGB is in possession of certain information which states that the Banderite underground, under the cover of a new label — the Ukrainian National Front — has carried out a series of actions, the results of which have already been discussed at the May meeting of the Regional Committee in 1981, and again in October, 1982.

Thus, in the village of Muzhiyev, Berezhivsky district, on May 24, 1981, the terrorist gang of Commander "Chorny" derailed a military train which was carrying a radar from the Viloksky military base. This delayed the "Polish action" for nine months.

At the Jewish cemetery, in the town of Mukacheve, a store of zionist anti-Soviet literature and cartridges with explosive trotyl was discovered during construction work.

These are only separate instances showing the activation of the Banderite and zionist groups.

The Beskyd² operation of 1982 to liquidate terrorist diversionary groups in Lavochne and Volivka was not completed. As a result, the bandit gang of Commander "Chorny" was not completely liquidated, the comrades from the KGB have still not discovered those guilty of robbing two officials transporting money in our district, and also to this very day, we have not

² Beskyd is an area of the Carpathian Mountains.

discovered the identity of the persons responsible for the removal of 10,000 rounds of ammunition and 99 hand-grenades from a military unit in the town of Mukacheve.

There are many shortcomings and one can cite a whole string of other unpleasant incidents. But in spite of all the evident shortcomings, the KGB has achieved some positive results in its work. For instance, Borys Mykhalo TERELYA,³ a member of the bandit gang of Commander "Chorny", was killed. Unfortunately, with the death of this bandit, the thread of his contacts with the remnants of the Banderrite movement in the neighbouring region was broken.

A successful operation was carried out in the Irshavsky district to liquidate the underground printing presses of the Catholic and Baptist communities. During this particular operation up to 1,000 copies of various religious publications were confiscated.

All this demands from us constant vigilance and precise actions when it comes to dealing with the liquidation of the slightest manifestation of nationalism and zionism in our region. Therefore, in light of the decisions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU, Plenums of the Central Committee, and speeches of the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, comrade K. U. Chernenko, the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Regional Soviet of the People's Deputies have decreed the following:

a) To increase the anti-nationalist propaganda in the press, revealing the nega-

tive nature of bourgeois nationalism and zionism, making use of the repentances of former dissidents and anti-Soviet clerics.

b) That the Party organisation obliges the Regional Executive Committee to open a department for compulsory psychiatric treatment alongside the existing sections of the Regional Psychiatric Hospital. It is desirable that two-thirds of the activists of the Ukrainian Catholic Church be directed for compulsory treatment. For the present, it is not desirable to hold trials of Ukrainian Catholics. At the regional interrogation centre, rooms are to be allocated for 250 people who will be undergoing compulsory psychiatric treatment. Cadres from trustworthy comrades of the medical service should be chosen. They are to include five doctors and sixty medical staff.

c) In the villages where the influence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is strong, it is necessary to act with great caution. During searches and detentions do not confiscate bibles, prayer books and other church literature, as this could have a negative influence on relations between the faithful and government organs. As far as possible, avoid the political publicity of cases against Catholics. In conformity with this, it is necessary to use criminal charges and sentences against members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which would discredit the Church and its members. This particularly concerns the activists. The repentances of former political prisoners must also be widely used before the population of our region, publicly in village clubs and the cultural centres in the towns.

d) To forbid Sunday Masses under the pretext of the high summer season in the collective and state farms of the region. The really "noisy" individuals should be punished with administrative fines, deprivation of premiums, withdrawal of the so-called "thirteenth" monthly wages, and in arrangements for their children in nurseries, kindergartens and boarding schools. The

³ Borys TERELYA was killed on June 10, 1982, in a gun-battle between a group of young Ukrainians and KGB troops. He was the brother of Yosyp TERELYA, a well-known dissident and member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine.

particularly active individuals are to undergo compulsory psychiatric treatment.

e) The members of the Catholic activists who form the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics and members of the so-called "Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church", should be dealt with in accordance with Instruction No. 81, issued on May 28, 1984.

Copies of this Decree should be directed to the District Administrations of the KGB and the police for their information.

July 3, 1984.

Signed:

BODNAROVSKY, VOLOSHCHUK

Samvydav Document

"Declaration to Marshal Ustinov, the Minister for Armed Forces of the USSR".

This document from June 21, 1984, is signed by leading members of the "Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church", and is addressed to Marshal Ustinov, the former Defence Minister of the Soviet Union. Its authors condemn the unjust war currently being waged by Russia in Afghanistan, as well as the fact that Ukrainians are being forced, against their will, to participate in this struggle, in units of the Soviet Armed Forces. They also state that Ukraine bears no grudge against the Afghan people and declare the refusal of Ukrainians to be involved in the war.

To Marshal USTINOV,
The Minister for Armed Forces
of the USSR.

DECLARATION

In connection with the escalation of the war in Afghanistan, where, as is well known, our Ukrainian children, whom the Russian military administration has forcibly, against their will, sent into the Afghan conflict to die for the great-power interests of Moscow, are also taking part in the struggle, in the units of the occupational forces.

We, members of the Ukrainian Helsinki "Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church", do hereby express our protest against the tradition, established by the government of Moscow, of using Ukrainians in its own military actions outside the borders of the Soviet Union in colonial wars which the government of the USSR conducts in its own interests. The Afghan people have not caused the Ukrainian SSR any harm or mischief. It has never entered the territory of our country or threatened Ukraine either with its existence or with its strivings to win freedom from the foreign occupation of Moscow.

And, therefore, — we, as Christians, as members of the Ukrainian nation, and as the clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, declare our protest against the forced and illegal involvement of our young men in the war in Afghanistan which is presently being waged by the government of the USSR against the freedom-loving Afghan people.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church takes under its care and protection all Ukrainians who are presently stationed in Afghanistan, with the exception of those serving in units of the KGB, and launches its appeal to the wide influential circles of the world not to regard Ukrainian servicemen who are in Afghanistan against their will, as war criminals. The full weight of the guilt falls on the government of the USSR.

The above declaration is an official document which will lead to the rehabilitation of all Ukrainians who were forcibly sent to Afghanistan to fight, at a future international tribunal. Russian chauvinism is fully responsible for the venture in Afghanistan, and, as is well known, 80% of the officer corps of the armed forces are ardent chauvinists and haters of mankind.

Ukraine has felt upon its own skin and still continues to feel the policy of genocide,

Persecution of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church

We have received information that Josyp Terelya, Wasyl Kobryn and Fr. Hryhoriy Budzynskyi, leaders of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, have been arrested.

According to a statement on May 17th, 1985, by the US delegation at the meeting of human rights experts in Ottawa, Josyp Terelya, founder of the Initiative Group, was arrested on 8th February, 1985. He had been in hiding since last year. Terelya is reportedly charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

Samvydav sources, on which the US delegation at the Helsinki follow-up meeting in Ottawa based itself, also state that the secretary of the Initiative Group, Fr. Hryhoriy Budzynskyi, was arrested in October 1984 and confined in a psychiatric hospital for six weeks. Fr. Budzynskyi, a priest of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church, is eighty years old.

Wasyl Kobryn, the chairman of the Initiative Group, was arrested in December 1984. His trial took place on 22nd March, 1985, and he was sentenced to three years in an ordinary regime labour camp under Art. 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR

(dissemination of knowingly false concoctions defaming the Soviet state and social system).

JOSYP TERE LYA

Josyp Terelya was born on 27th October, 1943.

He is a labourer.

He was first arrested in 1962 on fabricated evidence. While in a labour camp, a political case was brought against him in 1969. He was confined in the Vladimir prison.

In 1972, while serving his term of imprisonment, Terelya was declared mentally ill, and was confined in special psychiatric hospitals until 1976.

In 1977, he was again arrested, this time for reminiscing about his experiences during imprisonment. He was once again confined in a psychiatric hospital. He was released after 4 years.

In 1982, Josyp Terelya formed the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church and became its first chairman. At the end of 1982, he was arrested, charged with "parasitism". He spent his 1-year sentence in a corrective labour camp in the Lviv region. After his release, Terelya returned to his post as chairman of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics, the executive body of the Initiative Group to De-

as regards the Ukrainian nation, on the part of Moscow. If the Ukrainian SSR possessed its own armed forces which were waging the war in Afghanistan, then, in that case, all persons who would have taken part in this unjust war would bear the mark of "occupant". However, Ukrainians do not want to fight this criminal war — we want our freedom, the benevolence of the peoples of the world, and a

life of peace and happiness for our children, both for now and for the future.

Lviv 21. 1. 1984.

Wasyl KOBRYN,
Head of the "Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church".
Fr. Hryhoriy BUDZYNSKY, Secretary.
Yosyp TERE LYA, member of the "Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church".

Vasyl Dolishnyi Re-Arrested

Information has recently reached the West that Vasyl Dolishnyi, a member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and former Ukrainian political prisoner, was re-arrested in Ivano-Frankivsk late last year.

Previously the exact charges were unknown and it was suspected that he might have been charged under one of the "parasitism" statutes, which make it a crime to be unemployed for more than 4 consecutive months. This charge is usually applied to former Ukrainian political prisoners, who, after serving their terms have a difficult time finding employment.

Now it has been confirmed that Vasyl Dolishnyi was convicted of "parasitism" and sentenced to 3 years of strict regime imprisonment in a labour camp according to Art. 214 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (systematic vagrancy and pauperism). It is known that Dolishnyi, a petroleum engineer, has been unable to find steady employment since December, 1981.

VASYL DOLISHNYI

Vasyl Dolishnyi was born in 1930 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region. He is a petroleum engineer by profession.

He was arrested for the first time in

fend the Rights of Believers and the Church. However, due to his poor state of health, Terelya had to hand over his post to Wasyl Kobryn.

Josyp Terelya's wife, Olha Tymofiyivna, is a doctor. She lives with their daughter in the village of Dovhe in the Transcarpathian region.

Josyp Terelya is suffering from the effects of a broken spine, an ailing heart and kidney failure.

1947. Convicted of treason, he was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment for membership of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), according to Art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. He was amnestied in 1954.

Returning to Ukraine, he studied engineering in Ivano-Frankivsk, not far from his native village of Pidluzhzhia.

On 1. 2. 1971, he was arrested again. He was sentenced to 7 years of concentration camps and 3 years internal exile according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for participation in the Ukrainian liberation movement immediately after the Second World War. He served his full term.

Since December, 1981, Dolishnyi has been unable to find work and was arrested for the third time late in 1984 accused of "parasitism" for which he was sentenced to 3 years of strict regime imprisonment in a labour camp.

Mykola Horbal Sentenced to 11 Years

Last month Mykola Horbal, a Ukrainian national and human rights activist, was sentenced to 8 years of camps and 3 years of exile on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", according to Art. 62-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (analogous to Art. 70-2 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR). His trial was held in Mykolayiv, on April 8-10, 1985.

Mykola Horbal was accused of writing "anti-Soviet" songs (out of 87 manuscripts of songs confiscated from M. Horbal in 1979 during a search connected with the arrest of Yuriy Badzio, 45 were considered to be "anti-Soviet"). Witnesses stated that Mykola Horbal also put into practice what he had written in his

songs. In addition, he was accused of writing poetry and the authorship of an article entitled "The Right to Defend Oneself", an analysis of the materials of a previous fabricated legal case, which had been brought against him.

M. Horbal pleaded not guilty. However, he was deemed to be an especially dangerous recidivist and designated to serve his new sentence in a strict regime labour camp.

MYKOLA HORBAL

Mykola Horbal was born on 10. 9. 1941.

He is a poet.

In 1970, he was arrested for the first time and sentenced to 7 years for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

After his release from a labour camp in 1978, Horbal was unable to find work as a teacher or composer and was forced to take a job as an electrician in Kyiv. There he took up residence with his wife and small child.

In 1979, after numerous attempts to gain permission to emigrate from the So-

viet Union, Horbal joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

Shortly thereafter, dissident sources said, the KGB staged a bizarre street scene during which Horbal was attacked and beaten after turning down the sexual advances of a woman who worked as a secretary at the Kyiv office of the Kom-somol, the Communist Youth League. Immediately after the incident began, a police car pulled up and Horbal was taken to the police station, where he was accused of attempted rape.

Found guilty, he was sentenced on January 21st, 1980, to five years in a labour camp, where he experienced brutal treatment. In a statement that reached the West in September, 1981, he said that he had never before experienced such suffering. He said there were times when suicide seemed like the only salvation.

He was arrested for the third time and sentenced to eight years in a labour camp and three years of exile, in April, 1985, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He is presently serving his sentence in a strict-regime labour camp.

**Maria and Olha Terelya
— daughter and wife of
Josyp Terelya, founder
of the "Initiative Group
to Defend the Rights of
Believers and the
Church in Ukraine."**



News and Views

Warren Strobel

Now it's the Ukrainians abusing diGenova

Charges of selective prosecution yesterday again were leveled against U.S. Attorney Joseph diGenova after it became evident that his office will prosecute 10 Ukrainian-Americans arrested Friday during a protest at the Soviet Embassy.

The U.S. Attorney's Office also is prosecuting a Kampuchean woman arrested Jan. 28 outside the embassy, but has declined to prosecute the more than 1,700 protesters arrested in front of the South African Embassy.

All three groups have broken the same District law — congregating within 500 feet of an embassy.

"We just think it's unjust that the U.S. attorney is giving favoritism to more popular (causes)... to the South African protesters," said Myron Wasylyk, director of the Ukrainian National Information Service.

"The Cambodian woman and now 10 Ukrainians," said David Scott, legislative aide to Trans-Africa, which organizes the South African Embassy protests. "It becomes more clear with each of these incidents that the administration views these issues differently and the Justice Department, under the leadership of Mr. diGenova, does not apply justice equally under the law."

"Those cases are in litigation and we won't comment on that," said Tim J. Reardon, principal assistant to Mr. diGenova. The office has continually refused comment on the cases.

The Ukrainian group's lawyer, J. Andrew Chopivsky, also was counsel to the

anti-abortion activists who were arrested and prosecuted under a different statute after they prayed on the Supreme Court steps in January.

"It's different from the Supreme Court," M. Chopivsky said: "Here you've got the same statute. Now we're getting into selective prosecution."

The 10 Ukrainian-Americans arrested Friday afternoon were among a group of 350 protesting Soviet treatment of Ukrainian dissident Yuriy Shukhevych, who is exiled in Siberia, Mr. Wasylyk said.

The seven women and three men were taken to the Second District police station, where protesters arrested in the continuing demonstrations at the South African Embassy also were being processed, Mr. Wasylyk said.

"The South Africans (protesters) were there for 10 minutes. We were there for eight hours," he said. "Basically, they were saying the paperwork was already done for the South Africans."

"I don't think any of our civil disobeyers were held for 10 minutes," Mr. Scott said. "Clearly the police are accustomed to processing the South African Embassy protesters."

Assistant Police Chief for Operations Isaac Fulwood could not be reached for comment, but a police spokesman confirmed that the 10 were sent to Police Headquarters after their stay at the Second District.

Although the demonstration began at noon, the protesters posted \$50 bond each between 7:30 p.m. and 9:30 p.m., according to Mr. Chopivsky.

"Some of the girls were strip-searched," Mr. Chopivsky said. "I wonder if they do that to the South African Embassy protesters?" →

Ukrainians Demand Freedom for Dissident

Washington, March 31 — The American-Ukrainian community this year is staging a series of activities nationwide protesting the imprisonment in a Soviet labor camp of Helsinki Group Monitor Yuriy Shukhevych.

Shukhevych, 51, has spent a total of 35 years in Soviet prison camps, is blind and is presently believed to be near death.

The protesters are demanding that he be allowed to emigrate with his family to the United States.

Alarmed by an increasing repression of human rights in Ukraine, American-Ukrainians are organizing demonstrations, hunger strikes and other activities to draw attention to Shukhevych's cause. To date, protests have taken place in New York, Cleveland, and Detroit.

On Friday, 300 demonstrators gathered in Lafayette Park, Washington D.C.

"Just 2 months ago, the President personally affirmed his support for the cause of Yuriy Shukhevych in a telegram to the Ukrainian Students Association, stating that the valor, dignity and dedication Ukrainian prisoners have displayed in the pursuit of freedom — prisoners such as Yuriy Shukhevych — reaffirm our confidence in the ultimate triumph of the free human spirit over tyranny," said Linas Kojelis, at the Washington protest.

←

Paul Kamenar, a lawyer for the Kampuchean woman, has subpoenaed Mr. di-Genova to explain the disparities in prosecution, in an attempt to get the charges against her dropped.

Mr. Chopivsky said he will use the same tactics in his defense of the Ukrainian-Americans.

The Washington Times
Tuesday, April 2, 1985

Kojelis is White House associate director for public liaison.

'Pay any price'

"Twenty-five years ago, a young, brilliant leader of the Democratic Party declared that we will pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe in order to assure the survival and success of liberty," said Paul Kirk, chairman of the National Democratic Party, in a statement. "We are proud to express our concern and our indignation over the treatment of those like Yuriy Shukhevych in Ukraine and around the world."

Also Friday, the pupils of the Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School in Hamtramck, Mich., held a 24-hour hunger strike in support of the Washington rally.

Last year, the State Department reported that four members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Accord Monitoring Group have died as a result of Soviet labor camp conditions — Oleksa Tykhy, Valery Marchenko, Oleksij Nikitin and Yuriy Lytvyn.

The watchdog group was formed according to the provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Accords by which the Soviet Union agreed to observe basic standards of human rights.

Shukhevych was first imprisoned in 1948 at the age of 14 after refusing to denounce his father, Roman Shukhevych, commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The army had fought both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. He has since been rearrested twice.

According to the Ukrainian Students Association, Shukhevych's blindness resulted from experimental surgery performed in a psychiatric hospital in 1982.

New York City Tribune
Monday, April 1, 1985

Soviet Diplomat Killed

Two men on a motorcycle roared up beside a Soviet diplomat's car in New Delhi yesterday and pumped several shots through the right rear window, killing him instantly, Indian police reported.

Police identified the diplomat as V. Khitzichenko, 48, a senior engineer in his embassy's economic affairs department.

Police are searching for another Soviet diplomat, Igor Gezha, 37, who disappeared Sunday while jogging in a New Delhi park.

A man who refused to give his name telephoned The Associated Press office in New York to claim the assassination on behalf of a group called the Ukrainian Reaction Forces.

The caller demanded "the evacuation of all Soviet occupation forces from our homeland in Ukraine."

New York Newsday
Fri., March 22, 1985

Mark Frankland

Ghosts Stalk Lost Baltic Republics

The Soviet Baltic is a haunted place.

Three little countries — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania — have had too much history, usually wished on them by greater neighbours, but miraculously have survived. How they develop will be an important key to the enigma of the Soviet future.

The ghosts demand that respect first be paid to them. The Gothic churches of Riga and Estonia's capital, Tallinn, speak of the pre-Hitler Germans who brought trade and diligent habits and the knack of making good breakfast coffee.

In Lithuanian Vilnius the memory of a vanished Polish gentry lives in baroque churches of almost southern sensuousness. The ghosts of tsars are here, too, in the clumsy Orthodox churches they built to outdo the Catholic and Lutheran cathedrals

and draw the Baltic peoples towards Russian righteousness.

Less palpable are the ghosts of the independent Baltic republics, those peasant countries newly born after the First World War and for which history contrived such a brief and bitter part. Soviet historians today write little good about them but the Latvian foreign ministry still keeps a copy of Riga's 1938 diplomatic list naming 30 consulates-general accredited to the little republic; at No. 9 Raina Boulevard, Great Britain, under H. A. Hobson, MBE, and Mme Hobson.

The most recent ghosts cry out the most loudly. Catherine the Great, considering the Baltic lands her empire acquired in the eighteenth century, proposed that they be Russianised 'in the gentlest manner.' They met no gentleness in the twentieth century.

They were annexed by Stalin after the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, invaded by Hitler in 1941 and recaptured by the Red Army in 1944. Each movement of this cruel tide brought its fight into foreign exile, its mass executions and imprisonment. Small wonder that Latvia's population today — two and a half million — is little more than it was 60 years ago.

Much was destroyed never to return, including the great Jewish communities of Vilnius and Riga, but the stubborn peasants of the Baltic endured. An unusual Pole who admired the resilience of Lithuanians through centuries of colonisation, including Poland's, once called them 'the Redskins of Europe.'

Today, after 40 years of Soviet rule, the Baltic nations might be called Europe's guerrillas in the Soviet empire, not because they actively oppose Moscow's rule (only a minority of nationalists do that) but because so much of their life is still fed from old European roots that Russia never knew.

It is obvious in a big fishing co-operative near Tallinn where profits have been used to build flats, schools and a hospital, you

might come across in neighbouring Finland, but never in Russia.

Resentment

Latvian farmers offer beer brewed in their own brewery that a German might take his cap off to.

In Vilnius, planners are wrestling with how to build a modern City of humane proportions — no Slav gigantomania for them — with standardised Soviet building materials.

There is both danger and opportunity here for Moscow. The danger is that the Baltic peoples will nurture their sense of apartness and their resentment of Russians who, since the war, have flooded into the cities of Estonia and Latvia. One in three people in Estonia is Slav. The Latvians are only just a majority in their own country.

Latvians readily admit their countrymen's unhappiness about this. The mood seems rougher in Estonia. A young factory worker, asked about his Slav neighbours in Tallinn, said 'Russia is like a big sea, all the rubbish gets washed up on the shore.'

He drank his beer and shrugged. He was, after all, a realist. 'Politics isn't for us.'

Even in Lithuania, where the Catholic Church claims a following of two million in a population of three and a half and churchgoers match Poles in their devoutness, Soviet control isn't in question. Apart from the KGB and the Army there are the Baltic Communist Parties with their Russified leaderships and disproportionately high Slav memberships.

Moscow's opportunity is to use this European edge of the empire as a contagious example of efficiency, orderliness and attention to detail — qualities that have quite suddenly been perceived as vital for Soviet development but which Russians, happier with the grand, careless

gesture, have seldom found interesting to practice.

The most casual visitor feels their existence in the Baltic and statistics prove him right. Baltic farmers, for example, are several times more efficient than Slavs just next door. Any Soviet shopper will tell you that Baltic consumer goods are higher than average quality.

The Soviet Government has tried to exploit Baltic qualities, authorising a number of social and economic experiments. But if doubt remains about the possibility of transplanting Baltic virtues, the new economic situation may help indirectly to calm Baltic fears about drowning in a Russian sea.

Labour is in short supply throughout the Soviet Union and the Baltic States are today looking for higher productivity, not more workers. The authorities in Riga have taken measures to make immigration into their city as difficult as they know how.

The modernisation of the Soviet economy, it seems, is already coming to the rescue of the enduring 'Redskins' of Europe.

The Observer,
Sunday, 3 February 1985

George Zarycky

Soviet Journal on Religious Dissent May Embarrass Kremlin

A Soviet samizdat (underground) journal on religious dissent in Western Ukraine that has recently reached the West could prove to be a source of considerable embarrassment to the Kremlin.

Ironically, it could also be a nettlesome factor in the Vatican's strategy regarding the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The journal, called the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine, focuses mainly on the plight of the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church in Western Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church by an unsanctioned synod of 1946 in an effort to quell nationalist sentiments in Ukraine. At the time, virtually the entire hierarchy and clergy of the church was arrested and subsequently killed by the Soviets. The church, with an estimated 5 million adherents, functions underground today, with bishops and priests consecrated clandestinely.

The appearance of the Chronicle, eight issues of which have been smuggled out of the USSR, offers disquieting proof to the Soviets that four decades of vigorous persecution, coupled with the efforts of an elaborate atheist propaganda apparatus, have failed to quash the church or dampen the faith of its followers. The tales of arrests, trials, and acts of civil disobedience outlined in the journal strongly suggest a marked resurgence of the church, particularly in the rural and rugged Transcarpathian region bordering Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary and Poland.

Paradoxically, the widespread renaissance of the church, which signed a union with Rome in 1596, may prove somewhat awkward for Pope John Paul II. He is an avowed champion of Roman Catholicism in the Eastern bloc and the man most responsible for emboldening Ukrainian Catholics and other persecuted Christians in Eastern Europe to profess their faith openly.

For decades the Vatican has had to play a delicate balancing act with Moscow, virtually writing off the Uniate Church in Ukraine in order to secure safeguards for Latin-rite Catholics in Lithuania and Poland. (The Ukrainian Catholic Church, technically part of the Roman Catholic Church, follows the Eastern rites). The appearance of the Chronicle, and the resilience of the Ukrainian Catholic Church it represents, might force the Vatican to re-evaluate this strategy.

The journal itself consists primarily of documenting repression against Uniate activists in Western Ukraine. First published in January 1984, it was set up in 1982 by former political prisoner Yosyp Terelya to work for the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and to publicize the plight of its members.

The monthly issues have also included details on the persecution of Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals, and other Protestant denominations, as well as reports on activities by the KGB (the Soviet secret police), incidents of armed resistance and sabotage, the number of men from Transcarpathia killed in Afghanistan, and the arrest of several Ukrainian Red Army officers for allegedly plotting to assassinate the late Soviet defense minister, Dmitri Ustinov.

Perhaps 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 labor camp for taking part in a traditional Christmas play. In another incident, young carolers in the small village of Lisichevo were attacked and beaten by militiamen.

The Chronicle details worsening conditions in psychiatric hospitals and labor camps, where men and women sentenced for religious activities are regularly placed in solitary confinement or tortured to get them to renounce their faith.

One labor 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, two 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 government. Mr. Terelya is quoted as saying that he expected some 3,000 others to follow suit. In another action, 59 men from Transcarpathia, 18 of them Jehovah's Witnesses, were recently convicted for refusing, on religious grounds, to serve in the military.

Despite a concerted effort by Soviet 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.

Moreover, the apparent revitalization of the Uniate Church in Western Ukraine, historically a region of strong Ukrainian nationalism and deep-rooted anti-Soviet sentiment, must be disconcerting to the Soviets, 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.

According to Keston College in London, which monitors religious activity in the communist world, some 50 percent of the members of unregistered Protestant

churches in the Soviet Union live in Ukraine, where they have been active despite official harassment.

Moscow has been trying to improve its image in the West, particularly as arms negotiations get under way. An underground journal depicting the brutal persecution of Christians will do little to enhance the nation's human rights record. It seems likely that information provided by the Chronicle will be cited by the United States and its NATO allies at a meeting on human rights scheduled for this May in Ottawa.

The Christian Science Monitor
Wednesday, March 6, 1985

KGB Crackdown in Ukraine

Signs of widespread opposition and repression in Ukraine have been disclosed in a Soviet samizdat, or underground journal that has reached the West. It also reports a high casualty rate among Ukrainian soldiers serving in Afghanistan.

The journal is published by an "initiative group" formed in September 1982, to campaign for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, whose members are known as Uniates. Outlawed in 1946 and forcibly incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church, the Uniates have survived largely in "catacombs", ordaining their clergymen and worshiping in secret. Their five million adherents in the western areas of the Soviet Union constitute the country's largest banned denomination.

Religious believers are not the only active dissenters in Ukraine. Since a country-wide crackdown by the KGB in 1979, jail sentences have been handed out to more than 20 members of a Ukrainian group monitoring the progress of human rights.

In 1984 — called "the year of Ukrainian martyrs" — a leading dissident,

Oleksa Tykhyj, died in a labour camp, another, Valeriy Marchenko, died after detention and a gruelling political trial.

Ukraine's proximity to Poland and its coupling of nationalism and religion have clearly worried Moscow. There have been demonstrations of support for Polish "subversion" among the 45 million Ukrainians who comprise the Soviet Union's largest non-Russian nationality. Last April the leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Initiative Group, Yosyp Terelya, published an open letter to Lech Walesa raising "the steadfastness and courage of the leaders of the workers' movement and the Catholic church in Poland".

Many Ukrainian dissidents appear to have refused to serve in the army. This becomes clear from the samizdat journal — Chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine — which has reached the West. It reports that in one labour camp 300 Uniates and 90 other people from smaller sects such as the Jehovah's Witnesses and Baptists are serving three to five years' hard labour for refusing to call-up.

Conditions for Ukrainian political prisoners are uniformly harsh. In Drohobych and Hubnyk camps "corrective" measures include confinement in punishment cells until a believer recants his faith or is transferred to the prison hospital. Among

those named as having been in punishment cells is an ailing 71-year-old priest, who was told by one lieutenant-colonel, V. Povshenko, known as "Pinochet" among camp inmates, that "we have the right to place all Catholics up to the age of 90 in punishment cells — priests don't discount for old age".

Opposition is also expressed as separatism. The journal reports that more than 920 Christians in Western Ukraine renounced citizenship by destroying their identity documents between January and April, 1984.

The Red Army's operations in Afghanistan are particularly unpopular in the region. Unprecedented information about Soviet casualties is revealed by the journal under the bitter slogan, "Gains for Moscow, losses for Ukraine". The dead from three districts in south-west Ukraine are said to total 285 and the wounded 281. Considering the total population of 25,000 in the three districts, the casualty rate appears remarkably high.

Though unverified, the figure supports earlier claims from unofficial sources that a disproportionately large number of recruits from "trouble spots" such as Ukraine and the Baltic States have been sent to Afghanistan.

*Maxine Pollack, Munich,
The Sunday Times, January 27, 1985*

Jeremy Gaylard

United Front Urged to Topple Soviet Imperialism

A liberation strategy based on the concept of a common front between the free world and captive nations was called for at a conference last weekend in the City.

The American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF ABN) celebrated their 35th anniversary with a congress attended by several hundred participants from all over the world.

The idea of a common front is not new.

It was proposed as early as 1943 against the two existing totalitarian systems of Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia.

"Nazi Germany and Nazism are dead and buried and will never rise again," said Yaroslav Stetsko, former prime minister of Ukraine and founder of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), based in Munich, West Germany. Stetsko was interned in the Nazi concentration camp

of Sachsenhausen from 1941 to 1945.

"Russian Bolshevism, on the other hand, is very much alive and poses a continuing threat to the free world. Yet, country after country falls as its prey with no interference or concern on the part of the free world and with practically no recognition in the Western media," he added.

A united front against Soviet imperialism would cause the system to collapse from within, because the non-Russian population behind the Iron Curtain outnumbered the Russians 2 to 1, says Stetsko.

Increasing unrest within the Soviet army, the majority of which are non-Russians, is being documented in various underground newspapers including the *Ukrainian Catholic Chronicle*, says Stetsko, who was prime minister in Ukraine for a brief period in 1941, before it was taken over by the Nazis.

Since its inception, the ABN has been advocating a joint front of the freedom-loving nations of the West with the liberation movements of the Soviet-dominated countries.

"A Third World War is being waged at this very moment," Stetsko told a press conference at the Vista Hotel last Saturday.

"While its tactics change continuously, Moscow's strategy remains the same: it seeks to divide the free world, to juxtapose the underdeveloped Third World from the developed democracies of the West, to break up NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) by sowing discord among the allies, to corrupt Western morality and undermine its will to resistance, to subvert public opinion by every possible means of disinformation and propaganda, and to destroy the liberation organizations of the captive nations by discrediting leaders of the emigré groups and to silence them by a campaign of lies, fabricated accusations and intimidation."

Peter Wytenus, national chairman of

AF ABN, called for a new federal policy toward the 34 nations under Soviet domination.

"The main factor hindering this is the communications factor," he explained. "The Voice of America and Radio Free Europe could both be used much more effectively to project this message behind the iron curtain."

Wytenus announced that the State of New York had issued a resolution in support of AF ABN, and President Reagan and Vice President George Bush sent personal messages of encouragement to the congress.

Habibullah Mayar, chairman of the Afghan Community in America, said that despite 150,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan, resistance forces "completely controlled 85-90 percent of the country."

He deplored the fact that thousands of Afghan youth were being forcibly sent to the Soviet Union for "brainwashing," and appealed for material support.

"We have enough fighters, but what we need is food, ammunition and medical supplies," he said.

"We need strong propaganda so more (Soviet soldiers) will defect. The problem is, which countries will accept them?"

At a banquet Saturday evening, Rep. Mario Biaggi, D-Bronx and Yonkers, and John Nikas, representing Gov. Cuomo, urged the assembly to remain united. Wayne Merry, a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations and a former U.S. Embassy staff member in Moscow and East Berlin, called for efforts to obtain a strategic defense as "something we owe to posterity."

Murray was instrumental in helping gain the release of the Vashchenko family, who remained in the U.S. embassy in Moscow for several years demanding the right to emigrate to practice their Pentecostal faith.

New York City Tribune
Friday, May 24, 1985

Human Rights Activists Are Being Physically Liquidated In Soviet Camps

In recent years the repressive measures against the imprisoned human rights activists in the Soviet Union as well as the inhuman working and living conditions in the prison camps came to a drastic climax in 1984. Inhuman prison conditions are physically destroying prisoners. The conclusion drawn from the reports by Balis Gajanskas (Lithuanian) and Vasyl' Stus (Ukrainian) describing the situation in the prison camp Kucino 36/1 for recidivist political prisoners, is that prisoners who suffer from arterial and internal diseases are almost without medical attention. The camp doctors who serve in the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MDV) or in the State Security (KGB) abuse their professional services in order to aid the camp assistants in their "rehabilitation program". It has become a well-known fact that in the prison camp Kucino, Valerij Marchenko's (Ukrainian) deteriorated state of health, which finally led to his death on October 7, 1984 had been an act of vengeance by the camp doctor Pcelnikov because Marchenko had lodged a written complaint about the insufficient medical attention. Oleksa Tykhyj's death in May 1984 and Jurij Lytwyn's "suicide" in August 1984, both members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group who were serving high sentences in the prison camp Kucino as repenting political prisoners, are circumstantial proof of the prisoners' desperate situation who are delivered into the despotic and sadistic hands of the guards and the administration.

In the prison camp Kucino there are several seriously-ill political prisoners who have no chance of leaving the prison alive. They are: Levko Lukyanenko (Ukrainian), Vasyl Stus (Ukrainian), Viktor Petkus (Lithuanian), Semen Skalych (Ukrainian). In the neighbouring strict regime camp, Kucino 37, the Kyivan journalist, Alexander Shevchenko, is serving his 8 year sentence.

As a result of the continuous solitary confinement he has become seriously ill through exposure and is already lame. The well-known psychiatrist from Kharkiv, Ukraine, Anatolij Korjagin, who is in the infamous Sevastopol prison, is supposed to be in danger as a result of his four month hunger strike. His system is so weak that he cannot receive food at all.

Another member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, the musician and poet Mykola Horbal, who has served a second sentence of a total of five years based on a false accusation, was to be released on October 24. However, on October 22 he was arrested again in prison and brought to the Nikolaev prison where he will again be put on trial for "slander" against the Soviet Union. For this reason his wife, Olha Stokotelna, sent the following telegram to the Secretary General of the CPSU, Chernenko, as well as to the State General Attornies of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR: "I urgently ask you to intervene and to prevent the slow death of my husband, Mykola Horbal, who is serving a sentence in the Nikolaev prison. My husband is being accused for the third time on grounds of a fabricated charge." On October 31, Mrs. Stokotelna drove together with Mykola Horbal's sister to Nikolaev. Since they were not able to obtain a visitor's pass, they flew to Moscow where they were held in custody for two days.

In the Western Ukrainian city of Tschernivtsi Josef Zisels, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was arrested for the second time on October 20, 1984. Massive police raids preceded this arrest. Sentences against prisoners in exile who have served long-term prison camp sentences and exile are not lighter. If they are at all able to return home then such extreme conditions are imposed on them that they feel exiled: heavy, poorly-paid physical work, pro-

Violations of National and Human Rights in Ukraine

Memorandum to British Prime Minister M. Thatcher

In connection with the visit to Britain this month of Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, the designated successor to Mr. Konstantin Chernenko and thus the effective Second-in-Command in the Soviet Union, at the head of a parliamentary delegation, we have the honour of drawing your attention to the latest violations of national and human rights in Ukraine by the Government of the USSR.

Ukraine has suffered consistently from Russian imperialism since the unsuccessful result of the Battle of Poltava in 1709, which had the unfortunate consequence of bringing about the Russian occupation of Eastern and Central parts of Ukraine, partly owing to the lack of understanding and assistance from the Western Democracies.

At the end of the First World War, the Tsarist Russian Empire collapsed and Ukraine once more became an independent and sovereign state, after more than two centuries of national oppression. The Declaration of Independence of the Ukrainian National Republic of January 22nd, 1918, was followed by 3 years of

armed resistance by the regular armies of the Ukrainian National Republic against the Communist Russian invasion. The War of Independence ended in the Russian conquest of Ukraine, partly owing to the lack of understanding and assistance from the Western Democracies.

The prolonged struggle of armed partisan units in the 1920s, of various underground organisations, such as the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) and the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), liquidated in 1930, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), founded in 1929, and various others, has not abated to this day.

During the Second World War, the Ukrainian nation once again tried to free itself from Russian and other foreign rule and oppression. At the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet war, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), headed by Stepan Bandera, proclaimed in Lviv on June 30th, 1941, the restoration of Ukrainian independence, which expressed the cherished aspirations of the Ukrainian

hibited to frequent restaurants and visit cultural scenes, prohibited to correspond with friends, controlled weekly by the militia, etc. Bohdan Rebyk, another member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was not allowed to return to Ukraine after serving his ten year sentence and had to struggle for work and residence visas in Kazakhstan within a very limited span of time. He did not want to take anyone to his apartment privately because he was being observed by the militia. "Who wants to see the militia in front of his house?", he wrote in a letter. At the same time ties with his family were being cut off.

Many letters sent from abroad to Soviet

citizens are lost or not delivered at all. There are always fewer responses to letters from the West. The Soviet authorities have now decided to make it impossible not to receive not only material goods from the West but also letters. Sometimes it seems as if the security agents had forced certain persons to sign for postal deliveries in order to let all in-coming mail from abroad be returned. This procedure has already been in practice for years in the case of the parcel post deliveries, however, now it seems to have been extended to packages and letters.

(*"Glaube in der 2. Welt"*. 1984 12. Jahrgang, Nr. 12)

people. This was followed by brutal reprisals by the Gestapo.

From 1942 to 1951 an armed struggle was conducted by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), led by General Roman Shukhevych, first of all against the Nazi German occupation of Ukraine and later against Soviet Russian domination, a struggle which has spread over a large part of Ukraine and was supported by millions of Ukrainians. But, as on past occasions, when facing such an overwhelming enemy without aid or proper sympathy from outside, Ukraine was unsuccessful in her struggle for freedom. The shootings, mass arrests and deportations, during and after the termination of active military resistance, temporarily dealt a very heavy blow to Ukrainian resistance.

With the demise of the armed struggle, the national movement of liberation was transferred to the political-intellectual arena from the military battlefield, and in the 1950s and 1960s the gun was exchanged by the pen. Clandestine political literature with Ukrainian patriotic contents began to circulate in Ukraine and even reached the West. The Russian regime once more reacted with increased terror, arrests of prominent intellectuals, students and members of various underground Ukrainian organisations, which came into being in many parts of Ukraine. As a result, the Mordovian concentration camps became filled to a great extent with Ukrainian political prisoners, fighters for freedom and the rights of the Ukrainian nation, as well as with religious dissenters.

Since the 1970s, and especially in recent years, the Russian authorities have intensified their policies of assimilation and forced Russification in an effort to integrate the many nations which form the Soviet Union, by transforming them into a single artificial, Russian-speaking "Soviet people".

The 45 or so million Ukrainians living in the Soviet Union form by far the

largest non-Russian nation in the USSR, and their national aspirations are far from spent. In actual fact, national and religious feeling in Ukraine is extremely persistent indeed and thus creates a great hindrance for Russia, which has not ceased to find Ukrainian nationalism a serious threat — serious enough to warrant any possible means, in the eyes of the Russians, to destroy it and its very roots.

Because Ukraine has always stood in the forefront of opposition to Russian assimilationist plans and policies of forced Russification, and because the Russian authorities are well aware that in recent years the Ukrainian movement of opposition has been especially unequivocal about demanding independence from Russia and has made every effort to widen its social base, the Russians have, in recent years, set about destroying Ukrainian opposition as never before.

Thus since 1979, the Russian authorities have launched a major attack against all forms of opposition in the Soviet Union. As a result of this latest wave of repression, the Ukrainians have been especially hard hit. For example, more than 20 members of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group were imprisoned, over half of them receiving sentences of 10 years or more. In addition, many Ukrainian political prisoners received additional sentences prolonging their imprisonment and thus curtailing their influence on the movement of opposition in Ukraine. As part of this policy to physically destroy all Ukrainian opposition, emerged the practice of destroying those political prisoners whom the authorities deem to be "dangerous" in the prisons and concentration camps for they embody and personify the opposition movement and act as the nation's spokesmen with the authorities.

Due to this practice, three prominent Ukrainian national and human rights campaigners, Oleksa Tykhy, Yuriy Lytvyn and Valery Marchenko, have died in Rus-

sian labour camps since the spring of this year (1984).

Although their deaths have been reported in the Western press, they are usually said to have died from natural causes. On the surface this may appear true indeed, but one must look deeper into the circumstances surrounding their deaths in order to get a better picture of the true nature of the facts.

All three were in fact tortured to death, both mentally and physically, in a long drawn-out process of lengthy sentences, closely followed by additional sentences, to keep them permanently out of the way and prevent them from "causing trouble."

In the hard labour camps where they stayed, Tykhy, Lytvyn and Marchenko were constantly deprived of proper food and greatly needed medical care and facilities despite being seriously ill, suffering from diseases acquired during earlier terms of imprisonment. They were constantly subjected to acute suffering and maltreatment as well as other forms of physical and moral brutality, and were made to work in the severe climatic conditions of Siberia in complete disregard of their critical health conditions. This treatment was designed to either force them to recant or else to die a slow and agonising death. All three, however, preferred to die rather than recant. They were unwilling to break under the severe stress of the physical and mental torture and brutality they had to endure, which after long periods of previous imprisonment were already becoming unbearable, especially in their state of health, and thus betray the ideals which they had defended unfalteringly for so long. The death of these three innocent victims of Russian terror in Ukraine was no more than pure cold-blooded and cynical murder on the part of the Russian authorities.

Another victim of Russian oppression, Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of General Roman Shukhevych, Commander-in-Chief

of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) during and after the Second World War, who has already spent over 30 years in Russian prisons and concentration camps since the age of 14, has now become completely blind. And yet, since this occurred in 1982 he has not been released but continues to be detained in exile in Siberia. How long can he survive?

Simultaneously to the practice of the destruction of prominent political prisoners in the prisons and labour camps, there has also emerged the widespread practice of rounding up and executing by firing squad of former members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), many of whom have previously served sentences of 25 or 30 years for their "crimes". In the summer and autumn of 1984, 5 former members of the OUN and UPA, Olexander Palyha, Mykhaylo Levyckyj, Nil Yakobchuk, Vasyl Bodnar and Filonyk, were picked up and sentenced to death as "traitors and war criminals", on fabricated evidence and "testimonies" of false witnesses. Afterwards they were taken out and shot.

The fact that in the process of this year 7 Ukrainian political prisoners and former freedom fighters have either been forced to die slowly or else were shot for alleged "crimes", shows that the Russian offensive against the Ukrainian movement of opposition has been greatly intensified this year.

Apart from the attack on political and national opposition in Ukraine, since the stepping up of the onslaught against all forms of dissent and opposition by the KGB in 1979, religious believers, especially the Protestant communities and the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which has been forced to operate clandestinely in the catacombs since its forceful incorporation into the state-controlled and subservient Russian Orthodox Church in 1946, have become persecuted on a scale

unmatched anywhere else in the Soviet Union.

We would, therefore, like to bring to your attention, Madame, the fact that:

1) Mikhail Gorbachev, as the designated Second-in-Command in the Soviet Union, along with the other members of the Politburo and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is responsible for this latest attack on Ukrainian national and religious opposition and dissent, as well as the murder of Tykhyj, Lytvyn, Marchenko, Palyha, Levyckyj, Yakobchuk, Bodnar and Filonyk.

2) In the Western press Gorbachev is described as a reformer — one who will probably initiate the internal reform and reorganisation of the Soviet Union. But what will such a programme of internal reform entail for the Ukrainians in the Soviet Union? The internal structure of the Soviet Union can only be reformed and strengthened without Ukrainian opposition. Therefore, this would mean even greater repression and persecution of all groups and individuals who strive for independence from Moscow, and who thus hinder the effective central control and strengthening of the internal structure of the Soviet Union as an empire-state. All religious dissent will also have to be eradicated as part of the “reform” programme of Mr. Gorbachev, should he succeed Mr. Chernenko.

3) Western governments and people should remember, Madame, that the Soviet Union is not and has never been a voluntary union. It is nothing more than the continuation of the Russian colonial empire — a prison of nations held together by terror and military force, the two basic ingredients of Russian imperialism, guided by men such as Mikhail Gorbachev. The Soviet Russian urge for greatness in the form of expansion is thus not a new phenomenon which can be attributed to Communism only, as is often mistakenly understood. It is centuries-old Russian

imperialism interwoven with Communist ideology, which is why it is so unpredictable and so dangerous. Communism has given traditional Russian imperialism a new face, a new platform and new opportunities. The original Tsarist idea of a world-wide empire with world-wide hegemony has not changed; it has merely adopted a new form. The portrayal of the Soviet Union as a homogenous structure — one indivisible Russia, with one people, one language and one culture only goes to assist Moscow in its Russification of the Ukrainian language, culture, and indeed every walk of life in Ukraine, and should from now on be avoided on every occasion.

4) The British Government, the Foreign Office, the House of Commons and the general population of Britain must not allow themselves to be tricked by “friendly” smiles, “warm” handshakes and “reassuring” words. For representatives of a government and system, which promotes “friendship”, “peaceful co-existence”, “co-operation” and “disarmament” and at the same time increases its own “defence” budget by a very substantial percentage, can only make the same false promises as the government and system they serve.

5) This system, driven by traditional Russian imperialism, is striving for further expansion, territorial conquest and the spread of Communism throughout the world. Witness to this is the invasion of Afghanistan, the latest country to be subjugated by Russia, and the whole string of wars on the continent of Africa and South America.

6) The expanding Russian empire presently poses a greater than ever threat to the West with the latest increase in Russian military spending. Representatives of this system cannot have anything of definite value or meaning to say to the leaders of Western democratic countries, who are still prepared to see some good in Russian officials. The Ukrainian nation, Mad-

ame, and all the nations subjugated by Russia have constantly demonstrated that this is not so and can never be so. Genuine and useful co-operation and peaceful co-existence with any system or government, which perpetrates such atrocities as do the Russian authorities and the KGB, is impossible and representatives of such systems should never be accepted as guests of governments or institutions of freedom-loving democratic countries.

We urge, Madame, upon the British Government, the Foreign Office and the House of Commons, while acting as hosts to Mr. Gorbachev and his delegation, to demand from the Soviet Russian Government the immediate release of all Ukrainian political prisoners in the Soviet Union, especially Yuriy Shukhevych, who has been imprisoned for more than 30 years; Mrs. Oksana Meshko, who is 79 years old, almost blind and suffers from acute diabetes and rheumatism, and who is currently serving 5 years of internal exile in Siberia; Levko Lukyanenko, presently serving his 15 year sentence of imprisonment; Mykola Rudenko, imprisoned since 1977 and Vyacheslav Chornovil, constantly imprisoned since 1972.

Furthermore, Madame, we urge upon the British Government, the Foreign Office and the House of Commons, to stipulate to Mr. M. Gorbachev and his delega-

tion that all future political, economic and cultural co-operation with the Russians shall be preconditioned by the proper treatment of the national and human rights of the Ukrainian nation and all the nations currently enslaved by Soviet Russian imperialism in the USSR, nations which should have the right to their independence, sovereignty and a democratic way of life on their own free ethnographic territories.

True peace in the world can only come about after the dismemberment of the Soviet empire into separate, independent and sovereign nations. Until that time the threat of Russian expansion and oppression will continue to hang over the whole world.

Hoping that you, Madame, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the British Government will have in mind this Memorandum during Mr. M. Gorbachev's visit to London and will do their utmost for defending national and human rights in Ukraine.

We remain, Madame, Your obedient Servants,

**Association of Ukrainians
in Great Britain**

I. Dmytriw, President

I. Rawluk, General Secretary

December 12, 1984

"Ukraine Pays the Bill"

In 1945 the American journalist Edgar Snow published an article in the Saturday Evening Post titled "Ukraine Pays the Bill" in which he reported on the state of affairs at the end of the Second World War. This first-hand report was based on the author's own travels and investigations in Ukraine almost immediately after the Nazis had been driven out.

"This whole titanic struggle, which some are apt to dismiss as "the Russian glory," has, in all truth and in many costly ways, been first of all a Ukrainian war. And greatest of this republic's sacrifices, one which can be assessed in no ordinary ledger, is the toll taken of human life. No fewer than 10,000,000 people ... have been "lost" to Ukraine since the beginning of the war ... No single European country has suffered deeper wounds to its cities, its industry, its farmlands and its humanity". (Snow, 1945: p. 18).

Fifteen Arrested Protesting Shcherbitsky Visit

NEW YORK — On Friday, March 8, fifteen Ukrainians were arrested in front of the Soviet mission to the United Nations while protesting the visit to the United States by Volodymyr Shcherbitsky of the Communist Party of Ukraine. The group had attempted to stage a sit-in during a demonstration attended by approximately 250 Ukrainian-Americans in the New York City area.

Ranging in age from 18 to 65, the group splintered off the larger portion of the demonstration and proceeded to evade police barricades. Upon reaching the Soviet mission's front entrance, they assumed seated positions and began to decry Moscow's policy of human and national rights denial in Ukraine as represented by Mr. Shcherbitsky. After some ten minutes of peaceful protest and having received the attention of AP, Voice of America and New York City Tribune reporters, the fifteen protesters were carried by New York City Police Department officers to the 19th Precinct directly across the street. Charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest, the group is expected to be dismissed from guilt when they appear in court on March 26. Jerry Kuzemchak of the New York Branch of the Ukrainian Student Association, which initiated the demonstration, commented: "The NYPD and the judicial system are largely sympathetic to the Ukrainian cause. While it's their job to enforce standard diplomatic etiquette, they always come through for Ukrainians in the end. For instance, the last group of Ukrainian demonstrators to be arrested in front of the Soviet mission (on January 12, 1985 — the Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners) was dismissed from guilt without so much as one question upon their court appearance in February. Indeed, the officers of the 19th Precinct have invited us down

to share our view about the repression of Ukrainian culture, religions and language with them. They really are on our side and we're thankful for it."

In a statement released by the TUSM organizers of the demonstration the following was stated: "We are outraged that Volodymyr Shcherbitsky is being greeted by certain circles in the American government as a messenger of good will and mutual trust. He is directly responsible for the implementation of Moscow's policy of eradicating Ukrainian culture. He is directly responsible for the countless arrests and imprisonments of Ukrainian artists, intellectuals and working people. Our actions are aimed at illuminating the plight of such Ukrainian political prisoners as Yuriy Shukhevych who has served more than 30 years in the Gulag for his commitment to the Ukrainian national ideal."

The demonstration was participated in by other Ukrainian organizations in the New York area, such as Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, Organization in Defense of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine — Men's and Women's Leagues, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Ukrainian Students' Dachau Committee, Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations (SUSTA) and others. TUSM's campaign in defense of Yuriy Shukhevych continues on March 29, 1985 in Washington, D.C. with a national demonstration where participants will meet at the Taras Shevchenko monument at Avenue "P" and 24th Street at 11AM.

*News Release of
the Ukrainian Student
Association of
Mykola Michnowsky,
March 11, 1985*

U.S. Attacks on 'Butcher of Ukraine'

By Richard Beeston, Washington

Mr. VLADIMIR SHCHERBITSKY, the visiting Soviet party chief, and his delegation yesterday met the Senate leadership while American Ukrainians denounced him as "the butcher of Ukraine."

Mr. Shcherbitsky, the Ukrainian Communist party chief, is the first member of the Politburo other than Mr. Gromyko, Foreign Minister, to visit the United States since 1973 but his ruthless record is causing embarrassment in Congress.

Congressman Jack Kemp, a strong favourite as the next Republican presidential candidate, who was asked by the Soviet Union to be one of the sponsors of the visit, decided to attend none of the functions after learning of Mr. Shcherbitsky's record.

"He has a history of repression in Ukraine he (Mr. Kemp) can't condone," one of Mr. Kemp's aides said.

Other congressmen who had agreed to meet the Soviet visitor would do so "with gritted teeth," the aide said.

Ukrainians Sing About Homeland

Members and friends of the Ukrainian Youth Association gathered in Derby yesterday on their Christmas Eve to plead for religious freedom in the USSR.

Members of the Ukrainian Church follow the old calendar, where Christmas Eve falls on January 6.

But in the Soviet Union where the Christmas message falls on stony ground, families are not granted a public holiday to celebrate.

In addition, Soviet authorities this year banned all parcels to Ukraine, which means relatives in Britain cannot send any Christmas presents to their families.

Ukrainian exiles say that Mr. Shcherbitsky has sent thousands of Ukrainians to labour camps, has brutally persecuted the Ukrainian Helsinki human rights group and cracked down on Jewish emigration.

Mr. Shcherbitsky, who looks like a typical Kremlin commissar, is one of the most senior men in the Politburo. He lacks the easy-going style of his younger colleague, Mr. Gorbachev, who visited Britain in December.

The WASHINGTON TIMES in an editorial yesterday headed "Comrade Shcherbitsky, go home," described him as a "mass murderer," who should not be received by the President.

Mr. Shultz, Secretary of State, has welcomed the visit as an opportunity to establish a direct dialogue with the Soviet leadership on the eve of the resumption of arms talks in Geneva.

*The Daily Telegraph, Wednesday,
March 6, 1985*

Mrs. Lydia Deremenda said: "Wherever Ukrainians can be found in Britain, they are giving spiritual and moral help to people in the Soviet Union who cannot celebrate their religion freely, and also to people who are suffering politically.

"The groups may be small, but they remind people in the Soviet Union we are thinking of them."

The group, which included Lithuanian friends and Christian Trades Union Association members, sang carols and read prayers throughout the morning at Derby Market Place.

*Derby Evening Telegraph,
Jan. 7, 1985*

The Russian Empire

In his Nov. 5 letter, Alexis Bogolubow claims that among all ethnic groups in the U.S. only the Russian-Americans persist in asking the U.S. government to designate Nov. 7 (anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution) a "Day of Sorrow and Defiance."

The reason the Russian-American Congress has been unsuccessful in generating any degree of enthusiasm from other ethnic groups, especially those representing the captive nations of the USSR — Armenians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and others — is that, whereas most of the Russian ethnics feel the regime need only be modified, the non-Russian groups are for a complete dismemberment of the Russian Empire.

There is an organization called the East European Ethnic Conference. It is dedicated to self-determination for all captive nations, especially those in the USSR. Unable to put up with this "treasonable" attitude of the other members, the Russian-American Congress has terminated its membership in the EEEC.

*Steve Boychuk, Alexandria, Va.
The Washington Times
November 26, 1984*

Blind Minister's New Sentence

An almost-blind minister of the Soviet Union's unofficial Baptist Church has been sentenced to two more years in a labour camp while serving the last months of a five-year sentence, a church group reported.

The Slavic Mission of Stockholm said Mikhail Chorev, who has spent 11 of the last 18 years in Soviet jails and labour camps, had received an additional sentence for "resisting camp orders." — Reuter.

John Ward Anderson

10 Protesters Arrested at Soviet Embassy

Ten persons who were protesting the Soviet Union's "inhumane treatment" of a Ukrainian human and political rights activist were arrested yesterday afternoon outside the Soviet embassy, police reported.

The arrests followed a demonstration at Lafayette Park, across from the White House, by about 350 Ukrainian-American students from around the country, according to John Mularoni, a spokesman for organizers of the protest.

Mularoni said the demonstration was held to publicize the plight of Yuriy Shukhevych, 51, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, who "was imprisoned in 1948 at the age of 14 and has now spent more than [two-thirds] of his life serving the Soviet state," according to a press release which said that Shukhevych "is currently blind as a result of experimental surgery performed in a psychiatric hospital in 1982".

Later about 250 protesters marched to the Soviet embassy, 1115 16th St. NW, to deliver a petition demanding the release of Shukhevych and other human rights activists, Mularoni said.

He said the demonstrators were stopped by police about 500 feet from the embassy. However, he said, a small group of demonstrators was already inside the barricade, and one man was admitted to the embassy. It was not known last night if he succeeded in delivering the petition.

Later, he and nine other demonstrators in front of the embassy refused to disband, as police ordered.

A police spokeswoman said seven women and three men were arrested and charged with demonstrating within 500 feet of an embassy. Each was released on \$50 bond.

*Washington Post
Saturday, March 30, 1985*

Communist Political War Defeat – The Grenada Papers

The intervention in Grenada on October 25, 1983, was an important victory in the political-psychological war as well as a significant military victory. An established communist regime (New Jewel) was deposed and for the first time in history the archives of a communist state were opened to Western observers and scholars.

The ICS Press in October 1984, on the first anniversary of the invasion, published a selection of captured documents **THE GRENADA PAPERS** (ICS Press, 785 Market Street, Suite 750, San Francisco, CA 94103. Distribution in Europe Clio Distribution Services, 55 St. Thomas Street, Oxford OX1 1JG, England. Price: US \$ 16.95 (cloth) US \$ 8.95 (paper).

In the foreword the editors, Professors Seabury and McDougall, state: "What makes these papers from Grenada doubly valuable is that they permit us intimately to witness both the dynamics of a Marxist-Leninist regime in the early stages of the consolidation and its emerging relation to broader configurations of political power in the communist world."

The New Jewel leaders copied the methods of their Soviet Russian forerunners: plans were made for a crackdown on Catholic and Protestant churches. The Party Propaganda Department set up ideological crash courses to "re-educate" the masses. Requests were made to Andropov and General Ustinov for military aid and cadre training in Russia. Agreements were made between the New Jewel Movement (NJM) of Grenada and the Communist party of Soviet Russia and the parties of East Germany, Cuba and North Korea.

To the West, Maurice Bishop and his colleagues tried to show another face and started public relations campaigns to find support in media, governments and among blacks, mainly in the United States.

One of the most interesting documents in the book from a political warfare standpoint is the reprint of a handwritten report of a NJM member studying at the International Leninist School in Moscow. The course started with a three week language training in Russian. Topics after that included "The World Revolutionary Process in the Contemporary Epoch", "Social Psychology and Propaganda".

The Grenadian cell is reported having developed contacts with colleagues in the Nicaraguan, Angolan, Mozambique, Ethiopian, South African, Syrian, Columbian and Denmark collectives and especially close contacts with the Jamaican collective. The report ends with a call for "building a strong party on Marxist-Leninist principles and to the defense and building up of the revolution along the lines that would lead to achieving Socialism." CPSU's International Leninist School has since the 1920s served as the principal training center for communist operatives all over the world.

Another fascinating document is the report of the Grenadian Ambassador in Moscow, W. Richard Jason, to Maurice Bishop. In the report Jason points out the two countries in the region ripe for "influence operations": "Of all the regional possibilities, the most likely candidate for special attention is Surinam. If we can be an overwhelming influence on Surinams international behaviour, then our importance in the Soviet scheme of things will be greatly enhanced. To the extent that we can take credit for bringing any other country into the progressive fold, our prestige and influence would be greatly enhanced. Another candidate is Belize. I think that we need to do some more work in that country.

THE GRENADA PAPERS is a must for every student of political warfare. It shows the importance the Soviet Union

CHURCH UNDER SIEGE

Eric Brady gives us an insight into what Catholicism means to the harassed Christians in Ukraine

Early this year documents were smuggled to the West from Ukraine about new action that was to be taken against the Catholic Church.

Among them was a copy of a Decree of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Zakarpatya Region of Ukraine. It was marked "secret" and dated 3rd July 1984.

Ukraine, in the southern part of the Soviet Union has immense riches in many minerals including oil and coal as well as having a rich agricultural area.

So it has always been important to Russia ever since the early 18th Century. But when Tsarist Russia collapsed in the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 Ukraine declared itself an independent country, the Ukrainian National Republic.

That only lasted until 1921 when faced by superior forces in numbers and weaponry and without medical supplies, its army was defeated by the Bolshevik Red Army.

Moscow was determined to crush the continuing underground resistance movement and any other possible source of resistance to its ideology and control. So the NKVD (forerunner of the KGB) moved against the intelligentsia, the peasantry

and especially, against the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

About 40 Metropolitans, Archbishops and Bishops and about 20,000 priests and monks were quickly executed.

A second purge, at the beginning of the Moscow-induced famine in Ukraine (1932-1933) in which nearly seven million Ukrainians died, exterminated thousands of clergy and church officials, and the Church was officially dissolved.

But the Church did not die. It went underground and for the past 50 years has continued to teach and preach.

The official policy of the Soviet Union is anti-Church and anti-religion — even the State Head of Religious Affairs is an atheist!

It stems, as does everything, from Lenin's declarations. In a letter to A. M. Gorky in 1913 he wrote, "Every religious idea, every idea of a god is unutterable vileness of the most dangerous kind. Millions of sins, filthy deeds, acts of violence, and physical contagions are far less dangerous than the subtle, spiritual idea of a god decked out in the smartest 'ideological' costumes".

So even in the schools atheism is taught as a subject to all children.

But despite all this, the Decree of the 3rd July 1984 complains of the failure of the State "anti-Catholic propaganda and the militant atheist education of youth".

Earlier that year the Ukrainian Catholic Church had grown so large it was asking that the ban imposed in 1931 should be lifted and for the Church to be able to function openly and legally.

The decree laid down what action was to be taken against all Church members in a fresh persecution. It was not just a local decision in a small area, but the implementation of a policy decision taken at

attaches to any advance in the Western hemisphere. In the words of Russian Marshal Ogarkov in a meeting with Grenadian military leaders in Moscow on March 10, 1983: "...over two decades ago, there was only Cuba in Latin America, today there are Nicaragua, Grenada, and a serious battle is going on in El Salvador."

*Bertil Häggman,
The Political Warfare Front
Jan.-Mar., 1985*

the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in line with the pronouncements of Konstantin Chernenko.

There were to be five new measures:

■ Anti-Church propaganda was to be stepped up.

■ Criminal charges were to be made against Church members in villages where there were few; where there were many, other measures were to be taken.

■ Sunday Masses were to be forbidden on the grounds that there was too much work to be done on the collectives and State farms. Any dissidents were to be punished by fines, loss of wages and blocking of the education of their children.

■ Catholic activists were to be dealt with severely.

■ A special psychiatric department to "treat" the arrested Catholics was to be set up near the existing Regional Psychiatric Hospital.

The KGB has established many "psychiatric hospitals" throughout the Soviet Union over the years to deal with dissidents of all kinds.

Vladimir Bukovskiy who came to the West in December 1976 spent 12 years in Soviet prisons and "psychiatric hospitals", including the notorious Serbsky Institute in Moscow. He has described the suffering that was imposed on him and other "patients" in the name of "treatment".

The KGB will inform the "hospital" that a certain dissident should be hospitalised. He is there diagnosed as "insane" by a low-level staff member but he may be seen for a few minutes by a psychiatrist.

As one put it, "For us to make a medical diagnosis it is enough simply to know of the existence of anti-government letters. There's no need to read them."

Drugs, massive doses of insulin, and EST (electric shock treatment) are used as normal practice, but straightforward torture plays its part as well.

Bukovskiy has described how a "patient" will be picked at random, be wrap-

ped in a canvas bag which is then soaked with icy water and left. The canvas shrinks and begins to crush the "patient".

The Zakarpatska Decree directed that provision was to be made to accommodate an additional 250 people for treatment and the staff was to be increased and to include five doctors and 60 medical staff. All were to be "trustworthy comrades of the medical service".

It added. "It is desirable that two-thirds of the activists of the Ukrainian Catholic Church be directed for compulsory treatment."

A doctor at one of the "psychiatric hospitals" in Leningrad told a "patient", "Your discharge depends on your conduct. By conduct, we mean your opinions precisely on political questions. Your disease is dissent".

The Catholic Church in Ukraine and elsewhere is undergoing a fresh outburst of persecution, which is unnoticed and largely unpublicised in the West.

This is being done at the same time that the Soviet Union is wanting to revive *détente* because they have found that the policy of open confrontation has not brought the gains they had hoped it would.

However, the Church and the public in the West must remain fully aware of the type of regime it is dealing with, the policies that would be imposed on us should they gain the position of power they have in Ukraine.

And gaining that power is precisely their declared aim.

Catholic Herald,
February 22, 1985

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Book Review

Political Support for Combat on Communist Territory

The development of anti-communist guerrilla warfare in countries under communist totalitarian rule since 1975 has created a new political warfare situation. The political dimensions of the new situation are promising. It seems necessary for the West to take a new look at the question of support for anti-communist insurgencies. Since the creation of the strategy of containment at the end of the 1940s western nations have avoided support of liberation movements in communist countries, at least overt support. In a recently published book the editors suggest that the West must decide on principle that we shall assist insurgencies against communist regimes wherever they may appear with all the material resources they can usefully employ while not seeking to exercise any operational control.

The book, "COMBAT ON COMMUNIST TERRITORY" (Regnery Gateway Inc., 940 North Shore Drive, Lake Bluff, IL. 60044 1985) is the result of research done by Free Congress Research & Education Foundation in Washington D.C. In the foreword US Senator Malcolm Wallop states: "Acts of resistance in communist areas, many Western leaders fear, might lead the Soviets to expand their influence simply to hold on to what they have. But the situation is precisely the opposite. Resistance in communist areas is the guarantee against communist expansion."

What can the West do?

Some of the suggestions in *Combat on Communist Territory* edited by Charles Moser are worth taking a closer look at.

1. The West should encourage the establishment of provisional governments

The West has always been careful when it has come to governments — in exile or provisional governments. Mr. Moser mentions two countries where the insurgents hold sizeable areas: Angola and Afghanistan. Recognition of provisional governments established by UNITA and Afghan political groups would strengthen the political platform of anti-communist insurgents. Political warfare media success is an important part of the struggle if not equal to military success in the home country. During the Vietnam war the communists used political and media support to strengthen the position of the communist insurgents in South Vietnam and the Vietnam war was partly won on the political warfare front. There is no reason why the West should not use political support for insurgencies in communist areas.

2. Freedom Fighter leaders should be publicly received by leaders of free governments.

To strengthen the international standing of leading freedom fighters they should be treated by Western governments as the popular leaders they are and honored with official receptions. It would strengthen their international status and create much needed publicity in the intensive war of information.

3. The Freedom Fighter movements should be backed in international fora.

Soviet Russia and its puppet regimes always support communist guerilla movements in international fora such as the

United Nations and also in different regional organizations. Western nations should act to make it possible for representatives of liberation movements to appear before the United Nations General Assembly to state their cases and to create an opportunity for them to participate in subsidiary organizations of UN.

4. The Freedom Fighters should be invited before official legislative fora in Western countries.

In the United States liberation leaders could be invited to address committees of the Congress and give testimony on the situation in their respective countries.

5. The West should assist in organizing and funding coordinating meetings among leaders of the various anti-communist insurgencies in the world.

Although there is extensive experience of anti-communist insurgency before 1975 (Ukraine, Lithuania and others) it would be valuable if funding could be offered for meetings of liberation fighters from the areas presently involved in anti-communist insurgency. An exchange of ideas and the creation of common ideas in the struggle against communist oppression would be most valuable. Different groups could also be given the opportunity to visit each other in the field and exchange observers.

6. The Freedom Fighter movements should formulate a general theory of anti-communist insurgency.

The editor of *Combat on Communist Territory* has contributed with a very interesting chapter, "Toward a Theory of Anti-Communist Insurgency". There is extensive communist literature on guerilla warfare but very little theoretical material written on anti-communist insurgencies. A thorough analysis of active liberation struggle is needed and Western publishers supporting the freedom struggle should

encourage manuscripts on a general theory of anti-communist insurgency and publish those manuscripts. It would provide important basic written material and serve as encouragement for others.

7. The Freedom Fighters should be assisted in establishing information centers in major cities abroad.

Some of the liberation organisations fighting on communist territory have information centers in the West and representatives spreading information and influencing opinion. It is important to find support in the West and such information centers, if sophisticated enough, could be important political warfare tools. Information from these centers should be as credible and accurate as possible.

8. International news broadcasts beamed to Soviet Russia and its satellites should place special emphasis upon anti-communist insurgencies.

To spread news among the peoples of the subjugated nations such services as Voice of America, BBC, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe should report in detail on insurgency on communist territory. This would mean an enormous encouragement for all opposed to the Russian oppressors and demonstrate that Soviet Russia and its client states around the world as well as the "satellites" are not invulnerable. Of special importance would be to beam statements by and interviews with Russian defectors in for example Afghanistan.

9. Films and documentaries on the anti-communist insurgencies should be prepared for public distribution in the West.

Extensive coverage of left-wing insurgencies is provided by left-leaning journalists in almost all radio and TV-networks in North America and Western Europe. To spread information on anti-communist insurgencies it is of great importance that organisations supporting

instance Angola, Nicaragua and Afghanistan the liberation struggle produce documentaries on what is happening in for stan. Governmental organizations could provide an outlet for distribution. Of importance is to show these documentaries in Third World countries. EFC, ABN and others can also contribute in this sphere.

10. The West must elaborate a theory of the transition from a communist society to a post-communist one.

When the communist regime on Grenada fell in 1983 it offered a unique opportunity to the West to do some creative thinking on the transition period after the downfall of communist regimes until democratic structures could be created or restored. The lesson of Grenada has shown that it is necessary for research institutions in the West to study this problem. Organisations such as ABN and EFC can play a role in this connection.

A Chronicle of the Fight for Freedom

Combat on Communist Territory is an important book. It gives a detailed overview of the present anti-communist insurgencies on three continents: Nicaragua, Mozambique, Angola, Afghanistan and Cambodia and also describes the liberation of Grenada. For the historical perspective the first chapter of the book is valuable. The war in Ukraine and Lithuania can well serve as a model for insurgencies not only in Europe but also in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The experience of UPA and LFA shows that "wars of national liberation" can well be used by the West in the fight against the Soviet Russian empire in the future.

Communist Failure to use Nationalism

In a recent voluminous study, THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY AND STRATEGY

(Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey 08540. Price: US \$ 62.00 (cloth), US \$ 14.50 (paper) Walter Connor has studied the relationship between nationalism and communism since 1848. His study shows that Marx and Engels found it of great importance to use the forces of nationalism to further the world revolutionary process. The later tactical refinement of Lenin led to some communist successes in the field.

Lenin recommended a three-pronged strategy for harnessing nationalism. First, prior to assumption of power, all national groups were to be promised the right to self-determination (including the right to secession). Secondly, after taking power the hope of a right of secession was to be kept alive and thirdly, the party was to be kept free from all nationalist proclivities.

Soviet Russia is trying to pose as a champion of self-determination by advancing the myth that the people in the Tsarist empire joined the "Soviet Union" voluntarily. Connor notes that in 1979 forty-five notables of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania demanded independence from Moscow in an open letter. They wrote in the letter that the Russian authorities had in 1920 ceded independence "for all time" and relinquished "all sovereign rights".

Russia's language policies as a means of Russification is given extensive treatment in the book. The tendency to favour Russian is especially noticeable in book publication. In 1970, 60,000 books were published in Russian and only 3,000 in Ukrainian. Connor cites a Soviet publication, "The Handbook of World Population", to the effect that "groups of people who have changed their language in the course of time usually also change their ethnic (national) identity."

As an example of attempts of the Soviet Russian authorities to distribute population to further Russification is mentioned the case of the obligation of students at

institutes of higher learning to spend three years following graduation in a position anywhere in Soviet Russia. Thus 1,2 million Ukrainians would be on outside assignment at any one time. People sentenced for crimes against the state are sent to prisons outside their native republics. A Ukrainian dissident is quoted in an ironical statement: "Ukraine, according to its constitution, is also a sovereign state which even has representatives in the United Nations. Her courts sentence thousands

of Ukrainians and send them to be detained beyond her borders — a policy unparalleled in history. Perhaps Ukraine, like the principality of Monaco, has no room for camps? Room was found for seven million Russians, but for Ukraine's political prisoners there is no room in their native land."

Connors work is important in the analysis how Marxist-Leninist regimes attempt to exploit nationalism and fail in this.

Bertil Häggman, The Political Warfare Front — a Newsletter on Strategy and Tactics.

The Lost Architecture of Kyiv

By Titus D. Hewryk. The Ukrainian Museum, New York, 1982, 64 pages

This work is a valuable piece of scholarship. In addition to splendid photography the author offers a monograph-length study covering Kyiv's lost architecture. The work is an outgrowth of the Photographic Architectural Exhibition organized in 1982 by the Ukrainian Museum in New York. Titus D. Hewryk, who was the guest curator for this exhibit, thoroughly researched the subject and prepared this monograph-catalogue.

In order to realize the uniqueness and the importance of the exhibit, we would like to cite two short passages from the catalogue's Foreword: "Unfortunately, much of the Kyivan architectural heritage with its magnificent Byzantine and Baroque structures has been mindlessly destroyed and little remains of the ancient city's townscape." Furthermore: "An attempt to reconstruct the events leading to the destruction of these landmarks can only be partially successful, since there is little documentation of these events. In many cases there is only limited information available on these lost historical structures, for few studies have been made of them before their demolition. Often it is impossible to

trace the exact date of demolition of these landmarks for there is no accurate register of their destruction."

By its organization, its breadth, and above all by its illustration of the lost features of Kyivan architecture, the exhibit and its monograph-catalogue incontrovertibly substantiate the need for more such exhibits and more illustrative studies to publicize how the Soviet Union engaged on a destructive enterprise to obliterate the historical past of the Ukrainian capital. So vast, and bold, and destructive an undertaking must produce strong reactions; indeed, it became an inexhaustible source of ammunition, directed against the Soviet Russian regime which perpetrated such heinous crimes against art in general and against Ukrainian past and culture in particular.

The study consists of a lengthy introduction that delineates the historical and cultural value of the major architectural landmarks of Kyiv demolished between 1920 and 1941 and four separate shorter studies of the various regions of Kyiv (Uppertown, Podil, Khreshchatyk Avenue,

Pecherske, and Center's Periphery) where the demolished landmarks stood, beautifying the overall view of the capital.

Altogether the Soviet Russians dismantled thirty significant historical landmarks, among them the Monastery of St. Michael of the Golden Domes, the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin or the Church of the Tithes (Desyatynna), the Collegiate Church of the Pyrohoshcha Madonna, the Main Church and Belfry of the Bratskyi Monastery of the Epiphany, the Church of Sts. Borys and Hlib and its Belfry, the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas ("The Great Nicholas"), the Collegiate Church of the Assumption of the Virgin of the Monastery of the Caves, and others.

Since Mr. Hewryk's work is patently intended as a comprehensive survey, the author shrewdly and sensitively struggles to give cohesion to the whole. As a result, its orderliness and simplicity are at once admirable. The work calmly identifies those aspects of reality that created or constituted the peculiar climate ending with the destruction of the individual monuments. Significant assumptions and conclusions already laid down in the introduction make sure that everyone at the beginning understands something about the value of Kyivan architecture which can then serve as a basis for further explorations and even new postulations.

Each church is well documented by excellent photography, plans of the structure, and drawings of the front facades. The work contains also photography of demolition of some churches and monasteries like St. Michael's (in 1935), the Church of St. Basil (Three Hierarchs; in 1935). The study is also provided with maps from the 1930s of the city of Kyiv and its regions like Uppertown, Podil, and Pecherske. The work's scholarly apparatus consists of notes (76 altogether) and a brief bibliography indicating works published in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. There are remarkably few arrays in the work so filled with names of the churches, dates, and details of every kind.

This work is indeed very valuable. Its scholarly tone is the best guarantee that it will not be mistaken just for a catalogue but will be understood as a serious work. If Mr. Hewryk has not answered all possible questions with this first study, he has nevertheless laid the groundwork for future studies which, one hopes, will include more material within a rigorous theoretical framework.

Wolodymyr T. Zyla
Texas Tech. University

"The West's Strongest Allies"



The West's Strongest Allies

"The West's Strongest Allies" is a new publication of the ABN Press Bureau, Munich, 1985. It contains the collected materials from the ABN/EFC (European Freedom Council) Conference, held in London on September 24-26, 1982 as well as the materials from two EFC Conferences held in Munich in May, 1983 and September, 1984.

Price: \$12.00.

Captive Nations Week Proclamation

The unique and historic significance of our nation has always derived from our role as a model of political freedom, social justice and personal opportunity. While not a perfect nation, we have offered to the world a vision of liberty. It is a vision that has motivated all our national endeavors and serves us yet as an anchor of conscience. The humanity and justice of our collective political life and the freedom and limitless opportunity in our personal lives are an inspiration for the peoples of the world, both for those who are free to aspire and for those who are not.

The uniqueness of our vision of liberty comes not only from its historical development, but also from the conviction that the benefits of liberty and justice rightfully belong to all humanity. Hostility to this fundamental principle still haunts the world, but our conviction that political freedom is the just inheritance of all nations and all people is firm. Our dedication to this principle has not been weakened by the sad history of conquest, captivity and oppression to which so many of the world's nations have been subjected.

We are all aware of those 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. Their captivity and struggle against repression require special courage and sacrifice. Those nations of Eastern Europe that have known conquest and captivity for decades; those struggling to save themselves from communist expansionism in Latin America; and the people of Afghanistan and Kampuchea struggling against invasion and military occupation by their neighbors — all require our special support. 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. We will continue to call for the speedy release of those who are unjustly persecuted and falsely imprisoned. So long as brave men and women suffer persecution because of their national origin, religious beliefs and desire for liberty, the United States of America will demand that the signatories of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Accords live up to their obligations and respect the principles and spirit of those international agreements and understandings.

Each year we renew our resolve to support the struggle for freedom throughout the world by observing Captive Nations Week. It is a week in which all Americans are asked to remember that the liberties and freedoms which they enjoy as an inherent right are forbidden to many nations. It is a time to affirm publicly our conviction that, 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.

The Congress, by joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), has authorized and requested the President to designate the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week".

Now, therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning July 21, 1985, as Captive Nations Week. I invite the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities to reaffirm their dedication to the international principles of justice and freedom, which unite us and inspire others.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the two hundred and tenth.

Ronald Reagan

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

VASYL STUS



January 8, 1938 — † September 4, 1985

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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THE GREAT MYTH REJECTED

Technology and Liberation Policy

Over the last forty years, one great myth has persisted in most political circles concerning the Soviet Russian empire, namely, the impossibility of dismantling it without the threat of thermonuclear war. Today, the myth must be rejected. A three stage process by which Soviet Russian imperialism can be liquidated without the direct use of Western military force is emerging. Two stages have already materialized.

One, there is a growing recognition by the oppositional forces inside the nations subjected to Moscow's rule — directly or by proxy — that the foreign domination is total, hence they no longer see a middle ground, a point of reconciliation between themselves and the Kremlin or its puppet regimes. The notion of possible Communist rule with a 'human face' is dead. *The idea of national liberation through revolutionary struggle is alive and maturing rapidly.*

Two, the West has recently made a series of breakthroughs in the field of high technology. This, in turn, has made the Russians vulnerable on two levels. In particular, the enormous space-based communication systems that the West has deployed have made the Iron Curtain completely penetrable to information from the West. In general, the West's technological advancements are building pressure on the Kremlin to broaden the use and knowledge of high technology within its empire to dangerous proportions as it can be used by the respective oppositional, revolutionary forces against it.

The third stage has not yet materialized, but its theoretical outlines are clear. In essence, the West should make its technological resources available to the respective oppositional, revolutionary forces. With such resources in hand, the respective oppositional, revolutionary forces would be able to spread their concepts to all strata of their respective nations, indeed, to unite the active partners of all subjugated nations. Furthermore, with the proper equipment from the West, the Kremlin's own technological advances, if they come, can be used against it. Clearly enlightened, the subjugated nations will be capable of enlarging mass insurgent movements aimed at liquidating the Soviet Russian empire from within, making any Western military activity unnecessary.

Let us examine the three stages more thoroughly.

First Stage: Rising Consciousness

That the opposition forces within nations subjected to Russian domination are growing militant in their consciousness is clear from both their pronouncements and actions. Gone are the days of Dubček's Prague Spring, the heady days of Solidarity and its attempts to negotiate change with the puppet Polish Communist regime, the days of various Helsinki groups hoping to gain concessions on human rights through legal recourse. The various elements of resistance have awakened to the fact that Soviet Russian imperialism is essentially different from all past historical imperialisms in that it attempts to forcibly implant a Russian Bolshevik way and philosophy of life on all social,

political, economic, cultural and religious levels in the nations that it dominates. They have come to understand that such an assault can only be won with the counterforce — an entire nation mobilized towards breaking its chains. Finally, they have comprehended that such a mobilization can occur only if they completely reject Bolshevism in form and content and implement the subjugated nations' values and norms of life.

Examples abound. Afghani opposition, for instance, to the Taraki and Amin regimes, was constant, but moderate in form. Before 1979, the connection between the Afghan communists and the Kremlin was not completely clear. The Soviet Russian invasion, however, settled the issue once and for all. Almost immediately, the Russians began to impose the anti-national Bolshevik way of life. Anyone who stood in the way was exterminated. The Afghan resistance, to its credit, achieved awareness quickly. Moreover, its response was decisive — the declaration of a holy war against the Russian invader. Most important, the war mobilized the entire Afghani population because the insurgent core fell back on the most appropriate symbols at hand— God and Nation. Today, six years later, the insurgency has proved its worth, the Russian empire remains bogged down in a quagmire. Already the Bolsheviks have suffered a moral defeat.

Poland provides a second example. Before 1981, the leaders of Solidarity felt that they could effect fundamental change through negotiations. They did not realize that they were negotiating not with a Polish partner, but with Moscow itself, in the person of General Jaruzelski who is maintained in power by a Bolshevik system of occupation including Russian armed forces. After the crushing of Solidarity, matters changed dramatically. The persons who have survived and gone underground have come to an important realization — i.e. that national political structures cannot be built parallel to Bolshevik Russian institutions, but only in diametric opposition to them in the course of a continuous liberation struggle. The realization has been underlined by Solidarity's underground leader Z. Bujak in a clandestine interview with the New York Times recently. Bujak now clearly calls for a 'long march' of resistance to the colonial regime — building clandestine organizations in schools, factories, scientific, academic and cultural institutions. Bujak believes that any type of legal form of struggle is no longer feasible. In an interview he states that "there exists a very strong resistance movement... a movement to boycott all institutions of the regime and I regard this element as very significantly changing the classic system of communist rule."

Another example comes from Ukraine, where the struggle against the Soviet Russian oppressions has gone through several phases. It is an historical fact that in the 1940's — the struggle of the heroic OUN-UPA was militant in all aspects. But with its military defeat in the early 1950's a new generation of resistance grew up. In the 1960's, the opponents of Russian domination sought to cure abuses by stressing the issue of national and human rights — often falling back on the Soviet constitution. When they were crushed through mass arrests, they were replaced by the Helsinki groups who tried to use international accords to prevent Bolshevik denial of these rights. They too were crushed in the late 1970's. The lesson has been learned. The present increased struggle centers around the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Catacombs. According

to the Chronicles of the group smuggled to the West, it unifies the national patriotic ideas with the faith in God, and asserts the right of the nation and its institutions to exist and evolve freely. It rejects Bolshevism completely and is attempting to build an alternative around the pillars of Ukrainian nationhood — its Catacomb Ukrainian Church and revolutionary nationalist forces.

Clearly, the matters of resistance in the various subjugated nations have taken on a different form, but the fundamental goal has prevailed — a loud ‘no more’ to Muscovite, Russian rule.

Second Stage: Western Technology

If understanding the first stage requires simple observation, the second stage — the dual threat of Western technology to the Russian empire is likewise evident to all. The West has managed to create everything from re-usable space vehicles to computers very nearly capable of artificial intelligence. President Reagan’s SDI promises to push the West into further innovation. The breakthroughs in communications are particularly impressive and important. A specific example comes to mind as graphic proof. When the two Korean airliners, one in 1979 and one in 1983, strayed into Soviet airspace, the West’s listening devices were sophisticated enough to pick up the conversations between the Russian pilots and their home bases. With such sophistication it is clear that the Iron Curtain’s airwaves are open to manipulation from the West. One needs little imagination to foresee a time when the West will be able to broadcast television programs to any part of the Russian empire through the use of satellites and, if jammed, will be capable of counter-jamming. However, given such a vulnerability, it is clear that the Russians can effectively respond in only one way — engage in a massive high technology program of their own. Gorbachev, upon ascending to the Russian imperial throne, has already indicated as much. He has recently asserted that every school must stress training in cybernetics. But, in doing so, he has accepted the devil’s alternative. Again, one needs little imagination to see how vulnerable the Muscovite empire would be if broader access to technology were allowed. If nothing else, Khomeini’s tactics against the Shah immediately come to mind.

Third Stage: Liberation Struggle and Western Technology

To move from the second stage to the third stage — full access to Western technology by the liberation movements within the subjugated nations of the Muscovite empire to help awaken and coordinate revolutionary struggles for national liberation — has not as yet become a reality. But let us contemplate its possible direction and possible outcome. A real hint is available in the case of Poland’s Solidarity. On the one hand, thanks to the radio broadcasts from the West, the strikes and actions in Gdansk spread throughout Poland. On the other hand, the Polish ZOMO was able to paralyze Solidarity by shutting down telephone services. Technology was instrumental in both events. Let us translate the scenario into a future when the West has made its technology available fully. The radio broadcasts could be enhanced by television broadcasts. Such broadcasts would allow increased coordination and stimulation — particularly if they enabled emigre groups to hold up the symbols of national unity to those

behind the Iron Curtain. Furthermore, in situations of revolutionary upheaval, the Bolsheviks would find the tactic of shutting down telephones ineffective, if new Kremlin-spawned communications between various localities could be left open via Western satellites.

The point seems clear. The West, through its technological aid, could give a new dimension to resistance in nations subjugated by Moscow — make it truly mass-based.

In The Final Analysis

If the resistance became massive enough, the Soviet Russian empire could conceivably crumble without the West firing a shot. The entire idea, in the final analysis, depends on the critical issue — that the West recognize the subjugated nations as its strongest allies.

US Congressmen Commemorate the 44th Anniversary of the Act of Proclamation Restoring Ukrainian Independence

Hon. Annunzio of Illinois

● Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, June 30 marks the 44th anniversary of the Act of Proclamation which briefly restored the independence of Ukraine during World War II. On this date in 1941, courageous Ukrainian nationalists were able to seize power and form a provisional government dedicated to principles of self-determination and human dignity, and free from the tyranny and oppression of the Communists or the Nazis.

The Proclamation signed in Lviv, Ukraine on June 30, 1941, came at a time when Soviets, who had occupied the country since the end of World War I, were forced to withdraw because of the threat of oncoming Nazi troops. Prior to this Nazi invasion of Ukraine, Ukrainian nationalists in Lviv quickly convened a National Assembly which issued the Act of Proclamation declaring a free independent Ukraine.

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 their 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 city 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*

The timing of the proclamation forced the Nazis to declare their true intentions to overrun Ukraine and force its annexation as a part of Germany. As a consequence of this proclamation, the Nazis were brutal in their attempts to suppress the Ukrainians for their show of independence, and many of their cultural, religious, and political leaders were sent to concentration camps.

Over 2,000 young Ukrainian freedom fighters bravely stood up against the barbarism and terrorism of the Nazis. Ukrainian patriots remembered all too well the cruelty of the Soviets, having experienced the brutality of Stalin's imposed "famine" which took the lives of over 10 million Ukrainians. Those freedom fighters fought valiantly in the hope that future generations of Ukrainians would be able to once again have control

over their own destinies and be able to live in freedom.

The Nazis arrested Stepan Bandera, president of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and Yaroslav Stetsko, prime minister of the provisional government because of their leadership role in the resistance, and placed them in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp for the duration of the war. The Nazis unsuccessfully tried to force their prisoners to repudiate the proclamation, but these leaders refused to yield.

The spiritual leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Sheptytsky, in a pastoral letter on June 30, 1944, hailed the proclaimed Ukrainian state, bestowed his blessings upon it, and called upon the people to give the new Ukrainian Government their loyal support. He stated that "your faith, solidarity, and conscientious execution of duties, prove that you are worthy of independent national existence."

Mr. Speaker, although the Ukrainians are still under foreign domination, I am hopeful that one day their love of liberty will triumph and Ukraine will once again take her rightful place in the community of free nations.

It is with pride that I join with Americans of Ukrainian descent in the 11th Congressional District of Illinois which I am honored to represent, and those all over the world, who are celebrating the 44th anniversary of the Ukrainian Act of Proclamation. The spirit and strength of the people of Ukraine have not waived as they continue in their efforts to break free from their Communist oppressor and re-establish their homeland as an independent nation.

*Congressional Record,
June 27, 1985*

Hon. WM. S. BROOMFIELD
of Michigan

Mr. Broomfield. Mr. Speaker, in light of the 40th anniversary of World War II, it is important to remember the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people.

On Sunday, June 30, 1985, the Ukrainian community throughout the United States will commemorate the 44th anniversary of the Act of Proclamation, which restored the independent Ukrainian state for a brief period during World War II.

This proclamation announced the restoration of the Ukrainian state in Lviv, Ukraine, on June 30, 1941. This came at a time when Soviet troops were withdrawing from Ukraine and prior to the influx of German Nazi troops.

The result of this constant struggle led to the deaths of millions. The Soviet Communist forces retreating before German advances summarily massacred tens of thousands of Ukrainian political prisoners on the excuse that there was no time to transport them eastward. As the Red army withdrew, it followed a "scorched-earth" policy of destroying factories, roads, bridges, railroads, buildings, crops and livestock, and even churches, to leave nothing in its wake for the Germans.

Upon Soviet withdrawal, the Germans then exterminated an estimated 3.9 million Ukrainians, including 900,000 Jews, and deported millions more to slave labor camps where countless numbers of victims perished.

Surprising the Germans with a "fait accompli" by seizing power in Lviv and convening the National Assembly which issued the Act of Proclamation, the National Assembly appointed Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko Prime Minister of the newly formed Ukrainian Provisional Government.

Despite the courageous acts of more than 2,000 young Ukrainian freedom fighters, Nazi troops responded to the

Act of Proclamation with mass arrests and widespread terror.

The head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera, and Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko were arrested on July 12, 1941. After rejecting Hitler's repeated demands to revoke the Act of Proclamation, they were dispatched on September 15 to the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen.

Although the imprisonment of Bandera and Stetsko left the infant state without its two primary leaders, a strong resistance against the Nazis was waged by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and later the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Of extreme importance was the Ukrainian Insurgent Army's two-front resistance against both the Nazis and the Soviets. As a result of the Nazi savagery, which was indeed indistinguishable from that of Stalin himself, both alternative conquerors became equally unacceptable. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, therefore, had no choice but to declare an unequal war on two of the greatest totalitarian empires, which had armies to match, that the world had never seen.

Following the war, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army continued to fight against Soviet troops in Western Ukraine well into the 1950's.

In conclusion, the true voice of the Ukrainian people cannot come from that illegitimate communist organization which, while pretending to represent Ukrainian interests, has been admitted to the United Nations as the mouthpiece of the Soviet Communist Party and its imperialistic designs on the rest of the world.

Ukraine has always maintained close ties with the West and has never voluntarily merged her fate with the East and Moscow. However, Ukraine's western orientation has not helped that country to secure her independence. Every attempt at the liberation of the country has approached the West, but the West has not listened.

Today, the West is threatened as never before. It is in the interests of freedom-loving people everywhere to recognize the struggle of the Ukrainian people to throw off its age-old yoke, to unite with them in their struggle, and to admit them to a new Europe and a union of free and democratic nations.

On behalf of the Ukrainian-Americans and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, I propose this statement of solidarity with the thousands of Ukrainian Insurgent Army veterans living in the United States who fought courageously against nazism and communism on the day which they commemorate the anniversary of a once-independent Ukrainian state.

Congressional Record,
June 27, 1985

HON. GERALD B. H. SOLOMON
of New York

Mr. Solomon. Mr. Speaker, this coming Sunday, June 30, marks the 44th anniversary of the restoration of freedom and national sovereignty in Ukraine. For a few exciting days in 1941, the people of Ukraine tasted freedom as the yoke of Soviet oppression was lifted. The high hopes engendered by the Soviet withdrawal from Ukraine were short-lived, however. So brutal had been the Soviet occupation that Ukrainian people welcomed the advancing German troops in 1941 as liberators. But the retreating Soviet forces resorted to a scorched earth policy as they evacuated their positions in Ukraine. And the German forces that quickly took over established yet another reign of terror, a Holocaust that took as many innocent Ukrainian lives as did the great Soviet-engineered famines of the 1920's and 1930's.

Once again, the hopes of the Ukrainian people had been crushed. And the heroic resistance forces that had been fighting the Soviet occupiers since 1922 found them-

selves having to fight two enemies: the Soviet Communists and the German Nazis. As the tide of battle throughout Europe turned against the Nazis, the pleas for help from Ukrainian nationalists fell on deaf ears in the allied countries. When the German forces retreated from Ukraine, the Soviet troops poured in behind them and re-established Communist control over the proud people and country of Ukraine. And to this day the ancient Ukrainian culture remains under Soviet subjugation.

Mr. Speaker, it is imperative for us to commemorate the restoration of Ukrainian independence, brief though it may have been, because the very forces that have denied the Ukrainian people their just rights are the same forces that seek to take those rights from us as well. If anyone harbors romantic illusions about the nature of Soviet communism and its ultimate objectives, I would suggest that they consider the history of Ukraine.

Consider, too, the fate of Stepan Bandera, the great Ukrainian patriot who declared his country's independence on June 30, 1941. Captured by the Germans 12 days later, Bandera spent the war years imprisoned in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he resolutely refused to recant his actions on behalf of free Ukraine. Bandera lived in exile in West Germany after the war. But so implacable is the Soviet terror apparatus, that he was murdered by a KGB agent in Munich in 1959.

When the government of free Ukraine went underground by the end of 1941, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army took to the field, and for a time exercised control over some 100,000 square miles of territory and 15 million people. But, following the war, the full height of the Soviet military machine was directed toward crushing any and all resistance in Ukraine. The government of free Ukraine continued to function underground until 1951, and armed resistance to Soviet oc-

cupation was reported as late as 1967. Their land may have been conquered again, but the spirit of the Ukrainian people remains unbowed.

Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of this anniversary, it behooves us all to pay tribute to the bravery of the Ukrainian people and to declare our faith that they will one day breathe free. Despite the relentless efforts of the Soviet Union to

obliterate all vestiges of Ukrainian culture and nationhood, the day of redemption will come. And let us salute those many Ukrainians, especially those who fought in the resistance, who now live in the United States and bear testimony to the blessings of freedom. Their struggle is ours.

*Congressional Record,
June 26, 1985*

“MAZEPA AND CHARLES XII” (1880)
By Gustaf Cederström (1845-1933)



In the foreground wounded King Charles XII with Hetman Ivan Mazepa by his side pointing towards the river Vorskla just before the battle of Poltava on June 28, 1709. Behind the King, General Charles Gustaf Rehnskiöld, who in reality was to lead the Swedish troops during the battle. In the background Ukrainian and Swedish troops marching to take up positions facing Tsar Peter's Russian troops.

*Bertil Häggman, LL.B., (Author,
Member, Swedish Authors' Association)*

Ukrainian Resistance 1942-1952 As A Model For Modern Combat On Communist Territory

*(Delivered on June 6, 1985 at the conference "Ukraine During World War II",
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign).*

After having studied the program for this conference I started wondering if I really had a place here to-day. What could I, jurist and author, contribute at such a gathering of leading academic researchers on all aspects of Ukraine during World War II?

Well, my only excuse is that I come from a country that once was allied with an independent Ukraine in a united effort to stop Russian expansionism. Unfortunately our joint hopes were crushed at Poltava in 1709 when Czar Peter defeated Hetman Ivan Mazepa's Ukrainian forces and the royal Swedish troops of King Charles XII. The battle of Poltava was the beginning of a period of growing Russian strength. Sweden was also one of the first countries historically to receive Ukrainian emigration. I am also, naturally, a strong supporter of Ukrainian independence.

The operations of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army have been described here to some extent and I will therefore be brief in my background comments on the history of the UPA. By 1942, the UPA was fighting both Nazis and Communists. The fighting was especially fierce in Western Ukraine. Even before the German armies retreated from Ukraine the insurgents were fighting Soviet Russian forces. The Soviet partisan Kovpak tried to reach Galicia through central Ukraine but he had to fight the UPA all the way and forces had to retreat to Soviet Russian occupied territory.

In 1943 a conference was held, "United Liberation Struggle of the Oppressed Nations". There, Ukrainians met with Bashkirs, Georgians, Byelorussians, Armenians and Turkestanis on UPA held territory. At that time it dominated an area of about 100,000 square miles and exercised governmental control over around 15 million people mostly in Western Ukraine. The goal was to create an independent Ukraine free from Soviet control and supported by the West.

The same year, 1943, the UPA was at its strongest. Between 100,000 and 200,000 men and women were under arms. But the UPA's task was immense. It fought the German occupation troops while they retreated and then the Red Army and NKVD units that returned to control the Ukrainians once more. In preparation of the gathering communist storm a General Staff was organised and the country divided into regions.

The UPA had all the relevant staff functions — intelligence, logistics, communications and liaison services. The UPA freedom fighters were organised in platoons, companies, battalions and regiments. The light companies had 168 men and three rifle platoons and the heavy companies — 186 men, three rifle platoons, a heavy machine gun and a heavy mortar platoon. The UPA used the platoon and company for most of its operations like many of the post-World War II guerilla organisations. Artillery was also available to some extent.

Heavy artillery for defending strong points and light artillery to be moved quickly with horses.

Every region had a school for non-commissioned officers and in Western Ukraine officers' schools were operated. The military training came under the Military Instructions Section of the UPA. This section published a manual on guerilla warfare. The political and psychological warfare section of the UPA published two publications to keep the freedom fighters informed and motivated.

In April, 1944, the Red Army commenced attacks on UPA forces with up to 30,000 elite troops and in the late autumn of 1944 the anti-UPA offensive was continued with two regular divisions. In 1945 the Soviet Russians used classical anti-guerilla tactics to make the struggle harder for the UPA. Great areas of forest were burnt down. In December, 1945, NKVD started an offensive that was to continue for half a year. Guerilla controlled areas were blocked by Soviet Russian troops to starve the insurgents. In the last major offensive against the UPA the Soviet Russians used Communist Czecho-Slovakian and Communist Polish troops along with Russian. The operation continued through 1947 and 1948. As a result the UPA split into small units and escaped into forests and mountains in Western Ukraine.

It was during this period that the UPA dispatched units westwards, to make the struggle known in the West. One of the groups travelled 1,500 kilometers across Czecho-Slovakia and Austria into West Germany.

In the first years of the 1950's the UPA grew less and less able to fight against large communist units and turned partly to covert forms of resistance like sabotage and, by 1952, armed resistance had almost ceased. However, Ukrainians in concentration camps continued to struggle and greatly contributed to the de-Stalinization process.

Guerilla Strategy and Tactics — a Marxist-Leninist Prerogative

Between 1950 and 1975 a vast library of books on guerilla warfare has been published. Most of these books have very little or nothing to say on anti-communist insurgency of the type carried out by the UPA. So, for instance, Robert B. Asprey's 1600 page "War in the Shadows — The Guerilla in History" of 1975 contains not one single word on the UPA. Since the end of the Vietnam war in 1975 the tables have started to turn against Moscow and there is a great need for anti-communist guerilla warfare analysis. Can the tactics of the UPA serve as a model for modern combat on communist territory? To find a few answers to this question it is necessary to analyse some of the tactical principles of the UPA. I will limit myself today to five cases, but there are of course many others, if thorough research were to be devoted to this problem.

1. Against an effectively organised enemy it is necessary to fight in small units

The preferred size of fighting units in the UPA was platoon or company. It is a universal truth of guerilla warfare that small units fight better against regular troops and are more moveable, which is of great importance to the guerillas.

2. Raids

The UPA perfected the art of the raid to destroy posts, supply depots and communication centres, to capture military equipment and liberate political prisoners from jails and concentration camps. Typical of the UPA raids was the one on the town of Radekhiv on April 26-27, 1945. NKVD and NKGB detachments guarded a concentration camp for political prisoners established in the town. The task of the UPA forces was to liberate all the prisoners. All highways and the railroads were heavily guarded to prevent Soviet reinforcements. Road blocks were thrown up and railroads were mined. Six UPA groups were used in the operation. At 24.00 hours the groups entered the town. The camp was stormed and the prisoners released. Later they were dispersed in all directions from outside the town. At 03.00 hours the UPA retreated and at dawn there were no insurgents left in town.

Raids may also be used for a political purpose. To attract the attention of the population in new areas. The UPA made raids for that purpose into Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Austria and West Germany and to Eastern Ukraine.

In Angola the UNITA insurgents fighting the communist regime and its Cuban support troops make similar raids far into government controlled areas. UNITA controls large areas in southern Angola but has made raids far into the northern province of Uige.

3. Harassment

Harassment was used by the UPA to keep the enemy in a state of constant tension, uncertainty and alertness. The size of the unit used for harassment was usually a squad. The UPA frequently harassed the *Wehrmacht*. But also Russian occupants were targets. Similar tactics are used by the Afghan freedom fighters against the Soviet occupation forces and their Afghan quisling troops, to mention one modern example.

4. Diversionary tactics

Cutting telephone and telegraph lines, loosening railroad tracks, setting fire to houses used as quarters for enemy troops, burning food supply depots, sabotaging factories, destroying electric power plants and individual attacks against security police chiefs and collaborators are all examples of diversionary actions used by the UPA and included in almost all of modern insurgencies against communist regimes.

5. Ambush

In every defensive and offensive position ambush was a strong weapon of the UPA. It was a powerful weapon to demoralize the enemy. One of the most famous cases of UPA ambushes was the killing of the general of the Nazi *Sicherheitsdienst*, Victor Lutze, in May 1943. Lutze had left the city of Rivne with a convoy of heavily armed security guards. First in the convoy were a number of cars with Nazi officials followed by SD troops on motorcycles. After them came about 30 cars with guards and in one of these was general

Lutze. The ambush was set up by an UPA company near the town of Klevan. Outside the town the highway enters a dense forest. One platoon was positioned here. This was in order to let the convoy of cars pass and then block the retreat. Other units took their positions in the forest on both sides of the highway. The column of cars entered the forest and the insurgents opened fire. Lutze was riddled with bullets at close range. Erich Koch never admitted that Lutze was ambushed by the UPA. He was reported to have been killed in a "car accident".

The UPA experiences in fighting Soviet Russian troops ought well to serve as a model in Afghanistan, although there are differences in development and physical environment, as well as weaponry between Ukraine and the only country where presently Soviet Russian forces on a massive scale are involved in anti-guerilla warfare. The ambush is a favoured tactic of the Afghan freedom fighters, the Mujahideen. Several ambushes in Afghanistan of Soviet military convoys have even been shown on Western television. Fortunately for the UPA, during World War II the Soviets lacked a new, dangerous anti-guerilla weapon: the helicopter gunship. Still the Hind MI-24 helicopter gunship is not invulnerable. If the insurgents possessed ground-to-air missiles it would be relatively easy to shoot down.

There is a great need for an anti-communist guerilla warfare theory. Theoretical works that apply older historical experiences of insurgent-partisan warfare, such as that of the UPA, to more recent insurgencies. A large number of writers on guerilla warfare in the West have dismissed the possibility of insurgency on communist territory on two major grounds:

- the population in a communist country either could or would not support an insurgency;
- the conviction of historical irreversibility of communist revolutions deriving from the belief that history runs on set stages.

The ongoing insurgencies on communist territory have shown that these assumptions are wrong.

There is presently a lack of coordination and solidarity between insurgents fighting communist regimes. The West has a responsibility to assist in supporting meetings among leaders and theoreticians of these insurgencies around the world. Exchange of information and observers in the field would be an important step. UPA veterans and students of UPA warfare can in many respects serve an important role here.

As stated by Harry Rositzke in his book, "American secret operations" (Reader's Digest Press, New York, 1977), the West did almost nothing to support the UPA after World War II. Two American trained radio operators remained with the UPA until what Rositzke claims was the end of November 1953. According to him, by then only a large-scale military supply effort would have saved the UPA. The meagre support served the UPA only in two respects: to give a line to fellow countrymen in the West and to keep up morale to a certain extent.

The struggle of the UPA during World War II and after for over ten years against two superpower armed forces has been unequalled until this day. The hope of the UPA leaders that the struggle between Nazi Germany, the Anti-Comintern countries and the Allies would continue long enough so as to exhaust the two sides and leave room for an independent Ukraine, did not become

reality. The Nazis retreated from Ukraine after a few years of occupation and Soviet Russia soon regained strength after the 1941-42 defeats. In 1945 the UPA was surrounded by areas controlled by the Red Army and no help from the West was forthcoming. No help even after the true intentions of Moscow in Eastern Europe became evident. Few or no insurgencies are successful, if support is not coming through a neighbouring country. In the Vietnam war Russian equipment was poured into North Vietnam to be brought to the South along the Ho Chi Minh trail. Without Russian support NVA/NLF would probably have had no chance of winning the war in South Vietnam.

It is important for the insurgencies on the three continents, fighting against communist regimes and that have been going on now since 1975, that books are written about them and that intellectuals argue over the details and the theoretical foundations. The insurgent experience in Ukraine can well serve as a model encouragement for modern freedom fighters struggling to overcome a communist totalitarian system.



"Officer's Briefing" of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in the forest near the villages of Limna and Kraina, County Bircha near Peremyshl, Western Ukraine. The group known as "Kholodny Yar" (Cool Ravine), was photographed on April 19, 1947. (Photo: Commander Burlaka).

KGB Forges "Recantation" By Yuriy Shukhevych

A KGB publication in Kyiv, *Visti z Ukrainy* (News from Ukraine), No. 28, for July 1985, published a lengthy article with what purports to be several excerpts from a "letter of recantation" written to the editors by Yuriy Shukhevych, one of the most senior and best-known Ukrainian political prisoners. In this "letter", Yuriy Shukhevych allegedly criticises "Ukrainian nationalism" and the activities of his father, Gen. Roman Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka), Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and leader of the resistance in Ukraine, and renounces his own "mistaken path" — ideas, which he had defended unfalteringly, and for which he had suffered unceasingly, including the loss of his sight, for almost 40 years. All the facts point to only one thing — that this alleged "letter" is a forgery.

Why the forged "recantation"?

In their press statement of August 2nd, 1985, Nina Strokata and Sviatoslav Karavanskyi, former prisoners of the Gulag and close friends of Yuriy Shukhevych, now living in the USA, state that this "recantation" is a forgery and explain the reason behind it. They say that the forging of "confessions" or "recantations" is a new method now practised by the KGB to break the will to resist of political prisoners in the USSR. The publication of such alleged "recantations" in the West is designed to destroy the credibility of the particular political prisoner and thus to put an end to the campaign for his release in the Free World. Once the prisoner discovers that he has been morally destroyed in the opinion of the West this completely shatters his belief in himself and destroys his will to go on resisting and standing up for what he believes. Such methods go even beyond all physical and other torture and brutality. This new

method was first tried on Ivan Sokulskyi and then on Oles Berdnyk. Now the KGB is trying to break the spirit of Yuriy Shukhevych.

Yuriy Shukhevych has recently completed his third 10-year sentence in Soviet Russian prisons and labour camps. He is currently completing a 5-year term of internal exile in Siberia. Shukhevych has spent virtually his entire life, from the age of 14, as a political prisoner for his Ukrainian nationalist beliefs and for refusing to renounce his father and to denounce the liberation struggle of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Because of his unshattered stance Yuriy Shukhevych became a living symbol of Ukrainian resistance to Russian occupation, especially for the younger generations both in Ukraine and abroad. As a result of mass demonstrations held outside Soviet embassies throughout the Free World, the many petitions and numerous articles published in the Western press, his name also acquired a symbolic meaning for the Western public. In addition, Western diplomats and academics also began to raise the case of Yuriy Shukhevych at various international gatherings on human rights, and demanded from the Soviet Russian delegates that he should be released. Eventually the case of Yuriy Shukhevych even aroused the interest of individual governments and parliaments. For example, during his proclamation of Captive Nations Week on July 16th, 1984, President Reagan singled out Yuriy Shukhevych as an "imprisoned Ukrainian patriot", who represented the struggle for freedom. On January 22nd, 1985, in his statement marking Ukrainian independence day (1918), President Reagan referred to Shukhevych as someone, who had received especially harsh treatment

and a particularly long term of imprisonment for espousing the principles of democracy and freedom. Then, 135 US Congressmen sent a letter to Mikhail Gorbachev asking for Yuriy Shukhevych to be released and allowed to go to the USA. Similar actions on behalf of Yuriy Shukhevych also took place in other Western countries.

On account of these factors, Yuriy Shukhevych became a serious problem for Moscow, especially prior to the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Accords held in Helsinki at the end of July, 1985, where the Kremlin anticipated great pressure on Moscow to release Yuriy Shukhevych.

For this reason Moscow decided to forge a "recantation" by Yuriy Shukhevych in order to disinform and deceive the West and the Ukrainian community abroad, and hence to destroy him morally in their eyes and thereby to end the widespread campaign to secure his release.

The evidence of forgery

There are several facts that prove the "letter" published in *Visti z Ukrainy* to be a forgery. For instance, letters of this nature are not usually sent to this publication, which is specifically aimed at Ukrainians living outside Ukraine, as well as foreign readers, with the sole purpose of disinformation and also the defamation of the Ukrainian resistance movement. Usually such "letters" are sent to the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR or the Ukr. SSR, or else to the various newspapers of the individual republics. The KGB could not do this, however, because it was well aware that sooner or later the "letter" would have been proven to be a forgery to the embarrassment of the CPSU and the Kremlin. This makes it quite obvious that the KGB wanted this "recantation" to be purely for Western consumption and

not for the people in Ukraine, aiming to spread confusion and disinformation. In addition, when the "letter" was published, Yuriy Shukhevych was still isolated in a far-off locality, so he was unable to denounce it himself as a KGB provocation. Similarly, for the same reason, it was published in *Visti z Ukrainy*, which is inaccessible to people in Ukraine, unlike the other press in which recantations are usually printed in order to prevent friends of Yuriy Shukhevych from discovering the existence of the forged "letter" and making a protest.

Secondly, there is the very obvious fact of handwriting. The handwriting on the alleged "recantation" is different to that on a recent letter handwritten by Yuriy Shukhevych while already blind. This has been confirmed by close friends of Yuriy Shukhevych, who are in possession of his letters, as well as a handwriting expert, Katarina Stuhlmann-Kortin. She states convincingly that the "letter of recantation" was written by a hand other than that of Yuriy Shukhevych. (The report of the expert is given below).

Thirdly, the latest information from Ukraine and the places of exile of Ukrainian patriots confirms that Shukhevych's closest friends know nothing about the existence of such a "letter" and that they are most surprised because he has never intended to recant. In a recent letter to a friend, written earlier this year, Yuriy Shukhevych confirmed his beliefs and his firm stand in their defence.

Thus, on all counts the "letter of recantation" allegedly written by Yuriy Shukhevych and printed in *Visti z Ukrainy* is a forgery. Its obvious intention is to convey the false notion that one of the most senior Ukrainian political prisoners has recanted his beliefs and thereby to put an end to the campaign for the release of Yuriy Shukhevych in the West.

*Ukrainian Central Information Service,
August 21, 1985*

Biography

Yuriy Shukhevych was born on 28. 3. 1933 in Lviv. He is married with two children.

He was first arrested in 1948 at the age of 14 and sentenced by the OSO (the Special Board or 'troika') of the Ministry of State Security (MGB) to 10 years for no apparent reason other than the fact that his father was the leader of the armed resistance against the Soviet Russian regime.

He was released in 1956 because a Vladimir court had ruled that he had been illegally arrested as a minor, but was forced to complete his term after the intervention of the USSR Procurator General, who argued that Shukhevych had attempted to establish contacts with the OUN abroad and that his father had been the leader of the resistance in Ukraine.

Shortly before his release, Shukhevych was visited by an officer of the Lviv KGB, who suggested that he denounce his father publicly. Yuriy Shukhevych rejected this suggestion. On the day of his release, August 21st, 1958, he was re-arrested on fabricated charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" among the prisoners in Vladimir prison. He was transferred to Lviv, where a closed session of the regional court sentenced him to 10 years of imprisonment on December 1st, 1958. Several weeks later he received another visit from the same KGB officer who said that Shukhevych's case would be reviewed if he denounced his father and the OUN. He refused once again. Similar proposals were advanced to him by the authorities on at least two occasions, in 1961 and 1964, but without success.

Shukhevych was released in 1968, but was barred from returning to Ukraine for a period of 5 years. He settled in Nalchyk, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, where he was married. On March 26th, 1972, Yuriy Shukhevych was re-arrested for "anti-So-

viet agitation and propaganda" and sentenced to 10 years of special regime camp and 5 years of internal exile, on September 9th, 1972. In February, 1979, Shukhevych joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Shortly before he was released from camp into exile, in February, 1982, he underwent an unsuccessful eye operation that left him blind.

Press Statement

To comment on anything printed in *Visti z Ukrainy* is like trying to explain to an inveterate thief the immorality of appropriating someone else's possessions. But in order to put an end to misjudgements we have to make a few comments.

The article "Prozrinnia" ("Enlightenment"), published in No. 28 of *Visti z Ukrainy*, for July, 1985, testifies to a new period in the "work" of this workshop of forgeries. This period began with the publication in a KGB leaflet of a fictitious interview with the Ukrainian political prisoner, Ivan Sokulskyi, during which the latter allegedly repented before the KGB. In addition to the fact that this "interview" was not discovered to be fictitious, this method passed the test and the next step was the article "Prozrinnia". (It was typical that the fictitious report about Sokulskyi and the fictitious report about Yu. Shukhevych were both made public under the same title — "Prozrinnia"). The latter article is a manoeuvre to bring to a halt the campaign in defence of Yu. Shukhevych in the West. We are absolutely certain that the excerpts of the "recantation" allegedly written by the hand of Yu. Shukhevych, are a forgery, and we warn the Ukrainian community about this. (To explain our considerations in detail would only teach the KGB how to make forgeries without mistakes).

August 2nd, 1985.

**Former prisoners of the Gulag,
Nina Strokata
Sviatoslav Karavanskyi.**



Ukrainian students demonstrate for the release of Yuriy Shukhevych in Washington D.C., March 29, 1985

Report of Psychologist and Handwriting Expert

Munich, August 7, 1985 — The following was issued by the "USSR News Brief":

In the 28th issue of the magazine *Visti z Ukrainy* (News From Ukraine), which is published in the USSR for foreign readers, an article is printed under the title of "Enlightenment". The article contains excerpts from a letter allegedly written by Yuriy Shukhevych and sent to the editors. In this letter Shukhevych repudiates all "nationalistic activities" and condemns his past. The editors claim that the letter was written by Shukhevych himself and the article contains a facsimile of the original, handwritten letter.

Yuriy Shukhevych is the son of a Ukrainian national hero, General Roman Shukhevych, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Yuriy has been arrested four times for "nationalistic" activities and has been sentenced to a total of 31 years of prison camps and 5 years of internal exile. While serving his last term in prison, he practically went blind. At the present time he is in exile in Siberia.

"USSR News Brief" is in the possession of a letter written from exile by Yuriy Shukhevych already after the deterioration of his sight. The handwriting of this letter is so divergent from the facsimile hand-

writing published in *Visti z Ukrainy* that doubts arose that both letters were written by the same person. Thus, "USSR News Brief" consulted Mrs. Stuhlmann-Kortin, a psychologist and handwriting expert. Mrs. Stuhlmann-Kortin examined the original letter written by Y. Shukhevych and four copies of the facsimile in the article. We could not exclude that Y. Shukhevych underwent an operation on his eyes between the writing of these two letters, possibly as a payment for the repudiation of his convictions. So, the second question for the expert to answer was: Is it possible for the operation to have affected the handwriting as much? The expert's findings are as follows:

"It is questioned, whether the original handwriting (sample "A") is identical to the facsimile handwriting (samples 1, 2, 3, 4). Assuming that the author of sample "A" underwent an exceptionally successful eye operation shortly before he completely lost his sight, it is hardly possible that his sight could have improved so distinctly to enable him to write samples 1-4. Sample "A" is too disturbed for this. Ignoring the vitality expressed in samples 1-4 (Sample "A" is much more subtle), the shape of the letters in both samples is so distinct that it is most unlikely for

Ukrainian Catholic Rights Leader, Yosyp Terelya, Sentenced To 12 Years

The International Society for Human Rights in Frankfurt and Keston College have reported that Yosyp Terelya, one of the founders of the Action Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine and its first chairman, has been sentenced to a term of seven years in the camps and five years of internal exile. The sentence was handed down on August 20 by an Uzhorod court in the Zakarpattia Oblast.¹

Terelya, who will be forty-two next month, has been a central figure in the underground Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church, which was banned by the Soviet authorities in 1946. The Ukrainian Uniates are said to number approximately four million and constitute the largest single banned religious group in the Soviet Union.² During the past several years there has been a marked increase in the activism of Ukrainian Catholics centered in the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, in September, 1982, Terelya and four others formed the Action Group. In early 1984, the Action Group began to issue a *samizdat* journal, *The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*. Thus far nine issues of the journal have reached the West. Simultaneously, the first issue of *The Ukrainian Catholic Herald* made its appearance. Although the *Herald* is not identified as an organ of the Action Group, there is no doubt that it has its origins in the same circle of activists as the *Chronicle*.

The authorities reacted to the forma-

both letters to have had one author." — *Katarina Stuhlmann-Kortin, psychologist — handwriting expert.*

Thus, we have reason to believe that the "confession" of Yuriy Shukhevych is a forgery of the Soviet authorities.

tion of the Action Group by arresting Terelya in December, 1982 for "parasitism", and on April 12, 1983, he was tried and sentenced to a term of one year in a strict-regime camp.³ Following his release in December, 1983, attempts were made to enter into a dialogue with the Ukrainian Catholic activists, but to no avail. Terelya was arrested again on February 8, 1985, and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Initially held in a prison in Uzhorod, Terelya was transferred to Lviv where, in mid-March, he was subjected to a psychiatric examination and then returned to Uzhorod to stand trial.⁴

Terelya has a long history of conflict with the regime. In his 1976 letter to the then KGB chief Yuriy Andropov, Terelya wrote that he had been hounded by the authorities because of his national consciousness and religious beliefs already as a schoolboy:

"By 1961, after having completed construction school, I was already on the "register", paying semi-weekly visits to the Office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukr.SSR, 15 Korolenko St., Room 7. In 1962 I was sentenced under Article 222, Sec. 2, and Article 223, Sec. 2, to four years in a corrective labor camp. On January 4, 1963, I fled from Uzhorod Prison No. 128-72; I was caught. Another trial, another sentence — five years in a severe-regime corrective labor camp — and, as Colonel Bilyj of the regional KGB warned me, "One more time and you won't weasel out of it..." I fled again in 1965, this time from Camp No. 128-59 in Pishchanka. In 1966, KGB officials told my mother that "if Yosyp gives up and repents, all will be forgiven, for aside from escaping, he did not commit any crime". On February 28, 1966, I appeared to repent at the regional office of the KGB in Luhansk (Voroshylovo-

hrad). You know very well how repentance is received. First, you report on all who interest the KGB, then the repentance and repudiation of "the Past". It is necessary to renounce everything. "Take off that crucifix! What kind of repentance is this?..."⁵

Terelya had already spent fourteen years in various camps, prisons, and psychiatric institutions when he was placed in a psychiatric hospital in Vynnytsya on November 2, 1976. Within about three weeks he was pronounced sane and released with a warning that he would be held accountable for his actions.

On April 28, 1977, Terelya was once again confined in a psychiatric hospital, this time in Berehovo in the Zakarpattia Oblast. He escaped on May 19, was captured in Ivano-Frankivsk on June 2, and on June 21 the Berehovo Rayon court ordered his transfer to the Dnipropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital. It was only in November, 1981 that news reached the West that Terelya had been released, only to be rearrested again soon after the formation of the Action Group in 1982.⁶

Terelya's trial follows that of Vasyl Kobryn, who had succeeded Terelya as chairman of the Action Group. Kobryn was arrested on November 11, 1984, and on March 22, 1985, he was sentenced to a term of three years in a general-regime camp for "anti-Soviet slander" (Article 187 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR). Another founding member of the Action Group, the eighty-five year-old priest Hryhoriy Budzins'kyj, was reported to have been detained in late October, 1984, and forcibly held incommunicado in a hospital for more than six weeks. Budzins'kyj is the secretary of the Action Group. According to a published report of Kobryn's trial that appeared in a local Lviv newspaper, Budzins'kyj was summoned as a witness at the trial. The same report states that no action has

been taken against Budzins'kyj because of his advanced age.⁷

The incarceration of Terelya has deprived the Uniate activists of a very energetic organizer and outspoken critic of the regime's policies vis-a-vis the suppressed Ukrainian Catholic Church. However, judging by the persistent onslaught of so-called atheist literature directed at the Uniates, one can conclude that the authorities in Kyiv by no means feel confident that they have solved the problem posed by the "non-existent" Ukrainian Catholics in the USSR.

Roman Solchanyk,
Radio Liberty Press Release
Munich, September 3, 1985

¹ International Society for Human Rights and Keston College press releases, September 2, 1985. See also *Die Welt*, August 29, 1985.

² On the Ukrainian Catholics in the USSR, see Ivan Hvat, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Vatican and the Soviet Union during the Pontificate of Pope John Paul II" *Religion in Communist Lands*, Vol. 11, No. 3, Winter, 1983, pp. 264-294; Vasyl Markus, "Religion and Nationalism in Ukraine," in Pedro Ramet, ed., *Religion and Nationalism in Soviet and East European Politics*, Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1984, pp. 59-80; and Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, "Institutional Religion and Nationality in the Soviet Union," in S. Enders Wimbush, ed., *Soviet Nationalities in Strategic Perspective*, London & Sydney, Croom Helm, 1985, pp. 188-190 and 195-196.

³ RL 168/85, "Authorities Move Against Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Activists," May 22, 1985.

⁴ *Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief*, 1985, No. 14, July 31, 1985.

⁵ Yosyp Terelya, *Notes from a Madhouse*, tr. and ed. by Bohdan Yasen, Baltimore-Washington-Toronto, Smolodskyp Publishers, 1977, p. 2.

⁶ RL 168/85.

⁷ RL 280/85, "Lvovskaya pravda on the Trial of the Ukrainian Catholic Activist Vasyl' Kobryn," August 29, 1985.

CHURCH FALLS DOWN AFTER "RESTORATION"



The Church of St. Mykola Prytysko in Kyiv, Ukraine, after "restoration" in 1984.

News from Ukraine has revealed that the Church of St. Mykola (Nicholas) Prytysko, one of the oldest surviving architectural monuments in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv, fell to the ground after "restoration". In 1983, the church was being "restored" in connection with the celebration of the "1500th anniversary of Kyiv", arranged by the Soviet Russians and depicting Ukrainian history through the eyes of the Russians. When the scaffolding was removed in 1984, the church fell to the ground as a result of the "restoration". The question is how could this church just simply fall down (especially after "restoration")? What were the supervisors and workmen paying attention to? This could surely not have been an accident, but a deliberate step to destroy one of Ukraine's historic relics.

In this way, the Soviet Russians deliberately destroy Ukrainian historical and cultural monuments, irrespective of the fact that there exists a society for the

preservation of such monuments in Ukraine, and of the fact that historical monuments are protected by the Constitution of the USSR (Art. 27) and by the law of the Ukrainian SSR.

Over the years, the press in Ukraine has written many times about the careless and irresponsible treatment of Ukrainian historical and cultural monuments by institutions and organisations responsible for their preservation. This goes hand in hand with the policy of the Soviet Russian authorities to deliberately destroy Ukrainian historical and cultural relics in order to wipe away all traces of Ukraine's past development independent of Russia and its ancient historic existence as a separate nation.

The Church of St. Mykola Prytysko was built in 1631. It was one of the first single-cupola stone churches to be built on the banks of the Dnipro River.

*Ukrainian Central Information
Service, July 22, 1985*

Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine

PART V

The Catholic church in the village of Mereshiv, Peremyshlyany district, Lviv region, was closed because the villagers did not accept a Russian priest. There is nothing in the law which states that only a priest, and a Russian Orthodox priest at that, has the right to conduct services in a church. The church was closed in 1983.

*

In 1984, the functioning church in the village of Kemeriv, Peremyshlyany district, was closed on the same grounds. An undertaker's establishment was opened up in the church.

*

On 23 May, 1984, in the town of Bibrka, the functioning church of the local Ukrainian Catholics was destroyed on the grounds that they did not accept a Russian priest. That day, a motor vehicle full of soldiers arrived outside the church and in 15 minutes there was nothing left of the church. The books, icons and banners, and all the other church property were completely destroyed.

*

On Easter Day, in the village of Tuchne, district of Peremyshlyany, the public prosecutor of the district, Kovalchuk, drove around the village with a mob of militia. They forced their way into houses and if the people in the house were listening to the Holy Mass broadcast from the Vatican, then he personally switched off their radio and threatened the owners with deportation to Siberia. If this were to happen, who would be left in the village?

The faithful lackeys of the Muscovite occupants, the local communists, were leaping out of their skin to earn Judas' silver pieces. But one should not forget that it does not matter in the slightest to

the occupants, whom they destroy first. Having destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church, they will turn on the local communists. This has happened before...

*

In the village of Velyki Komyaty, a search was carried out in the house of Ivancho Vasylyna, a Catholic. A Catholic catechism, a Bible and a prayer book "For All Needs" were taken away. After the search, Vasylyna Ivancho was taken to the district town of Vynohradiv.

*

The Catholic believer, Petro Symko, is gravely ill. He has gone blind and is chained to his bed by a serious illness. Pray for brother Symko! In the past, Petro Symko was one of the greatest activists of the Catholic underground in Ukraine. Pray every day and at all times of need for our courageous brother.

*

On 30th May, the relatives of Fr. Antin Potochnyak received a telegram informing them of Fr. Antin's death or, to be more precise, of his murder.

*

In the village of Hrusheve, Tyachivskiyi district, Zakarpatska region, M. Mykulyanych, a Jehovah's Witness, was arrested. He was accused on the basis of Art. 209-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. During a search, a Bible and several issues of the magazine "Watchtower" and "Awake" were confiscated. His trial took place at the end of March and he was sentenced to 3 years of concentration camps.

*

In the village of Teresva, Tyachivskiyi district, the rural worker, Ivan Zyza, was arrested for returning his passport to the authorities stating that he refused to have anything in common with the authorities of Satan. I. Zyza is one of the Catholics

who returned from "penitence". During the inquest a KGB man said to Zyza: "It would have been better had you remained the way you were. We wouldn't have to put you on trial..." Zyza was sentenced to two years of concentration camps. On the third day after his arrival in the concentration camp at Pischanka, Ivan Zyza was confined to a punishment cell.

*

In the village of Tereblya, Tyachivskyi district, Ivan Roman, who worked for the forestry commission, was arrested. He was accused of membership of the Church of the Evangelical Christians — Baptists, according to Art. 138-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. His trial took place in February, 1984.

*

Case No. 3-1, 1984.

DECISION

27th February, 1984.

The People's District Court of Stryi, Lviv region, composed of the following:

Presiding judge — Mamchur Ya. S. People's assessors — Ratych M. M., Yunyk S. M. Secretary — Yurkiv O. P. in the presence of the public prosecutor — Yaroshchak P. V. and the attorney — Matsypura H. I. examined at an open hearing in the town of Stryi, the proposal submitted by the administrative staff of the Berezhnytskyi inter-district psychiatric hospital of the Stryi district, Lviv region, to change the type of psychiatric hospital for Rafalskyi Viktor Parfentiyevych, born in 1918, who is ill. He was charged according to Art. 62-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR by the decision of 5th March, 1981, of the People's District Court of Sychevsk, Smolensk region, and directed to undergo treatment at a general psychiatric hospital.

DECISION

The administration of the psychiatric hospital has asked that the type of me-

dical treatment administered on Rafalskyi V. P. be changed from compulsory treatment in a general psychiatric hospital to compulsory treatment in a special psychiatric hospital, due to a deterioration in his condition. At the end of January, 1983, he escaped from the hospital and was apprehended in Moscow. After his return to the hospital, on 17. 3. 1983, his mental state failed to improve. He needs constant attention so that he does not repeat his socially-dangerous actions again. This is rather difficult to do in the conditions of a general psychiatric hospital.

From the conclusions drawn by the fixed legal-psychiatric commission No. 48 of 1. 2. 1984, it is obvious that Rafalskyi V. P. is suffering from mental illness in the form of schizophrenia with a pronounced defect in his will and emotions. The characteristics of the course of his illness and the nature of the dangerous acts which he has repeatedly committed, indicate the necessity, in this case, of administering compulsory medical treatment on the ill Rafalskyi V. P., in a special hospital in the MVD¹ system.

Having examined the gathered evidence, poems written in a state of schizophrenic delirium, various expressions criticising the CPSU and the conclusions of the public prosecutor and the defending attorney, the court sees it necessary to administer compulsory treatment on Rafalskyi in a special psychiatric hospital, and therefore, on the basis of the above evidence, and also due to the fact that in the conditions of a special psychiatric hospital it will not be possible for him to commit his next socially-dangerous crime, in accordance with Art. 13 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and Art. 422 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukrainian SSR, the court has decided to:

Change the type of compulsory treatment administered on Rafalskyi V. P.

from a general psychiatric hospital to a special psychiatric hospital in the MVD system.

This decision may be appealed in Lviv Regional Court, within the next seven days.

Presiding judge — Mamchur Ya. S. People's assessors — Ratych M. M., Yunnyk S. M. Conforms with the original document: Head of the People's Court — Ya. S. Mamchur.

It is interesting to know why poems written in a state of "schizophrenic delirium" are dangerous to the CPSU and why an escape to Moscow is an immeasurable crime?!

Is it possible that those who treat Rafalskyi so cruelly are so sure of their impunity? Is it possible that they think their attempts to destroy a Ukrainian patriot will be drowned in the Lethe?² Behind the psychiatrists and the Soviet Court stands the KGB — itself a terrible criminal. It is responsible for all the crimes committed by the authorities. The Catholic Church considers the sentence of compulsory treatment in a psychiatric hospital, passed upon Rafalskyi, to be a plain encroachment on the life of a Ukrainian poet, and we shall never forget the victim of the high-handedness of the KGB or those who torment him.

Pray for the martyr Rafalskyi! Protest!

*

Ukrainians!

From the 3rd to the 9th of May, many Catholics and non-Catholics, on the territory of Transcarpathian Ukraine, received notification from the Military Commissariat about the call-up of reservists, apparently due to the worsening situation of the USSR. What is this? This is an obvious provocation on the part of the Muscovite occupants. There is no situation of tension. They want to throw you into the carnage of Afghanistan.

The conscience of every member of the Ukrainian nation will be with him. De-

cide for yourselves which way to turn your weapons and your hate, according to your conscience and the faith of your father and grandfathers, which is scorned and destroyed by Moscow...

*

Recently the authorities began to use the term "neo-Uniates". What is this? Where do they originate from and do they exist? Basically, the authorities are presently seeking ways of discrediting our Ukrainian Catholic Church. Therefore, the KGB has brought into use the term "neo-Uniates" in place of the old name "penitents" [pokutnyky — in Ukrainian].

It is perfectly obvious that a "Uniate" is someone who has united with Rome. In that case, with whom have the KGB's "neo-Uniates" formed a union? This ill-considered provocation at the hands of the KGB eventually made its way to the texts of broadcasts by "Radio Liberty". But, it is easier for them than for anyone else, to get the true facts from Patriarch Josyf I, the head of our Church. Even the fraction of "penitents" do not call themselves "neo-Uniates". They do not call themselves "penitents" either, but true Catholics. What is more, after the departure of Fr. Antin Potochnyak from this "movement", the main body of faithful returned to their previous positions, and the few dozen who remained on the instructions of the KGB, suddenly by someone's ill-considered move, became "neo-Uniates". Only a person unversed in the matters of the faith can use the term "neo-Uniates". Thus, it is even more unusual that the Ukrainian department of "Radio Liberty" found it possible to devote time to the "neo-Uniates", who do not exist. However, someone has brought this information to the "Radio"!

Our faithful often ask why our (Ukrainian) department of the "Radio" does not devote its attention to the religious upbringing of our youth? They tell us to write to Nadiyka, but it is not Svitlychna

who puts together the programmes. They ask why there is so much "water" in the programmes, why the Russian department of "Liberty" is more interesting than ours, and thousands of other questions. "Why?" ...We explain to them that we do not have any influence at all on the composition of radio broadcasts. The only thing we can do is to ask "Radio Vatican" for a Ukrainian section, so that after the service, it could broadcast more materials on Church unity, and also the artistic creations and musical compositions of our national poets, composers and writers.

*

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from citizen Kobryn, Vasyly Antonovych.

STATEMENT

On the 1st of November, 1979, the people of Lviv, according to Christian tradition, came down to the Yanivskiy cemetery to visit the graves of their deceased parents and relatives, so that on that day they could remember them in their prayers. I also came to the cemetery to visit the graves of my relatives and close friends. When I was walking past the graves of the Sich Riflemen, I saw how the KGB and the militia walked around in lines kicking over with the toe-caps of their boots the candles and wreaths, which the people of Lviv had placed on the graves of their sons and fathers during the night...

I walked up to a demolished grave and replaced a candle, which had been trampled into the snow. I did as was required of a Christian. Then about 5 or 6 men in uniform jumped upon me and began to beat me up without uttering a single word. At the same time, the KGB men were forcing me to knock the candle off the grave. I refused...

After that, the militia led me away to the administrative building of the cemetery, where they searched me and began

to interrogate me. I refused to answer their questions, stating that all this was a breach of Soviet law. They began to beat me once again, swearing and reproaching me as a nationalist. Then some official of the KGB walked in, took a bunch of flowers, which had been taken away from an old woman, from the table and said that he will place these flowers on the grave of her... (he expressed himself using an obscene word) Kozak (a communist killed in the 1930s). I could not bear this and said that nobody talks about the dead like that, especially about their fellow communist. The KGB man replied that everyone in "Banderivshchyna"³ is a "Banderite"⁴ and if he personally was in charge then he would shoot everybody... There is nothing strange about this for the organs of the KGB are filled with people to whom nothing is sacred, and what is more, people who are the bitter enemies of Ukraine. The KGB are uncontrolled criminals in the service of the state, which cannot do without these "oprychnyky".⁵

After the brainwashing, I was led away to the district court, where, without any of the normal customary procedures, the judge read out his decision — 15 days of arrest. When I asked for what reason and where in Soviet law it is stated that people should be put on trial for visiting the graves of the Sich Riflemen, he shouted out that they [the militia] should take me away and give me a good seeing to for I was too clever. After the trial, I declared a hunger strike.

On the 6th day, the public prosecutor came down and began a conversation with me. He put all sorts of provocative questions to me, called me a nationalist and finally gave orders that I should be taken to the regional psychiatric hospital. This was done by the militia and the murderers in white coats.

The doctors asked me why I had been arrested by the militia. When I replied

that they arrested me for visiting the graves of the Sich Riflemen⁶, they began to laugh. Then one of the doctors said that they will treat me for a while and I would be cured of the "Banderite" nonsense...

After 15 days, the senior doctor, Myziuk B. U., summoned me and said that if I did not go to the graves any more, I would be released. In his final report on me he put down "psychopathy". I did not know that my relatives had raised their voices on my behalf and were anxious to secure my release. The doctor went on to say that if I had not been a Ukrainian Catholic, then most probably no one would have bothered me.

One should not think that the communists of Moscow have destroyed only Ukrainian graves. No! The city of Lviv is full of graves from the tragic invasions of various nations, with the exception of Russian graves... Soldiers of the Polish armies were buried at the same time as the Sich Riflemen. Their graves have also been destroyed. I would like to add that these graves were built not long before the so-called Soviet rule in Russia itself. The Polish community, at its own leisure, erected magnificent monuments to the American, English and French officers who fought on the side of the Poles against the UNR,⁷ but it never occurred to anyone to destroy these graves. And yet, the KGB troublemakers not only destroyed, but dishonoured these graves as well. They built garages on top of them!

In the 1930s, the Ukrainian community built magnificent monuments to the Turkish and German soldiers of the First World War. They met the same fate as the Polish graves...

The Jewish cemetery was not left in peace either. The start was made by the "Hitlerites", the former allies of Moscow, and now there are sand quarries in the place where the Jewish cemetery once was.

From long ago, the Ukrainian people

have respect for the graves of their ancestors. This is one of our national cults. As far back as the era of the Cossacks, our people raised huge mounds over their graves and placed crosses on the top. Now there are no Cossack graves. They have been destroyed by the most terrible occupant that history has ever known... The respect for graves is part of our national culture, part of our integrity, which you destroy with such cruelty and hatred. The sin itself, of desecrating graves, committed by people is terrible in itself, but you have overstepped all the bounds of what is permitted. You have spat in the face of all the nations of the world. Such is your culture. But what can one say when the fresh grave of the composer, V. Ivasiuk, was burnt on the very night after he was buried. All this is the work of the criminals and bandits of the KGB. I will not mention the Constitution and the law for the USSR does not have them, it has never had them and it never will...

I have written this statement in the hope that the matter of the graves and monuments will be resolved positively. What has been destroyed cannot be restored... But, you should bear in mind what will happen in the near future to your graves, where unwanted Russian "guests" are buried on our land. The graves are part of the history of our ancestors.

22nd January, 1980.

*

On the 21st of May of this year [1984], Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi died at the age of 88. On 23rd May, the fiercest national revolutionary of Ukraine was buried in his native town.

V. Horbovyi knew I. Franko personally and was acquainted with many activists of the national movement of Ukraine. In 1919, he was wounded at Koziatyn, in a battle with the Muscovite invader. In 1922, he was sentenced to death by hanging by the regime of Pilsudski. He escaped from prison. He spent his time in hiding

and after some time escaped across the border into the territory of Transcarpathian Ukraine, which had been ripped apart into 4 parts. Subcarpathian Rus⁸ was formed out of Western Transcarpathia.

He lived in Paris and Bratislava. He was a member of the OUN and at the same time head of the Ukrainian National Committee. During the war, the Gestapo arrested him along with S. Bandera⁹ and Ya. Stetsko.¹⁰ He was incarcerated in Maobitski prison.¹¹ In 1947, he was arrested in "new" Poland for escaping the punishment of Marshal Pilsudski in 1922. In 1949, the Polish authorities handed V. Horbovyi over to the Soviets. He was the only person ever to have been imprisoned at the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU. He spent 25 years in Soviet concentration camps.

May the memory of the national hero of Ukraine, Dr. Horbovyi, be everlasting!

*

On Easter Day, the functioning church in the village of Dobrianske, Tyachevskyi district, Transcarpathian region, was closed down by force. The motives were exactly the same [as in the other villages] — the villagers did not want a Muscovite priest. After a brawl with the militia and its assistants, the local Orthodox priest was arrested, supposedly for being a secret Uniate under whose influence the villagers started the fight with the authorities. Five villagers were also arrested...

*

Who knows how many times the authorities have already threatened the head of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics, Yosyp Terelya, with physical punishment. This time, after the last "chat" and a proposition by the district public prosecutor, Stepan Brayila, who has even set a date for this — the 10th of June this year [1984], Yosyp Terelya has to consider the whole issue and come out with a proposition for the secession of the

Ukrainian Catholic Church from the influence of the Pope. As a result of this, the authorities will give freedom to the so-called "Autocephalous Ukrainian Catholic Church"... Interesting! The authorities say that the Ukrainian Catholic Church does not exist — that it was thought up by the Ukrainian emigrants together with Patriarch Josyf Slipyj. If this is so, to whom does Moscow want to "give" autocephaly? What kind of Catholic Church would it be without the Vatican?

*

Why was Fr. Antin Potochnyak murdered?

In the years 1958-1959, in connection with the ascent of the Catholic Church in Ukraine, the Kremlin had the intention of creating dissention among the ranks of the Church. With this in mind, agents of the KGB were implanted among the underground members of the Catholic Church. Of particular note was KGB Major Volodymyr Demchenko, a Ukrainian from the Donetsk region, who said that he loved the Eastern rite of the Catholic Church and also that he was a former employee of the KGB but had now repented and understood everything... The KGB did not choose the time after the death of Pope Pius XII for nothing. The Pope's death served the purpose of covering up the long-term aims of Moscow, which it failed to achieve...

V. Demchenko acquired from somewhere a "document", which stated that Pope Pius XII had been poisoned. This was the base upon which the KGB built its long-term goals...

At the same time, informers from among the camp "squealers" were also implanted. They had the task of influencing the faithful with their authority under the cover of their past. In this way, Oleksa Hnydin, a citizen of Lviv born in 1929, made his way into the underground. This agent provocateur carried

out a special task in the movement of "penitents" in Ukraine. O. Hnydin betrayed a group of patriots who were planning the assassination of Khrushchev in 1961. This was a double provocation. Three people were shot and the remaining 19 received varying sentences of imprisonment. But, the most important thing is that those who had led to this affair disappeared somewhere without trace. Oleksa Hnydin also disappeared.

In order to save the Church and to prevent the KGB from preparing a split, Fr. Antin Potochnyak joined the KGB's movement of "penitents", on the instructions of the OUN. The work carried out by Fr. Antin was immense. With his authority, he prevented those faithful who had been allured from going down the path along which the agents of the KGB and the whole net of agents provocateurs from among the "formers", were pushing them. In 1982, Fr. Antin stepped forward and opened the eyes of very many faithful, as a result of which the main body returned to their former position. At this time, Fr. Antin was already a member of the UNF (Ukrainian National Front), which was formed in 1964 by Dmytro Kvetzko, a teacher, and Zinoviy Krasivskiy, a poet.

At the moment, there are only 10 "penitents" in Transcarpathian Ukraine, who actually believe in the "revelations" of the KGB and remain in their present positions. In addition, 117 such people remain in Halychyna and Pokuttya...

The final work of the agent provocateur, O. Hnydin, was the arrest of Semen Skalych. The agent provocateur handed over all his archives, poems and notes to the KGB, and S. Skalych was locked away in a concentration camp in Perm for 15 years...

On the 29th of May, Fr. Antin Potochnyak was murdered. He was murdered out of revenge and awareness of the fact

that the KGB had failed to create a split (in the Ukrainian Catholic Church)...

On the 28th of May, after his last "lavage" of the stomach, the sick Fr. Antin Potochnyak began to feel better. But, this came from the mouths of the murderers. On the 29th of May, his stomach became unusually bloated. The prison doctors said it was from porridge and milk... At 9 o'clock local time, Fr. Antin died

The 72 year-old Ukrainian Catholic priest was tortured to death — murdered. May his memory be eternal!

Fr. Antin was born in 1912. After completing the Ecclesiastical Academy, he studied in Rome. He was an active participant of the national movement. In 1944, Fr. Antin was a military commander of the UPA. In 1947, he was sentenced to 25 years of concentration camps. He carried out a whole line of responsible tasks of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. On the whole, Fr. Antin spent over 29 years in prisons and concentration camps. In 1982, he became a member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine. Along with this, Fr. Antin was a member of the Central Leadership of the UNF, as a member of its Executive Committee. He was a faithful son of Ukraine, who devoted his entire conscious life to Ukraine and his people.

The murder of the priest had been thought up and decided in advance. The camp doctor, Captain Talyzin, and the camp commandant, Lt. Col. Povshenko, both of whom live in Lviv, are responsible for his murder! Murderers, who fearfully hide their eyes, filled with blood, walk along the streets of our native city... They will not be forgiven! Only the Lord God can forgive them... but such people do not repent. They just prepare themselves for new crimes because that is what their Party orders them to do...

*

Bern, Switzerland,
The International Christian
Solidarity.

Brothers! Friends!

The task of the Church is to bring people round to recognise the will of God. And every particular Church aspires to propagate the will of our God, Who died on the cross for us and for our sins, and Who rose from the dead on the third day, as was written in the Holy Scripture. Our Ukrainian Catholic Church also aspires towards this. Our Church is one of the servants of Jesus Christ, for just as Jesus was persecuted and crucified, so our Church has been persecuted and crucified by the atheist communists. We do not have the right to live and to exist. We are persecuted and without any rights! Jesus Christ said: "...men will hand you over to their courts, they will flog you in the synagogues, and you will be brought before governors and kings, for my sake..." (Mat. 10:17-18). Every true Christian desires to win Christ's love and favour in everything, even in His death, for it is by this very thing that true Christians are distinguished... And it is true that: "...who does not take up his own cross and follow in My footsteps, he is not worthy of Me" (Mat. 10:38).

No one can say how many martyrs have given their lives for the love bequeathed to us by Jesus Christ. The rulers of the Kremlin decided for us and for the whole world, that the faith must be destroyed, and the Catholic Church with it... Moscow took upon itself this mission of Satan. It took it and stepped out against truth, sowing seeds of wickedness and hatred among the peoples of our planet, setting alight quarrels and military conflicts and threatening the world with nuclear war in order to paralyze the will of the people through fear, and to force the peoples to bow down before the Prince of Darkness, and to reduce everyone and every-

thing to the same level, to brand everyone with the mark of callousness and the negation of truth.

How can Christian solidarity oppose the atheist communists? It can do so with truth and the freedom of speech!

Why do the rulers of the Kremlin destroy with such cruelty everything that is merely connected with the name of God? Why is there such hatred towards the Ukrainian Catholic Church? Our Church has never bowed its head before violence and evil. It has always remained with its people. The Church has taught to love, but it also teaches to resist... Without our Church we would become like our brothers in Eastern Ukraine, where there is only one church between ten villages, if even that. Jesus has been stolen from our people, the spirit of love and the spirit of solidarity have been destroyed, and our faithful and priests, who are spreading the Christian mission throughout the whole of Ukraine and also in Russia, are persecuted with hatred. In 1982, during my stay in Moscow, I was arrested in the apartment of a Russian Christian, Lena Sannikova. The people, who arrested me, took me down to the 10th Department of the militia, where the KGB conducted a "chat" with me, during which they demanded that I agree to emigrate and also threatened me for propagating the idea of unity of Churches. One of the KGB men said: "Is Ukraine not enough for you? Why the devil are you preaching papism to the Russians? We are Orthodox". Thus, the KGB include themselves in the Orthodox Church. To my question that in this case why do they destroy every Christian Church, he replied that we are spies and traitors. As if my friends and I swore allegiance to Moscow.

Ukrainian Catholics will never bow their heads before evil and violence. We have chosen to love and to fight! Our Church is grateful to our friends from the International Christian Solidarity. We are

grateful because you have not forgotten our difficult struggle for the establishment of truth.

A new trial is being prepared for me, and this time they have threatened me with death... They do not know what they are doing.

Yours always in Jesus Christ,

Yosyp Terelya.

7. 6. 1984.

*

On the 7th of June this year [1984], all the priests of the region were summoned to the Mukachiv eparchy, where the decision of the Church authorities was read out to them. They are no longer to conduct services on Sunday. Instead, they are to conduct Mass on Saturday evening. In this way, Bishop Savva (Oleksander Pavlovych Babynets, appointed Bishop of Mukachiv and Uzhhorod on 18. 3. 1977) destroyed in a single sweep everything that had been sacred to every Christian throughout all the ages of our national history.

On Saturday, the 8th of June, the priests were summoned by the district authorities to the District Executive Committees, where it was officially stated to them that they are to conduct Mass on Saturday and not on Sunday morning or Sunday evening. Those priests, who did not have a beard (they were in a majority), were obliged by the officials dealing with religion to have beards! That the authorities have launched a drive against religion on such a wide scale is not new, but even Stalin feared to move at such tempos. Maybe the present rulers of the Kremlin

have forgotten that the Ukrainians can fight for their rights? Such are the agents provocateurs, like Bishop Savva, who was once an informer of the KGB and on whose conscience lie dozens of those who were tortured to death and shot in the vaults of MGB-KGB. Because of information betrayed by him, the Ukrainian insurgents, Ivan Drach and Ivan Sytar, who lived in the village of Kolochava, Mizhhorodskyi district, Transcarpathian region, were shot, and also because he revealed the holy sacrament of confession, the KGB destroyed the whole family of V. Pakanych, all of whom were burnt alive in their own house.

¹ Ministry of the Interior of the USSR.

² Mythology — forgetfulness.

³ Derogatory term applied to Ukraine by the Russians. It is derived from Stepan Bandera, leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) from 1940-1959.

⁴ Derogatory term applied to Ukrainian nationalists, in this case to all Ukrainians. Also derived from Stepan Bandera.

⁵ Private army of Ivan IV "The Terrible" (1533-1584), Grand Duke of Muscovy, which spread terror throughout the land by killing and torturing people on the orders of their master, during his reign of terror "The Oprichnina".

⁶ Ukrainian military units during World War I.

⁷ Ukrainian National Republic.

⁸ Rus' is the ancient historical name of Ukraine.

⁹ See note 3.

¹⁰ Prime Minister of the Ukrainian government set up on the 30th of June, 1941.

¹¹ Probably a mistake. It is known that, at that time Horbovyi was in Montyliupikh prison in Cracow.

"How good it is that I do not fear death, and 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".

(From "Candle in the mirror" by Vasyl Stus)

W. Oleskiw (Great Britain)

"We Must Continue Our Struggle"

(Greetings to the AF ABN Congress, May 18 & 19, 1985, New York)

I have a great honour to be present at this important ABN Congress and to greet you on behalf of the ABN delegation in Great Britain and the Ukrainian community in the U.K., and to wish you every success.

We are aware that this Congress is taking place at a most precarious time and that its proceedings and results will be under the most thorough scrutiny, equally by our friends and foes. Perhaps never before the ideals of the ABN, its activities and its leaders have been under such concerted attacks, both in our native countries behind the Iron Curtain and in the Free World, and especially here in the USA, as we are witnessing nowadays.

The aim of this onslaught is to compromise in the eyes of peoples the national ideals of our countries and their leading protagonists and advocates.

There is no doubt in our minds that this new wave of slanderous propaganda against the representatives of the subjugated nations has originated and is being directed from Moscow. The accusations meted out by the Moscow centre and its fifth columns in the West against the liberation movements of our nations and their leaders are so ridiculous that they do not warrant to be dealt with here in detail. This is being done very well by some objective and unbiased Western journalists in some serious newspapers, magazines and other publications, (see, for instance, "Hunt today's beasts, not old Nazis" by Barbara Amiel, *Toronto Sun*, 21. 4. 85, "Soviets greater menace than dead Nazis" by Eric Margolis, *Toronto Sun*, 28. 4. 85, "World War II: Moscow's selective memory" by Bohdan Nahaylo, *The Wall Street Journal*, May 8, 1985, "Are the Nazi hunters playing the KGB's game?" by Jeremy Campbell, *The London Standard*, 8. 5. 85, "Never trust the Russians", *The Daily Mail*, London, 2. 5. 85). They all come to the conclusion that the Russians are doing this in order to cover up their own atrocities perpetrated against so many nations, not only during the last war, and thus to present themselves as a civilized and peace-loving nation. Indeed, in this slanderous campaign, no Russian is being accused of any crime or misdeed during the last war on either side of the warring blocs, although it is no secret that on the German side not one division, but a whole Russian Army under Gen. Vlasow, took part.

However, the real reason for this outburst of Russian wrath is much more serious. For centuries now the Russian empire has expanded unabated by the free nations. In all major conflicts among European nations during the last three centuries, Russia allied herself with a group of Western nations, especially with Anglo-Saxons. Because of this, the Russian empire emerged stronger from each such conflict, especially from the last world war.

However, the end of this Second World War also resulted in a great division between East and West. For the first time in its history, the Russian empire, through its own political designs, became isolated. Hitherto, warring nations of Western Europe, together with the USA and other civilized and democratic countries created a powerful alliance for the defense against further Russian expansion. Both sides reverted to psychological and political warfare, accompanied by a great arms race. Two new hostile camps were finally established.

For the first time in modern history, the subjugated nations in the Russian empire have become potential allies of the Western bloc. With our help, the Free World began to understand the true nature of Russian imperialism which endangers the whole world. As a result of our long and tedious political and other activities, accompanied by Moscow's ceaseless subversive actions inside free societies, as well as new conquests, some of the Western Statesmen, notably President Reagan, finally called the Russian adversary by its proper name and declared moral support for the liberation movements of the subjugated nations.

This, in my opinion, is the main cause of Moscow's present counter attack. Russian leaders, old and new, understand perfectly well that as soon as Western powers step on the path of an active liberation policy towards the subjugated nations, the Russian empire will find itself in mortal danger.

Therefore, our task is to continue our struggle on all fronts — both inside our native countries and among the free Western societies to maintain and strengthen present favourable political constellation.

The greatest danger to the Russian empire is the spreading of truth about its very nature, the truth about the subjugated nations and their aims. This truth has been subdued for too long by all kinds of devious means. But finally, this barrier of silence has been broken. Some excellent books have recently been published on the subject of communism and Russian imperialism. Some authors envisage the fall of this 'evil empire' ("The Third World War" by Gen. John Hackett, "The Fall of the Russian Empire" by Donald James, "Could the Soviet Empire Fall From Within?" by Stefan Terlezki, etc.).

Again, for the first time in history, we are politically active in every Western country and thus are spreading our *truth* at all levels of Western societies. From elementary schools to universities, from factories to the offices of the highest state establishments, we are in a position to spread our ideals, our *truth*.

We should, however, be aware that the Russophilic tendencies are still deeply rooted in some sections of societies after centuries-long unabated Russian propaganda. But now they are on the defensive.

Therefore, we should not be disheartened by the latest outburst of fresh actions against us. This only means that our activities have hurt our enemy at his weakest points — the national question of the subjugated nations and the necessity of destroying this last empire as a source of all troubles in today's world, by the combined forces of the subjugated and free nations, thus avoiding an atomic holocaust.

Our aims and ideals are noble and just, and in order to attain them, we should concentrate all our resources and activities now, as well as in the future. May the Almighty God help us in our endeavours.

THE AGONY OF A NATION by STEPHEN OLESKIW
The Great Man-Made Famine in Ukraine, 1932-1933
Foreword by Malcolm Muggeridge
Available from:
ABN, Zeppelinstr. 67, 8000 Munich 80, West Germany.
Price: \$5.00.

Greetings to the AF ABN Congress, May 18 & 19, 1985, New York (cont.)

Thank you for your invitation to attend your banquet in New York City on May 18, 1985. I deeply regret that I have commitments in my district in Illinois on that date which will prevent me from attending.

Please know that I am with you in spirit as I strongly support the goals of your organization and the spreading of democracy and human rights throughout the world.

I wish you every success.

Most cordially yours,

Henry J. Hyde

Member of U.S. Congress

*

Thank you for your kind invitation to take part in the upcoming meeting of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Unfortunately, however, I cannot attend because of a long-standing previous commitment.

I do want to take this opportunity to restate my steadfast support for the struggles of captive nations who still believe in their eventual freedom from the bondage of Soviet tyranny. As long as I am in Congress, I will fight to see to it that this nation does whatever it can to promote this most worthy cause.

Sincerely,

Gerald B. Solomon

Member of U.S. Congress

*

The oppressed people of the Captive Nations will not remain oppressed forever. The torch of freedom will never be extinguished.

With the help of God, the perseverance of the AF ABN, and through the strength and unity of the Free World, the Soviet-dominated captives will achieve self-determination and national sovereignty.

Best wishes on the occasion of your Annual Congress.

Faithfully yours,

George C. Wortley

Member of U.S. Congress

*

Thank you for your kind invitation to the AF ABN Congress. Unfortunately, we shall be unable to attend, for as a small organisation, it is financially impossible. The same reason precludes us from sending any other delegate, either for the main conference or to participate on the youth panel.

We are confident that the Croatian Guardians of Liberty Inc. for the United States of America will attend your conference and that they will represent our interests.

On behalf of the Association of Croats in Great Britain, we wish you every success with the Congress.

Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

Association of Croats in Great Britain

F. Kokic, Chairman

F. Murr, Secretary

Thank you very much for your kind invitation to the AF ABN Congress on May, 18, 1985. I very much regret that for technical reasons, I will not be able to attend this very important gathering at which the voice and solidarity of millions of people subjugated by Russia will be expressed. On behalf of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee and myself, I wish the participants of the Congress much success in their struggle against Russian colonialism and imperialism.

Moscow has once again shown its true face through its occupation of Afghanistan. All the peoples living in Afghanistan, including Turkestanis, are standing up in a united front against the occupiers in order to attain freedom, indivisibility and independence of Afghanistan under the slogan "Allah biz bilan" (God is with us).

I, therefore, call upon a firmer solidarity and even greater continuity in the fight against Russian imperialism and colonialism.

*National Turkestanian Unity Committee
V. Kajum-Khan
President*

March For Peace Through Liberation

Captive Nations Week was commemorated this year under the auspices of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in New York City on Sunday, July 14. The observance ceremonies began at 10.30 am at Dag Hammarskjold Plaza with the assembly of the captive nations' delegates and the singing of the American national anthem. After a communal prayer for the speedy recovery of President Reagan, Prof. Nicholas Chirowsky, AF ABN National Chairman, gave an opening address in which he stated that the captive nations will gather together in such a way every year until all of these nations become free and independent from Russian colonial rule.

The master of ceremonies, Mrs. Roxolana Potter, then read a telegram from US Senator Alfonse D'Amato, in which the Senator expressed his firm conviction that "we shall not remain silent as long as Soviet Russian aggression continues to exist". Other speakers at the rally were: Benjamin Lang, cultural representative to the US from the Republic of China; J. Ni-

kas, special assistant to Mario Cuomo, Governor of New York State, who read the Captive Nations Week Proclamation and greeted all the participants on behalf of the Governor; John Horvat, representative of "Traditions, Family and Property", who expressed his objections to economical and technological trade between the US and the Soviet Union, and the necessity to build-up US armed forces; Yaroslav Hayvas, representative of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, called for greater external affairs activities, as well as for more coordination in the anti-Bolshevik struggle for the liberation of all the subjugated nations.

Approximately 300 participants, which included representatives from Ukraine, Lithuania, Afghanistan, Poland, Cuba, Nicaragua, Free China, Vietnam, Hungary, Rumania and others, proceeded to parade to the Soviet Russian Mission on 67th Street, where a demonstration was staged. Speakers from Afghanistan, Cuba, Hungary, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Poland and Ukraine presented short addresses calling on support for the freedom fighters

of all the nations subjugated by Russian communism and imperialism. Between the speeches, all the participants expressed their indignation at the current situation in their respective homelands by crying out slogans, such as: "Free all the captive nations!", "Freedom for Ukraine, Poland, Hungary", and others, "Death to Gorbachev!"

The rally and mass demonstration received wide press coverage, and objective and positive articles appeared in "Newsday", "The New York City Tribune", "United Press International", on Radio VINS, and others, thus demonstrating the success of this latest action in defense of all the nations at present under Soviet Russian colonial rule. *I. K.*

Captive Nations Week Resolution

WHEREAS, the ruling class of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is engaged in a relentless war against the government and people of the United States, aiming to subvert and overthrow by violence our representative form of government and to replace it with the dictatorship of Marxism; and

WHEREAS, the evidence of that warfare is seen in the extensive espionage and KGB activities taking place within the United States; in the war preparations underway in the Soviet Union; in the Soviet Russian refusal to allow on-site inspection of their nuclear weapons arsenal; in the efforts of Soviet Russia to subvert democratic governments in Latin America and to replace them with Marxist dictatorships; and

WHEREAS, the United States is compelled to respond to this threat by modernizing our defense against all forms of foreign aggression, including an outer space defense system, costing in excess of 200 billion dollars each year; and

WHEREAS, the Congress of the United States has found (P.L. 86/90) that one of the greatest deterrents to war and the best hopes for a just peace are the striv-

ings for freedom and national independence by the peoples of the many non-Russian nations held captive by imperial Russia; and

WHEREAS, it serves our highest national interests and the cause of human freedom everywhere to encourage the peoples of the captive non-Russian nations to continue their struggle against the ancient tyranny of Moscow,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: That July 14 through 20, 1985 be proclaimed as CAPTIVE NATIONS OBSERVANCE WEEK in Buffalo, Erie County and Western New York; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the Citizens of Western New York be encouraged to demonstrate support for the aspirations of the peoples of the captive nations, as a reliable key to peace, through appropriate public ceremonies and the power of prayers.

THIS RESOLUTION WAS ACCEPTED BY ACCLAMATION at the Annual Dinner held in the Ukrainian Home "DNIPRO", Buffalo, July 1985.

*Captive Nations Committee
of Western New York*

"Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism even if the latter is just, irreproachable, and civilized"... (! — editors)

Words of the "prophet" Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 19, p. 39 (V)

Turkestanis Participate at JAMFEST '85



Turkestan delegation at the International Youth Conference during JAMFEST '85 held in Kingston, Jamaica, April 1-3, 1985.



Members of the National Dance and Song Groups of Turkestan performing at the International Folklore Concert during JAMFEST '85 — World Youth Festival of Arts.

Concerning The Ukrainian Service Of Radio Liberty

President Ronald Reagan has repeatedly underscored the need for mounting a global freedom campaign, with the ultimate aim of securing the national and human rights of the enslaved peoples of the world, particularly in the Soviet-Russian empire, i.e., the USSR and the "satellite" countries. The radio-broadcasts of *Radio Liberty* and other similar institutions are, probably, one of the most effective means for achieving this objective.

The significance of such broadcasts has been most poignantly brought out by the events in Poland. It is inconceivable that *Solidarnosc* would have grown into an all-national movement in such a short span of time, maintaining such a high degree of momentum, had it not been assisted by the crucial link of communication, provided by Western radio-broadcasts, and had the Polish people not been informed of the worldwide public concern and moral support for their struggle.

These broadcasts into Poland were effective only because they reflected the needs and aspirations of the Polish people. On the premise that the radio-broadcasts of the Ukrainian desk of RL should also in some measure reflect the Ukrainian people's aspirations towards national independence and democracy, inasmuch as this is congruent with U.S. interests, these remarks draw attention to several inadequacies in the Ukrainian Service that inhibit its effectiveness.

1. On RL's organizational structure.

In its administrative framework, RL is divided into three parallel Services: the Russian Service, the Nationalities Service, and the Baltic States Service which was created in 1983 on the authorization of the U.S. Congress. The Nationalities Service is further subdivided into the national desks of the non-Russian "repub-

lics" in the USSR (excluding the Baltic "republics"), one of which is the Ukrainian desk. The implications of this organizational and administrative structure are that in practical terms the Ukrainian desk of RL's Nationalities Service is accorded a second-rate status within RL. Regarding such matters as the allocation of funds among the various national services, or the quantity of a given service's personnel, or the technical quality of its broadcasts, the Ukrainian desk is treated as one of eleven national desks within RL's Nationalities Service, despite the fact that the Ukrainian population in the USSR of 50 million by far exceeds the aggregate populations of the three Baltic peoples (approximately 6 million).

The establishment of a separate Baltic States Service was justified by the United States' policy of not recognizing the forcible Soviet-Russian incorporation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania into the USSR. In an analogous respect, the United States and the Western Democracies in general recognized Ukraine as one of the founding members of the United Nations.

Ukraine occupies a crucial position within the context of the Soviet-Russian empire. By virtue of its pivotal geopolitical position, its vast economic potential, its large and increasingly restive population and the strength of its liberation movement, Ukraine may play a key role in effectuating a major substantive overhaul of the Soviet-Russian imperio-colonial and totalitarian, communist system in the spirit of national independence and sovereignty, democracy and basic human liberties. Hence, we feel that Ukraine's significance, as one of the primary forces of freedom in the USSR, should be reflected in RL's organizational framework and in its personnel and broadcasting policies. Moreover, we feel that each of

the nations subjugated in the USSR should justly be treated as a separate national entity and be accorded an equal status with the Russian Service.

2. RL's discriminatory personnel and broadcasting policies. The Ukrainian desk in Munich, serving a nation of over 50 million, has an editorial staff of 18 people, in contrast to the Russian Service which employs a full-time editorial staff of 120 people and an additional 30-40 part-time correspondents.

This disparity is further accentuated by the following comparison with analogous national services of *Radio Free Europe*. The Polish Service, for example, which broadcasts to an audience of 36 million people, has an editorial staff of 90 people. RFE's Czech, Slovak and Bulgarian Services are 3-4 times as large as RL's Ukrainian desk, despite the fact that the respective populations of these peoples are considerably smaller than the Ukrainian population (Czechs: 10 million; Slovaks: 4.5 million; Bulgarians: 9 million).

In making these comparisons, we are not suggesting that the personnel of these national services be reduced. However, there is no justification for the discriminatory disparity in RL that favors the Russian Service at the expense of RL's Ukrainian and other national services. Hence, with a view towards equitably rectifying this imbalance, we take the liberty of suggesting that the Ukrainian Service be expanded to at least as large an editorial staff as that of the Polish Service of RFE.

RL's broadcasting policies also favor the Russian Service both in quantitative and qualitative terms. The Ukrainian desk is allotted 12 hours of daily broadcasting time with lengthy intervals in between. The Russian Service, on the other hand, broadcasts on a 24 hour daily basis without any interruptions. Moreover, the transmitter of the Russian broadcasts is at least three times as strong

as that of the Ukrainian transmissions. Thus, the Russian broadcasts normally reach their intended audiences without any hindrances. Ukrainian broadcasts are presently capable of reaching only certain areas of Ukraine and only then, when Moscow does not employ the full scope of its jamming devices and techniques.

Due to this technical imbalance in RL's broadcasting policies, RL's transmissions in the Russian language, which more often than not is perceived by Ukrainians as the language of the oppressor, are much more easily heard in Ukraine, than RL's considerably weaker transmissions in Ukrainian. In light of the fact that Moscow has intensified its campaign of severe Russification in Ukraine, it may seem that *Radio Liberty* is indirectly abetting Moscow's colonial policy. If this practice is allowed to continue, then we fear that the reputation of RL, whose broadcasts are the only available barometer that the enslaved peoples in the USSR have with which to judge the United States, will unfortunately be damaged.

Hence, with a view towards correcting this technical disparity, we suggest that:

- a.) the quantity of Ukrainian broadcasts be increased to a 24 hour daily basis;
- b.) the technical quality of these broadcasts, i.e., their radio transmitter, be strengthened to a level at least as high as that of RL's Russian broadcasts.

3. The need for democratic pluralism in RL's Ukrainian Service. One of the major shortcomings of the Ukrainian Service of RL is that the strongest political movement, represented by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), formerly under the leadership of Stepan Bandera (who was murdered by a Russian agent in Munich in 1959), has been unacknowledged both in the personnel composition of the Ukrainian Service, and in the formulation of its editorial policies.

It was on the initiative of the OUN

that Ukrainian independence was proclaimed in Lviv on June 30, 1941. Many of the OUN's leaders, including Bandera and Yaroslav Stetsko — the Prime Minister of the sovereign Ukrainian Government — were incarcerated or even murdered by the Nazis for refusing to revoke this Proclamation of Independence. The OUN, together with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), under the command of General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka (the OUN leader for Ukraine, who was killed in combat with Russian MVD troops in 1950), led Ukraine's subsequent two-front war of liberation against both Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. The OUN-UPA "Banderites" were the primary organizers of the prisoners' uprising and mass strikes in the concentration camps of the USSR, which is also documented by A. Solzhenitsyn in his *Gulag Archipelago*.

In the 1960's and 1970's the younger generations in Ukraine, inspired by the OUN-UPA's struggle and brought up in the spirit of the OUN's ideals of national independence and basic human liberties, came to the forefront of the liberation movement. Presently, the OUN is not only a symbol of the Ukrainian people's aspirations, but also the leading active force in the Ukrainian underground and behind the "dissident" movement.

Over the years, Moscow has continuously been attacking the OUN and its leaders in its press organs. Recently, this anti-OUN smear campaign has been in-

tensified, as nearly every major daily and journal in the Soviet Union and the "satellite" countries published a series of bitter and scathing attacks, replete with grossly distorted fabrications and invective innuendo, against the OUN and its present Chairman — Yaroslav Stetsko. Moscow fears the OUN as a viable counter-source of authority to its colonial regime in Ukraine.

It is inevitable that the OUN will continue to be a factor influencing the future course of events in Ukraine. Yet, until now the OUN's prevalent position both in Ukraine and among the respective emigré Ukrainian communities in the United States and throughout the world has been unacknowledged in RL's Ukrainian desk, which in itself is contradictory to the principles of representative, pluralist democracy upon which the United States was founded and upon which such institutions, as *Radio Liberty*, were established.

4. **The need for a special, additional budget for the Ukrainian Service.** The major precondition for eliminating the afore-mentioned inequities in RL's Ukrainian service is the availability of additional funds necessary for the implementation of such a reorganization of RL. We sincerely hope that such a reorganization will be undertaken and will reflect Ukraine's crucial position within the context of the Soviet-Russian empire.

B. Ozerskyj

THE NORILSK UPRISING

Short Memoirs

by Yevhen Hrycyak

Foreword by Prof. Leo Magnino

Truong Quang-Si (Vietnam)

Toward a New Liberation Strategy

(Address given at the AF ABN Congress May 18, 1985 in New York, during the panel: "Armed Struggle of the Subjugated Nations for their Survival").

Distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. We meet together today as representatives of emigré organizations, anti-communist resistance movements, other political groups, but foremost as people who have fled totalitarian rule in our homelands. There is nothing satisfying in this except insofar as we can reach out to one another in solidarity, in friendship and in determination to not allow another generation of time slip by before we recover our countries and our freedoms from the brutal oppressors who now subjugate our lands and our peoples.

In the 10 years since I fled my native Vietnam, I have attended many anti-communist conferences, have taken part in many inspiring rallies for freedom, and have helped to organize resistance groups on my own. Like many of you here, my entire life is consecrated to the struggle to liberate my country from the Marxist-Leninist terrorizers. For me there is no calling more sacred, more demanding, and whether I succeed or not, I will never regret having given my life to this ennobling effort.

Obviously, it is hard to look back at these past 10 years and the years that lie ahead without sinking into a state of frustration. What have we achieved, what have I achieved, what can we achieve in our united goal to destroy communism in our homelands and re-institute freedom and democracy? I have done a lot of traveling, a lot of organizing, a lot of meeting with people, but frankly I do not see myself any closer to the ultimate goal.

We seem to get no further than expressions of remorse and sympathy, ringing condemnations against the scoundrels and thugs who have enslaved our countries, and stirring cries for action.

In my opinion it is not for lack of will that nothing happens: it is for lack of an appropriate strategy. Let me explain.

Typically, we who have fled communist rule seek to return by participating in some sort of resistance movement. This is particularly true in Asia, Central America and Cuba, and Africa and the Middle East. In the case of the Soviet Union and the so-called "satellite states" such an approach is less practical given the infamous Brezhnev doctrine in which any resistance or unauthorized moderation by puppet rulers will be quickly and ruthlessly put down by the iron boot of Soviet Russian troops. In a total police state like the Soviet Union, an active, separate resistance movement would likely be very short-lived. Nevertheless, what I will discuss may have bearing on Soviet-controlled dominions, as well as those in more remote parts of the world.

In speaking of a resistance movement most of us immediately call to mind the revolutionary conspiracies hatched by Vladimir Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh and Fidel Castro. These were communist revolutions, all of which succeeded. Other revolutions, such as those launched by George Washington and Simon Bolivar, were also successful and brought freedom, not further tyranny, to their lands. Of course, there are many other ways in which small cliques

and groups come to power, e.g. a coup d'état, civil war, or invasion from another country.

Still, it is the first category of revolution that fascinates us the most. No matter how much we abhor the consequences of the successful Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese and Cuban communist revolutions, we cannot deny that we admitted certain of the strategies and tactics that brought victory for them. In each case there was a total dedication of effort, a steadfast will, a capacity to deny all comforts, even to risk imprisonment, torture and death. Then, there were the organizational schemes, the building of cells, of units, of armed villages, and finally a so-called "peoples' liberation army." All this was underwritten by a seemingly inevitable theory that revolutionary guerrillas, swimming like fish in a sea of oppressed people, will build and secure rural bases. Then when the time is right, stage ambushes, strikes, demonstrations, riots and a general insurrection on a large scale campaign that surrounds the decadent urban areas with a hostile and unified countryside. In the third and final stage, full-scale attacks on the "enemy" centers of control will occur in what is called "a peoples' general uprising."

Now this is all very quaint and romantic stuff. Some revolutionaries and communists get all choked up when they recite these theories and tactics. But the fact is, the few times these theories have worked, they took decades to accomplish, and the final victories were won over bodies of millions of fallen countrymen. Ho Chi Minh started his revolutionary life back in World War I. When he died in 1969, he had secured one half of Vietnam. Six years later his successors got the rest, not through peoples' war, but through betrayal and through invasion and conquest by a well-armed conventional military force. Here then was a campaign that lasted more than 50 years and claimed more than five million lives. In China, Mao Tse-tung fared better: his struggle only took 24 years. In Cambodia, the gang of genocidal butchers led by Pol Pot took about the same amount of time.

Today communist rule is firmly implanted in these and other countries. Each country has a large, well-armed military force, often consisting of a foreign occupying force. The security organs in these countries are well-staffed and all pervasive. Spies and informants are everywhere. People can disappear and never be heard from again. The concept of rule by law in these countries is sneered at; it does not exist. It is rule by might and by terror that keeps the people fearful, intimidated and shackled.

The communist insurgents decades ago never had to confront or subvert states which were so fully armed, organized, and terrorized. Frankly, if such conditions had prevailed, no communist insurgency could ever have succeeded.

Therefore, it stands to reason that to apply these old revolutionary guerrilla warfare theories and schemes to the situation we face in the world today, is to commit political and military suicide. The notion of maintaining some rural bases is not out-of-date, but the concept that from these one can successfully mount a three-stage popular counter-revolution against entrenched totalitarian states is to be living in a fantasy world where every rainbow has a pot of gold at the end.

No. Something different must be tried. Something that is quick, is decisive, that acknowledges the full panoply of power available to a communist leader-

ship, which takes advantage of advances in technology and which has the will to act.

The principles of warfare, whether in ancient times or today, comprise of the following categories: objective, offensive, mass, economy of force, maneuver, unity of command, security, surprise and simplicity. These principles are neither immutable nor casual, and they do not provide an inevitable formula for victory. But unless these principles are thought out with some seriousness, no matter how much willpower and military power are committed, the strategy will come unglued. This is certainly the case in the history of my own country's effort to remain free and independent: the principles were not thought out well, and the ensuing strategies and tactics were badly flawed.

Without going into a lot of detail, here is what these principles mean:

1. *Objective*: Every military operation should be directed towards a clearly defined, decisive and attainable objective.
2. *Offensive*: Seize, retain and exploit the initiative.
3. *Mass*: Concentrate combat power at the decisive place and time.
4. *Economy of Force*: Allocate minimum essential combat power to secondary efforts.
5. *Maneuver*: Place the enemy in a position of disadvantage through the flexible application of combat power.
6. *Unity of Command*: For every objective, there should be unity of effort under one responsible commander.
7. *Security*: Never permit the enemy to acquire an unexpected advantage.
8. *Surprise*: Strike the enemy at a time and/or place and in a manner for which he is unprepared.
9. *Simplicity*: Prepare clear, uncomplicated plans and clear, concise orders to insure thorough understanding.

With these principles in mind, the new liberation strategy I propose is called "decapitation," in other words, "cutting the head off the snake." A snake's body may writhe in torment once its head has been severed, but it cannot be made whole again. Of course, to carry the metaphor further, one must be certain that the principles just enumerated have been followed to the extent that the head is fully decapitated; a glancing blow will not get the job done, and may in turn lead to your own beheading.

With all their might, cohesion and capacity for repression, one might think a modern communist state is invulnerable to all attacks, except outright invasion or nuclear strike. This is not so. The very unity of command and the structure of the communist party and its chain of command exposes a special weakness unique to the communist world. Subordinate echelons are reluctant to act unless orders are communicated from higher authority. This is true to all states in varying degrees, but communist structures have an almost sacrosanct inflexibility built in. No subordinate would dare act independently or take matters into his own hands. In a tactical area of responsibility, a local commander has certain discretionary power, but if an entire party and government structure were imperiled at the very top, without communications and orders, commanders and cadres at lower echelons would be paralyzed.

The ingredients that would go into this new strategy include a well-armed, well-trained dedicated force consisting of a few battalions further broken down

into specialized units. For the tasks required, often former commando or elite forces are best qualified. Recruiting, training and dispatch must be done with absolute secrecy. A propaganda team would also be brought into play at the proper moment to broadcast and disseminate information on AM radio, short-wave or TV bands. Espionage and sabotage teams would already have reconnoitered targets, transmitted the essential intelligence information, recruited insiders, cached weapons and emplaced charges. Clandestine liaison with other groups may have to take place, e.g. in the case of Vietnam, we would want simultaneous action by the anti-communist resistance movements in Cambodia and Laos.

On D-Day the snake's head would be attacked. A special day when leaders are grouped together for some occasion is the best time. Teams of assassins would go to work, in many cases using remote-controlled explosive charges. Diversionary actions would take place to lead enemy forces away from the main events. Deception, utilizing personnel wearing enemy uniforms with false papers, could be undertaken to confuse the enemy and to gain access into arsenals, headquarters and communications areas. As all the leaders are being killed and communications to the rest of country cut, broadcasting country-wide would begin at once. All of the above must go off like clockwork with no foul-ups.

Once the main objectives are obtained, the strike force must realize that it has a limited period of time, perhaps a day or two, to capitalize on earlier successes. Thus, in the ensuing confusion and paralysis, special teams must sow further discord in other regions of the country, inciting an oppressed and beaten people to rise up. In the case of Indo-China again, we have a welcome ally in the hundreds of thousands of southern conscripts forced into the communist army. With weapons, they would be a powerful force to help consolidate early gains.

Deprived of orders, deployed in many areas hostile to communist control and unsure about leading conscripts to do battle against an unknown and unseen strike force, the commanders and cadres would not know which way to turn. Some may fight, others may flee, most would probably remain in their garrisons paralyzed. As more and more radio nets came on the air to announce the replacement of the communist government with a new one, the tide of counter-revolution would become unstoppable.

If some of you wonder why I have discussed the strategy solely in military terms, it is because we understand that military conflict is waged for political purposes. The purpose is simply but irrevocably to replace a despicable and repugnant communist government and party with a new government — free and democratic — that seeks only to serve the people, not the other way around.

The new liberation strategy I have outlined today has no guarantee clauses in it. If poorly executed, then we have sacrificed ourselves, *BUT* not for nothing! The sacrifice of life in such a cause is not a loss. A famous leader once said that the deepest part of hell is reserved for those who in time of exceptional crisis sat on the sidelines and did nothing. I, for one, do not intend to pass my struggle on to the generation of my children and grandchildren. The time to act is now.

News and Views

In Defence of Yuriy Shukhevych

Rally supports Soviet dissident

About 500 members of Metro's Ukrainian community rallied at Nathan Phillips Square last night to demand the release of a political prisoner in the Soviet Union.

Carrying placards with slogans such as "Buy a Lada — Send a Dissident to Camp," they signed petitions, sang, prayed and lit sparklers as a symbol of hope for Yuriy Shukhevych.

Shukhevych, who turned 52 yesterday, is currently serving his 34th year of imprisonment for "anti-Soviet activities."

He refused to publicly denounce his father General Roman Shukhevych, the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which led a national resistance against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia during World War II.

Shukhevych is now totally blind and is seriously ill.

The Canadian government is willing to provide a visa and accept him.

"We want to tell the Canadian government to keep trying to secure his release and to put pressure on the Soviet Union over their breaches of human and national rights," said Orest Steciw, 37, an organizer.

"I'm here to represent the youth of the Ukrainian community," said Alicia Klucznyk, 17, a Ukrainian high school student.

I think it's very unfair that he has been in prison for so many years."

Mayor Art Eggleton told the crowd "we will not be silent until Yuriy Shukhevych is released. Silence and indifference are the greatest enemies of freedom and justice."

"I feel sympathy," said Roman Borecky, 55, a Toronto forklift driver.

"I've lived there and I know what it's like."

*Toronto Sun,
March 29, 1985*

City Hall vigil held to honor dissident kept in Soviet jail

About 350 members of Metro's Ukrainian community held a short vigil outside City Hall last night to honor Yuriy Shukhevych, who has been held a political prisoner in the Soviet Union for 34 years.

"I come here because I know, as you know, that silence and indifference are the greatest enemies of freedom and justice," Toronto Mayor Art Eggleton, a guest speaker at the rally, told the crowd. "We will not be silent until Yuriy Shukhevych is released.

Eggleton said he was one of five people, including federal Finance Minister Michael Wilson and Metro Chairman Dennis Flynn, who had offered to sponsor Shukhevych in Canada.

At the stroke of 8, the crowd held high hundreds of lit sparklers and said prayers for the jailed dissident.

Shukhevych, who turned 52 yesterday, is blind and sick after his years in Soviet prisons. His crime, the crowd was told, is refusing to renounce the activities of his deceased father, a Ukrainian resistance fighter.

The vigil was sponsored by the Council for the Release of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the U.S.S.R.

*Toronto Star,
March 29, 1985*

Clark pressed to aid dissident

By Maria Bohuslawsky, Staff Writer

The Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society has asked External Affairs Minister Joe Clark to press for the release of a Soviet dissident who may have new information on Raoul Wallenberg.

Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat, saved the lives of about 100,000 Hungarian Jews during World War II.

He vanished in January, 1945, after the Soviets occupied Hungary.

The Soviets claimed he died of a heart attack in a Moscow prison in 1947. No proof of his death was given to the West.

If he were alive today, he would be 72.

Josyf Terelia, a Ukrainian religious and national rights campaigner, wrote a letter last year saying Wallenberg had been arrested in the mid-1940s, when the Red Army went into Hungary, on orders from the late Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, then a major-general.

Terelia said Wallenberg is dead.

"He's offering a lot more information on Wallenberg that I've ever seen," said CUIAS president Bob Mykytiuk of Toronto.

"The Russians will probably eliminate him from making further disclosures. We have initiated sponsorship procedures to bring him and his family (a wife and three children) to Canada."

Terelia, who was released in 1976 after 20 years in Soviet prisons and psychiatric hospitals, says he met a German citizen named Bogdanas who claimed he was in a psychiatric hospital in 1953 with Wallenberg.

"In the hospital they began to cure Wallenberg of himself. He was diagnosed as suffering from 'a mania of grandeur, he thinks he is a Swedish diplomat,'" wrote Terelia.

Terelia says in 1981 his cousin, Gobiya Siklo-Kalman, met a man who witnessed Wallenberg's arrest.

The man said the captain of Brezhnev's guards robbed Wallenberg and confiscated his car.

Brezhnev gave the car to a superior and Wallenberg and his driver were arrested on charges of being German spies and were sent to Uzhorod prison.

*The Sunday Sun,
March 31, 1985*

Wallenberg Informant Hiding

Swedes draw a blank

By Maria Bohuslawsky, Staff Writer

Sweden's Raoul Wallenberg Association wants to question a Soviet dissident who may have new information on Wallenberg, the heroic diplomat taken prisoner by the Red Army in 1945, but the dissident's location makes it impossible.

Association president Ingrid Garde Widemar said yesterday in a telephone interview from Stockholm she's heard of Josyf Terelia but all efforts to substantiate his claims have failed.

"We've investigated but we can't find out if there's any truth to it. We'd love to talk to him but it's quite impossible because he's in Russia," said Widemar, whose organization has branches in 22 countries.

Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat, saved about 100,000 Hungarian Jews from Nazi death camps during World War II.

He was arrested by Soviet troops after they captured Budapest in 1945. Twelve years later the Soviets said he had been arrested by mistake but had died in prison in 1947 of a heart attack.

The Soviets have never provided proof of his death. If alive, he would be 72.

Terelia, an activist in the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church and a former political prisoner who founded a Ukrainian Wallenberg association, wrote a letter in an underground newspaper describing encounters with people who had met Wallenberg.

He said Wallenberg and his driver were arrested on orders from the late Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, then a major general in the Red Army.

Terelia, 41, says he believes Wallenberg is dead but his driver is alive.

Meanwhile, the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society has initiated sponsorship procedures to bring Terelia and his family to Canada. They believe Soviet authorities may kill him for his Wallenberg disclosures.

In a strange twist to the story it seems

Terelia has gone underground. The *Ukrainian Weekly*, an American paper, quotes Soviet sources who say Terelia went into hiding last November shortly after authorities searched his home near Lviv in Ukraine.

Valentyn Moroz, a former Ukrainian dissident who lives in Toronto, said Terelia is probably secretly publishing the underground paper in which his letter appeared.

Toronto Sun,
April 9, 1985

Septuagenarian Sentenced in Lithuania

Seventy-nine year old economist Vldas Lapienis was sentenced on March 29 in Vilnius, Lithuania to 4 years labor camp and 2 years exile, sources report in the Soviet Union. The former prisoner of conscience was arrested on January 4 for writing his memoirs on life in a Soviet labor camp. He was first arrested in 1976 and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment for duplicating and disseminating the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, a leading samizdat publication.

Though the exact charges brought against him at this trial are unknown, he was presumably sentenced under Art. 199-1 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code. Criminal charges under this article "for circulating deliberately false concoctions, slandering the Soviet state and social order" were instituted against Lapienis last year when he was jailed on February 13, 1984 in the Vilnius KGB Isolation Prison. At that time, authorities confiscated his handwritten "Memoirs of a Soviet Prisoner". However, fifteen days later, on February 28, 1984, Lapienis was released on account of his badly deteriorating health. Lithuanian sources speculate that the KGB feared he would die in their

custody, thus making him a martyr. The KGB kept his internal passport, forbade him to leave the capital city of Vilnius and told him he would certainly be brought to trial.

The Lithuanian Information Center has just learned that photographs of Mr. Lapienis with the caption "Wanted Criminal" had been posted in Vilnius and other railroad stations shortly before his arrest. According to issue no. 65 of the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, Lapienis had left Vilnius in search of medical treatment for his suppurating leg wound. He was arrested in Kaunas, Lithuania, about 100 kilometers west of the capital city.

In 1984, Lapienis wrote several protests to the Prosecutor of the Lithuanian SSR and the Chairman of the KGB, asking for the return of his manuscripts, protesting against their confiscation as the KGB could not prove he was disseminating them, and it was not a crime to possess them. He also signed a petition protesting the closed trial of Lithuanian Catholic priest, Father Alfonsas Svarinskas, in May 1983.

Lithuanian
Information Service

Book Review

The Human Rights Movement In Ukraine

Documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, 1976-1980. Smoloskyp Publishers, Ellicott City, MD. USA, 1980.

This collection of documents and memoranda of the Helsinki Group in Ukraine is a very important book not only from an historical point of view, but also as yet another, and possibly the most convincing proof of the total disregard of the Soviet Russians for any semblance of legality. Whether with respect to international accords and legal acts, or with respect to the constitutions of the "republics" or the constitution of the Soviet Union, one can count on signatures having no meaning, and statutes having no effect. The life of the ordinary citizen is, if anything, made even more precarious, by each and every one of these above-mentioned legal acts. To appeal to any of these acts for legal protection or even the remotest adherence to what in the West is called 'rule of law' is to guarantee for oneself even more brutal treatment at the hands of the Soviet Russian machine of conformity or punishment. The sinister and barbarous qualities of the regime are evidenced throughout this collection of documents and especially in the statements regarding the harassment and

illegal prosecution and incarceration of all the members of the founding group of Ukrainian Helsinki monitors. This continuous repression is further evidence of the frailty and paranoia which surrounds the Soviet Russian system. To quote from Nina Strokata's introduction: "...the government of the USSR, an occupying government, interprets even a single word of truth as anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

Although recent history has shown that any attempt to use the Helsinki Accords to further Ukrainian hopes for human and national rights, will only be met with increased Soviet Russian oppression, this book will stand as a reminder in years to come of a continuing struggle, waged by small but not insignificant groups of ordinary citizens. As such it should be read and appreciated by any freedom-loving person who wishes to understand not only the nature of the 'beast', but the qualities of the 'best', that is, those who oppose tyranny in all its forms!

A. R.

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 \$ 10.00**

“The Norilsk Uprising”

Yevhen Hrycyak's memoirs about the uprising of political prisoners in the concentration camps of Norilsk in 1953 serve as important documentation about the savage, inhuman Russian-Bolshevik system of rule over subjugated nations, as well as about the courage of political prisoners of different nationalities, who, even in prisons and concentration camps, struggle against this system in defense of their human and national rights.

These memoirs are valuable because of their documentary-autobiographical character, and because of their deep insight into the conditions of USSR concentration camps and the bestiality of character of the creators and administration of these camps.

The foreword is written by Prof. Leo Magnino, editor of “La Cultura Nel Mondo” and member of the Executive Board of the European Freedom Council.

Copies of the book can be obtained from: ABN, Zeppelinstr. 67, 8000 Munich 80, West Germany.

Price: \$8.00.



“The West’s Strongest Allies”

The West’s Strongest Allies

“*The West’s Strongest Allies*” is a new publication of the ABN Press Bureau, Munich, 1985. It contains the collected materials from the ABN/EFC (European Freedom Council) Conference, held in London on September 24,26, 1982 as well as the materials from the EFC Conferences held in Munich in May, 1983 and September, 1984.

Copies can be obtained from the ABN offices in Munich.

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DEATH OF A UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST

Reports reaching the West from the Soviet Union say that a prominent member of the human rights movement in Ukraine, Vasyl Stus, has died in a special regime prison camp in the Perm region. Malcolm Haslett of the BBC examines the course of Vasyl Stus' conflict with the Soviet authorities:

Vasyl Stus, who was 47, had been seriously ill for some time in the special regime labour camp No. 389/36-1 near Perm. He suffered from chronic neuritis and an untreated stomach ulcer. The exact cause of his death remains, for the moment, unknown, though there have been continual complaints from his friends in the past that he was not receiving the necessary medical treatment in camp, and indeed that his treatment by the camp guards was causing serious harm to his health.

Vasyl Stus was born in 1938 in Vinnitsya oblast, south-west of Kyiv, and trained as a teacher in the industrial and coalmining centre of Donetsk. After a spell in teaching he worked for a short time in the coal mines and then as a journalist. His first collection of poems was published, legally, in the magazine DNIPRO in 1963. In 1964 he began post-graduate work in the Institute of Literature of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv and became involved in a group of young writers keen to create a "renaissance" in Ukrainian literature. The following year, however, Stus was expelled from the institute for taking part in a protest against the dismissals of several Ukrainian writers and cultural workers. This was the beginning of his twenty-year conflict with the Soviet authorities.

In 1966 Vasyl Stus was dismissed from a second research post — this one at the National Historical Archives — and was forced thereafter to take manual jobs. But he continued to write and to protest against the penalisation of other Ukrainian writers suspected of Ukrainian nationalist sympathies. In 1972 the authorities in Moscow launched a major crackdown on what they saw as the re-emergence of Ukrainian national self-consciousness. The Ukrainian party leader, Shelest, was removed, along with numerous other officials and cultural figures. Among the victims of this clampdown was Vasyl Stus, who was arrested and sentenced to eight years in prison and internal exile on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He served part of this term in the Pavlov psychiatric hospital in Kyiv.

Vasyl Stus was released in 1979, but almost immediately involved himself once again in defending young Ukrainian writers who were in trouble with the authorities. He also joined the hard-pressed Ukrainian group to monitor the Helsinki Agreement, most of whose members were already in prison. Stus was arrested a second time just eight months after his release, and charged again with "anti-Soviet agitation". This time, as a recidivist, his sentence was much longer. Ten years in special regime labour camp, plus five years in internal exile.

Even in the labour camp Vasyl Stus continued to protest, smuggling out descriptions of the harsh conditions under which prisoners were kept and some of the cases of ill-treatment of his fellow inmates. These "notes from the under-

world” also contained comments on events in Poland, in which he expressed his support and admiration for the unofficial trade union Solidarity. For the last four years of his life Vasyl Stus was deprived of visits by his family, according to some sources because he refused to conduct his conversations in Russian.

Vasyl Stus was adopted in the early 1980s as a “prisoner of conscience” by Amnesty International. He has now become one of the increasing number of prisoners in the Soviet Union arrested on political charges who have died in prison or in a labour camp. 1984 and 1985 have been particularly bad years in this respect. Four other Ukrainians — Yuriy Lytvyn, Oleksa Tykhyj, Valeriy Marchenko and Fr. Anton Potochnyak — are known to have died in camps, as has the Armenian Ishkhan Mkrtchyan. Tykhyj, Marchenko, Lytvyn and now Stus in fact all died in the same notorious camp in the Perm complex. Others, like the Armenian Eduard Arutunyan, the Russian mineworker Alexey Nikitin and the philosopher Lina Tumanova, were released from captivity when it was clear they were dying. But even in these cases of terminal illness it is suggested by friends and relatives that their deaths were certainly hastened by the harsh treatment they received in the camps. The combination of harsh treatment and inadequate health care is also believed to have caused the suicide of Yuriy Lytvyn. The health of a significant number of other political prisoners is also giving rise to considerable concern among relatives and human rights observers. These include such famous names as Anatoliy Shcharansky, the campaigner for Jewish emigration; Anatoliy Koryagin, the psychiatrist who tried to expose abuse of his profession for political purposes; Yuriy Badzio, another Ukrainian, who has serious stomach trouble and is reported to be subject to continual punishments by camp guards; and the member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, Tatyana Osipova, who suffers from high blood pressure and other complaints but who has just been given an additional sentence in detention, which is an unusually long sentence for a woman.

BBC Current Affairs
Research and Information Section
September 6, 1985

“Die Zeit”, the Hamburg weekly newspaper, honoured Stus as a martyr, worthy of moral respect, and as an outstanding poet. “Die Welt” referred to him as the conscience of his people. In an official statement issued by the US State Department, his death was deplored and condemned on the grounds of the systematic persecution of human right fighters in the USSR. His violent death was discussed in the European Parliament.

Stus’ works were first published in 1959 in the USSR. In 1968 his anthology of poems, “Winter Trees”, appeared in the West, followed by his second volume of poems, “Candle in the Mirror”, which appeared in 1977. In 1983 translations of his poems were published in German, and a volume of his works, translated into English, will appear shortly. Approximately 300 poems by Vasyl Stus, as well as his Ukrainian translations of Goethe and Rilke had been confiscated in the concentration camp. They all disappeared into the KGB archives.

First they destroyed his poems, then they destroyed the poet.

In Vasyl Stus, the Ukrainian literary world has lost one of its most prominent writers.

VASYL STUS

Dies in Soviet Russian Labour Camp!

News has reached the West that Vasyl Stus, 46, a prominent Ukrainian political prisoner and poet has died in labour camp No. 36/1 in Perm, where he was serving a 10-year sentence of strict regime imprisonment since his arrest in May, 1980*.

It is reported that Vasyl Stus died on September 4th, 1985, as a result of a deliberate KGB attempt to physically destroy another prominent Ukrainian political prisoner. Stus was critically ill with neuritis. He was running a constant temperature and experiencing chronic pain in his arms and legs. However, despite his poor health, Stus was deliberately deprived of indispensable medical facilities and forced to perform strenuous physical labour. Already in 1984, Vasyl Stus was so seriously ill that he had written a farewell letter to his wife. Recently he was also denied a visit from his family, whom he had not seen for 4 years, apparently for refusing to conduct his conversations in Russian.

In 1984, the KGB used the same method to kill 3 other prominent Ukrainian political prisoners: Oleksa Tykhyj, Yuriy Lytvyn, and Valeriy Marchenko**.

* For further details on Vasyl Stus see: ABN Correspondence No. 3/4, 1985, "Vasyl Stus gravely ill in prison".

** See ABN Correspondence No. 1, 1985, "Three more victims of Russian terror and oppression".

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

“HIGH AND LOW FRONTIER — STRATEGIC DEFENCE AND LIBERATION”

**FREEDOM FOR NATIONS!
FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!**

**A.B.N.—E.F.C. CONFERENCE
LONDON 1985**



**Honorary Presidium
At The ABN-EFC Conference**

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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HIGH AND LOW FRONTIER

ABN and EFC Conference in London

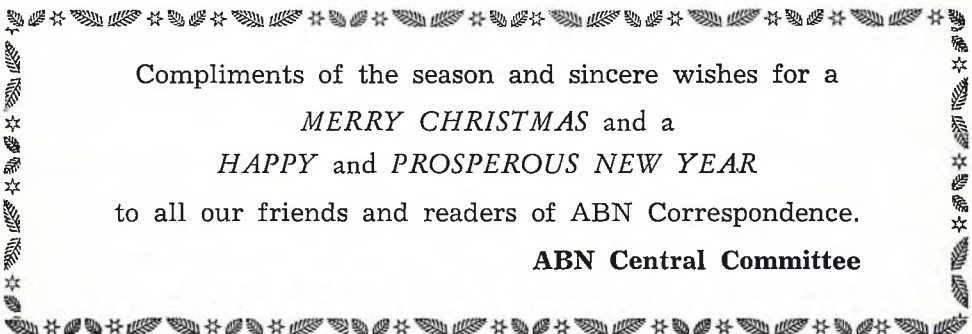
The European Freedom Council (EFC) and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) held a joint Conference on 21-24 November, 1985 in London, Great Britain.

287 delegates and observers from 30 countries (Afghanistan, Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Canada, Costa Rica, Croatia, Estonia, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Georgia, Great Britain, Honduras, Hungary, India, Israel, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Slovakia, Turkestan, Ukraine, USA and Vietnam) participated in the conference.

The Conference began with a press conference held at the St. Ermin's Hotel on Thursday, November 21, 1985. The press conference was followed by a cocktail reception hosted by Mr. John Wilkinson, M.P., Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko and Mr. Stefan Terlezky, M.P.

The Conference opening ceremonies began on Friday, November 22, 1985 at 154 Holland Park Avenue, London, Great Britain. The theme of the Conference was: "*High and Low Frontier — Strategic Defence and Liberation*". The first session of the Conference consisted of ABN activity reports from branches. Mr. K. Glinski reported about ABN activities in Great Britain, Mrs. Roxolana Potter reported from the AF ABN, Miss Larysa Masur reported on the ABN activities in Western USA, Miss Larysa Figol reported on ABN activities in Canada, Mr. Y. Pryshlak reported for Quebec (Canada), Mr. Zenon Kowal reported for Benelux and Mr. Markian Cyran reported for France. National delegations submitted political reports for their respective countries. Dr. I. Docheff reported on Bulgaria, Mr. J. Jaswilowicz reported on Byelorussia, Mr. A. Jakovljevic reported on Croatia, Dr. A. Ramishvili reported on Georgia, Dr. M. Ausala reported on Latvia, Dr. A. Suga reported on Rumania, Dr. O. Bazowsky reported on Slovakia and Dr. Nicholas Chirovsky reported on Ukraine. Representatives from the European Freedom Council branches in Benelux, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Scandinavia, Spain and Turkey also submitted reports at the Conference.

The program included addresses on the following: "High and Low Frontier" — General John K. Singlaub (Chairman, U.S. Council for World Freedom), "Weaknesses of the Russian Empire" — Mr. Arie Vudka (author and publicist



from Israel), "An Urgent Review of American Foreign Policy" — Dr. Jimmy D. Morgan (Texas State Director of Conservative Caucus), "Condemnation of Soviet Russian Aggression in Afghanistan" — Sir Frederic Bennett, M.P., "Disinformation and Political Psychological Warfare" — Dr. William P. Murphy (Radio Free Europe Research and Analysis Department Director), "Strategic Defence Initiative" — Dr. Bonner Russell Cohen (International Director of the Young Conservative Foundation, USA).

Right: Dr. Bonner Russell Cohen delivering his address.

Below: Parliamentary reception.



Three panels were presented during the Conference. The first was a youth panel entitled: "The Aspirations of the Young Generation on Both Sides of the Iron Curtain". Mr. Roman Scuplak of Great Britain moderated the panel with great ability and insight. Eleven young panelists took part. They spoke on the following topics: "Between two currents — being Ukrainian in America" by Irena Chalupa, "Is Vietnamese youth already indoctrinated in communism?" by Major Tran-Chau, "The young generation in Vietnam today" by Lt. Ha-Diep, "Religious renaissance among the young generation behind the Iron Curtain" by Larysa Figol, "The crime of being Ukrainian in Ukraine" by Iryna Kapustynskyj, "Croatian youth" by Anthony Kokić, "Latvian youth in Latvia" by Imants Liegis, "The aspirations of the young generation in Great Britain" by Paul Masson, "Young freedom fighters in Afghanistan" by Tariq Noor, "The millenium of christianization — a crucial event in the liberation process" by Stephen Oleskiw and "Bankruptcy of communism in Poland" by Marek Ruszczynski.

The second panel was entitled "Western defence and the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations". The Hon. Stefan Terlezky, M.P. of Great Britain moderated this panel. Five panelists presented insightful speeches on this topic. They were as follows: "Europe and the threat of communism" by the Hon. Guillermo Kirkpatrick, M.P. of Spain, "The value of nationalities and Russia's future position in Europe" by Prof. Leo Magnino of Italy", "Views on EFC/

ABN support for freedom fighters worldwide” by Mr. Bertil Häggman of Sweden, “The tragic consequences of Yalta and the Helsinki Accords in view of their ten years of existence” by Mrs. Slava Stetsko and “The 40th anniversary of the end of World War II and its consequences” by Dr. Andrija Ilic.

“Low Frontier — a precondition to final victory” was the theme of the third panel. Mr. Evdokim Evdokimoff (Bulgaria) moderated the panel. The following persons presented speeches on this topic: Mr. Habib Mayar (Afghanistan), Mr. Sergei Soldatov (Estonia), Mr. E. Rigoni (Hungary), Mrs. Ruta Parris (Latvia), Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan), Mr. M. Scuplak (Ukraine), Mr. A. Sorokowsky (USA), and Mr. Truong Quang Si (Vietnam). The panels, reports and addresses presented generated a great deal of questions and discussion.

The EFC issued a statement condemning Soviet Russian imperialism, the denial of national and human rights and the persecution of religious freedom by Soviet Russia. The ABN issued Conference resolutions appealing to the Free World to support the liberation struggles of the subjugated nations politically, financially and militarily, thereby allowing them to reestablish national states and democracies in their respective countries. The ABN resolutions recommend this strategy as the only viable means of saving mankind from thermo-nuclear destruction.

In their mandates, the EFC and ABN will pursue combatting communism and its imperialist attacks on innocent victims and nations. The unanimous



Conference session: “Weaknesses of the Russian Empire” by Mr. Arie Vudka (lower podium far right). Read by I. Chalupa.

reelection of Mr. John Wilkinson, M.P. as President of the European Freedom Council and the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko as President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was greatly applauded. It is certain that under their leadership both organisations shall endeavour to combat communist tyrannies of this world with all their might.

The Conference culminated in a demonstration held outside the Soviet Russian embassy on Sunday, November 24, 1985. Over 1200 people participated in the demonstration, carrying placards and national flags. Many nations of the ABN were represented, among them Ukrainians who came by busloads from outside the London area, Afghans, Vietnamese, Croatians, Georgians, Bulgarians, Poles, Rumanians, Byelorussians, Slovaks and others. Mrs. Slava Stetsko presented a greeting to the demonstration from the EFC/ABN Conference. The following persons spoke at the demonstration representing various subjugated nations: Mr. Habib Mayar — Afghanistan, Mrs. Roxolana Potter — Ukraine and AF ABN, Mr. Truong Quang Si — Vietnam, Mr. Richard Jonach — Poland, Mr. I. Bankowski — Bulgaria, Mr. M. Hryniuk — Ukraine, Mr. Abdullah Kwaja — Turkestan and Dr. A. Ramishvili — Georgia. The demonstration ended with the singing of patriotic national songs.

On Sunday evening, November 24, a banquet was held at the Hilton International Kensington Hotel. The master of ceremonies was the Hon. Stefan Terlezky, M.P. There were two addresses at the banquet: "Technology and Liberation Policy" by the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine and ABN President and "European Response to the Challenge of the Strategic Defence Initiative" by the Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P., President of the EFC. Mr. Wilkinson presented Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko with Westminster medals for their dedicated work for the EFC. Mr. Stetsko, in turn, presented Mr. Wilkinson with an Award of Merit and a statuette of the late Patriarch Josyf Slipyj, for all his help and cooperation with the ABN. Cultural entertainment was provided by national groups. Mrs. Slava Stetsko read greetings from many national organisations, United States senators and congressmen, foreign dignitaries as well as an apostolic blessing and greeting from Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky, the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

M. X.



Conference delegates from Honduras, Israel, Latvia, Poland and Slovakia.

THE PROBLEMS FACING US

(Opening Address Delivered At The ABN/EFC Conference In London)

Today's attention is focused on the recent summit between President Reagan and Soviet Russian dictator Mikhail Gorbachev. The issue at hand is primarily military. The importance of this issue is a consequence of the gains of Russian imperialism under the guise of communism, whose primary goal is world domination. Only the collapse of the Soviet Russian empire will decidedly eliminate the threat of a nuclear holocaust. To achieve this end, attention must be drawn to the Achilles' heel of the Soviet Russian empire and its system: the subjugated nations. Without the inclusion of the issue of the subjugated nations into the creation of new realities in the world, all agreements and pacts of exclusively military nature will not eliminate the crisis. The crux of the matter lies not in a change of guard in the Kremlin which will never disavow its imperialism and aggressiveness, but in the striving for freedom and national independence of the subjugated nations. In the final analysis they are the key to the resolution of the world crisis, and in this context they must be viewed as a political superpower.

Naturally, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) is against nuclear war and proposes its own alternative for the elimination of the root cause of the present world crisis. The cause of the crisis is the existence of the "evil empire" a name given to Soviet Russia and its colonial possessions by the President of the U.S., Ronald Reagan. The ABN supports zero option and stands for the elimination of all nuclear weapons. The ABN also supports the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) as the most humane proposal to date — one which destroys weapons not people. This is a revolutionary idea because from the dawn of man weapons were directed against people, whereas now a plan has been advanced to destroy weapons and not people. Only those who harbour ill will could be opposed to the deployment of such a strategic defence system. Even in the event of difficulty in implementing such a system based on the SDI, the idea itself is worthy of support for the sake of humanity and plain political decency and wisdom.

No temporary solutions will solve the crisis if lasting solutions are not phased in on a parallel basis. The subject of this conference is precisely to establish a basis for that lasting solution which, in our view, is rooted in the invincible human quest for freedom and independence inherent in every man and nation on earth. The key is to find a way to release the explosive power of revolution among the subjugated nations which, in turn, would bring down the Soviet Russian empire — that prison of nations *par excellence*.

This should be the subject for consideration and study not only at our forum, but for the entire Free World. Many erroneous formulae, theses, assertions and comparisons must be corrected, because the enemy's disinformation, his "new-speak", has already infiltrated the ability of free man to perceive and speak the truth. For example, there is no struggle between the two superpowers. There is, however, a struggle between the world of freedom and that of tyranny as represented by the captive nations. Forces of tyranny are also to be

found in the realm of freedom. These are the fifth columns including the various communist parties — the supporters and defenders of the “empire of evil” and its destructive ideas and philosophy of life. The maximum stockpiling of armaments and war-making technologies is not the only factor which defines a superpower. To place on the same ethical and political level both the USA and the USSR is to fall into the trap of the enemy’s “new-speak”. Both superpowers have been equally blamed for causing the current global crisis and for the threat of a nuclear holocaust. The creation of such a perception in the West has been a great achievement of the Soviet Russian strategy of psychological warfare. The Russians have laboured long and hard to create an image of the United States as an aggressive, imperialistic and exploiting superpower. It is both deceitful and unfair to place a man such as Ronald Reagan in the same political and ethical category with Mikhail Gorbachev. The American President is a Christian, a humanist, a practicing believer in freedom and democracy and whose nation has never held any aspirations of world domination. Gorbachev, on the other hand, is a godless tyrant. A nation-killer (witness Afghanistan), a political criminal whose Soviet Russian empire oppresses scores of nations and millions of people, and whose ultimate goal is world domination. These are facts, not euphemisms or “new speak”. The call for mutual “concessions” creates the impression that both superpowers harbour criminal schemes to rule over the nations of the world. A compromise on the part of the United States could mean the surrender to Russia of Afghanistan, even West Germany, or some other free nation. This is why all steps in favour of concessions, compromises, retreats, and so on by the USA would be equivalent to giving up the defence of the freedom and independence of some nation not yet dominated by Soviet Russia. Moreover, to give up the defence of still free nations and those already oppressed is equivalent, in the long run, to renouncing one’s own freedom and independence.

The purpose of the American military might is not the conquest of foreign lands, but to defend the free nations of the world and to give at least moral support to the liberation struggle of the captive nations. Russia, on the other hand, systematically proceeds in the direction of world conquest. Her goal is stated on the pages of the constitution of the USSR and is put into practice by lending support to communist-inspired insurgencies throughout the world designed to subdue the rest of the nations by piecemeal tactics. These are simple truths that the West chooses to ignore or forget.

To place on the same footing a nation built on freedom and democracy such as the United States, with the USSR, an empire held together by tyranny and oppression, is to mislead the nations of the Third World into believing that the United States intends to dominate them, when in fact that happens to be Russia’s goal. The international outcry for the two superpowers to “compromise” shows an intentional clouding of the moral issues at stake, and a blatant distortion of facts which is the result of the opportunism of the Western mass media, some Western statesmen and even church leaders.

What is the *raison d’etre* of this world conflict? What does Soviet Russia really seek? Moscow’s goal is to hold on to the subjugated nations and to gain control over increasingly more countries until global domination finally is complete. By now the goal should be known to all, although there is a lack

of effort to voice this fact loud and clear. The crux of the matter is that Moscow's object of conquest — the captive nations fighting to stay free — be recognized as a power potentially capable of breaking up the imperial structure of Soviet Russia.

Negotiations between Moscow and the West have yet to address the issue of the enslavement of scores of nations and hundreds of millions of people as a main cause of the current world crisis. If activated to the highest possible level, the subjugated nations' powerhouse can tilt the scales of history in favour of world freedom. Negotiations only about the reduction of military hardware have not and will not solve any world crisis until the West includes into the process the plight of its best ally — the subjugated nations. The road to the West's victory is to reduce to the minimum the fighting potential of the manpower of the empire by winning the allegiance of the captive nations.

This can be achieved through the strategy of a psychological offensive (psycho-strategy) on the part of the West designed to win over the hearts and minds of Soviet army personnel recruited from among the subjugated nations. As a result, in the pre-insurgent stages of the liberation process they will progressively weaken the military machine of the Soviet Union and strengthen the fabric of their own nations until a critical moment is reached when they will turn their arms against the oppressor. Recent history has many such precedents (the great national East European revolutions of 1917-1918, the liberation upheavals of the subjugated nations during and after World War II, etc.).

By fostering and strengthening by means of the available communications, technologies the infrastructures of the subjugated nations and by counterposing our system and philosophy of life to the Bolshevik system, such a psycho-strategic offensive can systematically undermine the Soviet Russian system of occupation. In other words, if the West wishes to prevent a nuclear war, the focus of Western policy would have to be re-directed to support these liberation processes. Moreover, if the West would cease its economic and other types of relations with the Soviet Union, if it would stop supplying it with grain, technology, credits, and so on, Moscow would be forced to allow, albeit reluctantly, the revival of socio-economic institutions, such as, for example, the private ownership of land (to increase agricultural production). This, in turn, would strengthen the indigenous infrastructures of the captive nations further undermining the colonial system of Soviet Russia in very real terms.

In order to understand the revolutionary process within the Soviet Russian empire, one must realize the fact that Moscow sustains its colonial possessions by the force of arms, wholesale terror in all walks of life and a centralised and militarised economic system. On the other hand, the revolutionary process in question has in its power the potential to dismantle all facets of that system and the "Soviet Russian way of life" imposed by Moscow on the subjugated nations. For example, the existence of the underground Church in the subjugated nations has not only a religious significance, but also profound lay and national implications. Faith in God is not only a theistic concept *per se* but also a form of struggle for a nation's individuality and spirituality. Among the subjugated nations in the Soviet Russian empire Christianity, Islam and religion in general are the main forces that fulfill this vital role.

Under the conditions of Soviet Russian totalitarian rule the revolutionary processes amount to an all-encompassing struggle in every walk of life of a subjugated nation. Even a greeting like "God Bless You" under Soviet Russian conditions is equivalent to a revolutionary statement or act. Private property, trade unionism, freedom of creativity based on intrinsically national traits, the veneration of national saints and heroes etc. — all are part of the protracted revolutionary process. Moreover, these revolutionary elements must be concentrated into a single political target — the dismantling of the Soviet Russian empire and its system and the re-establishing of the national democratic states of the oppressed nations. Only under such conditions it will be possible to restore fully the idiosyncratic attributes and values of each nation.

The aptness for aggression of Soviet Russia is all-encompassing. It has even fully subordinated to its goals the Russian Orthodox Church and through it the Orthodox Churches of the satellite countries. Even a large part of the emigre Russian Orthodox Church has already recognized the Moscow Patriarchy. Only the underground Churches of the subjugated nations resist the government-sponsored official "Church" which obviously serves the political interests of the atheistic Soviet Russian state and its repressive communist system. Only the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the diaspora and some smaller Orthodox denominations in the Middle East, have remained staunchly independent from Moscow.

Soviet Russian imperialism follows many paths and the response to it must be equally varied. It is not a classical type of imperialism, but one which attempts to impose upon the nations it controls a totally alien philosophy and way of life. Given this fact, the liberation process in the subjugated nations cannot be viewed only in military and technical terms because we are dealing here with a revolutionary process encompassing all the spiritual, cultural, social, economic, political and religious dimensions of the existence of those nations. Western psycho-strategists should take notice of this unique revolutionary phenomenon taking place behind the Iron Curtain, a phenomenon which can be fully interpreted, analysed and conveyed by those representatives of the subjugated nations who are organically tied to their nation's spirituality and philosophy of life, by those who have not been affected by the scourge of so-called "progressivism" and "new-speak" created by the Soviet Russian "Big Brother" (to use Orwell's concepts) and his system. Last but not least, Western "Sovietology" is not exclusively qualified to understand and interpret the developments taking place in the Soviet Russian empire. Besides, their trade has already become noticeably influenced by Moscow's "Ministry of Truth".

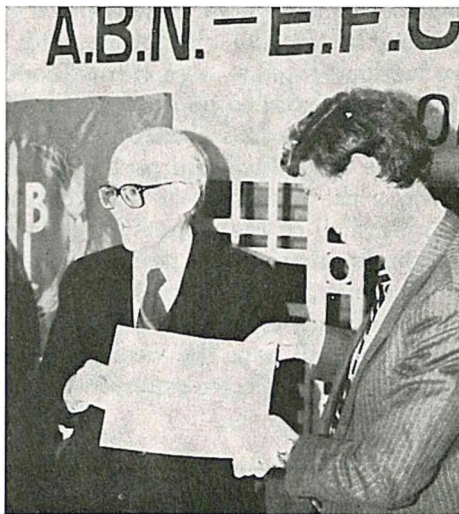
We live in an era of destructive and constructive revolutions. For example, the Islamic revolution cannot be suppressed by force, and it will penetrate into the realm of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the destructive nature of some Islamic revolutions, for instance, Khomeini's version of Shiitism, brings senseless strife and violence and will be overcome. The rebirth of Islam in its worthy mainstream aspects will eventually be redirected against the real enemy of all religion and the Islamic nations — Bolshevism and Soviet Russia. Afghanistan today is the case *par excellence*. Unfortunately, Afghanistan has not yet become the rallying cry for the Shiites and Sunnites, and its plight is still ignored

by the West. The main thrust of Islam's struggle has not yet been focused in its totality against its most dangerous enemy — Soviet Russia and Bolshevism.

The issue of Afghanistan is not even duly included in the psycho-strategy of the West, not to mention an almost total lack of military assistance to the Mujahideen. And how many hours of programming is Radio "Liberty" broadcasting into Afghanistan? Ridiculously few. Moreover, programming of the Ukrainian service of Radio "Liberty" has so far failed to serve the current liberation need of the Ukrainian people. In this respect, the political direction of these broadcasts violates US Congress Public Law No. 86-90 of 1959 about the subjugated nations because it basically disregards, for example, the activities and achievements — past and present — of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and other similar liberation formations.

We have already established that the psycho-strategy of the West is decisively inadequate. One concrete example should suffice to illustrate the point that a suitable radio station should be made available to the ABN for unhindered broadcasting behind the Iron Curtain. Its long range effect would more than compensate a given quantity of military hardware in terms of weakening the fighting capability of the Soviet armed forces. Moscow has realised long ago the importance of psychological or political warfare and has translated it into sophisticated and effective active measures against the West. Some of those measures include disinformation campaigns, support for pro-Russian insurgencies, infiltration of pacifist movements, the kindling of peripheral wars-by-proxy, stirring up racial and class conflicts and so on.

The theme of the conference — "High and Low Frontier: Strategic Defence and Liberation" — describes the path to follow if the Free World is eventually to prevail over Soviet Russian totalitarianism. "High Frontier" is the actual implementation of the results of the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI). "Low Frontier" is a psycho-strategic and political offensive against Soviet Russia which should be based on the inclusion of the captive nations as a vital element in the West's own active measures, with a commitment to provide assistance to prospective insurgencies on the territories of the subjugated nations. The combination of "High Frontier" with "Low Frontier" fully addresses the search for a solution to the impasse in the current world crisis, provides a viable alternative to the threat of a nuclear confrontation between Soviet Russia and the West, offers a way out of the sham that the so-called "disarmament process"



Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko presenting Hon. John Wilkinson with an Award of Merit at the conference banquet in London.

has become over the decades and, lastly, it provides a blueprint for dismantling the Soviet Russian empire with the least risk to humanity. The combining of "High" and "Low" Frontiers is today the only road that can lead to a world of peace, security and freedom for *all* the nations on earth. The means of achieving a safe and free world are at hand. The United States and the whole Free World must now muster enough political will and moral strength to break out from the vicious circle of false detente, "containment", "spheres of influence", hopes of "convergence of East and West" and embark on the road of saving humanity from oblivion. There is no other alternative.

Insurgent uprisings will be the final stage of a protracted revolutionary and liberation process of the subjugated nations. Currently, the liberation struggle is being waged for the soul of man, an oppressed nation's spirituality, its intrinsic cultural values, its own social, economic and political institutions, its religion, etc. In short, the struggle is being waged for a subjugated nation's integral self.

At this point let us address the issue of what is the "Soviet people". "Soviet people" is a historical fiction and a mere euphemism for a Russian "supernation" and its imperialism. There is no such thing as a "Soviet people" just as it would be absurd to speak of some "Commonwealth people". "Soviet" means "Council" in Russian. How can there be a "Council people"? "Council imperialism"? "Council culture"? How can "Council" create a people, a nation? This is nothing else than Orwellian "new speak" which the credulous West has been deluded into accepting as a *bona fide* historical reality.

Against all these Orwellian forms and concepts which Moscow has imposed upon its subject peoples (and which have already seeped into the world at large) there is a revolutionary process in progress. This process is systematically rebuilding the infrastructures of the subjugated nations in all walks of life in opposition to what Moscow's totalitarian system dictates: to the state-run Church the subjugated nations have answered with their underground Church; to "socialist realism" in culture with a rich underground artistic and literary production; to state ownership, economic centralism and exploitation with a counter-economy; to political and social totalitarianism with antipodal political and social formations, some of which remain in deep underground.

There is spiritual and psychological revolution and mobilization under way, which is the precursor of an eventual armed upheaval to tear down the remaining shell of the empire. In essence, we are witnessing a clash between two opposing systems of life, two opposing philosophies and world views.

Moreover, the security and survival of the Free World as we know it depends on whether it will comprehend the crux of the processes in question and whether it will have the wisdom and courage to ally itself with the subjugated nations — the neglected superpower.

(Translated by the Ucrainica Research Institute)

The editors apologise that in the last issue of ABN Correspondence No. 5, the article "Death of a Ukrainian Nationalist" by Malcolm Haslett was published without the knowledge or permission of the author or the BBC. We were not aware that the article was a copyright.

Statement of the European Freedom Council

(Adopted at the Conference in London, November 21-24, 1985)

Developments during the 1980s have resulted in a decline of Soviet Russian influence around the world. Communism is clearly not an answer which has the tide of history behind it.

The EFC supports the Reagan Doctrine that denies the thesis that once a country falls under communist domination it must remain communist, which confirms the belief that the United States and the Western world should support anti-communist national movements for national independence and basic democratic principles. It must be the right of citizens in countries subjugated by Soviet Russia to seek their freedom by all appropriate means; by arms if everything else fails, to try to replace a communist totalitarian state with one that is democratic, and reestablish their independent national states by a process of self-determination. This is especially valid for peoples oppressed within the borders of the Soviet Russian empire: the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Turkestanis and others, and for peoples in the so-called "satellite states", subjugated by Russian military might: the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Rumanians and others. This is also true for communist dominated Croatians, Albanians and others.

Soviet Russian ideologist Mikhail Suslov once stated that "the transition to a communist system of rule is irreversible". The West has too long accepted this concept tacitly. The recovery of freedom and democracy for the island of Grenada has provided the proof that Moscow is not willing to fight for its puppet states when they are too far from the centre of the Russian empire.

The EFC's main concern is the support of subjugated peoples suppressed by Soviet Russian rule in the Euro-Asian geographical area. The Chronicle of the Underground Catholic Church in Ukraine, the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania and the struggle of the Polish people are proof of the ongoing fight for freedom. In Ukraine the freedom fighters stress the issue of national and human rights. Their organisations have been crushed, but always regenerate themselves. Soviet Russian mass media constantly attack the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), thereby demonstrating the vitality of its national, Christian, social and democratic ideas. However, the religious and patriotic centres around the Ukrainian Catholic Church need support from the West.

In Poland underground leaders have called for a "long march" of resistance to the regime — building clandestine organisations in schools, factories, scientific, academic and cultural institutions. The EFC supports this "long march". Workers continue to strike in Ukraine. An independent trade union was organised in Ukraine years before Solidarity in Poland but was crushed by the KGB.

Western technology in the field of communications has developed with impressive speed. The EFC supports increased radio broadcasts, and in the future, television broadcasts to all parts of the Russian empire through the use of satellites which if jammed would be capable of counter-jamming. It is vitally important not to impose foreign content on radio broadcasting but to strengthen and reinforce the original culture and inherent values of every nation, opposing

the Bolshevist philosophy and way of life which are imposed through Marxist-Leninist oppression and terror on the subjugated nations.

The revolutionary liberation processes in the Russian communist empire encompass all strata of life, opposing the enemy with their own national structures, such as underground Churches, through the struggle for private ownership, national traditions, heroes and geniuses, and a wide variety of national cultures against the Bolshevist anti-culture.

A spiritual revolution is a precondition of the entire political revolutionary process. It is necessary to keep in mind that no political revolution can succeed without an ideology, one for which people are willing to live, fight and, if necessary, to die. The ideology of liberation and the science of the overthrow of tyranny, political warfare and revolt are all necessary in the struggle against the secular religion of evil.

Already armed resistance to Marxist regimes has proved possible and is growing in countries that fell under Russian domination between 1975 and 1980, for example: South Vietnam (1975), Laos (1975), Angola (1975-1976), Mozambique (1975-1976), Ethiopia (1977-1978), South Yemen (1977-1978), Cambodia (1979), Grenada (1979), Nicaragua (1979-1980), Afghanistan (1979) and Surinam (1980).

In all of these countries armed liberation struggles are going on except in South Yemen. Grenada was liberated by US-Caribbean troops in 1983. The EFC encourages support in international fora for all the freedom fighters of the nations subjugated by Bolshevism, the reception of freedom fighter leaders by political leaders of Western governments, and other forms of assistance.

The guarantor of the ongoing liberation struggle against communism on almost all continents is a strong Western defence. The EFC supports the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) which is strengthening the technical basis of Western defence capability. The present concept of "Mutual Assured Destruction" (MAD) is by itself an insufficient deterrent strategy for the peoples of the West, and the subjugated peoples. The SDI may be the first step towards effective arms control and mutual balanced and verifiable disarmament. The SDI, combined



Vietnamese and Ukrainian delegates. Left to right: Mr. Nguyen Kim Cang, Dr. M. Bych, Major Tran Chau Thuy, Mrs. S. Bukshowana.



Conference session. From left to right: Dr. I. Docheff (Bulgaria), Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan), Dr. A. Ilic (Croatia).

with support of the liberation struggle against Soviet Russian imperialism are the best hope of avoiding thermo-nuclear war.

The EFC supports the determination of President Ronald Reagan to go forward with the research into space based strategic defence systems (SDI). The West should make clear that the time has come for a major alliance to rely on a mix of defensive and offensive nuclear weapons systems. Strategic anti-missile defensive systems are a type of defence which is directed exclusively at the destruction of the enemy's aggressive nuclear weapons and not human beings. This is a potential revolution in the traditional concepts of nuclear deterrence and national security.

The EFC also supports President Reagan's demand at the United Nations for the withdrawal of Soviet Russian and surrogate communist forces from Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Nicaragua. These communist troops are there to bolster up totalitarian regimes which are not wanted by the peoples of these countries and are dependent on Soviet support for their existence.

The EFC demands the withdrawal of Soviet Russian armies of occupation from all the subjugated countries in the USSR and from the so-called "satellite" countries so that these nations could reestablish their true identity and democracy by a process of free and fair elections.

The EFC supports the demands of the Hebrew Renaissance Movement in the Soviet Union to secure the right for Jewish people to be repatriated to their homeland, the land of Israel.

Western Europe is unequivocally confronted by the necessity to expand its technological, economic and military potential, in particular its conventional weaponry, in order to redress the military imbalance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

From the geo-strategic point of view, the maintenance of the military potential of Spain within NATO is of special importance. The security of the Mediterranean, as well as of the North African littoral, merit special attention,

and is of particular interest to Italy and Spain. Political stability and economic progress on the part of these two Mediterranean countries is absolutely necessary. Great Britain is an important factor for peace and security, not only in the European context, due to its considerable political experience, especially in international affairs, but also because of its highly advanced technology and independent nuclear deterrent. France, with its "force de frappe" foreign policy critical of the USSR and in alliance with the USA, is a nuclear co-guarantor for not enabling Moscow to split the Western community of free nations. The German Federal Republic, with its economic potential and strong armed forces in the front line of NATO, plays a key role on the European continent. For Germany the objective of national reunification in freedom by peaceful democratic means must be a national goal. The Benelux countries by the fulfillment of their military obligations to NATO defence policy have strengthened the cohesion of West European defence.

Constant Russian intrusion into Swedish airspace and territorial waters shows that Moscow's plan is to treat the Baltic Sea as its own interior sea. Therefore Sweden should be sensitive to the danger from Moscow.

The present attitude of Greece is a constant source of concern, as it plays along with the USSR and weakens the position of NATO. Turkey, being a loyal ally of NATO, is pursuing further social reforms in order to weaken the internal subversive communist threat. The European Parliament and Council of Europe carry out very useful work by standing firm in defence of the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain, for example, by accepting resolutions against the jamming of radio broadcasts by Moscow from reaching the Iron Curtain countries from the West, and by constantly defending the rights of political prisoners and ethnic minorities behind the Iron Curtain.

The European Eureka project is not an alternative to the SDI, but enhanced technical cooperation on the part of all West European countries is useful in order to develop together their full technological potential. Europe can be a great power again from the moment that it encompasses not only the free countries of Western Europe, but when all European nations on both sides of the Iron Curtain can cooperate jointly as free independent countries with democratic orders stretching from the Atlantic to the Caucasus.

The agrarian policy of the European Economic Community (EEC) requires reform so that, at a time when there is famine in the Third World, food mountains do not grow limitlessly in Western Europe and then have to be sold below production costs to communist totalitarian countries which in turn spend their resources on armaments. Radical reforms of the policy of food and agriculture in the EEC are absolutely necessary. The EEC supports the appeal of President Ronald Reagan to the freedom-loving nations to coordinate the actions of combatting international terrorism, the initiator and instigator of which is the Kremlin, in order to divide and demoralise the Western societies.

With the realisation that Russian imperialism and communism and its goal of world conquest are the cause of so many of the world's political crises, it will be clear that the subjugated nations are the key to their resolution. They, the captive nations, must be included in the strategy of the West as an essential partner because the reduction of the enemy's war potential depends on the role played by the subjugated nations.

Cardinal Lubachivsky's Address Delivered at the Papal Synod in Rome on November 25, 1985

I now speak for the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The faithful of this Church are not only in their native land of Ukraine; they are also dispersed throughout the world in the various continents. I wish to speak first about the faithful in Ukraine and then of our Church in general.

For the Ukrainian Catholics in Ukraine itself, the Second Vatican Council with its decisions never really occurred. To you this may sound strange, but it is the sad truth of the 20th century. In Ukraine no Catholic bishop, no priest, no layman is permitted to function religiously. For all of them freedom of religion and freedom of conscience do not exist.

My predecessor of blessed memory, Yosyf Cardinal Slipyj, Confessor, eyewitness and prisoner for Christ, who for 18 years bore witness to the Church in various prisons, concentration camps and Gulags of Siberia, described our land, before this very Assembly in 1971, as "covered with mountains of bodies and rivers of blood." Bloody persecutions, such as during the post-war years, have temporarily subsided, but blatant denial of religious rights is stronger than ever. Distorted facts reach the Free World, controlling and biasing public opinion. However, no amount of Soviet misinformation can erase the hideous facts. Our Church is officially outlawed. It exists only underground in great fear of reprisal. I tell you this, in order to remind my dear Brothers in the Episcopate, who enjoy the blessings of the Free World, that cruel realities do exist and cannot be ignored in diplomatic silence.

Today, despite the accords of Helsinki and the Holy Father's insistence to respect basic human rights, I stand as Moses before the Pharaoh and proclaim: "Let my people go!" (Ex. 5,4). I also stand before you as Bishop of this Catacomb Church which has been continuously persecuted with all means by a godless government for the last forty years. I ask only one favour: namely, that this our highest assembly remember the Suffering Church, and inform those faithful in your pastoral care of the existence of persecuted Christians, now suffering to keep the faith alive. In St. Paul's words: "If one part is hurt, all parts are hurt with it." (I Cor. 12, 26). If the faithful of the Church in the Free World wish to give moral support to their persecuted brothers, they will do much by speaking aloud in their defense and praying for their increase of courageous perseverance. In such Christian solidarity is there genuine proof that we care to further the cause of truth, justice, peace and brotherly love.

There is another matter of which I must speak on this occasion, on this 20th anniversary of Vatican II.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church has been struggling to regain its Eastern heritage, sadly on the decline in the past few centuries. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptyckyj, who led our Church for almost half-a-century, initiated a return to the Eastern spirituality of our Church. Twenty years ago this movement of rebirth received the seal of approval in the Council's decrees *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* and *Unitatis Redintegratio*. There it was very emphatically stated that those Eastern Rite Churches, in full communion with the Apostolic See of Rome, must work strongly to regain completely all their ancestral heritage: canonical, theological, and spiritual (cf. Nos. 4 and 5, *Or. Eccl.*). Vatican II has given us

full encouragement to pursue our revival and has helped convince us that we are moving in the proper and necessary direction.

What precisely are we trying to achieve? We wish to live our proper tradition — that of Eastern Rite Catholics. Our roots are Eastern; our spirituality is Eastern. It is important for our souls and the Church that we remain Eastern. We are not here searching unusual recognition, nor selfish worldliness, but desire only to follow our own heritage. To be Eastern is not necessarily to be Orthodox. One can be Oriental Rite Catholic, just as Latin Rite Catholic. We are Oriental Rite. This is our heritage. Our existence as both truly Catholic and truly Eastern is the best proof of the universality of Christ's divinely established Church.

As the Eastern Catholic Church, we faithful are deeply concerned about our Eastern Orthodox brothers, who would welcome some overdue clarification from us. To them we "Uniates" are an ecclesiological anomaly. To them we are Latins in Eastern dress because we belong to the western Patriarchate of Rome. To them we are not a fully-fledged Eastern Rite Church in communion with Rome. They consider us to be simply an Eastern Rite local group subject to the Latin Rite Church. Eastern ecclesiology finds it difficult to comprehend such a combination. We Catholic Easterners feel very uncomfortable in this present situation. Instead of our giving full witness to the universality of the Catholic Church of Christ, we Eastern Catholics, according to the opinion of many Christians, are a hindrance to the further witness of our Orthodox brothers in Christ. And indeed we are treated as such. Let us not forget that the Orthodox East, today not yet in union with the Holy Roman See, is certainly desirous of reestablishing perfect communion with all Christians. We Catholics will some day be called to render an account of our Catholicity and our true universality.

The members of this Synod who were privileged to participate in the Ecumenical Council 20 years ago will remember how my immediate predecessor of blessed memory, Yosyf Cardinal Slipyj, had asked of the Council on October 11, 1963, that our Church be recognized as one of the Eastern Patriarchates on historical, canonical, ecumenical and pastoral grounds. The Council in its decree for Eastern Churches has made provision for such recognition (cf. No. 11). However, in the last 20 years nothing has been done to proceed accordingly. We find this very discouraging and strange. If the reasoning be a fear of offending existing patriarchates, one is overlooking far weightier reasons. Namely, that the establishment of patriarchates in the Eastern Churches, which are already by their size and organization ready for that, is required by sound ecumenism and most of all by very practical and pastoral reasons, such as assuring to the faithful the reality of worldwide unity, no matter where fate may have forced them to settle away from their homeland, and of pastoral needs and care to which they are accustomed and for which they do have a right, especially in the modern world. More than a hundred years ago Popes Gregory XVI and Pius IX in the years 1843-1853 desired to proclaim a Ukrainian Patriarchate, for even then our Church was at the danger point of destruction by the Russian Empire. But it seems that Christ Himself planned to save this decisive action for the first Pope from a Slavic nation to make such a rewarding proclamation, and this on the eve of the Millennium Jubilee of Ukraine's acceptance of Christianity under the reign of St. Volodymyr the Great. Though

Exploitation of Slave Labour in the Economy of the USSR

(Eyewitness accounts)

Introduction

As a former long-term prisoner of the Soviet Russian Gulag, I am well aware of the fact that the labour of prisoners is being exploited, on a large scale, in many different branches of the national economy of the Soviet Union. These branches of industry comprise of the following: The Forestry Industry; the Mining Industry; the Heavy, the Chemical and Cellulose Industries; the Light Industry; and the Food Industry.

Apart from my own personal observations, this paper is based on the testimonies of other former prisoners of the Gulag, and also on materials from the Research Center for Prisons, Psychiatric Prisons and Forced Labour Camps in the USSR, which have been published in a book by Avraham Shifrin, entitled "The First Guidebook to Prisons and Concentration Camps of the Soviet Union". Every definite account is backed by the relevant sources of information or else bears the name of the particular witness. All addresses, regardless of their sources, have been thoroughly checked and corrected for the publication of the "List of Political Prisoners in the USSR" (Edition No. 5, 1. 5. 1983).

The Forestry Industry

During the last 60 years the Soviet Forestry Industry has widely exploited slave labour and continues to do so today. I was personally involved in tree felling in the Irkutsk Region, in the following camps of the Ozerlag complex: camp 307 (Ir-

kutsk Region, Bratsk District, village of Anzyoba, No. UK-272/307); camp 018 (Irkutsk Region, village of Vykhorevka, No. UK-272/018); and also camps 041 and 034.

From conversations with other prisoners I discovered that prisoners, engaged in the felling of trees in the Soviet Union, also work in camps of the Kitoylag complex (Irkutsk Region), the Ust'-Vymlag complex (Komi Autonomous SSR), in the Dubrovlag complex (Mordovian ASSR), the Sevurallag and Ivdil'lag complexes (Sverdlovsk Region), the Viatlag complex (Kirov District), in the Kraslag complex (Krasnoyarsk Territory), and in the Oneglag, Kargopollag and the Sol'lag complexes (Archangel'sk Region).

From these areas the Soviet Union exports a large quantity of wood fibre to the Free World.

There are literally dozens of eyewitness accounts about the existence of these camps. Here is, for example, one such account. A letter written by two prisoners, N. Akhmatov and V. M. Khalenko, dated September, 1978, which was published on pages 151 and 152 of "Kontinent" (The Continent), No. 24, 1980, states the existence of camp No. 016 of the Kraslag complex, which produces wood fibre for export, and gives the address as: Krasnoyarsk Territory, Uyarsk District, Gromydsk Station, No. UP-288/016.

Thus, a major part of the Soviet wood industry, including the furniture industry,

our Church has been severely persecuted, God has helped us remain His, as a firm Eastern and Catholic entity — *sui iuris* — with its own synodal body in communion with Peter.

For these reasons I now repeat the request of my predecessor, in the name of our entire ecclesial community. Namely, that the Ukrainian Catholic Church be accorded the status of a Patriarchate, according to the tradition of the East and the spiritual needs of its faithful, now and in the future.

the production of building materials, the paper industry, the cellulose industry and a large part of the chemical industry, and also the house-building industry, makes use of raw materials supplied by slave labour.

The wood products industry equally exploits slave labour. I personally worked in camp 019 of the Ozerlag complex, which served a large wood products factory (Irkutsk Region, Chunsk District, Chuna Station, No. UK-272/019), then in camp 025 of the Ozerlag complex (Irkutsk Region, Tayshetsk District, town of Tayshet, No. UK-272/025), and also in a furniture factory in camp No. 011 of the Dubrovlag complex (Mordovian ASSR, Zubovo-Poliansk District, Yavas Settlement, No. Zhkh-385/011).

Based on information supplied by former prisoners in the Soviet Union, registered by the Research Centre for Prisons in the USSR, the following examples can be given:

South of Syktyvkar there is a camp called Kobra, with a population of 2000. Here prisoners manufacture plywood for export.

In camp 64/021, in Bekabad (Uzbek SSR), 1600 prisoners work in a wood products factory which manufactures planks. The address of this camp is: Uzbek SSR, Tashkent District, town of Bekabad, No. UYa-64/021.

There are also two camps, each housing some 2500 prisoners who provide the work force for a plywood and wood products factory situated in Vologda.

[Witness: Avraham Shifrin (Israel).]

The Mining Industry

The Soviet economy also exploits prisoners in the mining industry, especially in mines which extract coal, gold, uranium, copper, chrome, nickel, molybdenum and diamonds.

I myself worked in a gold mine named after Matrosov (Magadan Region, Ten'-kynsk Borough, Matrosov Settlement, No.

261/01). This camp forms part of the Berlag complex, which consists of about 50 camps.

Apart from the Berlag complex, the Maglag, also consisting of 50 sites, concentrated on gold mining as well. The Matrosov mine extracted gold ore which was then enriched in a special factory also named after Matrosov. Presently the Matrosov mine does not exploit the labour of prisoners, but in the Magadan Region prisoners still work in the gold mines of Yagoda, Susuman, Orotukan, Palatka, Vyetro, the Budenny and Timoshenko mines and also other places.

[Witnesses: Mytsio and S. Karavansky (USA).]

Gold for the state treasury of the Soviet Union is extracted in Bodaybo (Irkutsk Region), where the prisoners who work in the gold mines are confined in three camps. [Witness: A. Shifrin (Israel).]

Slave labour is also indispensable in the extraction of diamonds. In the main centre of diamond mining, the town of Myrno (Tyumen Region), camps do not really exist. Instead, prisoners are burdened with the polishing of diamonds. In the town of Solekhard (Tyumen Region) there are two camps each housing 2500 prisoners who work on the polishing of diamonds designed for export to shops, called "Russian Gems".

[Witness: A. Shifrin (Israel).]

The work of prisoners is also exploited in the molybdenum, manganese, chrome and nickel mines in Norilsk (Krasnoyarsk Territory) and the uranium mines situated in the vicinity of many towns, including Rakhov in Ukraine.

In the northern part of the Komi ASSR, in the Vorkutlag and Reclag complexes (Inta), prisoners extract coal. The individual mines where the prisoners work are scattered throughout the whole Soviet Union. For example, according to details issued by the Research Centre for Prisons, in Chornogorsk (Krasnoyarsk

Territory), 6000 prisoners work in the mines; in Temirtau (Kemerovo Region), 800 prisoners extract coal: in Shakhty (Rostov Region), 300 prisoners work in the mine. The address of this latter camp is: Rostov Region, town of Shakhty, No. UCh-398/09. In Novoshakhtynsk (Rostov Region), 1500 prisoners work in the coal mines. Address: Rostov Region, town of Novoshakhtynsk, No. UCh-398/011.

According to the details provided by the Research Centre, prisoners work in the extraction of oil and gas in the following areas of the Soviet Union:

Apsheronsk, Khadyzhensk and Nefte-horsk stations (Krasnoyarsk Territory); the villages of Negotka, Parabel' and Kolpashevo (Tyumen Region), together — 4000 prisoners; the town of Serafimovich (Volgograd Region); the towns of Krasny Khudyk, Syeroglazovka and Dosang (Astrakhan Region); the towns of Krasnodovsk, Cheleken, Nebit-Dag (Turkmen SSR); the towns of Shchekino and Lypky (Tula Region), where 3000 prisoners work in the extraction of gas. In the town of Kitsany (Moldavian SSR), 1000 prisoners extract marble.

[Witness: A. Shifrin (Israel).]

The Heavy, Chemical, and Cellulose Industries

In the Soviet economic system it is very convenient to exploit the work of prisoners to carry out manual labour in heavy industry. In this way, prisoners from camp 010 of the Dubrovlag complex (Mordovian ASSR, Zubovo-Poliansk Region, No. ZhKh-385/010) assemble car radiators for the "Moskvich" plant in Moscow.

[Witness: S. Karavansky (USA).]

Apart from this, I know of the fact that on Stryj Street in Lviv there exists camp No. 048 (Lviv, No. VL-315/048), where prisoners manufacture motorised farming machines.

The Research Centre for Prisons in the USSR also holds information about the following camps: camp 62/04 (Gorky City,

No. UZ-62/04), where prisoners work in the harmful conditions of an enamel workshop in a car plant; camp 62/012 (Gorky Region, town of Bor, No. UZ-62/012), where prisoners work in a factory which manufactures plastic and glass; camp 154/012 (Volgograd Region, town of Volzhsk, No. YaR-154/012), where 1200 prisoners work in a tractor plant; camp 15/02 (Byelorussian SSR, town of Bobruysk, No. UZh-15/02), where 1000 prisoners work in a car type factory; Minsk (Mohylivsk highway) — near the bus station "Severny Poselok" there is a new prison for women, who work in the Minsk car plant; camp 48/09 (Chelyabinsk Region, town of Bakal, No. YaV-48/09), where 1800 prisoners manufacture metal workbenches; the town of Soroky (Moldavian SSR), where 1000 prisoners manufacture superphosphate; the town of Novaya Lialia (Sverdlovsk Region), where 1000 prisoners from camp USh-349/041 work in a paper manufacturing factory.

[Witness: A. Shifrin (Israel).]

The Light Industry

In the light industry slave labour is exploited very readily for the manufacture of various goods of wide use. Personally I worked in camp 385/1 (Mordovian ASSR, Zubovo-Poliansk Region, Sosnovka station, No. ZhKh-385/01). In the area of the camp there was a polishing workshop where the glass parts of electric mirrors were polished. This used to be worked by political prisoners and exists to this day, but is presently worked by ordinary prisoners. I also worked in a furniture factory in camp 385/011 (Mordovian ASSR, Zubovo-Poliansk Region, Yavas station, No. ZhKh-385/011). This factory functions today as well, and is worked by prisoners. At the Yavas station I also worked in a tailoring factory in camp 385/04 (Mordovian ASSR, Yavas station, No. ZhKh-385/04). Presently, women prisoners work in this factory making uniforms for the militia, railwaymen and others.

In camp 385/03 designated for women political prisoners (Mordovian ASSR, Ten'-gushevsk Region, Barashevo station, No. ZhKh-385/03), women make gloves which are later issued as specialised items of clothing throughout the whole Soviet Union. *[Witness: N. Strokata (USA).]*

This same witness testifies to the existence of a women's camp in Rostov (Rostov Region, town of Rostov, Tunel'naya Street, No. UCh-398/190), where women work in a packing factory.

From conversations with other prisoners during rest stops I became aware of the fact that in camp 385/019 (Mordovian ASSR, Zubovo-Poliansk Region, Lesnoe settlement, No. ZhKh-385/019), prisoners manufacture and polish watch cases for the Serdobsky watch factory. The products of this factory are exported to England.

[Witnesses: Y. Vudka (Israel), K. Lubarsky (Munich), M. Budulak-Sharygin (England).]

In the town of Vladimir, in prison No. 2 (Vladimir, No. Od-1/ST-02), prisoners used to work and still work in the cells where they eat and sleep, assembling triodes and resistors (radio components) for the Second Moscow radio factory. In addition, inmates of the same prison punch out zippers and electrical components.

[Witness: S. Karavansky (USA).]

From what different prisoners have told me, I also know of the Chystopol' prison (422950, Tatar ASSR, town of Chystopol', No. UZ-148-ST-04). Here prisoners assemble wrist watches and alarm clocks in their cells. A camp for women and children is situated in the Odessa prison (290059, Odessa-59, No. YuG-311/076). The women work in a textile factory and the children manufacture metal goods of everyday use. 1500 prisoners from camp VL-315/030 on Shevchenko Street in Lviv work in a furniture factory.

In Leningrad, prisoners work in a cardboard factory which manufactures boxes for the shoe company "Skorokhod". The number of the prison is IZ-45/01.

In camp Metallostroy (Leningrad Region) prisoners manufacture locks and mattress springs. In camps Ulianovka and Volkhov, 1200 men and 1500 women work in tailoring factories. Another camp with 3000 prisoners who work in a furniture factory, is situated near the bus stop "Protezny zavod" in Minsk. On Bokhovorsk Street in Bobruysk (Byelorussia), there is a children's colony. The children confined there manufacture furniture and cardboard packing boxes. In Orsha (Byelorussia) there are two camps UZh-15/012 and UZh-15/06, where prisoners manufacture metal cutlery. At Irpin' (outside Kyiv), there is a camp which is designated for the manufacture of radio components. Two thousand prisoners work there. At Korosten' (Ukraine), 2000 prisoners manufacture furniture and electrical tools. At Nyzhnyi Tagil (Sverdlovsk Region), 800 prisoners manufacture items of everyday use, such as mattresses and locks, in camp UZh-349/013. At Beyuk Shor (Azerbaijan SSR), in camp UA-38/06, 300 prisoners manufacture incrustated items, such as miniature cases for jewelry products and the salon game "mesh-besh", which are designed for export.

In camp YuI-78/02 at Ulianovsk, 600 women manufacture ferrite discs for a computer factory. In Novy Oskol (Belgorod Region), 1000 women prisoners work in a textile factory in camp YuS-321/04. 1000 women from the camp at Novokuznetsk (Kemerovo Region), work in a knitting factory. In Garku (near Tallin, Estonia), 300 women prisoners manufacture buttons. And finally in Rzhev (Kalinin Region), 500 prisoners from the severe regime prison in the area, assemble electrical switches and knife-switches in their cells.

[Witness: A. Shifrin (Israel).]

The Food Industry

On the island of Shykotyyn (Kuril Islands), 6000 women prisoners work in a canning factory which manufactures cans and packs red caviar. *[Witness: A. Shifrin]*

AF ABN Conference, New York, May 18 and 19, 1985

Youth Panel:

“The Ideas By Which The Young Generation Is Inspired Today”

Introductory Remarks by Oksana Dackiw (USA) — moderator.

Our youth panel, composed of representatives from numerous countries of the world, will be addressing the issue of ideals and interests of the young generation, both in the Free World and behind the Iron Curtain.

It is our task this afternoon to illuminate the fundamental values which determine the life-styles and world views of youth on various continents — those values which guide them towards their personal goals and which help establish the aspirations of their respective nations.

As member nations or supporters of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, our primary concern is to counteract and defeat the aggressive politico-ideological activity of the Soviet Union. Modern Russian warfare is not only based on traditional military strength but on psychological methods to achieve specific aims. Through politico-ideological means, Moscow seeks to achieve the social disintegration of Western and other nations; the undermining of their moral values; the discrediting of patriotism, of national traditions, of a heroic ideal in life; the defamation of national historical figures; the disintegration of the family as the basis of the moral and biological strength of a nation; and the propagation of atheism. Most recently, Moscow has sought to manipulate members of Western peace movements into taking hard anti-American and anti-military positions.

There is much evidence to show that Moscow has been unsuccessful in suppressing the quest for freedom and justice in the subjugated nations. The vanguard of this movement for freedom has been the young generation. Young freedom fighters in these nations have rejected Soviet ideas and values and have maintained their national-cultural traditions, religious beliefs, a sense of heroism, patriotism, idealism, and morality.

Two elements in particular have given these young nationalists their strength to carry on in the struggle for independence: national-patriotism and religion. No one individual illustrates this point more heroically or forcefully than Yuriy Shukhevych — a Ukrainian imprisoned in the Soviet Union since his early adolescence who has become an example for all youth and a symbol of the undying struggle for freedom. President Reagan specifically mentioned Yuriy Shukhevych in his proclamation for Captive Nations Week in 1984 as the imprisoned Ukrainian patriot — an example of the countless victims and lonely heroes of the subjugated nations. Perhaps the words of Shukhevych best express the deep conviction of a freedom fighter and give us an understanding of the ceaseless determination which allows the individual to continue fighting in the face of years and years of hardship, illness, and finally blindness. Shukhevych once said the following:

“Fate has not been very good to me and in the end I have lost my eyesight. But I do not regret that this has happened so I do not envy anyone. Because

I had the fortunate opportunity to see the rebirth of my nation — an uplifting for which one could pay with more than just one eyesight.

Maybe God deprived me of my eyesight because I saw what few others have been fortunate enough to see. I do not terribly regret that I have lost my sight because after the wonderful things I have already seen, I have no desire to see the foulness which exists around me.

It was the same with Edison. When he was already famous, the old man was asked by a correspondent whether his deafness had not interfered with Edison's career. Edison replied that the opposite was true: thanks to his deafness he did not have to hear the mass of useless advice that was given to him. "It's the same for me," states Shukhevych, "now I don't have to see what I do not want to see."

I would now like to take the opportunity to introduce the panelists who will be offering their own views on the ideas, activities, and interests of youth today.

Jorge L. ABREU (Cuba)

Features of Totalitarianism

My name is Jorge L. Abreu, I am originally from Cuba. I lived in Cuba until the age of eleven.

I am a student. My training is in biology and psychology, with four and a half years of Behavioral-Physiological Research.

I am currently enrolled at Columbia University in a post graduate, pre-medical program. I am also by training and employment a milieu therapist to emotionally disturbed adolescents.

However, today is not a day where any of the aforementioned is formally addressed, except insofar as it all relates to human experience.

Today, I come in the context of a separate reality. I come in the context of a victim's ordeal. I speak to you as a fellow in pain. My reality is as sordid as yours, my fellows.

From the earliest memories, I came to *know* the travesties of a system which understood no compassion in its goal to accomplish and actualize Marxist-Leninist reality. This was the system which incarcerated my father and condemned him without due process to forty years of imprisonment; this is the system which at one point reduced my once corpulent father, into a human frailty of ninety gasping pounds. This is the system which kept that father away for eighteen years and robbed my childhood of its essence. The pain caused to my family bears no relation to what Marxist-Leninist reality has inflicted upon millions and plans to inflict.

It is because of this sadness that I come to address you, as do my peers, to relinquish ideals and to vitalize that which I believe pertinent and present in today's generations.

My work presently, with disturbed youth, allows me to take a glimpse and observe a restricted population, imprisoned by innate mechanisms, existing as institutionalized modes of life in Sino-Soviet dominated lands. I speak of the fragmented homes, of the shattered realities of victimized lives. No realiza-

tion of purpose; blind faith in vegetative, institutional provision; inability to choose to live as independent beings. These are also Sino-Soviet mandates in a healthy society. This reality is exemplary of Sovietization.

As many young people behind the Iron Curtain, I felt the oppressive evil restricting, attempting to dominate the self, my being, to eradicate desires to analyze, develop and grow. In this country, this is all seen as deviant and this is so, since it exterminates the individual. In lands such as Russia, China, Cuba and the nations occupied by Soviet Russia, this phenomenon is a *sine qua non*. As in my own childhood, young people from behind the Iron Curtain cling to the ideals of a democratic tomorrow, not too distant, effervescent and all too precious. In the Free World we clamor at the despair and relinquish the splendor of our reality.

In dealing with such a system, one must be aware of certain salient features; features of totalitarianism. These features should be exonerated of all demagoguery, the purpose being, to rekindle, to establish and unmask the specter of pain and destruction.

We must be aware that totalitarianism is unlike any other form of autocratic-authoritarian rule. Totalitarianism establishes a proscription to internationalize domestic policy of command, at the expense of many thousands and millions of lives. Totalitarianism, unlike other non-democracies, will develop extensive networks of bureaucracy and repression where thousands may be confined or disposed of at times, with all the glorified attributes of torture and self-alienation.

Totalitarianism, basically makes the following types of appeals and executions in operation:

- 1) Strong mass appeal and upheaval around social deficits.
- 2) Amazingly clear statements of horrifying plans (alluding to purges, deviation from standard morality, glorification of war and violence, international mobilization.)
- 3) Eradication of party system of politics. Eradication of civic endeavor by citizen groups. A movement such as the Civil Rights movement here in the United States, in the decades of the fifties and sixties, may not even be conceived with its protests, legal battles and ultimate accomplishments, in Stalin's Russia, or Mao's China.

These systems rely on vast imprisonment, Gulag and concentration camp machinery to implement the sadistic plans.

Thus, totalitarianism in its effective grim reality remains unparalleled in the history of humanity as the single most detrimental agent forged to destroy with full volition.

These facts, free from philosophy of any sort, become distorted by advocates of totalitarian rule and before long the dust of time settles upon the graves and the new generations fall prey to inanition before recurring evils and murder. The human mind is capable of justifying the basest of conceptions and deeds, allows passive apathy before "final solutions", massive purges, impending chaos.

A new generation must bear the blood of the fallen and the tears of the suffering as the greatest testament to an egalitarian state.

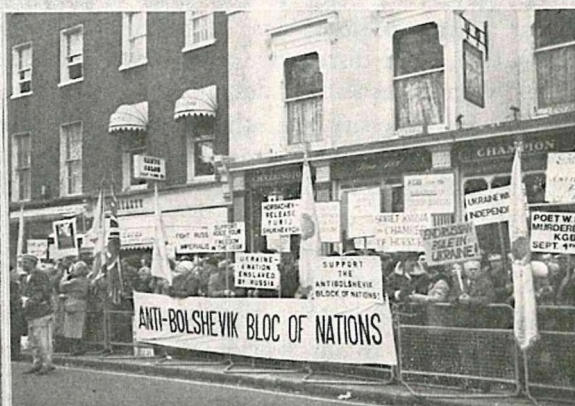
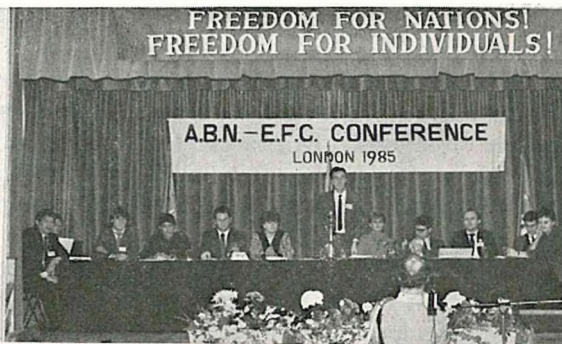
ABN AND EFC CONFERENCE,



1. Panel in session. At the podium: Mr. Habib Mayar (Afghanistan).
2. Rt. Hon. Sir Frederic Bennett addressing the conference.
3. Left to right: Gen. J. K. Singlaub (USA), Mr. G. Tamsons (Latvia), Mr. Y. Stetsko (Ukraine), Dr. A. Suga (Rumania).
4. Conference dinner.

1. Press Conference. Left to right: Mr S. Stetsko, Hon. G. Kirkpatrick, M.P. Hon. Y. Stetsko, Hon. J. Wilkinson, M.P. Gen. J. K. Singlaub.
2. Hon. Stefan Terlezky, M.P.
3. General Singlaub being presented with an Award of Merit.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 21-24, 1985



1. Participants at press conference.
Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko delivering his address.

3. Afghan, Vietnamese and Ukrainian delegates.

4. Presidium table at the banquet.

1. Youth panel.
Standing: Roman Scuplak — moderator.

2. Overview of conference hall.
3. Demonstration outside the Soviet Russian Embassy.

Are the annexations of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Ukraine into the Soviet Union to go without struggle?

In our hemisphere we now see the threat of totalitarian spread with Cuba cementing Bolshevik gains by any and all means possible.

The means may appear convoluted but the result is unilateral: conquest.

Case in point may be the recent debate over monetary non-military support for the opponents to the increasingly communistic rule in Nicaragua. Through the constituency pressure, including a sympathetic media, such aid never came to pass through our legislative body where support also exists for the oppressive Nicaraguan regime.

We must come to terms with the reality that such monumental efforts exist as a function of the interested parties, namely an organized Left. Any philosophical argument regarding an isolation measure from the United States from World/Latin American affairs, must contain the premise of Soviet involvement.

As young interested people our campaign to bring awareness in very competitive arenas must be concerted about the fabric of the suffering of neighboring countries; such as my native Cuba where now men lie covered with fungal infection, dying of malnutrition and starvation, without medical assistance or elementary human regard.

These men committed the "crime" of proposing, believing in principles echoing those of the federalist papers. These men are the Cuban political prisoners.

The ideals of democracy, the practice of pluralism, the aspiration to equality in a dynamic society where the pursuit to happiness in accordance to a legal system is accessible to all; these are the goals of freedom-longing people across the globe.

However, we come to encounter opposition to such a state of existence. It is not a mere philosophical objection, we come to see carnage as a means of contention, total disregard for the most essential of human necessities. We come to know pain, desolation, despair...

Out of necessity we, the suffering, delineate definitions, come to set a domain for democratic practice, to fix the limits on a non-desirable, called totalitarianism. It is completely carved across the face of time with the sacrifice of lives.

The burden falls on us, the defenders of days to come. The burden falls on us to seek the leadership in a struggle toward freedom. It becomes imperative to study, analyse history, placate a present and future by practicing the ideal.

Let us look at our world today, that is, our homes, our selves, our neighborhoods; and stretch out their setting: 1) political climate, 2) demographic being, 3) internal feelings, biases, ideals and practices. How do these rhyme with their national and international parallels?

This meditation may elucidate our place in the loftiness of ideals.

The inspiration to me, and others like me comes from looking at a past, a not too distant past, where the horrors of radicalism at work brought about the merciless demise of eight million Ukrainians within the span of one year. Inspiration comes from the equally horrifying attempt to exterminate Jews in continental Europe.

Inspiration also comes from the irresponsible treatment bordering on genocide of American Indians and blacks in this hemisphere. It pains me to see how the United States becomes the scapegoat and ultimate culprit to violations of human rights to various ethnic peoples, when unabashed efforts to suppress black and Miskito populations in the Northern and Caribbean regions of Nicaragua by the so called Sandinista government, escapes totally unnoticed.

It is the sentiment of biases and discrimination which has promoted much of the unrest fruitful to totalitarian advocates, today, in many, or all of the Third World nations as perhaps the world.

It is most curious to see how in a country such as Cuba where intense condemnation of America exists, particularly around the treatment of blacks, one finds that less than 1% of high cabinet personnel is black. This, on an island where a vast percentage of the population is at least of mixed heritage.

We may not be able to actualize our dreams of freedom for all, in our days, unless we look incisively at our surroundings and their painful realities; not to exploit them but to expand democracy in correspondence to our founding principles. It is not an accident that the state of Mississippi where the largest population ratio of blacks reside, is the poorest state of the Union; sharing infant mortality rates, and illiteracy statistics with countries of the Third World. As young people of today we must come to address central issues of our surrounding medium with the same fervor as we do and must address travesties from abroad. It is most important to communicate to the world community that outside the Iron Curtain social justice may be achieved without the institutionalized condemnation and cruel reprisal that occurs in Eastern Bloc Countries, Cuba, and shamefully occupied lands like Afghanistan.

We, in the Free World must come to understand that not all enjoying freedom as a happenstance are always free to be free. Not all are always of clear vision, or principle. It is always important to clarify, and expand the continuing reaches of democracy. This, even though established entities in our society such as a heterogeneous press media, may fail to effectively communicate responsibly, or perhaps trendy leanings which obscure events of yesteryears.

In our plurality, vacuums still exist. The empiricism of life under totalitarian rule presents a painfully interesting paradox. To know radicalism and totalitarianism means only to live it. For the horrors which occur under the oppression of the Soviet Union and its international puppets may not be imagined. However how does one prevent, teach about such horrors, to a vast number who thankfully have never experienced such reality? This is a task for us.

Our greatest testimonial to OUR FREE societies, is to conserve that freedom. Not to be afraid to question, voice, and represent as our Constitution facilitates the realization of freedom toward all.

Civic activism in this land comes to be the greatest proposition and invitation to all people to eradicate totalitarianism.

Exposition of the violations of totalitarian systems and non-cooperation with the oppressors are the only way to effectively remove the vessels of ideas which ferment totalitarian rule. It is important to know that ultimately such rule is dependent on people and their ability to applaud immorality, turn away from arrests in the streets, choose rather to sacrifice life and soul.

Ukrainian Youth Promoting the Cause of Freedom

Ukraine, like every other occupied country, has always strived to attain its independence. In its struggle to become a sovereign nation, Ukraine has sacrificed its prized possession — its youth. Throughout our history, it has been the young people who have been the driving force behind the struggle for independence. They all had one idea, one objective in mind and that was to liberate the Ukrainian people from the yoke of communism and Russian imperialism. Many times Ukrainians have tried to proclaim their independence — on the 22nd of January 1918, in 1938 and on the 30th of June 1941. The Independent Ukrainian State — re-established in 1941, with the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko as Prime Minister, was quickly destroyed by Nazi Germany and Ukraine was once again forced to fight on two fronts, one against Nazi Germany and the other against the Red Army. It is this ideology and philosophy that is the basis of many Ukrainian youth organizations in Canada. Although we cannot fight the enemy in face to face combat, we can, nevertheless, continue to advance the cause of Ukrainian freedom.

In 1984, during the Los Angeles Olympic Games, the World Jamboree of the Ukrainian Youth Association was held in Los Angeles. The young Ukrainians gathered there, lit a flame in honour of the Free Olympiad which was taking place in Toronto, Ontario, at the same time. This Olympiad was held as a demonstration against the inability of Ukraine, and other subjugated nations, to compete in the Olympic Games under their own flags. This symbol of dedication to the freedom of Ukraine and other subjugated nations is representative of the spirit which is evident in the work of young Ukrainians in Canada. The activity of Ukrainian youth associations touches many areas of importance. Political actions, as for example, demonstrations on behalf of political prisoners in the USSR are often organized by Ukrainian youth and student groups. Efforts to bring the plight of Ukraine and other nations under Russian domination, into the eye of the Canadian public, are also being made.

The importance of future generations of Ukrainians in Canada cannot be overlooked. The young people who moved through the ranks of various Ukrainian organizations are those who are now taking responsibility for insuring that the next generation of young Ukrainians receives the educational foundations needed for the development of active and dedicated members of the Ukrainian community.

In the past years, student and youth organizations have taken an active role in the organization of demonstrations in defence of political prisoners in the USSR. Some of these actions take place in front of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, but many were staged by organization branches in their respective cities. A week in March is annually set aside to devote to the defence of Yuriy Shukhevych, son of the legendary leader of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka. Yuriy has been in Soviet concentration camps since the age of 14 and is now blind. In Toronto an information booth is set out for a petition demanding the release of Shukhevych. This action has been particularly successful, by bringing Shukhevych's plight to the atten-

tion of the Toronto public and media. This week-long action is undertaken by groups of young people from the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM).

The Winnipeg branch of TUSM (Ukrainian Student Association of Mykola Mikhnowsky) also staged a demonstration in defence of Shukhevych in March of this year. This demonstration was successful in receiving attention in Winnipeg's English press.

Although TUSM has been and is very active in the United States, the organization has only recently undergone a renewal of activity in Canada. This is a welcomed development in the Ukrainian student community. The organization has already made valuable contributions to the work of the Ukrainian community.

The Toronto branch of TUSM held a seminar at the University of Toronto last February. The goal of this seminar was to develop an awareness within the university community of the situation in the USSR and point out the differences which exist between the USSR and Russia. As a result of the carefully organized event, a great deal of interest was generated among non-Ukrainian University students.

Many young people have become involved in the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners and many of them were involved in staging an extremely successful demonstration in Ottawa on May 4th, 1985, during the Human Rights Conference.

In the past few months many of the youth organizations were involved in defending the Ukrainian nation and its people against the unsubstantiated accusations in the media regarding the harbouring of war criminals by the Ukrainian Canadian community. Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association have appeared before the Deschenes Commission and presented a brief attempting to clarify recent distortions and misinformed allegations made against many Ukrainians. We are well aware that the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa is playing a prominent role in what has developed into a major campaign against the Ukrainian community in Canada.

One aspect of life which has always been particularly problematic in Canada is the problem of educating future generations of Ukrainians in a spirit of Ukrainian nationalism in order for them to become active in the Ukrainian organizational structure in Canada. Two of the Ukrainian Youth Organizations, SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association) and PLAST (Ukrainian Scouts) have been fulfilling this duty since their founding in Canada. But, as the years go by the task becomes more and more difficult to accomplish. Young people, who had previously gone through the ranks of a Ukrainian youth organization should now take over in educating and providing leadership for the next generation.

It is becoming more difficult to instill a nationalistic ideology in a young person, who, growing up in a Canadian society may not feel a close tie to Ukraine. Canada, as a multi-cultural country encourages the preservation of ethnic heritage, however, once entering the realm of everyday life, ethnicity must be cast aside in order to become successful in the professional world. As a result, the only type of ethnicity that is truly accepted is the superficial one which consists of dance, food, and national costume. Although these things are part of one's identity, a very important factor, the political aspect, is forgotten,

or possibly consciously ignored. In order to be accepted in a "Canadian milieu" the young Ukrainian often avoids the political responsibility. In order to survive we must develop a stronger national pride and political confidence within our youth. For in the words of the Ukrainian poet, Lesia Ukrayinka, "Only those who liberate themselves, will be truly free".

Nicolae NITA (Rumania)

"The Communist Garden of Eden"

Communism, this tyrannical power, like a plague, is menacing the whole world today. It is an immediate danger to the still free countries. It has proven its power of destruction during the 70 years that have elapsed, since it was established in 1917 by the International Communist Conspiracy in Russia.

One after the other, people and countries have been subdued, their liberty stolen. Millions of people victimized. Terror introduced and worshiped, raised and respected as if it were the law of survival.

I am one of the millions of young people born under the communist star and sign, forced to think and act in a communist way, indoctrinated with an ideology, far removed from human ideals and aspirations. I am one of the victims of communism.

We, innocent children, were forced to sing hymns to a fake God; we sacrificed our youth and innocence on the altar of communist lies, frauds and hypocrisy. Innocently, we gave all we had, the best and purest in our souls, in our hearts and in our thoughts, while communism stole our dreams and ideals feeding its hunger with our sacrifice and with the blood of the political convicts from the communist prisons around the country.

We were forced to forget the past; we were brainwashed, we had to forget our forefathers, our fathers, our history, our tradition and religion that were built by generations and generations of ancestors before our time.

In its uncontrolled madness communism has promised us demagogically the golden future of mankind and so our future was invented, the golden future of the sacrificed generation. We were offered the Garden of Eden that destroys, the communist Garden of Eden.

We were told that to trade our people and our history for the communist lie was an honour.

In the Free World issues about communism have always been written and interpreted erroneously by incompetent authors who misrepresented the destructibility of this regime.

Only for us, who have lived there, in the communist countries, the real image of red totalitarianism is still alive in our minds.

The terrorism spread by the communist regimes is the key to their survival. How could an opposing party manifest its presence in a communist country where terror reigns?!

Communism does not only punish its opposers, but it isolates massive groups of the population whom they consider to be enemies or potential enemies. Only the fact that you are part of this group makes you an enemy of the regime and automatically kills you as an individual.

We cannot forget nor forgive the tyranny imposed by the so-called "egalitarian system".

There is no social system in the world, throughout its entire history, with so many discrepancies, with so many arbitrary actions, with total inconsideration to human beings, as the communist system with its many crimes and injustices.

The total disregard for satisfying everyday needs and demands of the population, perpetual censorship, non-acceptance of any political opinion, systematic atheism and forced indoctrination, all these are the characteristics of the ferocious communist regime.

Millions of people imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain are waiting for the historical moment when communism will be abolished.

Iryna KAPUSTYNSKYJ (Ukraine)

The Ideas and Values of Young Europeans Today

Young Europeans, born in the 1950's onwards, have generally lived in societies experiencing economic growth, technological progress and peace. Unlike their elders, they do not aspire to more material progress, but to a better quality of life in a less violent and more free society. The great causes which they are prepared to defend today are peace, human rights and freedom above all. They strive for a socially better, equal and just society, for world peace, free from the threat of a nuclear war and for a peaceful co-existence with their neighbouring countries.

In order to defend these ideals, young people are prepared to affiliate themselves with various movements and political parties depending on where their concept of these ideals can best be realized.

This has resulted in a general split in the young generation. On the one hand there are those who involve themselves in pacifist resistance movements — peace movements, and this notion of saving lives through capitulation, brought on by the threat of a nuclear war, has attracted masses of young people.

On the other hand, there are the young people, whose numbers have increasingly grown over the past few years, who have come to realise that these peace movements will not achieve the world peace they so ardently strive for. They have also become aware that these movements have been infiltrated by Moscow. Yet, people involved in them refuse or are too blind to see Moscow's part in this. Why is it that they do not question the fact of why Moscow exerts such ardent support of pacifist movements in the West and yet at the same time imposes such a militarization of its own youth in Russia and in the nations it occupies?

However, not all young people fall for this. As already mentioned, there is a growing realization among young people that there must be some other solution for securing world peace. After the British and French lost their respective empires, people opened up their eyes and realized the evil which empires entailed. Young people today look upon any sort of imperial system as a contradiction to their own values and ideals of liberty, justice, equality, of human and national rights. In such a way they regard the Russian empire today. Many prefer to apathetically stand by and not involve themselves in

what they see is none of their business. Yet there are many young people today who acknowledge the fact that if the Russian empire were to be dissolved and free, sovereign and independent states were to arise in its place, then this could be the solution to a lasting peace in the world today.

German, French and English student magazines have recently started to appear in which the problem of nations subjugated in the Russian empire have often been a matter of importance.

Organizations, such as the European Freedom Council, headed by a young British Member of Parliament, John Wilkinson, have attracted many young Europeans, besides those of Ukrainian or other national descent of countries at present in the hands of the Russians. The European Freedom Council works along the same lines as the ABN and includes in its membership parliamentarians and political figures from Great Britain, Spain, Germany, Sweden, Turkey and Italy.

Young people in Britain, for example, have also begun seeking for their traditional roots and national values. They are proud to be British. War heroes are honoured each year on "Remembrance Day" — the cult of heroes is being revived.

Yurij Shukhevych is regarded as a national hero, not only among young Ukrainians, but also among other young Western Europeans. They see the unjust way in which he has been treated by a brutal regime and they rebel against this. Family and religious values are also upheld.

The European Economic Community has also played an important part in the widening of horizons and political outlook on the world situation today. The EEC has helped young Europeans gain more respect for their own nations, as well as a high regard for other European nations.

Young Ukrainians in Europe are very idealistic and morally tied to the youth in Ukraine. In Ukraine, young people have been seen to revert, much more so than their elders, to the traditional roots of their history. Works of young Ukrainians, such as Yevhen Sverstiuk ("The Cathedral in Scaffolding"), the poet Wasył Symonenko, composer Wolodymyr Ivasiuk, artist Alla Horska and national hero Yurij Shukhevych, have more than influenced young Ukrainians born outside Ukraine and this has drawn them closer together. The Ukrainian writer, Oles Berdnyk, once wrote that spiritual unity among emigres with that of one's nation is inseparable. The thousand year-old traditional roots of the Ukrainian nation are deeply felt among young Ukrainians. For example, during a recent exhibition in Munich of Scythian gold, borrowed from the Leningrad collection, young Ukrainian in Munich reacted with indignation and protest at the fact that this was wealth belonging to Ukraine, discovered on Ukrainian territory and stolen by the Russians. This impulsive action of protest came as a natural reaction to them. It showed that young Ukrainians abroad are organically and traditionally tied to their nation.

Recent years have also seen the return of young Ukrainians who had to a certain extent assimilated. Having had children of their own, they gradually became aware of their national roots and are now returning to their Ukrainian heritage and way of life, in order to bring up their own children as Ukrainians.

The young Ukrainian generation is not only returning to its national, but also to its religious ties. The late Patriarch Yosyf Slipyj, who died in Rome in

September 1984, has had a great influence on this revival of religion. He managed to connect the spirit of the nation to the spiritual unity of the youth.

Ukrainian youth in Europe also plays an important part outside of the Ukrainian community on an international forum. For example, young Ukrainians in Germany have taken it upon themselves to participate each year in the International Book Fair in Frankfurt, by organising and setting up their own stand, exhibiting Ukrainian publications from all over the world, thus proving to the international public that a country like Ukraine continues to exist with its own language, culture, history and traditions in spite of the mass Russification to which Ukraine has for so many years been and is presently being subjected. It is not enough to just keep up the Ukrainian language, culture and traditions within a closed community, but to show to the whole world that Ukraine, as a nation, just as its European neighbours, has every right to existence.

The Ukrainian Information Offices in Munich, including the ABN Bureau, have in the past attracted many young Ukrainians throughout the world. Here they are given a chance to develop a political-ideological outlook and are able to find many answers to problems, such as the political situation in the world today and the problem of the subjugated nations. Young Ukrainians have in various spheres of life — in schools, colleges, universities, high-positioned jobs — played a major role in effecting the way of thinking of other young Europeans. They have shown them that they share the same ideals of freedom, justice, human rights and peace, all of which can only be achieved when all nations in the world today become free and independent.

Nguyen LAN DE (Vietnam)

“Better Dead Than Red”

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

The delegation of the Overseas Youth for a Free Vietnam is very honored to be here with you, the brave freedom fighters of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. We wish to thank the organizing committee, which has spent so much time in the preparations of this Congress. We would now like to share with you our knowledge about Vietnamese communism.

As you know, since 1975, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese former government employees, military officers, intellectuals and religious believers have been persecuted, imprisoned or murdered by the inhuman Vietnamese communists. At the same time, millions of Vietnamese refugees have risked their lives in order to escape from Vietnam in small boats in search of freedom in a free country. They realize that their exodus is full of dangers and risks caused by typhoons which could engulf their small boats, death from hunger and thirst and attacks by pillaging pirates who rape the women. Despite all of these threats, a great number of Vietnamese still continue to search for ways in which to escape to freedom. The Vietnamese who escape from the communist regime are telling the whole world their option: “Better dead than Red”.

If you are Laotians, Cambodians, Afghans, Cubans, Poles, Ethiopians, Chinese on mainland China, or from the Soviet Russian empire, the slogan “Better dead than Red” is the most realistic for life.

I would now like to tell you something about my own experiences under

communist rule. I experienced many troubles and discomforts of life, such as not having enough food and medicine. I also had to work hard from early morning until late at night with only one meal a day which consisted of a bowl of rice or a piece of bread. That was all for dinner. With my bare hands and some simple tools, I was forced to work at difficult tasks, such as felling the trees in the large forests, digging canals or building houses. Working hard without enough time to rest, without enough food to eat, I got easily sick. I was very lucky to escape death, as I had no medicine. I was also subjected to maltreatment by the communist jailers and because I was so hungry, I ate insects, serpents, centipedes and mice. In other words, any animal which moved was my food.

During the years in which I lived under communist rule, I kept hoping for a better tomorrow and that is why I decided to escape from jail. I escaped from the Vietnamese communist jail after spending two thousand days and nights there, and then had to leave my native land to find freedom in foreign lands. I understood that I was starting my journey across the ocean and that it was very dangerous (ten deaths for every one who survives). If I did succeed in escaping the Vietnamese communist clutches, then I knew that I would have to tumble many a time on the sea from the waves and the wind. I frequently had to stand up against the Thai sea robbers, yet I was still convinced that it was "better to be dead than Red".

Ladies and gentlemen! As captive people in various nations, we are well aware of what communism is. It is such a tragic shame, a dishonor to the Free World that year after year, the list of captive nations in the world grows longer. The free countries of the world should unite more firmly than ever before in exposing the great lie of the communists, namely, that communism is unconquerable.

We strongly believe that as long as we have the same courage, exert the same efforts in the task of revolution, we shall overthrow this gruesome policy of the communists. We are determined to return to our homeland.

Closing Remarks by Oksana DACKIW, moderator

We have had the opportunity to hear the ideas of representatives from the U.S., Canada, Europe and Asia about the youth in their countries — the values they hold, the interests that occupy their time. We have heard that although youth is very much concerned with material gains and leisure activity, there has also been a return to national patriotism and religious values.

Similarly, we have heard about the experiences of young national patriots as they endured under the system of terror and suppression brought upon their countries. We heard about the rejection of Soviet ideals and values by young heroes in the captive nations. The Soviet man or Soviet nation will never come to be.

I think we would all agree that the task of youth in the West today is to cooperate with those members of the young generation that have been fortunate enough to find freedom in the U.S. — to work together to educate the media, the academic world and government representatives in order to gain support for policies that help promote the liberation struggle in all subjugated nations and the final collapse of the Russian imperialist system.

Panel: National Liberation Processes

Shebat R. Osmani

The Situation in Albania

It is an honor and privilege to participate in this Congress. I bring greetings from the Albanian community of Western New York, from all members of the national organization movement, Legality, and the General Secretary, Dr. Fuat Muftia.

The Ukrainian people have been struggling for many years against Russian tyranny, beginning with the Russian tsars. The geographical location of Ukraine is such that it has made this fight for freedom and independence very difficult. This struggle of a heroic people for their country is well known and honored.

Because of the Ukrainian people's long and hard fight against communist suppression, I know Ukrainians will understand much better than others and with more than intellectual appreciation, what I will now tell you about Albania.

Albania is a small country in the Balkans which was partitioned in 1913 by the major powers of Europe. Only one section remained as Albania, while the rest was given as gifts of land to its neighbors. This occurred after five centuries of occupation by the Turks.

On November 28, 1912 Albania finally achieved independence, but it did not last long because at the onset of World War I, Albania became the battlefield for the opposing powers. The only time Albania has been free and started to prosper was from December 1924 to April 7, 1939 under the royal government of King Zog.

On April 7, 1939 the fascists, lead by Mussolini, invaded Albania. The white beaches of Albania became red with the blood of Albanian fighters. A small country, fighting alone could only be overpowered by the fascists.

With the start of World War II the so-called National Liberation Front, emerged, which was nothing more than communist. The communists took power at the end of 1944 and, as you have probably seen in our press and media on the occasion of his death, was lead by the despot, Enver Hoxha.

The Russians never lifted a finger to help the Albanian communists during the war. Instead they had their allies, the British, giving a helping hand. The British Intelligence Service helped the Albanian communists, giving whatever aid was asked for when needed.

From that time on, almost 41 years ago, Albania has been a concentration camp, Stalinist style. Proportionally, the Albanian communists eliminated more intellectuals and people whose thoughts were no longer the same as theirs, than in any other communist country in Europe. The orders for this action came from Belgrade and Moscow. At this moment there are thousands of Albanians in concentration camps and prisons.

The Stalinist government of Tirana never cared about the Albanian people. Their only concern has been keeping the power to themselves. It is well known that this clique has governed for so long, not due to bravery or allegiance, but because of their geographical position and help from Belgrade.

This was shown in Kosova, Macedonia during the spring of 1981, when they sold out their brothers to please their masters in Belgrade. Yugoslavia, a

recipient of Albania's land in 1913 now has a large Albanian population living there which it treats as less than second class citizens. Albanian students at universities in Kosova gathered to demonstrate peacefully, asking that this condition be changed and that they be treated as equally as are other nationalities in Yugoslavia. Belgrade responded in a violent and cruel fashion by sending and using military force. Many died.

It was the duty of the Albanian Stalinist government to help their blood brothers in Kosova. Instead of blasting Belgrade in the United Nations, the Albanian representative distributed pamphlets apologizing to Belgrade and offering assistance.

The Free World, as we Albanians see it, has so far not been interested in the well-being of the Albanian people. Their way of thinking seems to be that there is nothing we should do about the Albanian people, even though they are suffering the tortures of this Stalinist regime. As long as the Russians are out, it seems to be all right for Albania to have worst violations of human rights in Europe and be a country where no one is allowed to leave or enter. However, I believe that very soon the Russian KGB will change their mind and for NATO, it will probably be too late.

There have been politicians and writers in the Free World who have expressed concern over Russian imperialism, one of the most authoritative being former President Richard Nixon. In his book, *The Real War*, Nixon writes that many people ask, if there will be a Third World War. His response is that World War III actually began in 1945 and is fought constantly, when and where the Russians choose. President Nixon also states that it is time for the leaders of the Free World to unite under the leadership of the President of the United States and formulate a global strategy. It is time for the Free World to initiate the offensive and help the captive nations liberate themselves. It is time for the Free World to realize, as one Chinese leader stated, that the Russians always adopt the attitude of bullying the soft and fearing the strong.

Delegates of the Congress, it is time for us to unite ourselves behind President Ronald Reagan, a leader who truly understands the Russians.

Long life and strength to the freedom fighters of the world!

Kolju KONDOP (Bulgarian National Front)

The Situation in Bulgaria

As it is known, on September 5, 1944, Soviet Russia declared war on Bulgaria without any reason and regardless that up to that day — throughout World War II, Bulgaria had diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia.

After declaring war the Soviet Red Army invaded Bulgaria, occupied the country, and on September 9, 1944, a communist government was appointed by Moscow in Sofia, and up to now the communists continue to rule Bulgaria.

The communist government in Sofia, as a reward to the Russian "liberators" granted citizenship to 200,000 Russians and gave them the key positions at all levels of the government, including the army. These Russian-Bulgarian citizens are still in Bulgaria as a guarantee that the Bulgarian communist government will obey all the orders from Moscow, as it in fact does.

Right after the communists took over power, they imposed a bloody reign of terror in order to liquidate the opposition. No less than 100,000 Bulgarians were murdered and many more were sent to prisons or to concentration camps. I, myself, am one of those prisoners who, for several years, was in the concentration camp of Belene, one of the worst in the country.

After the communists took over, all human and citizens' rights of the people were taken away. There is no longer any freedom of the press in Bulgaria; freedom of political convictions or of religious beliefs, and no longer any free elections. All private property was confiscated including the land of the peasants. The workers now are regarded only as a number in the Government's industrial machine and the peasants are nothing more than slaves in the kolkhozes.

Today, Bulgaria is a huge prison in which the whole population is imprisoned.

The communist government of Bulgaria, through propoganda in the West, is trying to persuade the governments of the free countries that in Bulgaria the situation has changed and that democracy and human rights of the people have been restored.

This is absolutely untrue.

Nothing has changed in Bulgaria and nothing will be changed while communism remains.

The Bulgarian people resisted communism right from the first day — September 9, 1944, and the resistance continues and will continue until liberation.

The Bulgarian National Front, Inc. which I have the honor to represent at this AF ABN Congress, is struggling in exile against communism for the freedom of Bulgaria. We believe that the day when the communist empire will be crushed and Bulgaria and all the captive nations will be free once again, is not far away.

The Rise and Fall of Communism in China

By Victor T. H. TSUAN, Ph.D., Executive Member of the U.S. Council For World Freedom, Professor of International Studies, Fairleigh Dickinson University

China has consistently maintained its civilization for over five thousand years and the fact that it has united almost one quarter of the human race as a single family is not accidental. The cultural heritage of China has given to its people a dynamic force which enables them to absorb what is beneficial to its society and to reject what is detrimental to its survival. Communism belongs to the latter category and is bound to be rejected by the Chinese people.

The conquest of mainland China is communism's greatest victory. Even before the Russian communists had complete control of Russia, they were sending agents to China, such as Adolf A. Joffe and Michael Borodin. In September 1923, Dr. Sun Yat-sen of the Canton government had sent General Chiang Kai-shek to Moscow to help organize Soviet military assistance against the rival Peking-based government of the warlords. Upon his return Chiang warned Sun that the Soviet Union was intent on taking over China's revolutionary movement. He became one of first world leaders in the early 20th century to understand fully the global aims of the Russian communists. He wrote:

“From what I have observed, the Russian communist party has absolutely no sincerity. ...the words of the Russians are only 30 percent dependable. Even that is an overstatement.”

Unfortunately, World War II world leaders including United States Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, British Prime Ministers Neville Chamberlain, Winston S. Churchill and Clement R. Attlee, between 1938 and 1949, did not fully understand, nor did they listen to, the late President Chiang Kai-shek.

At the end of World War II China had been at war for over eight years. The people were tired and wanted peace, but the communist rebellion headed by Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung had spread throughout mainland China. They promised the Chinese people a new democracy if they came to power. Many Americans believed this promise of the Chinese communist leaders. The American government attempted to force Chiang to cooperate with the communists. Miss Patricia Hurley, the daughter of former American ambassador to China, whom I met in San Diego last September, has recently written:

“Again the truth is coming out. My father, Patrick J. Hurley, tried for 20 years to tell the story of the sell-out of Nationalist China and Chiang Kai-shek, by her World War II allies, especially the State Department of the United States. He tried to tell the people that their wishes and hopes for a peaceful world were being destroyed and would continue to be destroyed throughout time by those men in Washington and other “free nations” who wanted one world under communism, and who are still trying to make it happen.”

It clearly indicates that the governments of the United States and other free nations have been infiltrated by communists.

In its campaign to conquer China, the Soviet Union took steps to cover up the direct subordination of the Chinese communists to Moscow. The communists and their fellow travelers no longer referred to the Chinese communists in their propaganda as ordinary communists, but as “agrarian reformers.” This method of delusion was to launch political attacks against the nationalist government and to destroy its effectiveness in the eyes of the world. The Soviet Union secretly offered military and economic aid to the Chinese communists. Eventually they defeated the tired and poorly equipped armies of nationalist China. By October, 1949, all of mainland China was under communist control. The government of the Republic of China established its capital in Taipei, Taiwan.

The history of communism in China is much like that of Russia. Millions of people have been tortured, imprisoned and executed, over 35 years of the communist regime on mainland China has turned out to be a fiasco. Communist China is still a very poor country, average annual income per capital is \$450, less than one seventh of that of the Republic of China. The Chinese communist government itself estimates that over 70 percent of the Chinese people are opposed to communism. Only through a large army and secret police force have the communists been able to keep control. But sooner or later catastrophe will strike the Chinese communist regime and it will vanish.

In short, communism cannot survive in China because fundamentally it is incompatible with traditional Chinese culture and philosophy. When Free China counter attacks the mainland, it will liberate, not only the enslaved Chinese people, it will inspire others to seek liberty from communist tyranny.

Communist China, after being recognized by the United States, has made repeated offers for a peaceful re-unification of China. However, its ultimate goal is of course to communize Free China. But the only real possibility for a peaceful settlement is to let all of the Chinese people have a free choice between the democratic system based upon Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People," or the rapidly declining communist system on mainland China. Everyone knows that an actual revolution in China is taking place on the island of Taiwan under the government of the Republic of China, and not on mainland China under the communist regime. I sincerely hope that statesmen throughout the Free World share the same viewpoint, and have nothing to do with the totalitarian communist regime in Peking. It is wishful thinking that Communist China will continue to split with the Soviet Union forever, or that it could be utilized to fight Soviet Russia on behalf of the Free World.

Shocking statistics indicate that just before the outbreak of World War II in 1939, there existed 65 communist parties worldwide, with a total membership of 1.2 million people. At that time only the Soviet Communist Party actually ruled. By 1985, the numbers had increased to 93 communist parties, 27 of them now ruled their countries, comprising of a total membership of more than 1.5 billion, nearly one third of the world population. The United States and the entire Free World should oppose any further absorption of territories and peoples by the communist system. Communist territorial expansion is far from a matter of indifference to the security of the United States, since such loss not only alters the balance of power, but reduces the area of freedom in the world. It is in our own interest to have the non-communist area with its people as large as possible, especially at our own backdoor. In the final analysis, there will be no freedom without victory over world communism. Our ultimate goal is the emancipation of the peoples of all captive nations from the domination of world communism.

Prof. Nicholas CHIROVSKY (Ukraine)

National Liberation Processes in Ukraine

Ukraine, in her struggle for independence against the Russian-Muscovite onslaught among other nations, which are either dominated by or fighting against Kremlin's sponsored so-called communist imperialism, has been unique for several reasons.

First of all, the Ukrainian struggle against Russian-Muscovite imperialism assaults has continued for centuries, — for at least some 350 years. Only a few nations could measure up to the Ukrainian experience in that respect — the Byelorussians, the Tartars and various nationalities of Siberia. Only those nations which have struggled against Moscow and St. Petersburg for so many years really understand and know what the true nature of Russian-Muscovite imperialism has been, featured by immeasurable mendacity, cruelty and ruthlessness.

Secondly, some Western societies which have recently been facing, directly or indirectly, the Soviet Russian threat, are under a misleading impression that communism is their enemy. This is a gross misunderstanding of the real situa-

tion. Communism today is a completely bankrupt ideology, in which scarcely anybody believes. It is only a tool of Moscow in order to confuse the issues and to advance the cause of Russian domination throughout the globe. We, Ukrainians, after our very long struggle against Russian imperialism, both tsarist and Soviet, see the political issues in the right perspective. The real enemy is Moscow which smoke-screened its traditional thirst to dominate other peoples and lands by communist ideology. It is mandatory to expose and fight against the Kremlin's insatiable thirst to conquer and to dominate. If the Kremlin were to be defeated, communism would immediately fade away and disappear. Yet, some Western leaders and some nations threatened directly or indirectly by Soviet Russian aggressiveness are either unable to comprehend that fundamental truth or try to avoid the issue. Without facing head on the true fact of Russian-Muscovite imperialism and attempting to resist only communism, they cannot be assured of success in their struggle to save their lands.

The name of our organization is the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the ABN, and not merely the Anti-Communist Bloc of Nations. Why? Because Bolshevism is the true essence of Russian imperialism, armed with the Marxist-Leninist communist doctrine on the march to conquer the world.

Today's unprecedented Russification drive throughout the Soviet Union, aiming at the annihilation of individual nationalities and the creation of one Soviet people, who would think Russian, feel Russian and speak only Russian, is a living witness to the instance that the real danger is not communism, an abortive idea rejected by many, including the People's Republic of China, but Russian-Muscovite imperialist drive.

Thirdly, while the Kremlin wants to dominate, directly or indirectly, other lands, it wants Ukraine to be annihilated as a separate nation altogether. Thus, ours is a deadly struggle to save ourselves as a national entity. Ukraine is, and was, exposed to a more intensive and more aggressive onslaught of Russian imperialism than any other nationality, except the Byelorussians.

Yet, the struggle goes on. For more than 10 years, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), waged an armed struggle against the Russians, from 1943 to 1953, and even later. The former soldiers of the UPA were the driving force behind the massive revolts in the Soviet Russian concentration camps in the polar regions at the time of the Korean War, which seriously frightened the Kremlin.

In the 1960's an intellectual movement of the "Shestydesiatnyky" (Writers of the 60's), represented by Symonenko, Moroz, Chornovil, Karavansky, Dziuba and many, many others, boldly demanded political independence for Ukraine. Although many of them were liquidated most ruthlessly by the Russians and their notorious KGB, the dissident movement in the 1970's opposed the Soviet Russian oppressors and their Russification policy. Lukyanenko, Rudenko, Tykhyj, Terelya and others, demanded human rights and political freedom for Ukraine.

Ukrainian resistance in the 1980's is growing and becoming nationally more and more radical and massive. Generation after generation continues to resist the Soviet Russian terror, attempting to bring the very day of Ukraine's national liberation so much closer.

Yet, we must all admit that the Soviet Union is a superpower in today's world, whether we like it or not. We cannot defeat the Russians single-handed,

but united, together with all the subjugated nations, we could. Hence, we, all the nations subjugated and threatened by Soviet Russian imperialism, should join together in our common struggle. Only then, will we be able to become a more powerful anti-Soviet weapon than the nuclear bomb will ever be.

Charles ANDREANSZKY (Hungary)

“Divide et Impera”

There was once a small nation called Austria. It had a very rich and powerful family called the Habsburgs. They built an empire comprised of millions of non-Austrians and turned against many of the strongest countries in Europe. This Austrian empire encompassed over 17 nations. Austria maintained its empire for over centuries — from the 14th to the 20th centuries. This empire was exclusively maintained by political and family cunning. The family, as customary in that period, was identified by the Latin “Austria NUBE”, and members of the Austrian royal family married the kings and princesses of other countries.

We now have a new empire — the Russian empire — called the Soviet Union. Of course, Mr. Gorbachev’s offsprings cannot marry sons and daughters of Western leaders because this would not help the empire. Politically, however, they are following the Roman example to the letter by a policy of divide et impera — divide and rule. The basic tenet of Soviet Russian policy for their empire is to allow the different nationalities in their “empire” to confront each other. In order to gain control for the Russian minority, they preach eternal peace and solidarity of the “proletariat” to the “satellite” countries.

They are now pursuing this policy worldwide: in Cuba, in many African countries, in Nicaragua, in Afghanistan, in Syria, as well as in many other countries where we do not yet anticipate an explosion. This is a worldwide campaign very much on the same scale as that of the Austrian, but as Metternich is safely in a grave, we now call the leader Gromyko.

Let me submit here and now that communism is only a vehicle to achieve Russian domination over the world. Events in the last 18 months clearly indicate that they do not want other types of communism — Eurocommunism of the Italian, Spanish or French type. They desire total submission to Moscow — a Russian type of communism which is not true communism at all.

This idea is strange to the West. They talk of a confrontation of the two superpowers. The West does not realize that, while the USA is a voluntary union of 50 states, the USSR is an empire held together by the barrel of a gun — totalitarianism by a small minority over the oppressed.

The ABN, formed 42 years ago, has recognized this danger. We have proclaimed all over the five continents that the oppressed peoples in the Soviet Russian empire are the best hope for the West. They are the one and only alternative to a nuclear war with the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, the Soviet Russians have succeeded to a great extent with the divide and rule concept. Much to Moscow’s delight, some captive nations have placed their liberation struggle into second place and are now spending more time and energy fighting each other, with much sacrifice and resolve. Our

newspapers which are printed on free soil, are sowing the seeds of hatred toward our neighboring countries through generalizations and condemnations. Instead they should proclaim the truth — that no matter what misunderstandings may occur on a day to day basis, the dominant factor is the physical presence and the political influence of Soviet Russia in our occupied countries.

What can we do? In my estimation, after 40 years spent in exile, our obligation is to adhere to our principles. Our movement must reaffirm that our cooperation is based on the platform recognizing the ethnographical principle. However, it is an ABN principle to solemnly declare that all ethnic minorities should be treated equally in all countries.

This is the problem in Hungary. We are living in a period of disorder in Hungary proper. The Gulash Communism and its “consumer” related policies have resulted in a yearly loss of population and the highest suicide rate in the world. In addition, the oppression of 5 million Hungarians to the North and East has resulted in a change in the focus of our emigration.

In America, freely-printed newspapers from our neighboring countries are joyfully endorsing any statement from their communist and Soviet Russian rulers against Hungarians.

The ABN is the only hope for Hungarians. We must act not against, but in concert with the emigration of the nations at the Carpathian Basin. I pledge my fullest cooperation to uphold the ABN principle.

Dr. Manfredo BORGES (Cuba)

Why Cuba Must Be Free

In the 13th century, Russia was known only as the principality of Moscow and, by using the pretext of being tax collectors for the Mongols, began to grow larger and stronger. In 1917, this time under the pretext of communism, Russia once again expanded in power and strength, this time through internationalism and revolution. If the Russian communist empire was built by internationalism and revolution, it must be destroyed by the cooperation and common front of all freedom-loving nations, and by national, anti-communist, anti-Russian revolutions.

Cuba must be free, not only because Castro has enslaved it, but because he is also enslaving countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and is posing a threat to the United States. Recently, 1,200 Cubans parachuted in Afghanistan and killed all the civilian population in one town. Cuban advisors are helping Vietnam to repel Cambodians. Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe would not be able to keep their people under slavery, even with all the Russian armaments at their disposal, were it not for Castro's new, white neo-colonialism and thousands of his mercenary soldiers.

In Latin America, Castro keeps 8,000 men who impose Marxist-Leninist ideology in Nicaragua and instigate revolutions throughout Latin America. Castro brings students from Latin America and Africa to Cuba to be indoctrinated in Marxism-Leninism and then sends them back to their countries as cadres. He also trains guerrillas in terrorism.

Castro not only sends spies to the United States, but also Latin American

communists in order to create a revolution. He is also helping drug dealers to demoralize our youth. He is working together with the Russians in infiltrating our four largest institutions — the Church, colleges and universities, the media and the US Congress.

Castro is also threatening the United States by turning Cuba into a huge aircraft carrier (he received 3 billion dollars in armaments from 1981 to 1984).

We can free Cuba because after 25 years, the Cubans who come to this country, as well as those who came before, care about liberating Cuba. They are the “Palladians of Freedom”.

Three conditions are needed to free Cuba, which are: international, domestic and internal. Internationally, we need the Cubans to be defeated in Nicaragua and in Angola. When the 800 “Construction Brigadiers” on Grenada returned to Cuba, they created great unrest. If this were to happen in Nicaragua, the effects would be multiplied 10 times, and if in Angola, 40 times. Domestically, it is necessary to implement the Symms Amendment in the United States, which says that “the United States should help Cubans regain their freedom”. Castro is receiving 4 billion dollars in aid a year from the Russians and, as Napoleon once said: “to win a war, three things are necessary — money, money and money”. So far, we have not received a penny in aid. The Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement must be repealed by the United States. The Russians have violated it dozens of times. Internally, the 3,000 elite brigade must be removed from Cuba because it hangs like a guillotine over the heads of any of Castro’s commanders who wish to liberate Cuba.

In the 5th century, the barbarians from the East conquered and destroyed Western civilization. Fortunately, we did have a renaissance, but if the Russians were to conquer Western civilization, then there would be no renaissance this time. We, who have lived under communism, have the mission to be the crusaders for liberty, democracy and freedom in this “Last Crusade”.

We either save Cuba, or lose America!



Afghan and Turkeistani delegates during the ABN and EFC Conference in London, November 1985.

Report on the Situation of the Underground in Poland

The ongoing struggle for the liberation of Poland from Soviet Russian occupation can easily be distinguished from the actual bloody war in Afghanistan, Mozambique, Angola, Nicaragua and most recently even in Vietnam and Ethiopia. The Polish freedom fighters are not conducting a hot war, not yet. However, it is a war, in which the Underground uses sophisticated methods of psychological warfare against the oppressive communist regime.

The recent history of the Polish struggle for freedom can be divided into four basic periods or stages.

Stage 1 covers the period from 1976 until 1979, from the strike at Radom until the formation of the overt anti-communist political party, the KPN (Confederacy of Independent Poland). This period is characterized by the economic collapse of the so-called socialist economy, weakening of the regime and open political activation of the entire society.

Stage 2 — the period from 1979 until 1981 — may be described as the birth and growth of the SOLIDARITY movement and the time of most visible activity of the KPN — until the introduction of martial law, or “Jaruzelski’s war”, as the people in Poland call it.

Stage 3 is notably the period from the 13th day of December of 1981, the day when the greater part of the SOLIDARITY leadership went underground and also the day when the FIGHTING SOLIDARITY had been organized by Konrad Morawiecki, as a truly exemplary and contemporary underground network of freedom fighters. This stage lasted until about the end of 1983 and it can be described as the time of preparations, planning and building foundations for the permanent anti-regime activities.

We are now in Stage 4. The leadership of the KPN has again been arrested. However, it can be reasonably assumed that some 10-15 thousand members of the KPN are still active, although rather within the structures of the Underground.

The Underground has two main disposition centers: the SOLIDARITY in Warsaw under the leadership of Jan Bujak, which has a sort of a leftist leaning and keeps its profile within the limits of labor unions. It is anti-communist but still socialist to some degree and, therefore, its activities are less aggressive, centered mostly on publications and organizing of labor union cells in plants and enterprises. The second and probably the larger organization is the FIGHTING SOLIDARITY in Wroclaw, under the leadership of a scientist-mathematician Konrad Morawiecki.

The FIGHTING SOLIDARITY has branches in many Polish cities, mostly in the southern and western parts of Poland. It is openly an anti-Soviet, anti-communist and anti-socialist organization and seemingly the strongest one among the groups which could be described as freedom fighters. The number of active participants of the FIGHTING SOLIDARITY is estimated at over 80,000, with many more thousands of supporters and sympathizers.

The mood of the country is best shown by the last demonstrations and street fights which took place on May 1, 1985. One of the slogans chanted by these

demonstrations was: POZDROWIENIA dla PODZIEMIA — Greetings to the Underground!

It is clear that the political ideas of the KPN and of its founder, Leszek Moczulski, have not disappeared. One can see their continuance in the formation of a new political party called INDEPENDENCE (Niepodległość), created in 1984 around the editorial group of the underground newsletter bearing the same name and existing since 1982. This political party has recently signed an agreement on full alliance and cooperation with the FIGHTING SOLIDARITY. We call the current year of 1985 — the year of consolidation of the Underground.

Many smaller groups of the resistance movement have suffered heavy losses. The regime is undertaking a massive and vigorous action toward eliminating the Underground. Many active freedom fighters are arrested. The regime openly admits that there is a core of some 1500 anti-socialists in the Underground. Of course, this number is only the official underestimation of facts. The strength of the FIGHTING SOLIDARITY is in its well organized, modern, para-military structure and in the use of sophisticated communication equipment. It is well adjusted to the realities of the day and it employs the most imaginative methods of psychological warfare.

Unfortunately, I cannot go into more details, but let me mention just one example: the FIGHTING SOLIDARITY is able to go on the air on the official TV channels, suppressing the voice signal (although not the visual one) and air its own messages during the nightly newscast!

The SB's (Security Service, the Polish branch of the KGB) actions against the FIGHTING SOLIDARITY are totally ineffective and we have reasons to believe that this level of quality of the underground work will be preserved in the future, as well.

The FIGHTING SOLIDARITY maintains friendly contacts with the Ukrainians and Slovaks. Leaflets were distributed several times in the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Russian languages, addressed mainly to the Soviet troops stationed in Poland. There is a good chance that the FIGHTING SOLIDARITY's activities will spread into the neighboring countries.

The psychological warfare conducted by the FIGHTING SOLIDARITY could be expanded very seriously. However, the lack of assistance from the West and insufficient flow of funds from the exile communities are obstacles which are not easy to overcome.

The West seems to be totally unwilling to create "disturbances" in the Soviet sphere of interests. The West does not want to acknowledge this simple fact, that Eastern Europe is the first line of defense. Destabilization of the Soviet empire in that region is the best way of stopping Soviet expansion elsewhere. Yet, this concept is till taboo in the official circles of Western governments.

The goal of our struggle is obvious: destabilization of the Soviet Russian empire. However, the Polish Underground is well aware of the fact, that full freedom and independence can be achieved only, when and if, the Soviet Union is totally destroyed.

The Underground also recognizes the fact, that Poland cannot regain her independence on her own. Poland will be free only when Russia will be confined within its own ethnic borders and will cease to dominate over other nations.

We are here with you, because we share the strong conviction that there

cannot be a Free Poland without a Free Ukraine, as well as there cannot be a Free Ukraine without the freedom of all other Eastern European nations. We are the most natural allies. The fulfilment of our dreams is possible only through our full and close cooperation.

Our brothers and sisters in Afghanistan, Mozambique, Angola, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Ethiopia, and in so many other places of the globe, are shedding their blood for our freedom and for theirs. This real war of liberation will not stop. It will spread. At present, the communists are still trying to avoid a confrontation in Poland. But, if the repressions would trespass the limits of human endurance, then the violent resistance will be the last weapon of our nation.

Gorbachev's Welcome to France

Last minute preparations were being made for an effective week of demonstrations and protests against the presence of Gorbachev in France.

The French socialist government banned all demonstrations and protests between the 2nd and 5th October, and manoeuvred an extra 20.000 armed police on a 24 hour alert during the whole period of Gorbachev's visit.

Coinciding with all these stupefying precautions, the communist syndicate "C.G.T." unexpectedly called a general railway strike halting 40% of all train arrivals to Paris.

Nevertheless, on the eve of Gorbachev's arrival, 1. 10. 85, a mass demonstration directed by "S.O.S. Freedom for Human Rights and Subjugated Nations" took place at Trocadero in Paris.

"S.O.S. Freedom for Human Rights and Subjugated Nations" is supported by members of the European Parliament ie. Olivier d'Ormesson, Jacques Mallet, Philippe Malaud, and Jean Thomas Nordmann, by members of the French Parliament, M. Ligot, E. Hamel, J. Medecin, and G. Mesmin, well known personalities like: playwright Fernando Arrabal, film producer Claude Berri, writers A. Besançon, S. Labin, A. London and L. Powels, and members of the French Academy: Duc de Castries and J. Soustelle.

Approximately 15 subjugated nations were represented. Each country had its own stand where leaflets were distributed, books sold, and information given about each country's plight.

The Ukrainian stand presented itself with banners condemning Russian imperialism and demanding the independence of Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia...

The programme presented by "S.O.S. Freedom for Human Rights and Subjugated Nations" lasted approximately 4 hours with a mass participation.

First came the presentation of each subjugated nation's flag on the tribune and then a speech by the President of "S.O.S. ..." Mr. Philippe Malaud, who thanked all the representatives of each subjugated nation for participating and expressed his contempt against oppression of all these nations.

Following the speech, a representative of Afghanistan and Rumania spoke on behalf of the subjugated nations. From the Ukrainian community of France, Mrs. Zirka Witochynska-Cyran spoke of the Ukrainians' fight not only against communism, but also Russian imperialism for Russification is not a myth, but present reality. Concluding her speech, she reminded the public of the tragic fate of Yuriy Shukhevych.

Once all the presentations and speeches had finished, numerous artists representing

their countries participated culturally, singing, dancing or reciting poems. Representing Ukraine, was the well known opera singer Oulana Chaïkivska, who sang "Marichka", written by a group of Ukrainian political prisoners, and "Karpary" in memory of her beloved Ukraine.

After the artistic performances, the President of "S.O.S. ..." ended the demonstration by thanking everyone for participating and condemned the French government for prohibiting all demonstrations during Gorbachev's visit.

However, not everyone, especially the Ukrainian Youth Organization "SUM" in Paris, was prepared to let the French public be manipulated by false, empty worded speeches prepared by Gorbachev concerning disarmament, the political and economic situation of Europe, and above

all the "liberty, equality, and fraternity" of the "Soviet people" in the USSR for which the French population fought so dearly and regarded as three divine necessities in life.

In order to prevent the French public from being totally brainwashed, SUM solicitously spent five consecutive nights putting up 3.000 posters in every district of Paris.

Unfortunately, two members of SUM were beaten up and nine arrested by the French police for putting up posters.

Even though the French mass media reported very little about these actions, the subjugated nations achieved much sympathy from the general public, which was testified by supportive correspondence and demand for more information.

Markian Cyran



*Above: Demonstration against Gorbachev's presence in France.
Below: Young Ukrainians hanging up posters protesting Gorbachev's visit.*

President Reagan's Solidarity With People Of Ukraine

On the occasion of a mass demonstration and a Great Concert of Ukrainian music and song — in tribute to the liberation struggle of Ukraine against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, during and after World War II — on October 6, 1985 in New York, President Ronald Reagan sent the following message to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America:

THE WHITE HOUSE

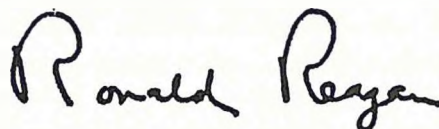
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1985

It is an honor to join with members of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America as you gather to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II.

In his farewell address to the cadets of West Point, General Douglas MacArthur reminded us that "The soldier, above all other men, is required to practice the greatest act of religious training -- sacrifice... he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war." More than forty years ago, your brothers-in-arms gave flesh-and-blood meaning to General MacArthur's words as they offered their last full measure of devotion in resisting the twin tyrannies of Nazism and Communism that ravaged their homeland. In the darkness of untold hardships, their spirit of courage and self-sacrifice shone brightly.

Although the shadow of tyranny continues to darken your ancestral lands, a spirit of hope and the yearning for liberty live on to inspire a new generation. I wish to express my solidarity with the brave people of Ukraine in your resolve to advance the cause of freedom and self-determination for your beloved homeland. God bless you.

A handwritten signature in dark ink that reads "Ronald Reagan". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style with a prominent 'R' and 'R'.

Senator Jesse Helms Defending Myroslav Medvid

A Ukrainian sailor, Myroslav Medvid, who, on October 24, 1985, tried to escape from the Soviet grain vessel Marshal Konev near New Orleans, USA, seeking political asylum, was returned to the Soviet Union on November 10. He will most certainly face charges of "treason" upon his return.

Such a decision by State Department officials caused outrage within Ukrainian and other East European communities across the United States. Medvid was even subpoenaed by the Agriculture Committee to appear at a hearing. Federal judges refused to become involved saying that the courts should not become entangled in what they described as delicate matters of foreign policy.

The following is a statement by Senator Helms on Saturday after the Soviet ship Marshal Konev left port in Louisiana:

I am dismayed that the U.S. State Department has prevailed in its insistence that the Soviet ship *Marshal Konev* be cleared to leave U.S. waters while Myroslav Medvid is still aboard. Had it not been for this appalling development, Mr. Medvid would have been available to appear Tuesday before the Senate Agriculture Committee on a proper subpoena, properly served. Then the truth, whatever it is, would have been known.

The Executive Branch has the authority to cooperate with the enforcement of the Legislative Branch subpoena. The Commissioner of Customs personally informed me of this authority after the subpoena was issued by a 13-1 vote of the Agriculture Committee. I made specific inquiry of the Commissioner on that point, and he responded honestly and factually.

By obstructing the legitimate action of the Legislative Branch, the President's advisors have failed to perform their Constitutional responsibilities.

I have not talked further with the Commissioner of Customs, but it appears obvious that he was overruled in his attempts to fulfill his duties under the law.

Once again, the State Department clearly decided it is more important to appease the Soviet Union than to allow a young man to have an unfettered chance for freedom.

The point is this: The State Department itself has released documents showing that Mr. Medvid was beaten by the Soviets and drugged with powerful, mind-suppressing drugs. Yet State Department officials persist in the unbelievable claim that Mr. Medvid chose to go back to slavery of his own free will.

This weird scenario that we have witnessed during the past few days clearly reveals that the State Department has shown, once again, its true colors. In fact, the very same diplomat who last year refused asylum to an East German family — including small children — has played a hand in the Medvid case, and as a result Mr. Medvid is on his way back to the Soviet Union. One can only speculate on his fate.

I am reluctant to believe that the President is personally responsible for this action performed in his name, especially since more than two-thirds of the U.S. Senate asked the President two days ago to have Mr. Medvid examined in a third country.

I urge the President, when he arrives in Geneva, to insist that the Soviets bring Mr. Medvid to Switzerland where he can have a chance to be examined impartially — after appropriate time for recuperation from his ordeal. Otherwise, we may never know the truth about this tragic episode.

Ukrainian Sailor – Victim of the Geneva Summit

Memorandum for the record.

From: David S. Sullivan, Legislative Assistant to Senator Helms.

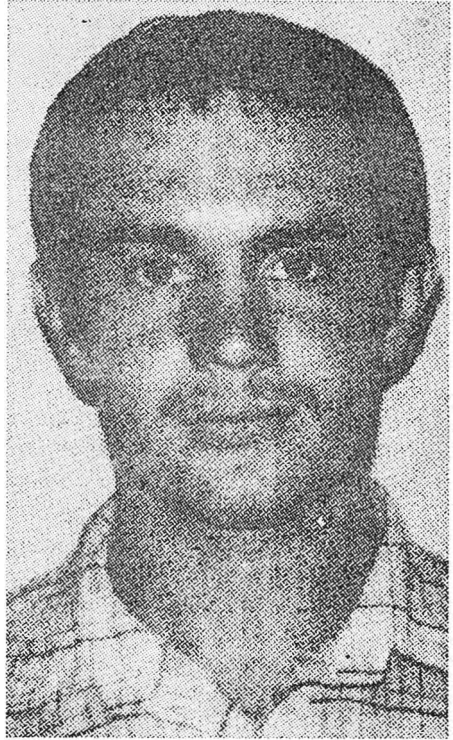
Subject: The Issue of Extra-Territoriality in the Subpoena to Seaman Medvid.

1. On Friday, November 8, 1985, the Soviet Diplomat, Yevgeniy G. Vtyurin stated that the Soviet ship Marshal Konev, was "Soviet territory" and as such was "totally immune from U.S. jurisdiction. At the time, I thought he was merely saying this for rhetorical effect to try to explain his attempts to deny that the subpoena for Seaman Medvid had in fact been legally served. I now believe, however, that Diplomat Yevgeniy G. Vtyurin may have had some reason for believing this to be true.

2. It is possible that there was a secret agreement between the State Department and the Soviet Embassy in Washington at some point to grant the Marshal Konev extra-territorial status. If this is true, it could also explain why the Konev's captain was reportedly reprimanded for allowing American officials to board, and why I was refused permission to board the ship the second time by the diplomat.

3. It was reported to me that President Reagan told the Congressional Leadership on Friday, November 8, 1985, that he wanted Seaman Medvid to have a second interview by US authorities, and that he would not sacrifice Seaman Medvid for the Summit. On the morning of Saturday, November 9, 1985, Deputy National Security Advisor Admiral Poindexter ordered U.S. Department of Agriculture grain inspectors off the Marshal Konev, in order to expedite its departure. I tried to contact Admiral Poindexter twice Monday in order to determine why he helped the Soviets and thwarted the President's wishes, but he would not return my calls.

4. Vice President George Bush, in New Orleans yesterday, said he was concerned that the Reagan Administration had changed its position on the Medvid case. He stated: "It doesn't look good. My heart is troubled by it". This is a good summary of this case.



Myroslav Medvid

November 12, 1985